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Publications on War Themes in the Publishing Repertoire of the Warsaw Printing House of the Vincentian Fathers

Abstract: The Warsaw printing house of the Vincentian Fathers was primarily known for its publications devoted to religious and moral themes, but this was not the only area of its activity. In the publishing repertoire of this typography, one can also often find famous and essential texts on wartime themes, diverging from the primary publishing profile of the printing house in question. This article presents preliminary research findings on works dealing with broadly understood wartime themes that the Warsaw Vincentians published. The first research question aims to determine the share of these prints in the overall publishing repertoire of the press. The next issue analyzed is the role of these works in the context of the entire publishing repertoire of the Vincentian Fathers' typography. The final question concerns the authors' motivations for printing their works at the printing house discussed. The research was conducted primarily using the analytical-synthetic method and historical bibliography methods.

Keywords: Warsaw printing house of Vincentians – military writing – printing in Warsaw – early printed books – official forms

Słowa kluczowe: warszawska drukarnia księży misjonarzy – piśmiennictwo wojskowe – drukarstwo warszawskie – stare druki – druki urzędowe

In the field of printing, the eighteenth century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is a time of great unevenness and does not form a unified era with consistent characteristics. Confirmation of the above thesis can be found in the history of printing in Warsaw, where by 1716 there was only one printing house¹, and by 1756, two². The first belonged to the Piarist order, and the second to the Jesuits. Both tried to secure a leading place in the Warsaw publishing market³. The situation underwent a complete transformation in the middle of the century. In a short time, the capital became a vital printing center⁴. The city had more than a dozen publishing companies, which significantly influenced the history of Polish printing⁵. In 1756, Lawrence Mitzler de Kolof founded his printing house⁶. Piotr Dufour founded his in 1775⁷, and Michal Groell three years later⁸. The degree of development of Warsaw printing is well reflected in the words of Helena Szwejkowska: “Bez wielkiej więc przesady możemy powiedzieć, że historia drukarstwa polskiego drugiej połowy XVIII w. sprowadza się do historii drukarstwa warszawskiego”⁹ [Without much exaggeration, we can say that the history of Polish printing in the second half of the 18th century boils down to the history of Warsaw printing]. Of course, at the end of the Polish-Lithuanian state, there were other important centers, such as Cracow or Vilnius; however, the printing houses there did not have the same impact on culture and history in this period as those in Warsaw.

There were a total of 16 printing houses in Warsaw in the last two decades of the 18th century, of which Józef Szczepaniec singled out eight “leading” ones. Among them, he detailed the previously mentioned typographies: the Jesuits’ (renamed Drukarnia Nadworna after the dissolution of the order), the Piarists’, Mitzler’s, Groell’s, Dufour’s, the printing house of the Vincentian Fathers (Congregation of the Mission), as well as Jan Potocki’s Drukarnia Wolna, Piotr

1 J. Krauze-Karpińska, *Warszawska drukarnia księży misjonarzy (1790–1796)*, Warszawa 2020, p. 27.

2 H. Szwejkowska, *Książka drukowana XV–XVIII wieku. Zarys historyczny*, Wrocław 1987, p. 227.

3 For more on the rivalry between the Jesuits and the Piarists, see P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Drukowi owniśmy oświecenie naszego wieku... Rola książki w drodze ku Oświeceniu*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 55–64.

4 Z. Libera, *Życie literackie w Warszawie w czasach Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1971, p. 122.

5 *Warszawa*, [in:] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 3, part 2, Warszawa 2001, pp. 367–372; *Warszawa*, [in:] *Bibliografia literatury polskiej Nowy Korbut*, vol. 4: *Oświecenie. Hasła ogólne, rzeczowe i osobowe A–H*, ed. by T. Mikulski, Warszawa 1966, pp. 117–120.

6 Mitzler de Kolof Wawrzyniec [in:] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 3, part 2, op. cit., p. 215–223.

7 A. Zych-Kwiatkowska, *Piotr Dufour, drukarz warszawski doby Oświecenia – działalność zawodowa i społeczna*, „Podkarpackie Studia Biblioteczne” 2015, no. 4, pp. 6–14; *ibid*: subject bibliography.

8 *Groll Michal*, [in:] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 3, part 2, op. cit., pp. 92–119.

9 H. Szwejkowska, op. cit., p. 233.

Zawadzki's printing house and the printing house of the Vincentian Fathers (Congregation of the Mission)¹⁰.

The history of this printing house is closely tied to the history of the Congregation of Missionary Fathers of St. Vincent de Paul. This association was founded in 1625 in Paris, with the primary tasks of the clergy including conducting charitable missions, establishing seminaries for the formation of the clergy, and engaging in foreign missions. The history of the Congregation of Missionary Fathers of St. Vincent à Paulo in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth dates back to 1651 when Maria Louisa Gonzaga introduced them. In 1653, they took over the church of St. Cross in Warsaw, which became their most important temple in Poland¹¹. The congregation grew rapidly, conducting its activities in many cities. By 1772, the Polish province comprised 30 houses in cities such as Cracow, Vilnius, Lublin, Lviv, and Płock¹². Of particular importance in the subject under discussion is Chełmno, where the missionaries took over the patronage of the Chełmno Academy in 1680. This state of affairs lasted until 1756, when, as a result of Bishop Andrzej Stanisław Załuski's actions, the Academy became a colony of the Jagiellonian University¹³. This event did not mark the end of the convent's work in Chełmno. To meet the needs of the dynamically operating Academy in 1762, the missionaries began publishing and established their typography. It operated for the next ten years, providing mainly religious books. The activity of this printing house ended shortly after the first partition of Poland, when Chełmno became part of Prussia¹⁴. The loss of Chełmno was not the only factor determining the relocation of the existing printing house. A favorable circumstance was the suppression of the Jesuit order, which occurred in 1773, and the subsequent secularization of the monastic property. The Jesuit printing house was then transferred to the Commission on National Education, and as a result, its publishing profile was partially altered. Warsaw lacked one of the largest monastic printing houses of the time, and under such circumstances, "a niche appeared to be filled"¹⁵.

10 J. Szczepaniec, *Obowiązkowy egzemplarz biblioteczny w Polsce w drugiej połowie XVIII w.*, „Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich” 1957, vol. 5, p. 370.

11 *Misjonarze Warszawa*, [in:] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 3, part 2, op. cit., p. 203.

12 J. Krauze-Karpińska, op. cit., p. 19. See more: *Congregatio Sacerdotum Saecularium Missionis Provinciae Poloniae*, [in:] *Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772 r.*, ed. by L. Bieńkowski, J. Kłockowski, Z. Sulowski, Lublin 1972, tab. 53.

13 Ibid, p. 24; M. Zieliński, *Chełmno civitas totius Prussiae metropolis XVI–XVIII w.*, Bydgoszcz 2007, p. 344.

14 J. Krauze-Karpińska, op. cit., pp. 25–26; *Chełmno*, [in:] *Drukarze Dawnej Polski*, vol. 4, ed. by A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, K. Korotajowa, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1962, p. 62.

15 Ibid, p. 12; *Warszawa*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, ed. by L. Grzebień, Kraków 1996, p. 721.

The Warsaw printing press of the Vincentian Fathers began its work at the beginning of May 1780, while on October 25 of that year it received a privilege from Stanisław August Poniatowski to print “pisma i książki zaaprobowane wszelkiego rodzaju, które dotyczą religii i mogą przyczynić się do wychowania młodzieży i szerzenia wiary oraz poprawy obyczajów”¹⁶ [approved writings and books of all kinds, which relate to religion and may contribute to the education of youth, the spread of faith, and the improvement of customs]. Indeed, most of the prints that left their printing presses dealt with educational, moral, and religious topics. The missionaries published numerous prayer books and manuals related to the congregation’s charisma, as well as works on secular subjects, including the journals “Dziennik Handlowy” [Commercial Daily] and “Przewodnik Warszawski” [Warsaw Guide], catalogs, pamphlets, and official prints¹⁷. Translations of foreign works on a wide range of subjects also emerged from their presses. According to Józef Szczepaniec, this printing house “szczególnie jaskrawo ograniczała swą aktywność do wąskich granic polityki wydawniczej zakonu”¹⁸ [particularly brightly limited its activity to the narrow confines of the Order’s publishing policy]; however, its publishing repertoire includes works on subjects that differ from those listed in the privilege, including various texts on war, or in a narrower sense, military subjects. After more than 12 years of dynamic work since 1792, the publishing house’s output began to decline. After the Kościuszko insurrection, typography ceased operations due to the confiscation of printing equipment. Operations resumed in 1810, and from then on, for nearly half a century, books were printed primarily for the congregation’s needs, namely, seminary textbooks and theological and religious texts. The definitive end of the printing house’s activities came in 1864, when, as part of the repressions following the January Uprising, numerous religious congregations were closed down, including the Vincentian Fathers, whose property, along with the printing house, was secularized¹⁹.

16 “Vigore cuius privilegii integrum erit venerebilibus praeposito totique Congregationi Missionis, eandem typographiam extruere ac in ea omnia scripta ac libros quoscunque approbatos, qui religionem aspectant et ad instruendam iuventutem propagandamque doctrinam ac mores corrigendos conferre possunt (...)”. Quoted after: *Privilegia Typographica Polonorum. Polskie przywileje drukarskie 1493–1793*, ed. by M. Juda, Lublin 2010, pp. 414–415, item 343.

17 D. Pietrkiewicz, *Książki z warszawskiej drukarni Księży Misjonarzy w ogłoszeniach prasowych (1780–1792)*, „Analecta. Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki” 2003, vol. 12, no. 1–2, p. 208–209.

18 J. Szczepaniec, op. cit., p. 370.

19 *Misjonarze Warszawa*, [in:] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 3, part 2, op. cit., p. 205; P.P. Gach, *Kasaty zakon na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Śląska 1773–1914*, Lublin 1984, p. 182; S. Rospond, *Misjonarze św. Wincentego à Paulo*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 12, Lublin 2008, p. 1251.

Joanna Krauze-Karpińska, based on a book containing *Rachunki druk[arni] Misyyon[arzy] Warsz[awskich]* [Accounts of the Warsaw Missionaries' Printing House], compiled a bibliography of 611 prints issued by the Missionaries' printing house in 1780–1796²⁰. How large a proportion of these are prints on military subjects or intended for military use? Were they significant against the background of the entire publishing repertoire? Why did the authors choose to publish their works in this printing house? Answering these questions requires tracing, one by one, all the prints issued by the Vincentian Fathers' printing house that deal with these topics.

Probably the essential works treating war printed there were two technical-military manuals published “by order and funding of His Majesty the King”, and commissioned by Józef Jakubowski (1743/1814), a late artillery officer, lecturer at the School of Horse Artillery²¹. Jakubowski was the author of the book *Nauka artyleryi zebrana z naypóźniejszych Autorów, napisana dla pożytku korpusu Artyleryi narodowej, z rozkazu y nakładem Jego Krolewskiey Mci Pan Nasz Miłosciwego do druku podana* [The science of artillery, collected from the late authors, written for the use of the national artillery corps, printed on the order and funding of His Majesty the King]. This work consists of three volumes: The first one, *Traktuiący o prochu y o armatach* [Treating about gunpowder and about cannons], the second one, *Traktuiący o moździerzach, granatnikach, szturmakach, podkopach, tudzież o woennem użyciu prochu, a to w troiakich okazyach, iako przy attaku fortce, przy ich obronie y w kampaniach polowych* [Treating about mortars, grenade launchers, assault rifles, undermines, as well as about the military use of gunpowder, and this in three occasions, as at the attack of fortresses, at their defense and in field campaigns], and the third one, *Traktuiący, o różnych sprzętach i silniach woennych, o rękoczynach artyleryi, o znaomości materyalów, wchodzących do artyleryi, o znaomości materyalów, wchodzących w użycia artyleryczne, o powinnościach komendanta artyleryi i ryszunkowego pod czas pokoju, i o cenie ryszunków woennych rozmaitego rodzaju; gdzie na końcu przydaje się Słownik Artyleryczny* [Treating on various military equipment and engines, the artillery techniques, the quality of materials used in artillery, the duties of the artillery commander and equipment officer in peacetime, and the price of various types of military equipment; where at the end there is an Artillery Dictionary]²². This work played a role in

20 J. Krauze-Karpińska, op. cit., p. 64.

21 Jakubowski Józef (1734–1814) – Polish clergyman of the congregation of Missionary priests, translator, author of the textbook *Nauka artylerii...*, soldier of the artillery. In 1796–1814 parish priest of the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw. See: A. Schletz, S. Skrzyński, *Jakubowski Józef h. Topór (1743–1814)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 10, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1962, pp. 386–388.

22 K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 18, Kraków 1900, p. 395.

developing Polish military terminology. Jakubowski, using the texts of French and German authors on the subject, struggled with the problem of insufficient professional terminology in Polish. Therefore, he employed “ancient” terms in his work, drew on the manuscript of his teacher, Lieutenant Colonel Paweł Tłubicki, and invented his terms²³.

The second textbook, by the French mathematician Étienne Bézout (1730–1783)²⁴ titled *Nauka matematyki do użycia artylerii francuskiej, napisana przez P. – towarzysza Akademii Nauk, i Marynarskiej etc. a dla pożytku pospolitego, osobliwie dla korpusu artylerii narodowej na polski język przełożona z rozkazu i nakładem Jego Królewskiej Mci. Pana naszego miłościwego do druku podana* [The science of mathematics for the use of French artillery, written by P., a companion of the Academy of Sciences and Marine, etc., and for the benefit of the common people, peculiarly for the national artillery corps, translated into Polish language from the order and funding of His Majesty the King. Our Lord of Mercy to print], was translated into Polish by Jakubowski.²⁵ This work consists of four volumes: the first one *Zawierający w sobie Fundamenta arytmetyki i geometrii* [Containing the fundamentals of arithmetic and geometry], the second one *Zawierający w sobie algebrę i przystósowanie algebry do geometrii* [Containing algebra and the apposition of algebra to geometry], the third one *Zawierający w sobie fundamenta powszechny mechaniki i hydrostatyki, poprzedzone rachunkami, służącemi za wstęp do nauk fizyczno-matematycznych* [Containing the fundamentals of universal mechanics and hydrostatics, preceded by calculations serving as an introduction to physical-mathematical sciences], and the fourth one *Zawierający w sobie przystósowanie zasad powszechnych mechaniki, do różnych przypadków ruchu i równowagi* [Containing the apposition of the principles of universal mechanics to various cases of motion and equilibrium]²⁶.

Both textbooks are publications of considerable volume. The three-volume *Nauka artylerii* comprises a total of nearly 1,400 pages, with 67 pages dedicated

23 J. Jakubowski, *Nauka artylerii zebrana z najpóźniejszych Autorów, napisana dla pożytku korpusu Artylerii narodowej* [...], Warszawa 1781, k. [5] v., [online] <https://polona2.pl/item/nauka-artylerii-zebrana-z-najpозniejszych-autorow-napisana-dla-pozytku-korpusu,OTM5NTE1M-Q/10/#info:metadata>, [accessed 07.03.2024].

24 Bézout Étienne (1730–1783) – French mathematician, developed the so-called Bezout’s theorem. Author of artillery manuals. See: D. Pingree, *Bezout Etienne*, [in:] *Dictionary of scientific biography*, vol. 2, New York 1970, pp. 111–115.

25 Translated from: É. Bézout, *Cours de mathématiques, a l’usage du corps de l’artillerie*, A Paris De L’Imprimerie de Ph. Pierres, 1788.

26 K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 12, Kraków 1891, p. 532.

to tables (21 at the end of Volume 1²⁷, 18 in Volume 2²⁸, and 28 in Volume 3)²⁹. *Nauka matematyki do użycia artylerii*, on the other hand, comprises four volumes, totaling nearly 1,900 pages and featuring 77 plates with illustrations and diagrams³⁰. A scientific apparatus, including footnotes and comments in the margins, accompanies both textbooks. Particularly noteworthy are the illustrations at the end of Volume 2 of *Nauka artylerii*, which show a diagram of mortar and cannon construction, as well as the ammunition used in them³¹. Both *Nauka...* also have tables of contents and noted misprints, both of which also appeared in popular publications.

Both works were created from 1781 to 1783. Since the King himself published them³², they occupy a special place in the publishing repertoire of the publishing house in question. It is also not without significance that these publications belong, along with *Sztuka pisania* [The art of writing]³³, published by Dominik Szybiński (1730–1799)³⁴, to the group of only three works with illustrations accompanying the text. Both also contain portraits of Stanisław August, royal coats of arms, and numerous plates made in the copperplate

27 J. Jakubowski, *Nauka artylerii zebrana z nayspóźniejszych Autorów [...], tom pierwszy traktujący o prochu i armatach*, Warszawa 1781, k. tabl. I–XXI, [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/421b-3fff-6b72-4bea-954b-fedc115bcea1> [accessed 30.06.2024].

28 J. Jakubowski, *Nauka artylerii zebrana z nayspóźniejszych Autorów [...], tom drugi traktujący o moździerzach, granatnikach [...]*, Warszawa 1781, k. tabl. I–XVIII, [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/07cc568d-14a8-4642-9bb2-cf34e57d0001> [accessed 30.06.2024].

29 J. Jakubowski, *Nauka artylerii zebrana z nayspóźniejszych autorów [...], tom trzeci traktujący o różnych sprzętach i siłniach wojennych [...]*, Warszawa 1783, k. tabl. I–XXVIII, [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/775b73a5-3eb4-4dac-9441-265a00ce71a4> [accessed 30.06.2024].

30 É. Bézout, *Nauka matematyki do użycia artylerii francuskiej*, transl. by J. Jakubowski, Warszawa 1781. Vol. 1: [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/b2e864da-73c1-4b31-8388-2aff-d843923c> [accessed 30.06.2024]; Vol. 2: [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/4d083cc4-372f-4747-83ef-a47d7a25725d> [accessed 30.06.2024]; Vol. 3: [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/ae5059f2-9150-4e42-9d9d-c4d41f3a29e0> [accessed 30.06.2024]; Vol. 4: [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/1af08177-1a8a-412a-a355-92792c20932a> [accessed 30.06.2024].

31 Cf. J. Jakubowski, *Nauka artylerii zebrana z nayspóźniejszych autorów [...], tom pierwszy traktujący o prochu i cannonach*, op. cit., k. tabl. I–XXI.

32 This information is included in the dedications of both books. See more: J. Jakubowski, *Nauka artylerii zebrana z nayspóźniejszych*, op. cit., k. [4] r., [online] <https://polona2.pl/item/nauka-artylerii-zebrana-z-nayspóźniejszych-autorow-napisana-dla-pozytku-korpusu,OTM5NTE1M-Q/7/#info:metadata> [accessed 30.06.2024]; É. Bézout, op. cit.

33 D.G. Szybiński, *Sztuka pisania w trzech rozdziałach wyjęta z encyklopedyi i pożytecznemi przydatkami pomnożona*, w Warszawie w Drukarni XX. Missionarzędów, 1781; See: K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 19, Kraków 1903, p. 318.

34 Szybiński Dominik (1730–1799) – Piarist, writer, translator and pedagogue, associated with the monastery and college in Międzyrzecz Korecki. See: K. Puchowski, *Szybiński Gabriel, w zakonie Dominik od św. Aleksandra (1730–1799)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 49, Warszawa – Kraków 2013–2014, pp. 516–518.

technique by Johann Gottfried Prixner³⁵. Additionally, *Nauka artylerii* features illustrations that depict the construction of artillery and fortifications³⁶. Finished engravings were delivered to the Missionaries' printing house for inclusion in the books. The question of why the manuals were printed in the Vincentian Fathers' printing house warrants consideration. The answer to this question may be provided by the fact that this was a young and developing typography in Warsaw, and to compete with at least the older and well-established Piarist printing house; it had to distinguish itself by the quality of printing and illustrations included in the text, and perhaps also by a reasonable, competitive price. It can be presumed that the King, wanting to support the development of the Missionaries' typography, commissioned it to carry out his order, giving the congregation money, which was equivalent to advertising the printing house. Significant are also Jakubowski's ties to the congregation that owned this enterprise. As late as 1781, he joined the congregation, and two years later took his vows as a monk. The author's affiliation with the order may have influenced his choice of printing house³⁷.

J. Jakubowski was not the only author (or co-author) publishing military texts in this printing house. Another textbook on military knowledge that came off the press of the Warsaw missionaries was *Elementarz służby wojskowej, tłomaczony z dzieła Graffa Franciszka Kińskiego Generała Leutt. Woysk Cessars. dyrektora Szkoły Rycerskiej korpusu kadetów w Neustacie, z niektórymi odmianami y przydatkami stósownie do służby naszey przez A.F.B.G.A.K. Oficera Polskiego kolegom swoim poświęcony* [Primer for military service, translated from the work of Graff Franciszek Kiński Generał Leutt. Director of the Knights' School of the Cadet Corps in Neustat, with some variants and appendages adequate to our service by A.F.B.G.A.K. Polish Officer dedicated to his colleagues]³⁸. This title reveals both who the author of the original text was³⁹ and its Polish translator. They were, respectively, Franz Joseph Graf Kinsky (1739–1805)⁴⁰, a general in the Habsburg army, and Aloysius Frederick

35 J. Krauze-Karpińska, op. cit., pp. 52–53.

36 J. Jakubowski, *Nauka artylerii zebrana z nappóźniejszych Autorów [...], tom drugi traktujący o moździerzach, granatnikach [...]*, op. cit., k. Pl Ir – PL XV r, [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/07cc568d-14a8-4642-9bb2-cf34e57d0001> [accessed 30.06.2024].

37 A. Schletz, S. Skrzyński, op. cit., p. 387.

38 F. Kinsky, *Elementarz służby wojskowej*, transl. by A.F. Bruehl, W Warszawie: w Drukarni XX. Misjonarzy, 1787, [online] <https://polona.pl/preview/7e3e2683-8460-498e-bd4d-68bad-9d8db4b> [accessed 30.06.2024]; K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 19, op. cit., p. 261.

39 Original title: F. Kinsky, *Für Weltrekruten*, Wien, den Johann Georg Mössle, 1783.

40 Kinsky Franz Joseph Graf (1739–1805) – general of the Habsburg army, director of the Knights' School in Neustat. Participant in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779) and the First Anti-French Coalition (1792–1797). See: *Kinsky von Wchinitz und Tettau, Franz Joseph Graf*,

Bruehl (1739–1793)⁴¹, a general in the crown artillery. The book includes information on the education and drill of the soldier, as well as the use of terrain in marches and warfare. The work is divided into five thematic chapters: the first, *O konserwacyi żołnierza* [On the conservation of the soldier] (that is, how to take care of the health and morale of soldiers), the second, *Dressowanie i wyrobienie żołnierza* [Training and making the soldier] (that is, the upbringing of the soldier, military customs and *Esprit de Corps*), the third, *O mustrze* [On muster], the fourth, *O nauce poznawania się na położeniu miejsc wszelakich* [On learning to know the position of all sorts of locations] (the art of using the terrain), and the fifth, *O nauce umiejętności żołnierskiej* [On learning the soldier's skills] (remarks on learning the craft of war, fighting and combining theory with practice). The work is 486 pages long and does not include illustrations. To facilitate orientation in the book's content, chapter titles were printed in the running head. It is equipped with a few vignettes, small ornaments at the beginning and end of chapters, and simple initials that begin paragraphs⁴².

In such a situation, the question arises, why did A. Bruehl decide to publish his translation of *Elementarz* in the Vincentian Fathers' printing house? There is a relatively simple and convincing explanation. The two previously mentioned textbooks respectively authored and translated by J. Jakubowski, were compiled at Bruehl's request⁴³. The decision was likely made to trust an already proven printing house.

According to Lech Wyszczelski's definition, the above three works constitute a total of military writing published in the Missionaries' printing house. Wyszczelski divides this branch of writing into military history and theory of war⁴⁴. This typology, despite its division into smaller, more specific areas, does not apply to all military-related prints. It does not include official prints devoted to the army or wars, or other prints issued for the military. Therefore, it is necessary to include here other publications that, although not counted among the works of military writing, are directly related to this topic. The number of printings was not impressive; however, the printing house marked

[in:] S. Digby, L. Kudrna, *Bibliographical Dictionary of all Austrian Generals during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1792–1815*, [online] https://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/Austria/AustrianGenerals/c_AustrianGeneralsK.html#K30 [accessed 27.06.2024].

41 Brühl Alojzy Fryderyk (1739–1793) – crown marshal, general of the crown artillery, Polish writer and diplomat of Saxon origin. See: A. Hniłko, *Brühl Alojzy Fryderyk (1739–1793)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 3, Kraków 1937, pp. 13–16.

42 F. Kinsky, op. cit.

43 *Misjonarze* Warszawa, [in:] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 3 part 2, op. cit., p. 211.

44 L. Wyszczelski, *Teorie wojenne i ich twórcy na przestrzeni historii. Myśl wojskowa od powstania do końca lat osiemdziesięciu XX wieku*, Warszawa 2009, p. 9.

its capabilities and printing ambitions in the Warsaw publishing market with these titles.

Quite important and numerous were the ephemeral prints published in the Missionaries' printing house. Due to the military's crucial role in every 18th-century state, a significant proportion of ephemeral prints addressed army-related matters. The declining Republic of Poland was no different. One such print was *Pobór generalny na powiększenie Woyska Ob[o]ga Narodów*⁴⁵ [General Conscription for the Enlargement of the Commonwealth Army], published in 1789 in the Missionaries' typography. The print runs to four pages in folio format. Like many other small prints of the time, it is typographically anonymous, lacking a title page, and instead features a heading title. The content of the publication is a draft of the rules for conducting conscription, scheduled to take effect on January 1, 1789. *Bibliografia Polska* describes the print as a draft law, not yet in force at the time of printing⁴⁶.

In November 1788, from under the printing press of the Warsaw Missionaries at Krakowskie Przedmieście street came out the *Doniesienie publiczności [o otworzeniu subskrypcji na pierwsze potrzeby wojska powiększonego]* [Public Report (on the opening of subscriptions for the first needs of the augmented army)]. The proclamation to the public, asking them to assist the army, had some effect, as at regular weekly intervals, the Missionaries' printing press issued *Summariusze ofiar* [Summaries of donations], summarizing the payments made and promised to the army. A total of seven such documents were issued⁴⁷. The first was the largest, as it consisted of eight pages in folio format. The subsequent ones were already smaller, numbering one or two pages, except *Summariusz szósty* [the sixth Summary], which was three pages long. The volume of the summaries was correlated with the number of donations, which is usually highest at the very beginning of such campaigns⁴⁸.

45 *Pobor generalny na powiększenie wojska Obojga Narodow*, [Warszawa, Drukarnia Misjonarzy] 1789, [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/77d156dc-631f-4c44-91f4-3034e1d269ea?page=5> [accessed 30.06.2024]. The printing was related to the reforms of the Great Sejm, and more specifically to the enactment of October 8, 1789. 100,000-soldiers army measurement and organization. However, the economy of the declining Commonwealth proved too weak, which only allowed the introduction of the so-called temporary *etat*, which assumed the creation of an army of about 65,000. Actually, it only managed to expand to about 57,000 men. See: Z. Sułek, *Wojskowość polska w latach 1764–1794*, [in:] *Zarys dziejów wojskowości polskiej do roku 1864*, vol. 2, ed. by J. Sikorski, Warszawa 1966, pp. 223–227.

46 K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 24, Kraków 1912, p. 376.

47 See more: J. Krauze-Karpińska, *Warszawska drukarnia ...*, op. cit., p. 247.

48 *Summaryusz ofiara przez dobrowolne subskrypcje na pierwsze potrzeby wojska obiecanych i danych a die 8 9bris 1788 Roku*, [Warszawa], w Drukarni XX Misjonarzów, [1788], [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/829020e8-528e-40ff-94af-770f5245093a?page=4> [accessed 28.06.2024]; J. Krauze-Karpińska, *ibid*, p. 247, item 279.

A considerable difficulty in examining the military prints of the printing house in question is the large number of lost prints, which makes it impossible to identify their contents. However, in some cases, the titles themselves leave no doubt as to their subject matter. An example is *Książeczka żołnierska* [The soldiers' booklet], published in February 1790, about which we have virtually no information, except for a laconic entry in the receipts and expenses book proclaiming that: "W.J.P. Borzęcki resztę za Xsiążeczkę Żołnierską dał"⁴⁹ [W.J.P. Borzęcki gave the rest for the Soldier's Booklet]. It is unknown who Borzęcki was or what the text of the said booklet was about. The diminutive in the title may suggest that it was a small-format printing and may have served as a small primer for soldiers, or the 18th-century equivalent of today's military service book. A very similar case seems to be *Książeczka dla żołnierzy* [Booklet for soldiers], commissioned this time by Captain Kąsinowski⁵⁰. This time, however, a little more is known. An entry in the register of receipts and expenditures reveals that the circulation was 1,000 copies. In addition, the print in the entry

Summaryusz drugi czyli dalszy ciąg ofiara przez dobrowolne subskrypcye na pierwsze potrzeby woyska obiecanych i danych, [Warszawa], w Drukarni Missyonarzow, [1788], [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/53530d6d-0055-4ed4-bf91-ad5960cf95f5?page=0> [accessed 28.06.2024]; J. Krauze-Karpińska, *ibid*, p. 249, item 285.

Summaryusz trzeci czyli dalszy ciąg ofiara przez dobrowolne Subskrypcye na pierwsze potrzeby Woyska obiecanych i dane, [Warszawa], w Drukarni XX. Missyonarzow, [1788]; J. Krauze-Karpińska, *ibid*, p. 249, item 286.

Summaryusz czwarty czyli dalszy ciąg ofiara przez dobrowolnych subskrypcye na pierwsze potrzeby woyska obiecanych i danych, [Warszawa], in Drukarnia XX. Missyonarzow, [1789], [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/6f44ec5c-b68f-45ee-afeb-a64d2d7deac4?page=4> [accessed 28.06.2024]; J. Krauze-Karpińska, *ibid*, p. 262, item 308.

Summaryusz piąty czyli dalszy ciąg ofiara przez dobrowolne subskrypcye na pierwsze potrzeby woyska obiecanych i dane, [Warszawa], in Drukarnia XX. Missyonarzow, [1789]; J. Krauze-Karpińska, *ibid*, p. 271, item 335.

Summary szosty czyli dalszy ciąg ofiara przez dobrowolne subskrypcye na pierwsze potrzeby woyska, [Warszawa], in Drukarni XX. Missyonarzow, [1789], [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/e08ca27b-28f3-47c8-a7ec-e01987aff67c?page=0> [accessed 28.06.2024]; J. Krauze-Karpińska, *ibid*, p. 274, item 346.

Summaryusz siódmy czyli dalszy ciąg ofiara przez dobrowolne subskrypcye na pierwsze potrzeby woyska, [Warszawa, w Drukarni XX. Missyonarzow, 1789], [online] <https://dlibra.kul.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=18388> [accessed 28.06.2024]; J. Krauze-Karpińska, *ibid*, p. 278, item 356.

See: K. Estreicher. *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 19, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

49 After: J. Krauze-Karpińska, *Uzupełnienia do Bibliografii polskiej Estreichera na podstawie rękopiśmiennej księgi wpływów i wydań warszawskiej Drukarni Misjonarzy*, "Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej" 2006, vol. 37/38, p. 191.

50 Most likely Florian Stanisław Kąsinowski. Infantry soldier of the crown army, from 1785 a lieutenant, and from 1790 a captain. Participant in the later wars of 1792, the Kościuszko insurrection, participant in the Napoleonic campaigns, eventually with the rank of colonel. See more: J. Pachonński, *Kąsinowski Florian Stanisław h. Nałęcz (1764–1828)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 12, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1966–1967, p. 305.

from the register of receipts and expenses of December 2, 1790, was described as a *Książeczka dla żołnierzy*,⁵¹ and three days later as a *Książeczka żołnierska*,⁵² the same as the previously discussed text. This suggests that the two names were used interchangeably, and perhaps we are dealing with the same or very similar publications, which constitute a form of military document.

Indeed, the character of official prints was that of the tables of the army's measurement and organization [Pol. *Komput wojsk*] published in the Missionary priests' printing house. During the years of the congregation's typographic activity, this name referred to "stały etat liczebny wojska stałego"⁵³ [a fixed numerical status [Pol. *etat*] of the standing army]. *Etat*, in turn, is "ściśle określona organizacyjnie liczba żołnierzy i materiału, jaki wchodzi do danej jednostki"⁵⁴ [a strictly organizationally defined number of soldiers and material that goes into a given unit]. Thus, these were accounting documents, allowing for the summing up of the costs necessary for the operation of a given unit. Three such prints certainly came out from under the Missionaries' presses: *Tabela żołnierska*⁵⁵ [Soldier's table], *Tabela komputu wojska*⁵⁶ [Table of the army's measurement and organization], and *Tabela komputu wojska regimentu Działyńskiego*⁵⁷ [Table of Działyński's regiment measurement and organization]. Regarding the last two printings, little is known, except that *Tabela* was published in 2,000 copies⁵⁸. A little more can be said about the first print, *Tabela żołnierska*. J. Krauze-Karpińska associates it with two others noted by the *Bibliografia Polska*, namely, *Tabella Generalna Komputu i Placy Wojsk Obojga Narodów* [General table of the measurement, organization, and wages of the armies of both nations] or *Etat wojska obojga narodów i tabella generalna komputu i płacy wojsk obojga narodów* [Status of the army of both nations and the general table of the measurement, organization, and wages of the armies of both nations]⁵⁹. Still, due to the laconic and vague entry in the account book, these hypotheses are uncertain and most likely impossible to resolve. A similar situation exists in the case of *Regestr żołnierski* [Soldier's Register], issued in an edition of 1960 copies. It is possible that this was another table, which was

51 "December 2. From W. J. M. P. Kąsinowski Captain ad rationem of printing *Xiążeczek dla Żołnierzy* and besides that 10 Liber". Quoted in J. Krauze-Karpińska, *Supplements to the Bibliography*, op. cit., p. 198.

52 "December 5. Od W. J. M. P. Kąsinowskiego od *Xiążeczek Żołnierskich*." Quoted after: ibid.

53 *Komput*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wojskowa*, vol. 4, ed. by O. Laskowski, Warszawa 1934, p. 409.

54 *Etat*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wojskowa*, vol. 2, ed. by O. Laskowski, Warszawa 1932, p. 555.

55 See J. Krauze-Karpińska, *Uzupełnienia...*, op. cit., p. 189, item 191.

56 Ibid, p. 199, item 243.

57 Ibid, s. 209, item 298.

58 J. Krauze-Karpińska, *Warszawska drukarnia...*, op. cit., p. 343.

59 See more: ibid, p. 287.

registered in the *Bibliografia Polska* under a different title⁶⁰. Once again, this is only a presumption.

Conclusion

Prints on the subject of war, military, or intended for the use of the army, published in the Warsaw printing house of the Vincentian Fathers, amount to a total of 18 titles. They include three textbooks, nine official prints (*Pobór generalny na powiększenie Wojska Ob[ojga] Narodów*, *Doniesienie publiczności [o otworzeniu subskrypcji na pierwsze potrzeby wojska powiększonego]*, and seven summaries), three tables and three unspecified publications (one register and two “soldier’s booklets”). The final number of such publications is hardly determinable. Many publications from the missionaries’ printing house have been irretrievably lost, and it is difficult to predict how many of them, laconically described as “tickets”, “cards”, “reports”, or “receipts”, were related to military subjects.

Nauka artylerii by J. Jakubowski and *Nauka matematyki* by É. Bézout, as school textbooks, belong to a relatively small group of scientific publications accounting for about 14.3% of the publishing repertoire of Polish printing houses in the Age of Enlightenment⁶¹. Thus, they are among the significant achievements in the activities of the Warsaw printing house of the Missionary priests, focused essentially on educational and religious publications⁶². This is evidenced by the rich illustrations in both works and the fact that the monarch himself published them. However, the most critical argument supporting this thesis is that they were among the most heavily promoted in the press of the time⁶³.

The ties of the diocesan and monastic clergy to military writing and publications were not limited to the printing house of missionaries. Authors of war treatises or technical-military treatises were also often clergymen, i.e., Jesuits Oswald Kruger (c. 1598–1655)⁶⁴ and Faustyn Grodzicki (c. 1709– after 1773)⁶⁵,

60 See more: *ibid.*, p. 285.

61 A. Żbikowska-Migoń, *Książka naukowa w produkcji typograficznej polskiego Oświecenia*, [in:] *Dawna książka i kultura. Materiały międzynarodowej sesji naukowej z okazji pięćsetlecia sztuki drukarskiej w Polsce*, ed. by S. Grzeszczuk, A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1975, p. 231.

62 D. Pietrzkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

64 Kruger Oswald (ca. 1598–1655) – mathematician, physicist, military technician for artillery and fortifications, Jesuit associated with the Vilnius Academy. Creator of treatises i.e.: *Illustrata theoremata et problemata mathematica [...]*, *Parallela horoscopa ad bellicorum tormentorum militarium directionem recens inventa et practica probate* and *Horolographia practica*. See more: A. Wachułka, *Kruger Oswald (ok. 1598–1655)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 15, pp. 450–451.

65 Grodzicki Faustyn (b. ca. 1709, d. after 1773) – mathematician, physicist, Jesuit. Creator of the work *Scientia artium militarium architecturam, pyrotechnicam, tacticam, polemicam, per-*

or the previously mentioned J. Jakubowski⁶⁶, associated with the congregation of Missionary priests. Military works also came out from the presses of the printing houses of other orders, especially the Piarists and Jesuits, but the Cistercians of Oliwa⁶⁷ or the Discalced Carmelites of Berdyczów⁶⁸ played no small role. This topic, although fairly well recognized in the literature on the subject, may bring new findings, especially when the mentioned works are subjected to provenance analysis. This will shed some light on the reception of war themes among users of books that treat the art of war and militaria.

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spectivam complectens, one of Tadeusz Czacki's teachers. See more: J. Poplatek, *Grodzicki Faustyn (ur. 1709)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 8, Wrocław – Kraków – Warszawa 1959–1960, p. 614; *Grodzicki Faustyn Ignacy*, [in:] L. Grzebień, *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, Kraków 2004, p. 197.

66 See footnote 20.

67 The Oliwa Cistercians printed, for example, the work of Wojciech Tylkowski, *De bono tam in pace, quam in bello sive pars philosophiae quarta moralis in duas divisa partes* (1691); *Zołnierskie nabozenstwo to jest nauki y modlitwy y przyklady do tego stan sluzace* (1688) by Piotr Skarga, or *Bellator Christianus* (1688) by Mateusz Bembus.

68 B.J. Wanat, *Drukarnia Karmelu fortecy Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Berdyczowie. Działalność wydawnicza i poligraficzna Karmelitów Bosych w Berdyczowie na Ukrainie*, Kraków 2002.

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