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Edmund Campion's Rationes Decem: A Survey of Campion's Books in Polish Libraries

On May 6th 1816, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski signed the deed of most spectacular purchases of the time. For the handsome amount of 12,000 red Polish zlotys to be paid in cash, the equivalent sum of 50,000,000 zlotys today, Czartoryski had finally closed the negotiations for the sale of Tadeusz Czacki's Poryck collection. Many had vied for this collection and in fact it would take Czacki's widow, Barbara Czacka five years to decide on its sale. It was a reluctant decision she had to make, eventually moved to do so "for the good and welfare of her children and in order to pay for incurred debts"¹. The collection was indeed impressive. It included 35,000 volumes of cimelia, incunabulae, old prints and about 1500 manuscripts some of which formerly belonged to the last elected Polish king, Stanislaw August Poniatowski. Tadeusz Czacki (1765-1813), a statesman and educational reformer was likewise an avid bibliophile and amassed this collection for about twenty years.² He was the founder of numerous schools in Krzemieniec and had transformed the areas of Podola and Wolyn. into important centres of culture and learning. He likewise founded two educational foundations, which were to gather the scattered collections of the Jesuit libraries in Vilnius and Russia.

Amongst the books included in this collection is Piotr Skarga's Polish translation of Edmund Campion's "Rationes Decem" printed in Vilnius in 1584. Over two hundred years after the first secret printing in 1581 of this subversive text, we still find a reader of the "Rationes", as best attested by Czacki's own handwritten notes, which however scanty, tell us details of the book and its eighteenth century reader. As Czacki writes, this book includes a preface by Piotr Skarga, who had translated

¹ Czartoryski MS 12163, ff. 1v-2r.

² Danowska, E. *Tadeusz Czacki 1765-1813 Na pograniczu epok i ziem*, Kraków 2006, p. 256.

the book from Latin into Polish. We also learn that Campion writes a letter to the Councils and Senate of the English Realm (otherwise known as the Privy Council) requesting for a dispute, we also learn that a challenge was made to the Oxford and Cambridge academics. Finally, we learn that Campion is sent on exile, which he refuses to follow and that eventually he is executed as a traitor. In fact this particular edition, currently found in the Czartoryski Library in Kraków, is one of the two remaining copies of the Skarga translation we know of today.

Various editions of the “Rationes Decem” that can be found in Poland’s libraries best attest to the keen interest that Campion’s “Rationes” enjoyed in Poland throughout the centuries. So far I have established that editions of the “Rationes Decem” can be found in the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdansk, in the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun, in the University of Wroclaw Library and the Ossolineum Library also in Wroclaw, in the Krasinski Palace Library and the University of Warsaw Library in Warsaw. In Krakow alone I have found editions of the “Rationes Decem” in the Jagiellonian Library, Czartoryski Library, Czapcki Library and in the libraries of the Franciscans, Bernardines and Dominicans. In all probability, the very first edition of 1581 found in the Braniewo Collection currently in the University of Uppsala, belonged to the first library that once belonged to the Braniewo Jesuit College in Poland until the Swedish invasion in which the library was sacked in 1626.

The number of editions, dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, is indeed striking especially when one considers the travails and difficulties that went into the conception, writing, printing and distribution of such a subversive text. From 1559 onwards, Queen Elizabeth I, by virtue of the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559, established her religious settlement. Moreover, following Pius V’s issuing of the *Regnans in Ecclesiae* in 1570 by virtue of which the Tudor monarch was excommunicated, English Catholics were put in an even more difficult situation with the reinforcement of 13 Eliz. c. 1 and 13 Eliz. c. 2 which made it unlawful, among other things, to declare the Queen a heretic or schismatic or to recognize any papal bulls.³ The English Catholic Community therefore, not only found themselves without any religious leaders, but were likewise placed in a very difficult situation particularly in the delicate question of royal versus religious allegiance. Edmund Campion (1540-1581), former reader of St John’s College, himself a convert from Protestantism and who since his youth

³ Evans, W. et al. *A Collection of Statutes*. London 1836, nos. XVIV and XLV.

was famed for his extraordinary rhetorical skills and during his years in Oxford had managed to become the University's favourite orator.⁴ would find himself therefore at the very centre of religious controversy in England. When asked to come to lead the first English Mission by the religious leader of the English Catholics abroad, Cardinal William Allen, in 1579, Campion had only been a year-old ordained priest, working at the time in Prague, building the Jesuit community amidst the hostile population of Bohemia.⁵

No sooner after Campion's landing at Dover on June 1580, the Oxonian lover of intellectual dispute who was long-exposed to the suspicions of theocratic politicians, would soon realize the danger that the English Catholic Community was subject to in supporting and 'harbouring,' ie. in hiding Catholic priests. Various families, widely reputed as Catholic, were already raising the suspicions of the Privy Council and by 1580 Crown's inquisitors travelled from house to house in search of harboured priests. And it is in all probability, Thomas Pound a convert from Protestantism who was arrested while trying to escape from England, whilst enjoying a few hours of freedom sought to meet Parsons and Campion convincing them to put into writing in the form of a declaration, the true intention of the English Mission. It was aimed at vindicating the Jesuits' and the Catholic Community's name and honour by laying out clearly the purpose of Mission, their "charge" being "to preach the Gospel, to minister the Sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reform sinners, to confute errors – in brief, to cry alarm spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance, where many of my dear countrymen are abused."⁶ In this same declaration, Campion makes clear his intent to serve nothing but a spiritual cause as he "had never in mind and am strictly forbidden by our Father that sent me, to deal in any respect with matter of state or policy of this realm, as things which not appertain to my vocation, and from which I gladly restrain and sequester my thoughts." In this one-thousand word declaration which would later be known as the "Brag" or "Challenge," Campion also addresses the Privy Council asking for a public dispute in theology, assuring his Protestant contenders, that "the better furnished they come, the better welcome they shall be."⁷ We know from another letter that Campion wrote to the Jesuit Father General,

⁴ Kilroy, G. *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription*, England 2009, p. 46.

⁵ Reynolds, E. *Parsons and Campion: The Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581*, London 1980, pp. 57-59.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 79.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Everard Mercurian, that he made sure that this letter reached the Queen and that he himself carried a copy so that in case of arrest he would be easily identified as the author of the letter. In this same letter Campion likewise writes that whilst the challenge was widely commented by pastors in different Churches, unfortunately, no one openly accepted the challenge. By October of the same year, the Catholic priests in hiding would meet once again this time in Uxbridge, to decide on the course the Mission should take. With all books printed in Rome declared illegal, and the recent secret press discovered and destroyed, both Parsons and Campion realized the importance of finding a new place for a secret press, which would enable the printing of books so much in demand by the Catholic community. The choice eventually fell on Stonor House, twenty miles from London. By November, eight of the priests had been already arrested and the searches for the other priests in hiding had been recently intensified. By this time, that Campion was working on his defence of the Catholic Faith in Latin as it was meant to be addressed to the university circles, as Campion still enjoyed prestige amongst the academic communities of Cambridge and Oxford. Campion would travel south to Stonor to personally supervise the printing of “Rationes Decem, quibus fretus, certamen adversariis obtulit in cause fidei, Edmundus Campianus, et Societate Nominis Iesu Prebyster: Allegatei Ad clarissimos viros, nostrates Academicos” [Ten Reasons in which Edmund Campion of the Society of Jesus, priest, insisted in his Challenge, to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge]. He was, after all, the son of a stationer and was raised in London at the very heart of the book trade. In this less than 20,000 word apologetic text, Campion sets out in ten points a critique of Protestant theology. Campion, by an exact exegesis of the texts not only of the Bible, Early Fathers of the Church, the early Church Councils but also of the most prominent Protestant theologians such as Zwingli, Calvin, Luther and Beza, argues against Protestant Theology in defence of the Roman Faith. By March 1581 the draft was ready to be proofread by Thomas Fitzherbert, a former pupil of Campion’s at St. Johns College in Oxford who still had access to the university libraries. By June 27th, it was ready to be distributed. The next step was to insure the wide distribution of the text to representatives of the Academy, and so the event that was chosen was the Commencement Act in the Church of St. Mary in Oxford, when suplicants of degrees defend their thesis. It was hence an event, which insured the presence of most of the academics of the university. William Hartley, himself also a former fellow of Campion at St. John’s College in Oxford, undertook the task of distributing the text, perhaps as he was most familiar with the proceedings of this event. The

Jesuit Robert Parsons, head of the English Mission at that time best describes the reception of the text.

By most ingenious means – at one time mixing with such as he knew, at another with strangers, he was enabled to distribute more than four hundred copies, giving them partly to those who knew of the work or to those who were led by curiosity to see what it was, partly leaving copies in the Church of St. Mary. Great was the consternation of the university when the copies were found. There was at first a most unusual silence, and so furtively intent were many in perusing the book that never perhaps was discourse listened to with greater apathy than on this occasion. The professors and fellows who knew not as at what had occurred, wondered at the unusual silence. When the meeting came to a close and the when affair was noised abroad, men’s minds were swayed according as devotion or hatred moved them.⁸

The moment of triumph was however brief, for Campion was soon captured and by July 30st the first warrant for torture had already been issued whilst the press in Stonor House seized by August 2nd. On November 20th Campion was put on trial, dismembered in public and executed on December 1st 1581.⁹ The “Rationes” did soon provoke replies, one late in 1581 when Campion had already been in prison, and entitled “Ad decem rationes Edmundi Campiani” by the prominent Cambridge Calvinist theologian, William Whitaker. Another was entitled “Jesuitisimi pars prima” by the Puritan Lawrence Humphrey. Both these challenges were answered by Scottish Jesuit, John Drury who in 1583 replied to Whitaker’s “Ad decem rationes” by writing his “Confutationes.” This in turn was replied back to by Whitaker in 1583 and by Humphrey’s second part of “Jesuitisimi” in 1584. The statement that E Reynolds writes in his book “Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580-81,” in which he writes, “Since ‘Rationes Decem’ was written in Latin as were the replies and counter replies, its impact was limited,”¹⁰ can now be corrected as I have so far established that many editions of the “Rationes” have been reprinted in Latin up through the early nineteenth century in many parts of Europe – Mainz, Paris, Rouen, Rome, Vienna, Cologne, Ingolstadt, Antwerp, Prague, Vilnius and Kraków. Moreover, so far I have also found later translations into modern languages such as German, French, Italian and Polish aside from the 1632 and 1637 English translations. Aside from that I also found an early

⁸ Ibid., pp. 102-103.

⁹ Kilroy, G., *Memory and Transcription*, London 2009, p. 5.

¹⁰ Reynolds, E. *Parsons and Campion The Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581*, London 1980, p. 105.

seventeenth century response by Polish Anti-trinitarian (Arian) theologian Thomas Pisecius printed in 1610 and 1619. What is even more striking is that many of the later Latin and German, French and Polish translations can be found in various libraries in Poland as well. This surely attests to the fact that, contrary to what Reynolds has written, there was indeed a very keen interest in the “Rationes” especially in these part of Central Europe even during Campion’s time.

The earliest traces of the interest in Edmund Campion can be found in a book entitled “Okrucienstwo Kacyrskie”¹¹ currently found in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław. This book, as the title page informs us, is a Polish translation of an eyewitness account of the persecution of Catholics in England. It narrates events that took place in 1581, and includes a brief and very disturbing description of Campion’s public trial, torture and slaughter. The provenance of this book is indicated by a seventeenth century autograph signature of a certain Marcus Remiligijs found in the recto of the last page. If Maria Bohonos’ catalogue which dates the book as being printed 1582 is credible¹², then we can speculate that the text was acquired, translated and printed only a few months after Campion’s death on December 1st, 1581. This book therefore demonstrates how efficient the system of circulation of printed works or even of manuscripts was, as it had not only to defy the obstacle of distance between of Poland and England but also that of strict control and suppression.

Other references to Campion, particularly his “Brag” or “Challenge” can found in a letter dated April 21th 1581, which the Polish King Stephan Bathory writes to the Papal Nuncio in Poland, Andrea Calighari, in which the King refers to having heard and read with great admiration the defense of the Catholic Faith written by the English Jesuit.¹³ According to Urszula Szumska, Calighari writes Bathory requesting him to intervene for James Bosgrave, a mathematics professor of the Academy of Vilnius who was also imprisoned with Edmund Campion.¹⁴ After three

¹¹ *Okrucieństwo kacyrskie przeciw katolikom w Anglijej*, s.l. 1582. The call number XVI.O.13 in blue coloured pencil in Samuel Linde’s writing and is bound in nineteenth century leather binding. This book is currently found in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, another copy can be found in the University of Louvain Library in Belgium.

¹² Bohonos, M. *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich Polonica XVI*. Wrocław 1965.

¹³ *Monumenta Polonia Vaticana Caliaris I.A. Epistolae et acta 1578-1581* Boratyński, L., (ed.), Kraków 1915, p. 619.

¹⁴ A very detailed report of James Bosgrave’s activities in Poland is provided by John Rogers, English ambassador to Denmark also sent to Poland in 1580 to conclude a trade

years of imprisonment, freedom is eventually granted to Bosgrave after four years¹⁵ and in gratitude the Papal Nuncio grants Bathory the “Rationes Decem” as a token of gratitude. Bathory in various correspondences to the prominent noblemen of the time – who were Calvinists – recommends that the “Rationes” be read. Bathory likewise has the book sent to Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, who had just converted to Catholicism, who in turn asks on behalf of the king Piotr Skarga, then Rector of the Academy of Vilnius to translate the book into Polish.¹⁶

Skarga’s translation of the “Rationes Decem,” as he mentions in the title page includes two letters and a short account of Campion’s martyrdom “for a better understanding of the text.”¹⁷ The edition begins with a preface written by Skarga in which he addresses the reader saying that in this book, the reader shall be acquainted with the weaknesses of the adversaries of the Church who though far greater in number “could not gather themselves to accept the intellectual challenge to a dispute made by a single man.” This is followed by the translation of the “Challenge.” This, in turn, is followed by Campion’s letter to the Jesuit Father General in Rome, Everard Mercurian. Next comes what seems to be the standard texts printed in the various editions of the “Rationes” that I have inspected which are, the letter to the academic world and the actual Ten

treaty between the King of Poland and the town of Elbląg. Rogers also served as a spy for Francis Walsingham. C.f. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth Jan – June 1583*. London 1913, pp. 559-561. For a detailed account of James Bosgrave see, Skwarczyński, P. *Elsinore 1580: John Rogers and James Bosgrave*, *Recusant History* nr 16: 1982, pp. 1-16. It is worth noting that Bosgrave left Vilnius for England in 1580 the same year that Campion left Prague for England. Both men served in the English Mission and were both arrested, however, Bosgrave was eventually released in January 1585.

¹⁵ Bathory writes the Queen from his palace in Niepołomice on January 29th, 1583 requesting for the release of Bosgrave, “a professor of the University of Vilnius, a man of great piety and learning” for as the King “Assures her of his willingness to allow freedom to those of her subjects who go into his kingdom, and hopes that by her benignity and clemency, the like freedom may be granted to the Catholics in her dominions.” Cf. *Calendar of State Papers* London 1913, pp. 661-662. Paul Skwarczyński argues that it was in fact the intervention of the Protestant members of the Eastland Company and the councillors of Elbląg which eventually convinced the Queen to release Bosgrave. Cf. Skwarczyński, P. *Elsinore 1580: John Rogers and James Bosgrave*, “*Recusant History*,” McClelland, A. (ed.) London, issue no. 16: 1982, pp. 10-11.

¹⁶ Szumska, U., *Anglia a Polska w epoce humanizmu i reformacji*, Lwów 1938, pp. 91-92.

¹⁷ Kampion, E., *Dziesięć Wywodów*, Skarga, P. (przeł.), Wilno 1584, Aii. This particular copy is found in Kraków in the Czartoryski Library, shelfmark numer 16.cim.001174.

Reasons, or “Rationes Decem.” A detailed account of Campion’s arrest, torture, trial and martyrdom is likewise included in the end. Finally, Skarga closes this edition with a brief afterword, in which he invokes the reader to pray for the Catholics of England and of Poland lest they suffer a similar fate. I must add that of all of the “Rationes” editions that I have inspected so far, this particular edition, as of the moment, has been the most complete in that it includes Campion’s letters which has only circulated in manuscript form. Skarga by publishing the three letters and the text of martyrdom of Campion along with the text of the “Rationes” provides the contemporary reader with the necessary texts for the full appreciation of the context of the text, so much so, that Tadeusz Czacki reading this printed work over two hundred years later is able to fully reconstruct the historical background of the “Rationes”.

Another edition, equally interesting and unique is another Polish translation by Gaspar Wilkowski published likewise in Vilnius in 1584. Gaspar Wilkowski was the court physician of Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwill. Though nothing is yet known of his early life and education, we do know that he studied medicine in Germany and Italy. He was raised as an Anti-trinitarian or Arian, which is a member of a Calvinist Ecclesia Minor also known as The Polish Brethren. In 1583, Wilkowski converted to Catholicism and thence moved from Lublin to Vilnius to become the court physician and later proprietor of the Catholic printing press in Vilnius. Wilkowski opens his edition by dedicating it to the Polish Queen, Anna Jagiellończyk, commending her virtues and contrasting her to Elizabeth I, whom he calls a “murderer”¹⁸ by accusing her of yielding to the false counsels of her advisers thus implicating her of the murder of one of the country’s most learned men. This dedicatory preface is immediately followed by the “Rationes.” The Ten Reasons is in turn followed by a short explanation of the context of the text. It provides a brief summary of the letters that Campion writes to the Council and to the professors of Oxford and Cambridge. Then follows a short reply to an “antidotum,” that is as anonymous text, which refers to an earlier text printed by Wilkowski in which he explains the reasons for his conversion from Arianism. Compared to Skarga’s translation, Wilkowski’s translation is a more free translation which does not follow the original text as faithfully as Skarga. It can be speculated though that Wilkowski personally identified with Campion who likewise had converted from Calvinism and hence his translation can be seen as more of an apogee for his

¹⁸ Wilkowski, G. *Dziesięć Mocnych Dowodów*, Wilno 1584, *i - *iii, This copy is also found in Kraków in the Czartoryski library. Its shelfmark numer is 16.cim.000920.

own personal conversion. Striking similarities appear in both Skarga's and Wilkowski's texts. They both stress Champion's excellent scholarship and fine rhetoric. Both authors obviously had at their disposal Champion's letters and an account of the martyrdom. They also both mention Whitaker's and Drury's texts and so were aware of the polemical debate surrounding the text. Finally they both express the gross injustice of depriving an academic the right to an open intellectual dispute and of suppressing his scholarship by crude cruelty and force. The structure and overall similarities of both texts suggest that both translators had at their disposal Champion's letters and the "Rationes Decem," which as I have already stressed is indeed striking especially that in the first edition Stonor House edition, only the letter to the Academics and the "Rationes" proper is published, all the other letters, such as the "Challenge" or the letter to the Jesuit Father General, until the Polish translation, circulated in England in manuscript form.

Other texts, that demonstrate the interest in the "Rationes" is the 1605 edition published in Krakow¹⁹ and another counter reply published twice in 1610²⁰ and 1619²¹ by an eminent Arian theologian, Thomas Pisecius. Pisecius was born somewhere in the Silesian region and became one of the leading representatives of the Academia Racoviae, found in Raków, southeast of Poland. This small town, from the late sixteenth century up to the seventeenth century, became the leading intellectual centre of Arian thought with its own Academia and printing press owned by Jacobus Sternacki. In the early seventeenth century various publications were printed to reply to various apologetic texts. Pisecki's 1610 and 1619 editions, can still be found in many libraries in Poland. Both editions begin with a dedicatory epistle to Jan Sieniński, the founder of Raków, himself an Arian and one of the most generous patrons of the Academy. It is followed by a detailed reply to each one of Champion's ten

¹⁹ I have so far located three copies of the Kraków 1605 edition. One can be found in Kraków in the Jagiellonian library and its provenance indicates that it belonged to the Camaldose Collection in Bielany, shelfmark number BJ 40865. Another copy can be found in the University library of the University of Vilnius, shelfmark number III 3092-3092 and which previously belonged to the Jesuit College in Orsza. A third copy can be found in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, shelfmark number Vet. H2 g. 1 (1) and has the autograph provenance of belonging to William Grant.

²⁰ Pisecius, Thomas. *Responso ad Decem Rationes Edmundi Campiani Jesuitae*. Racoviae 1610. This particular copy can be found in the Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, shelfmark number 19.Cc.150.

²¹ Pisecius, Thomas. *Reponso ad Decem Rationes Edmundi Campiani Jesuitae* Racoviae 1619. This copy can be found in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, shelfmark number BJ 1018.

reasons. Finally, it ends with a short reply to Wilkowski's reply to the anonymous antidotum.

In spite of all these editions, one may still argue that the readership of Campion's "Rationes" was limited to those interested in theological polemics and dispute perhaps what popularized, or at least spread the awareness of the figure of Campion and existence of the "Rationes" and its Polish translation is Piotr Skarga's "Lives of Saints." This enormous encyclopedia of biographies of saints and martyrs of the Catholic Church first published in 1579 was to be republished numerous times throughout the centuries and played a crucial role in the intellectual and cultural education of Polish nobility and landed gentry. Moreover, from the second 1585 edition onwards, a chapter on the English Catholic martyrs was appended. In the brief account of Edmund Campion's life and martyrdom, Skarga narrates details of Campion that "man gifted with great scholarship and a fine voice." Here, we also learn of his public trial and martyrdom. Mention is also made of the genesis and context of the book, "Rationes Decem." To which Skarga adds, "Czytac to kazdy moze. Bo na jezyk polski tlumaczone." [It is there for anyone to read as it has been translated into Polish].²²

Historical events, it has been often said, take paradoxical turns. Deprived of the right to a public dispute, Campion put into ink the theological debate as he would have imagined it, thus in fact immortalizing his own intellectual vision of the debate. And ironically, the despotic suppression of the text not only failed to suppress the text, but led to an even wider and uncontrollable European interest, which defied the borders of space and time. One cannot help but bring to mind Campion's own words, which he wrote in his Virgilian epic while referring to the Christians of the Early Christian Church. Words that best describe Campion's fate and that of his text: "There are other heralds too ... whose deeds of renown, Time will not destroy nor age consume"²³

Abstract (Summary)

Edmund Campion (1540-1581) was a Jesuit priest and fellow of St. John's College in Oxford, who was, first and foremost, most famed in his time for his extraordinary rhetorical skills. Today, a glimpse of the exceptional oratorical skills of the man can be provided by books and very rare copies of which can be found in Poland's libraries. This attests

²² Skarga, P. *Żywoty Świętych*, Kraków 1592, p. 1162.

²³ Kilroy, G. *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription*. England 2009, p. 193

to the exceptional Polish interest in Campion's works throughout the centuries. This article presents the partial results of original research findings in an area often neglected by English and Polish literary historians. It aims to provide a descriptive survey of Campion's rare books which can be found in selected libraries in Poland. By employing methodology drawn from the disciplines of History of the Book and Philology, it is hoped that the reader can be thus more acquainted with the existence of the rare books found in Polish libraries and thus equip him with a better and deeper appreciation of the unique cultural and historical value of the rare books in Polish library holdings. The article begins by briefly describing the history of the provenance of some of the Campion rare books which we have today thanks to the bibliophile and collection initiatives of some of Poland's eminent statesmen such as Tadeusz Czacki and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. This is then followed by a brief history of Campion and his times. Particular emphasis shall be made on the history of the printing of "Rationes Decem," as it was printed secretly. Finally, a brief description of the relevant rare books, that is translations and later editions of the "Rationes" shall be briefly described. The wide interest, as best illustrated by Skarga's mentioning of the text or the Pisecius' reply, in the "Rationes" shall also be discussed as it testifies to the wide interest that the person of Campion and his text enjoyed in the times of the Polish Commonwealth.

Keywords:

Edmund Campion (1540-1581), recusant history, Elizabethan England, subversive publishing, Jesuit literature, Polish Commonwealth, sixteenth century rare books

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