

doi: 10.15584/tik.spec.eng.2020.5

Typographical Variants of the *Brest Bible*

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Abstract: The issue that is the main focus of this paper has not been of great interest to bibliology scholars. Even though one version of the *Brest Bible*, marked as B, was described quite thoroughly by Feliks Bentkowski already two hundred years ago, the catalogue descriptions have until today been based upon the scheme formulated by Karol Estreicher (senior). He identified three versions of the *Brest Bible*, which differ only in the title page. The fact is that there are only two versions, A and B, in existence, which differ in the first gathering (*) or (very rarely) in the first two gatherings (*, **). The gatherings of version B were established to have been printed in the 1580s or 1590s in Jan Karcan's press in Vilnius. Apparently, a certain number of the Old Testament gatherings A–Y were typeset and printed in Brest in 1563. There is only one extant complete copy of it with the newly printed gatherings, whereas in the remaining dozen or so copies that have survived it is only one, or rarely, two gatherings, and sometimes only single leaves. The search for versions of the Bible also made it possible to compile a list of 135 copies of the *Brest Bible* stored today in public, monastic and church collections in Europe and North America.

Keywords: *Brest Bible*, typographical variants, 16th century, Poland

Feliks Bentkowski was the first to describe the variants of the *Brest Bible*¹ two hundred years ago. The following paragraph is taken from the second volume of his *Historia literatury polskiej* (English: *History of the Polish Literature*; Warszawa 1814, pp. 513–515):

Two complete copies of this Bible which are found in the library of the Secondary School in Warsaw [Polish: Biblioteka Liceum Warszawskiego] display differences and these differences – to the best of my knowledge – are not mentioned by any of the bibliographers. A significant difference is already to be detected in the title. The title in one copy is framed in the rectangular printing decor with no figure thereon [currently referred to as variant B; note – S.S.-K.]; while the other features woodcuts surrounding the title presenting Adam and Eve, the crucified Christ, the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the like [currently referred to as variant A; note – S.S.-K.], in other words the same graphic which is found around the title of the New Testament in both of the copies. The second title page of both of the copies features different woodcuts of the coat of arms of the Radziwiłł family. One copy displays the bosom of the Radziwiłł eagle with one coat of arms featuring the emblem *Trąby* [English: *Trumpets*]

¹ BB = *Brest Bible* (Polish: *Biblia brzeska*), TV = *Vetus Testamentum*, TN = *Novum Testamentum*.

[variant B; note – S.S.-K.], while the other copy shows four coats of arms, that is *Trąby* as the hereditary coat of arms of Radziwiłł; the second – *Leliwa*, that is the coat of arms of the paternal grandmother; the third one – *Podkowa* coat of arms [English: *Horseshoe*], after the mother; and the fourth one – *Ryby* coat of arms [English: *Fish*], after the grandmother from the mother’s line [variant A; note – S.S.-K.]. On the next page the title of the dedication differs in terms of the distribution of the rows and syllables moved to the next line; the printing decors are distinctive; in the dedication itself some of the lines where the syllables were moved are not equal. The same is observed on the next pages where the preface starts with the elaboration on how beneficial the Holy Bible is. There the initial letter is distinctive and the lines – especially the first ones – are unequal. This tendency is noted also on the next pages where the summa of the Holy Bible starts. Notably, all the pages are alike with regard to the majority of lines and the catchwords on the pages. In the text of the Bible itself, no differences were noted whatsoever, no matter how diligently I compared the copies. However, at the end in the alphabet register to the Bible in question, under the letters J, K, L, M etc. up to Z [gathering Bb TN; note S.S.-K] the first characters are distinctively different since in one copy they are wider than in the other, which causes the following parts of these lines to become shorter and so the text is consequently moved to the next line. The last page with the data on the year and place of printing is also distinctive as regards the printing decors and a few letters. In the copy where the title is accompanied by the [biblical] figures the wording is as follows: “Ty nayprzedniejsze y nazacnieysze” etc. [English: “These best and most virtuous”] [variant A; note S.S.-K], and in the second one: “Ty nayprzedniejsze y nayzacnieysze” [variant B; note S.S.-K]. However, I did not find a difference based on the entirely changed word. In spite of these obvious variations in the form and not in the subject matter (except for the one case of the coat of arms described above), as noted in the 6 1/2 gatherings at the beginning and 3 1/2 gatherings at the end I do not think that these could be two distinctive editions of the whole book. This will surely be, however, a reprint of the initial parts and the index which might have – accidentally – been put aside and lost in the printing house.

Unfortunately, only one of these copies has survived to the present day – *the Bible* in variant A with the call no. Sd. 612.68, which is found in the University of Warsaw Library (Polish: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie). Nobody knows what happened to the copy of variant B that was in the possession of the Library of the Secondary School in Warsaw.

In the 13th volume of *Bibliografia Polska* (English: *Polish Bibliography*; Kraków 1894, pp. 16–17) Karol Estreicher (senior) described three variants of the BB differing to his mind exclusively by the title page:

There are copies where the title is accompanied by a four-line frame and on the reverse it bears the coat of arms of the Radziwiłł family together with the poem. Other copies end with the last leaf having the lines in a V shape and the title decorated with xylographs. The title pages are of two kinds as regards the surrounding graphics. The graphics with the ordinary title include Adam and Eve under the apple tree on the one side and the crucified Christ on the other side. At the bottom there are three other graphics. In the Jagiellonian Library [Polish: Biblioteka Jagiellońska] there is also copy with different redrawn title page. At the top we see the Baptism, on the sides – the crucified Christ and two virgins. On the other side there is Eve giving the apple to Adam. In both versions of the title there is the same the coat of arms and 24 rhymed lines in honour of Radziwiłł.

In the later literature there are no significant discussions on the issue of the variants of the BB. The authors repeat the conclusions of Estreicher²

² R. Pietkiewicz, *Pismo Święte w języku polskim w latach 1518–1638. Sytuacja wyznaniowa w Polsce a rozwój edytorstwa biblijnego* (Ph.D. dissertation), Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2002, p. 231 (<http://digital.fides.org.pl/Content/728/Pietkiewicz-Doktorat.pdf>).

Ku pilnieyszemu piśmie swietych czytaniu na-
 pomniante do tych ktorzy ten tablice bywać beda.

Nie bez przyczyny w tych piśmiach swietych Pan Bog sam (kto
 by to sobie wważyć chciał) na nas wolać raczy/ pobudzając nas prawie rozkazá-
 niem swym swietyr/ aby chymy Zakony tego/ prawa tego/ wśwaczenie przed ná-
 szymi oczyma mieli/ A w żadnych innych piśmiach sie wiecey nie obierali/ iedno w
 tych ktore sam Pan Bog prawie palcem swym napisawszy podać ie nam raczył:
 A Duch swiety przez wsta Prorokow y Apostolow swietyr sam ie obwołać y opowiedzieć ra-
 dził. Słusnie tedy każdy Krześcianski człowiek wшыtki inie piśmá Poganńskich ábo iátkich inych
 Doktorow w mniemyey wadze y siebie mieć musi/ pomniac ná te naprzednieysza piśm swietyr
 zacność y zálecenie/ ktore od samego Pána Boga mamy/ Ale ách nieśwetyr w iátkey dziś w nas po-
 wadze sa/ y iáko sie w nich Kochamy/ znácznie to konicznie sa rzeczy: Popyrzmy do zacnych Akáde-
 miy/ do zacnych škol/ w czym mlódosć Krześcianskich dziateł záprawowana bywa/ w iátkich
 piśmiach cwičenje ich bywa/ y tchley w roku wyrzyś w mlódzienca Krześcianskiego Owidyusza
 o nánie milosći/ Terenciusa/ Marcialisa/ Kátulusa/ Lucyaná/ Apulejusa/ y inie/ gódie ácz w
 iátku Lacińskim cwičenje być może/ wśwakoż wiecey z nich mlódosć Krześcianskich dziateł ná-
 ruszona bywa/ á gódiec zá nowotku to náše glińiane naczynie iátkimi nieprzyjtoynymi swárami
 nawre/ trudno áby tu lácom przyszedzy onemi sprośnemi przywárami smierdziec nie miáto/ A
 zwlászzá iz przyrodzenie náše z swey krewkosći wrodzoney záwždy iest przytkonnicze ku zlemu
 niż ku dobremu. Czyna nam záprawde stomote Żydowie y Turcy/ ktorzy wnet zá mlodu dziać
 tel swych w zádnie inie piśmá nie wpráwio/ iedno w ony ktore sobie oni wdele podania przod-
 kow swych/ á wedle mnimania swego zá swiate á zbáwienne byc rozumieja/ Jáko Żydowie kto-
 rzy ni wzym innym z mlodych lat swych sie nie cwięza iedno w Zakonie Bozym/ ktorzy chociaż o-
 ni Chálmudem swym ciagnac piśmá ku swey stronie zástaniáia/ á prze wyklad Kábinow swych
 ku prawdziwemu poznaniu tego przysc niemoga/ wśwakoż przedsie zadnego inego cwičenja zá
 mlodu dzieciom swym nie dawáia iedno Zakon Boży.

Ále żeby tu kto sobie ták rozumiec niechciał/ iz ia wшыtki piśmá onych Poganńskich Filozofow
 zgnánie chce/ áby dla cwičenja y ludzi Krześcianskich w używaniu byc nie miály/ tedy ia tu to
 meżnie nie zabraniam nikomu áby sie cwięczy niemial w náukách od ludzi onych zacnych tu po-
 zostawionych/ wódzac dobrze iz piśmá niektórych chociaż sami Poganý byli/ wśwakoż przedsie mo-
 żność Boża w onych meżoch moc swa okázowála/ iáko ten wśchmocny Pan w tym nazacniey-
 szym stworzeniu swoim w człowieku záwždy obraz Bostwa swego wśázac raczył/ że choc tego
 iákom niż rzekł znáomosci nie mieli/ á wždy przedsie piśac o rzeczách przyrodzonych rozumy
 swymi prawie dotykáli niebá/ y tego Pána wśchmocnego ktorego nieználi/ prawie iásnie w pi-
 smich swych okázowáli/ iáko Plato, Aristoteles, Seneca, Cicero, y inych wiele/ ktorzy piśac oko-
 lo porzadnego w cnotliwym zyciu zachowánia doszyby Krześciany byc mieli/ ták ták okázali
 powinnosć głowická pozejwego/ iáko stan swoy ná swiecie zachowác iest powinien. Tychci
 Autorow záden kto rozum ma słusnie poganic nie może/ áby w piśmiach ich ludzki Krześcianscy
 obierac sie niemieli/ gdyż y osobliwe obojrzzenie rozumu y wielki pożytek z nich brác moga/ y iá-
 ko pozejwie tu ná swiecie zyc máia.

A ták nie zabáwíatc dlusza rzeczja bráta Krześcianskiego/ to málućkie nápomnianie do nie-
 go przeloczyć mi sie zdálo/ pokazuiac iáka iest zacność piśmá Bożego przed wшыtkimi piśmami inie-
 mi/ y iáko w nas Krześcian ma byc wważone/ A day to Pánie Boże aby chymy my odlozywszy ná
 stronie Filozofia swiáta tego/ wnet zá mlodu wpráwowáli sie w Filozofia á w one wieczna ma-
 drość Syná Bożego/ ktora oto w tych tu swietyr Kásiągách dosyć dostáecznie nam iest podá-
 na/ á oprocz ktorey każdy glupim y śhalonym byc musi/ wedlut swiádecstwa Pánwá Apostolá
 swiátego/ ktory mądrosć swiáta tego śhalenstwem názywa w Bogá. Záprawdechy nam miály
 zabrzniec w wśkich nászych stowá one Boże/ ktore sam Bostmi wšty swemi do nas mowi/ Nie-
 chay nie odchodza Kásigi Zakonu tego od wšt twoich/ ále w nich bedzieś rozumísal we dnie y w
 nocy/ Ábys tego srszegł y to wश्यko czynil cokolwiek w nich iest napisano/ tedy wyprostnieś dro-
 gowa á zrozumieś ia: Nie wchylayze sie od slow Zakonu tego/ ani ná prawo ani ná lewo/ ábys
 zrozumial wश्यto co czynisz: Krotoc tu záprawde ále wśwolowicie Pan káždego Krześcianskie-
 go człowieka nápomniac raczy/ káždec tu slowko przetrázić musi serce wierneho/ iáko pilnosć/ z iá-
 ká y rostropnosć/ z iátkim baczeniem/ z iátkim wważeniem ma sie obierac okolo cztánia tych to
 piśm swietyr/ gódie tu oto zamierzon iest kres káždemu/ żeby sie názybt ani ná prawo ani ná
 lewo

Rozdziele
nie ziemie obiecane
ney między po-
kolenia Izrael
sic.

Księgi Jozuego.

List. 130.

Apim. 17.

1. Dział pokolenia Manasseowego. 2. A coż Salpadorowy. 3. Chananeysze holdownikiem. 14. Osiadłości przyczynio 11. no synowi Jozefowym.

1. **A**łże przyszedł dział pokolenia Manassego pirowodnego syna Jozefowego. Machirowi pirowodnie Manasseowemu oycu Galaada, który był mężem walecznym, y dostało mu 12.

1 w. 4. 110. 26. v. 30. 2.

1. Pothym sie dostało inem synom Manasseowem wedle domow ich synom Abiezer, synom Helek, y synom Eziel, synom Sychem, y synom Geter, y synom Semida. A ciele synowie Manassego syna Jozefowego meczyni wedle domow ich.

1 w. 4. 110. 17. v. 1. 3.

1. Ale Salpador syn Heferow, syn Galaadgo syna Machirowego, syna Manassego, niemał synow iedno diewki, ktorych imiona rysa, Malala, Uoi, Heala, Melchay, Tbersa.

4. Te przysly do Eleazara kapłana y do Jozuego syna Nunowego, tak je do kłazar, y tak mowily. Pan rozkazal Mojszowski, aby nam dal dzieć ichwo wposiod braciey naszey, y tak je im oddal dzieć ictwo wposiad braciey oycy ich, wedlug rozkazania Panskiego.

5. A przypady dzieć ic two Galaad y Bafan ktore byly za Jordanem.

6. Abowiem corki Manasseowe, otryzymały dzieć ictwo między syny iego, a ziemia Galaad dosthala sie innym synom Manasseowym.

7. A byla granica Manassego od Aser do Machmehath, ktore jest przeciwo Sychem, a idzie granica thaj po prawey stronie do mieszkancych w Eurbafue.

8. A byla ziemia Thafina Manassego, ale Thafina ktora jest przy granicy Manassego, byla synow Efraimowych.

9. A bieży granica thaj do Potoku Kanaku Poludniu regez potoku, a mieszkay Efraimitow sa między mieszkay Manasseowymi, ale granica Manassego a idzie od pulnocy onego potoku, a koczey sie w Morza Stronad Potudnia byla Efra

imowa, a strona od Pulnocy Manassego, y rozgranica ie Morza, a w Aser zbiegala sie od Pulnocy, a w Jhschar od Wschodu slonca.

12. A dostało sie Manasseowemu w Jhschar, y w Aser, Berhsan 3 mieszczyci iego, y Seblam 3 mieszczyci iego, przyszym mieszkacy w Dor 3 mieszczyci ich, tak je mieszkacy w Endor 3 mieszczyci ich, mieszkacy tez w Tanach 3 mieszczyci ich, y mieszkacy w Magedu 3 mieszczyci ich, trzy powiaty.

13. A niemogli synowie Manassego wyprzedzyc onych miast onych, co tam mieszkali, ale mieszkali tak o dzial Chananeyszy w oney ziemi.

14. Gdy sie tedy zmanciali synowie Izraelscy, wczymli Chananeyszy holdownikiem, a nie wygnali go.

15. A mowili synowie Jozefowi do Jozue, tymi slowy. Przecni mi dal w dzieć ictwo dzial iedno, y dzieć ictwo iedno, gdyżem ia iest lub wielki, tak i az do tego czasu blagoslawi mie Pan.

16. Tedy rzekl Jozue. Jest iez iest lub wielki, idzie do lasa, a tam sie ofady w ziemi Gerezycy, y Obzymyctey ieszyci iest goza Efraim ciasna.

17. Ktoremu odpowiedzili synowie Jozefowi, nie dohc nam na tey gorze, a wozy zelazne sa w wsek Chananeyskow, ktory mieszkaja w ziemie po dolinach, y tchozy mieszkaja w Berhsan, y w mieszczkach iego, tak je ci ktory mieszkaja w dolinie Jezrael.

18. A zekl tedy Jozue do domu Jozefowego, to iest do Efraim, y do Manasse, tymi slowy. Jest helkie ludem wielkim, a moc wazsa iest wielka, a thaj nie przesthaniecie na iednem dziale.

19. Abowiem y thaj goza wazsa bedzie y las ktory sobie wyrabacie, y bedziecie miec granice iego, bo wy pedzicie Chananeyszy, a chocias sa zelazne wozy iego, a chocias iest mocny.

Apim. 18.

1. Przyszedł do powiatow w Gilo. 2. Jozue pelsa ludzi ktchoryby podielili ziemie między imie sedmimo pokolenie. 9. Dział opisana iest w Księgach. 10. Jozue rozdziala 11. Dział Beniaminow.

x uij Tedy

*Wydziele
nie ziemie obce
całey mieczy po
kolemia Izraela
sua.*

Księgi Jozuego.

List. 130.

Alpit. 17.

1. Dział pokolenia Manasseowego 3. 2. corder Salsadonych. 13. Chananeyczyt batdownitkiem. 14. Osiadłości przyszymo no synom Jozefowym.

Alże przyszedł dział pokolenia Manasse piworodnego syna Jozefowego Machirowi piworodnego Manasseowemu u ocy Galaada / który był między walecznym / dostalomu

Im. 4. Mo. 26. v. 30

2. * Porobem się dostało inem synom Manasseowem wedle domow ich synom Abiezer / synom Helek / y synom Eziel / synom Sychem / y synom Hefer / y synom Semida. A cie są synowie Manasse syna Jozefowego między innymi wedle domow ich.

Im. 4. Mo. 27. v. 1.

3. † Ale Salsad senn Heferow / senn Galaada / senn Machirowego / senn Manasseowe miental / synow iedno dziewu / ktorach imiona ty są. Manala / Noa / Hegla / Melcha / y Thersa

4. Ty przyskli do Eleazara kapłana y do Jozuego syna Nunowego / tak że y do szajez / y tak mówily. Pan rozkazał Mojżeszowi / aby nam dal dziedzictwo w poszod braciej naszey / y także im oddal dziedzictwo w poszod braciej owa ich / według rozkazania Pańskiego.

5. Y przypady dzielic działow hda Manasse / oprocz ziemie Galaad y Basan ktore były za Jordanem.

6. Abowiem corki Manasseowe / oter jymaly dziedzictwo między syny tego / a ziemie Galaad dosthala się inim synom Manasseowym.

7. Y była granica Manasse od Aser do Machmortharb / ktore jest przeciwo Sychem / a idzie granica rha po prawey stronie do mieszkaiacych w Ertchafue.

8. Y była ziemia Thafua Manasse / ale Thafua ktorora jest przy granicy Manasseowej / była synow Efraimowych.

9. Y bieży granica rha do Poroku Kano ka Poluoniu tegoz poroku / a miasta ty Efraimow są między miastami Manasseowemi / ale granica Manasseowa idzie od pulnoocy onego poroku / a łozczy się r Morza

imowa / a stroną od Pulnoocy Manasseowa / y rozganiza te Morze / a w Aser zbiegają się od Pulnoocy / a w Isaschar od Wschodu słonca.

11. Y dostało się Manasseowi w Isaschar / y w Aser / Berhsan z miasteczki tego / y Teblaam z miasteczki tego / przytym mieszkaiacy w Dor z miasteczki ich / także mieszkaiacy w Ertchafue z miasteczki ich / mieszkaiacy też w Tanach z miasteczki ich / y mieszkaiacy w Magedu y z miasteczki ich / trzy powiaty.

12. A niemogli synowie Manasseowi wypędzić z onych miast onych / co tam mieszkali ale mieżkali tak dochtal Chananeyczyt w oney ziemi.

13. Gor się thedy zmacniali synowie Izraelsey / wezryli Chananeyczyt / hol downitkiem a nie wygnali go.

14. Y mówili synowie Jozefowi do Jozue tymi słowy. Przyczem mi dal w dziedzictwo dział ieden / y dziedzictwo iedno / gdyżem ja iest lud wielki / tak iż aż do tego czasu błogosławimie Panu.

15. Tedy rzekł Jozue. Jezliż jest lud wielki / idźcie do lasa / a tam się osadz w ziemi Hereszefsey / y Obrymsfsey / jezliż jest góra Efraim ciałna.

16. Kteremu opowiedzieli synowie Jozefowi nie dosyć nam na tey gorze / a wozy żelazne są w wśzech Chananeyczyt / w ktorzy mieszkają w ziemie po dolinach / y ktorzy mieszkają w Berhsan y w miasteczkach tego / także y ci ktorzy mieszkają w dolinie Jezrael.

17. Rzekł tedy Jozue do domu Jozefowego / toiest do Efraim y do Manasse tymi słowy. Jezli helcie ludem wielkim / a moc wasza iest wielka / a tak nie przesthaniecie na iednem dziale.

18. Abowiem y rha góra w rha bez dzie y las / ktory sobie wyrabacie / y bedziecie mieć granice tego / bo wy y pedzicie Chananeyczyt / a choć są żelazne wozy tego / y doctiaz iest mocny.

Alpit. 18.

1. Przyberek postawiony w Se. 1. Jozue postwa ludzi ktorzyby podielił ziemie między imie siedmiu pokolenia. 2. Ziemia opisana iest w Ks. 13. 10. Y polem reszdu lona. 11. Dział Bemiaminow.

X iij Tedy

or omit the issue of variants.³ M. Topolska is the only one to mention the four variants of the BB, but her claim has never been supported by any argument.⁴

Let us come back to the variants identified by Estreicher. On the basis of his description, in most of the catalogues of the Polish books of the 16th century it was accepted that variant A covers copies with the title page decorated with the xylographs with Adam and Eve on the left and the Crucifixion on the right while variant B has the reverse sequence. Moreover, it was wrongly assumed that the copies without the title page cannot be properly identified (which will be elaborated on later in the discussion).⁵ It was only in the catalogue of the Jagiellonian Library that variant B was described as the copy with the title page without the figure-based xylographs (with the title in the four-line frame).⁶

A close look at the copy of the Bible from the Jagiellonian Library with the call no. Cim. F. 8323⁷ allows us to state that the redrawn title page described by Estreicher is not an actual copy of the lost 16th century original, but rather a remake altered by the 19th century drawer. At the bottom of the redrawn page there is a note: "Pisane przez Antoniego Hanna Ucznia Klasy IV Warszawskiego Liceum 1814 Roku" (English: "Drawn by Anthony Hann, student of the fourth grade of the Warsaw Secondary School in 1814").⁸ This testified to the fact that the page in question was created (probably upon the request of Bentkowski) on the basis of the copies of the BB located in the library of the Secondary School and these are admittedly known for the exact description by Bentkowski himself. He described variant A in the following way: "there are woodcuts around the title showing Adam and Eve, the crucified Christ, Resurrection of Christ etc. **In other words, the very same graphics that are found around the title of the New Testament in both of the copies** (emphasis added S. S.-K.)." This means that variant B with the title page presenting Adam and Eve on the right does not exist. The real variant B covers copies with the title in the four-line

³ I. Kwilecka, "Die Brester Bibel. Kulturgeschichtliche und sprachliche Fragen der Übersetzung," in: *Biblia Slavica*, Serie II: *Polnische Bibeln*, Band 2: *Brester Bibel 1563*, Teil 2: *Księgi Nowego Testamentu. Komentarze*, Paderborn etc.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001, pp. 1485–1660 (here, pp. 1497–1511: "Druck und Inhalt der Bibel").

⁴ M. Topolska, *Czytelnik i książka w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w dobie Renesansu i Baroku*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo, 1984, p. 88.

⁵ For example: *Katalog druków XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, edited by T. Komender and H. Mieczkowska, Vol. 2, Part 1, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1998, pp. 313–315; *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich. Polonica wieku XVI*, edited by M. Bohonos, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, 1965, pp. 51–52.

⁶ *Katalog poloników XVI wieku Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, edited by M. Malicki, E. Zwinogrodzka, Vol. 1, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1992, No. 191.

⁷ Copy from the collection of Wincenty Krasiński.

⁸ Antoni Hann (1796–1861), a chemist and lithographer, professor at the Institute of Technical College in Warsaw.

frame, just like the copy described by Feliks Bentkowski or located in the Jagiellonian Library under the call number Cim. F. 8324.

The number of copies of variant B preserved is relatively small. These include: the copy from the Jagiellonian Library mentioned earlier, marked with the call number Cim. F. 8324⁹; the copy from the British Library in London,¹⁰ call number C.11.d.6; the copy from the National Library of France (French: Bibliothèque nationale de France) in Paris with the call number Res-A-458¹¹ and the copy from the Russian State Library (Russian: Российская государственная библиотека) in Moscow with the call number MK VII-12497.¹² Special attention is to be paid to the copy of the BB from Paris. It needs to be noted that this copy lacks the title page, but it is the only one that has the second gathering (marked as **) set anew. The full index is preserved only in two copies of variant B (the one from Krakow and the one from London). In both of them the last five leaves with the index are identical with variant A, thus it varies from the missing variant B from the Library of the Secondary School in Warsaw.

Variant B of the BB differs from variant A not only by the title page: the first gathering, marked with *, was set anew and in one aforementioned case this also applies to the second gathering, marked with ** (il. 1). Consequently, variants A and B can be distinguished not only by the title page but also by the first seven leaves. A relevant example here is the BB with the call number XVI.F.4017 from the Ossolineum Library (Polish: Biblioteka Ossolineum), referred to as an indefinite variant,¹³ starting with leaf *₇ which belongs to variant A. However, if a copy starts with leaf **₁ of the variant A, it is not possible to establish whether the entire copy represents variant A or B. In such cases the missing gathering marked *, which would determine the outcome, could possibly be variant A as well as variant B (as was the case in the copies from Krakow and London, where only the gathering * is variant B and the gathering ** is variant A).

The leaves of variant B, unlike the leaves of variant A were not pressed in Brest. Decors (frames, vignettes, most of the initials, including the ornamented initial SA starting the dedication for the king) used in variant B are distinctive from the ones used in variant A and – in general – they do not fit in the decorative repertoire of the printing house in Brest. The decors cor-

⁹ Incomplete copy: lack of l. *3 and empty leaves: *8 and Eeeee4 in TV; lack of leaves Aa5 and empty leaf Bb6 in the TN.

¹⁰ Complete copy from the collection of Józef Andrzej Załuski (marked by the owner with six asterisks as a very rare work).

¹¹ Incomplete copy: lack of the title page and 6 leaves of the index (only the first leaf of index survived: Aa5).

¹² Incomplete copy: an untypical title page with the title *Księgi Starego Testamentu*, l. *2 variant A (both leaves from another copy), lack of the gathering ** and five leaves of the index (l. Aa5 and Aa6 survived); that is leaves *3–*7 belong only to variant B.

¹³ *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich. Polonica wieku XVI*, p. 52.

responding to variant B are found in the works released from Jan Karcan’s printing house in Vilnius, which was in operation in the years 1580–1611. In particular, the somewhat asymmetric vignette at the back of the title page in variant B is characteristic here. An identical vignette, slightly disfigured and damaged on the left, is found on the leaf +++_3 verso in the work *Radivilias* by Jan Radwan, printed at Jan Karcan’s printing house in 1588 and the same vignette, undamaged, can be seen on the leaf ++_4 verso in the work *Apologia więtsza* (English: *Major Apology*) by Marcin Krowicki, published at the said printing house in 1584. The latter work includes almost all the decors (vignettes, liners, initials) used for printing the leaves of variant B.

Hence, all this evidences that it was at Jan Karcan’s printing house at the end of the 1580s or at the beginning of the 1590s that the two additional gatherings of the BB, that is the leaves of variant B, were printed. The additional service was most probably commissioned by the Congregation of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Vilnius which was the beneficiary of all the remaining copies of the BB,¹⁴ based on the testament of Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black.” It may also be added here that the xylograph of the coat of arms of the Radziwiłł family in variant B was taken over by Jan Karcan from the Vilnius printing house of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, where it was used for *Oratio funebris in laudem... Nicolai Radivilii* by Andrzej Wolan, printed in 1584.

Optimistically, if we assume that only every tenth copy of variant B survived then we will still get 50 copies; if we assume that every twentieth copy survived, then we get 100 copies with the initial gatherings missing. The question as to why this happened remains unanswered and it needs to be noted here that a year and a half passed between the time the printing of the BB finished in September 1563 and the time the remaining stock of the Bible was transferred to the Congregation of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Vilnius after the death of Mikołaj Radziwiłł, and this was enough time to make the stock complete.

The limited search for variant B of the BB resulted in the finding of yet another variant which I initially described as variant C.¹⁵ The unique copy

¹⁴ U. Augustyniak, *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, issue 2, corrected and extended, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2014, p. 19.

¹⁵ While searching through the catalogues I found that in some libraries the BB is still referred to as socinian. This is the case in such renowned institutions as the British Library in London, Cambridge University Library, the Austrian National Library (German: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library and the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (Russian: Российская национальная библиотека). This opinion is grounded in a false syllogism: the people from Pińczów = the socinians, the Pińczów Bible = the Socinian Bible. It was Lutheran pastor, Sylvius Wilhelm Ringeltaube, who popularised this opinion. In his work entitled *Gründliche Nachricht von Polnischen Bibeln* (Gdańsk 1744) he devoted considerable space to proving the thesis about the alleged antitrinitarism in the translation of the Pińczów Bible (pp. 83–114, chapter “Von denen polnischen Bibel-Übersetzungen derer Socinianer-Gemeinen, vor und nach

of this variant is found at the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum (Polish: Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego), branch of the National Museum in Kraków (Polish: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie). The volume, slightly damaged, is marked with the call number MNK VIII–XVI.1437. The following elements are missing: leaves from *₁ to *₅, *₈ (empty), **₁, leaves TV: 1, 38–41, 55, the index is missing in the TN (leaves Aa₅–Bb₅). The initial leaves that survived, *₆ and *₇, are compliant with the initial leaves of variant A. Notably, leaves 1–132 TV (gatherings A–Y) were set anew. Variant C, as regards the content is identical with variant A: each page of variant C starts and ends as its prototype from variant A. The differences are as follows: different use of initials and decors (although the same repertoire of these was used, il. 2, 3), distinctive shortening of headings and also significantly rarer use of rounded “r” in variant C. Moreover, there are differences in the way in which words are divided and in the use of division marks and also in the orthography (examples from leaf 4: in variant A: “sthało się”, in variant C: “stało się,” “grunth” – “grunt,” “sinowie” – “synowie,” “Japhet” – “Jafet”). The remaining differences testify to the fact that the leaves of variant C were set together by another typesetter.

The leaves of variant C, from gathering A in particular, are found in various combinations,¹⁶ both in the copies from variants A and B. The examples are as follows:

- in the BB from the University of Lodz Library (Polish: Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego) (call no. 102319)¹⁷ and the one from the State Library of Württemberg (German: Württembergische Landesbibliothek) in Stuttgart (call no. Bb poln. 156301)¹⁸ the whole gathering A (leaves 1–6) comes from variant C,
- in the BB from the Scientific Library of Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University (Ukrainian: Наукова бібліотека Одеського національного університету імені І. І. Мечникова) (call no. Воронцов/13695)¹⁹ leaves

ihrer oeffentlichen Absonderung von der Reformirten Kirchen in Pohlen und Litthauen”). False assumption about the antitrinitarism of the BB has persisted in spite of the fact that many academic dissertations have been written about its compliance with the traditional trinitology and christology. The examples include: the essay of Eduard von Muralt (“Die Polnische Bibel von 1563, keine Socinianische,” *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekwissenschaft*), published in 1865 (pp. 178–182); and the latest paper by Rafał Marcin Leszczyński from 2013 (“Biblia brzeska – ewangelicka czy antytrynitarna?,” in: *Biblia brzeska: historia – język – teologia. Materiały z konferencji we Wrocławiu 8 czerwca 2013 roku*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Fot-Graf, 2013, pp. 55–104).

¹⁶ Leaves 1–6 of variant A can be easily distinguished from the leaves of variant C. The headings of the chapters in variant A are written as “Kapituła” and in variant C: “Kapitu”.

¹⁷ Incomplete copy: lack of title page and leaf 1.

¹⁸ Complete copy from the collection of Josias Lorck, Bible collector and Lutheran priest from Copenhagen. This copy served as the basis for the reprint of the BB in the series *Biblia Slavica*, Paderborn etc.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001.

¹⁹ The copy comes from the library of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and was purchased for Voroncov Library (Russian: Библиотека Воронцовых) in Berlin in 1869. It is surely one of

- 1, 2, 5, 6 come from variant C. Admittedly, this copy lacks leaf 3, and leaf 4 is seriously damaged, but the fragment that survived undoubtedly belongs to variant A (most probably the same holds true for the parallel leaf 3). Interestingly, handwritten supplements of leaves 3 and 4 were based on variant C,
- in the copy from the Jagiellonian Library (call no. Cim. F. 8324, variant B) leaves 1 and 6 – from variant C,
 - in the copies from the British Library in London (call no. C.11.d.6, variant B) only leaf 1 – from variant C,
 - in the BB from the Austrian National Library (German: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) (call no. 4.C.9.)²⁰ gathering A – from variant C.
- There are also copies of variant A, where other gatherings or leaves from variant C are found.
- in the copy from the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Polish: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II) (call no. XVI. 1868) gatherings D and E (leaves 19-30) belong to variant C,
 - in the copy from the University of Manchester (John Rylands Library, call no. 19175) gatherings E and F belong to variant C,
 - in the copy mentioned above from the State Library of Württemberg gathering F (leaves 31-36) belongs to variant C (apart from gathering A),
 - in the copy from the Cambridge University Library (Bible Society, call no. BSS.232.B63)²¹ gathering P – from variant C,
 - in the copy from the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in L'viv (Ukrainian: Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені Василя Стефаника) (call no. СТ-IV 5865)²² leaves 57, 58, 87, 88 and gathering Q (leaves 91–96) – from variant C.

If we take a closer look at the gatherings of variant C, we can notice that gathering A differs from the others. The initials "K" used in the word "Kapitu" in gathering A are in perfect condition and in the other gatherings of the variant they are extremely damaged. Thus gatherings A of variant

the two copies of the BB from the collection of Niemcewicz that were put to auction in Poznań in 1833 (*Katalog książek w różnych językach w drodze publicznej licytacji sprzedawać się mających w Poznaniu dnia 1. lipca i następnym 1833 roku*, Poznań 1833, p. 42).

²⁰ This copy was sent to Emperor Maximilian II by Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Black" in August 1564 (I. Kwilecka, „Z dziejów przekładu pierwszej polskiej Biblii protestanckiej,” in: *Nowy Testament w dziejach i kulturze Europy*, Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Szkoły Nauk Humanistycznych i Społecznych UZ, 2001, p. 149). The top cover of this copy bears the donation-related note of Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Black" which reads as follows: "Sacrat[is] mae M[ae]stati Regiae Maximiliano/ Divina favente Clementia: Romanorum/ Vngariae, Bohemiae etc Regi etc etc/ D[omi]no D[omi]no et D[omi]no suo Longe Cle-/ mentissimo Nicolaus Radzywyl etc. deditissime/ observa[n]tiae necno[n] fidei et perpetuae Ser-/ vitutis ergo D D: [dono dedit]."

²¹ Copy from the Library of the Camaldolese Monastery in Wigry (Polish: Biblioteka Klasztoru oo. Kamedulów w Wigrach).

²² Copy from the book collection of Gwalbert Pawlikowski.

C were set for printing and printed in the initial phase of pressing the BB, and gatherings B-Y – much later, possibly after the whole stock was printed. The initials are clearly worn out on many leaves of the New Testament, so the leaves of variant C could have been additionally printed before the TN was set for printing. We do not know the reason for the additional printing of the gatherings of variant C. It is possible that in the case of gatherings B-Y it was caused by some organisational confusion which came to light later when the stocktaking was conducted before the assembling of the books. Irrespective of the reason and the order in which the gatherings were pressed, the gatherings of variant C constitute the reprint used for complementing the missing elements during the preparation of the stock of the BB. This is confirmed by the copy of the BB that was sent to Vienna in August 1564 and included the leaves of gathering A from variant C.

Thus, it seems that it is better not to use the working term “variant C” to the benefit of “reprint A I” (with reference to gathering A) and “reprint A II” (with regard to gatherings B-Y). When we adopt this terminology, we can describe the individual copies of the BB more easily and we maintain a transparent division between variants A and B. This approach is supported by the fact that – as was already hinted upon – the leaves of variant B, unlike the leaves of variant A and the leaves from reprint A, were not printed in Brest.

Furthermore, it needs to be noted that there are differences in the composition between some leaves of variant A. There are copies of the BB where leaf 1 TV has the heading: *Pierwsze Księgi Moizesowe* (English: *The First Books of Moses*), for example, the copy from the Scientific Library of PAAS and PAS in Krakow (Polish: Biblioteka PAU i PAN w Krakowie) (call no. 4048 St. dr.) and the one from the Raczyński Library (Polish: Biblioteka Raczyńskich) in Poznań (call no. 50 IV) – or (most often) the heading: *Pierwsze Księgi Moizesowe*.²³ Leaf 4 TV is found in four versions (not taking into account the reprint A I): with the wrong signature mark: Aiii (most often) or the correct signature mark A iiii (copy from the National Museum in Krakow, call no. MNK VIII–XVI.1) and also with incomplete signature mark: iii (copy from the Russian State Library, call no. MK VII-12496) or iiii (copy from the Main Library of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, Polish: Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II w Krakowie, call no. st. dr. 159). Identification of leaf 6 is usually printed on the margin of the leaf and in the copy from the Raczyński Library (call no. 50 IV) over the column. The wrong catchword “dały mu” instead of “dał iemu” is found exclusively in the leaf 31 verso in the copy from the Kórnik Library, scientific unit of Polish Academy of Sciences (Polish: Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN) (call no. Cim. F. 4057²⁴). In the last line of leaf 27 in

²³ Cf. M. Borecki, *Kształtowanie się normy językowej w drukach polskich XVI wieku (na przykładzie oboczności typu “pierwszy/pierwszy”),* Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, 1974, p. 224.

²⁴ Copy from the book collection of Tytus Działyński.

some copies we have “losem” instead of “głosem”, e.g. in the copies from the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (Lithuanian: Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka) (call no. L-16/2-24) and Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in L’viv (call no. CT-IV 5865). It emerges from what has been said, that during the printing process minor errors in the set-up were corrected, without removing the gatherings already pressed.²⁵ The same holds true for errors in foliation. These errors are found in a number of places in the TV. Some of them were corrected during the printing process (not always in the proper way), and not all the gatherings were rectified.²⁶ Since there are many gatherings with wrong and correct numbers, there are only a few copies of the TV having identical foliation. In turn, in the TN there are only two errors in foliation: the number 23 is pressed twice and the number 84 is missing. These two errors are found in all the copies of the TN.

The title pages of the TV are a somewhat different case. Apart from the title pages of variant A and variant B, we know about a few distinctive specimens which may be divided into two groups: those printed in Brest in 1563 and those printed in other printing houses after 1563.

The unique title pages printed in Brest in 1563 belong to:

- in the copy from the Russian State Library with the call no. MK VII-12497 there is a leaf with the title: *Księgi Starego Testámentu* (English: *The Books of the Old Testament*), a true equivalent of the title page of TN. The verso of this leaf is empty and thus it can be considered as a leaf with a subheading which was to directly precede *Pierwsze Księgi Mojżeszowe*. It is difficult to say what the purpose of this modification was. It might have been a case of a special order from the client. The usage of vignettes (under the wording of the title) points to the fact that the specimen was produced by the end of the production process of the Bible.

The unique title pages printed after 1563 belong to:

- the copy of the BB from the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in L’viv (call no. CT-IV 81268)²⁷ proceeded by two title pages:

²⁵ R. Pietkiewicz, op. cit., p. 231, states as follows: “While examining this copy for the purposes of this study it was noticed that there is one more difference in the printing: there are copies where in the list of the biblical books (l. *8v) [sic, should be: l. *7v; note by S. S.-K.] Est is placed among Ne and Ps – for example in Wr BU 437427, where one of the readers manually corrected this error. In the other copies (for example, Wa BU Sd. 612.65) Est is correctly printed between Rt and 1 Sm.” The fact is that in the copy from the Wrocław University Library (Polish: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu), as is the case with the Warsaw copy and others, Est is improperly placed between Rt and 1 Sm, and the reader noted that – actually – Est is found between Ne and Job. This error in the list of the biblical books was also copied in variant B.

²⁶ For example: leaves Cc4, Cc5, Cc6, Dd1 are marked as 154, 154, 155, 157 or correctly: 154, 155, 156, 157; leaf Dd4 bears the number 159 or it bears the correct number 160; leaf Ddd4 is assigned the number 288 or the correct number 298 etc. In some copies the incorrect foliation of leaves 111–113 was corrected by pasting labels with the proper numbers 110–112, for example, in the copies from the University Library in Warsaw (Polish: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie) (call numbers Sd. 612.65 and Sd. 612.68).

²⁷ Copy from the collection of German Hołowiński.

the coloured title page of variant A and an untypical one, without any decors.

- the copy of the BB from the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, branch of the National Museum in Krakow (call no. MNK VIII-XVI.3), has a title page fabricated from the title page of TN and from a leaf with a title following the composition of the original title page of the BB.

It has not been established in which printing houses these specimens were made. We may only assume that they were both pressed, as was the case with the title page of variant B, upon the commission of the Vilnius congregation.

- In the copy from the Scientific Library of PAAS and PAS in Krakow (call no. 4048 St. dr.) and from the Polish Library in Paris (French: Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris, Polish: Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu) (call no. FA 2111 IV) the title pages are copies produced at the end of the 19th century. It is possible that they were both produced by Władysław Bartynowski. This well-known numismatist and bibliophile was also occupied with making autographs and lithographs on the title pages (as well as larger fragments) of the early printed books. *Katalog tytułów i kart z dzieł dawnych polskich oryginalnych i faksimilowanych które w celu kompletowania książek rzadkich a uszkodzonych nabywać można* (English: *Catalogue of the titles and leaves from ancient Polish books, original and facsimiled, which can be purchased to complete rare and damaged volumes*), published by Bartynowski in 1895 covers a list of 617 early printed books for which the copies of the title pages could be bought. We find the following information in the table of contents under number 31: „Biblia (Radziwiłłowska). Brześć 1563. / fol. Tyt. fdr. 2.50. / Rejestr. k. Bb5. agr. 1.20” (English: The Bible of the Radziwiłł family. Brest 1563. / folio. Title – photolithography 2.50 Gulden. / Register. l. Bb5. – autography 1.20 Gulden).

Let me also make a point about the title pages of the BB fabricated with the use of the original title pages of the TN. The fabricated titles are found in the copy from the National Museum in Krakow (call no. MNK VIII-XVI.3) already referred to and the copies from the Cieszyn Library (Polish: Książnica Cieszyńska) (call no. CL 1116 IV and BD 4357 IV), Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in L'viv (call no. CT-IV 5865) and from the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Ukrainian: Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського) (call no. In. 4513). Most probably these title pages are the effect of the work of antiquarian booksellers who aimed at increasing the price of defective copies of the BB.²⁸

²⁸ Another method of fabrication involved joining defective copies of the BB. For example, George John, Earl Spencer paid 100 guineas to purchase two incomplete copies of BB from which one complete copy was set (Th. F. Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana or a Descriptive Catalogue of the Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century, and of Many Valuable First Editions, in the Library of George John Earl Spencer*, Vol. I, London 1814, p. 89). Currently, this copy is to be found at the University of Manchester (John Rylands Library, call number 19175).

In the case of some copies we may assume that the Protestant origin of the translation was intentionally blurred. That could be true for the copy of the BB from Kiev (call no. In. 4513) which is devoid of the initial leaves and the title page is fabricated according to the frontispiece of the Catholic *Bible of Jakub Wujek* (Krakow 1599). Another representative of this group is clearly the BB from the Cieszyn Library (call no. CL 1116 IV), where the original initial leaves were substituted with handwritten ones copied from Catholic *Biblia Leopoldy* (English: *Leopolda's Bible*; Krakow 1561).²⁹

Incidentally, the opinions of Irena Kwilecka and Rafał Andrzej Leszczyński regarding the blurring the Protestant character of the BB as a common practice³⁰ do not seem to be fully justified. The fact that there is a significant number of the BB without an initial and final leaves results from many centuries of damage. It is a phenomenon that affected all of the early printed books, irrespective of their confessional adherence. For example, none of the copies of the *Bible of Jakub Wujek* located at the Jagiellonian Library has the frontispiece: the original title page is preserved in only one of them (call no. Cim. F. 8310) and one copy in question can be considered to be heavily damaged rather than just defective.³¹ Finally, we

²⁹ The part that belongs to the handwritten manuscript covers the beginning of the TV to leaf 3 inclusive and leaves 141-143 of the TN. Its contents are as follows: the title which is faithfully reproduced; the name Cyprian Bazylik added under the poem on the reverse side of the title and – further on – the excerpt from the dedication to the king, Zygmunt August, (with changed heading and the first lines). Next, instead of chapters: *O Pożytku Pisma świętego...*, *Summa...*, *Porządek...*, *Napominanie...* and *Tablica* (English: *On the benefit of the Holy Scripture...*, *Summa...*, *Order...*, *Admonishment...* and *Board...*), there are lists that were closely copied from *Biblia Leopoldy* (Krakow 1561): *Summa wszystkiego Pisma świętego, Starego y Nowego Zakonu...*, *Przedmowa Świętego Hieronima na Pięćoro Ksiąg Moizeszowych, List Świętego Hieronima który pisał do Paulina Kapłana...* (English: *Summa of the whole Holy Scripture, of the Old and New Testament...*, *Preface of Saint Jerome to the Five Books of Moses, Epistle of Saint Jerome which was written to the priest Paulinus...*). Moreover, leaves 1–3 of the TV and at the end the leaves of the TN (141–143) were complemented on the basis of the text of *Biblia Gdańska* (English: *Gdansk Bible*; Gdansk 1632).

³⁰ I. Kwilecka, "Biblia Leopoldy i Biblia brzeska. Tradycja a nowoczesność przekładu," in: *Biblie staropolskie. Teksty wykładów wygłoszonych na sympozjum naukowym zorganizowanym przez Komisję Słowistyczną Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Poznaniu 28 października 2002 roku*, edited by I. Kwilecka, Poznań: Ośrodek Wydawnictw Naukowych PAN, 2003, p. 37; eadem, "Biblia brzeska, jej dzieje i znaczenie," *Nauka* 2006, No. 3, p. 119; R. A. Leszczyński, "Biblia brzeska – następne pokolenia," in: *Biblia brzeska: historia – język – teologia. Materiały z konferencji we Wrocławiu 8 czerwca 2013 roku*, ed. R. M. Leszczyński, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Fot-Graf, 2013, pp. 109–110.

³¹ It needs to be added that the BB was often stored in the Catholic monastery libraries and – as a rule – it remained in good condition there. The examples include the Library of the Camaldolese Monastery in Wigrzy (Polish: Biblioteka Klasztoru oo. Kamedułów w Wigrach) (now in Cambridge University Library), the Society of Jesus Library in Vilnius (Polish: Biblioteka Jezuitów w Wilnie) (two copies which are now lost, see M. B. Topolska, "Biblioteki w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku," *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 1983, Issue 20, p. 159), the and the Library of the Bernardine (Franciscan Observant) Monastery in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (Polish: Biblioteka Klasztoru oo. Bernardynów

cannot exclude the possibility that after variant B was used up, the Vilnius congregation (the owner of the stock) distributed copies of the BB without the initial leaves, that is starting from *Pierwsze Księgi Mojżeszowe*.

To conclude, the basic stock of the BB was supplemented with elements from the additional reprints. Currently, we may distinguish four reprints:

- gathering A TV (reprint A I) produced in Brest in 1563;
- gatherings B–Y TV (reprint A II) also produced in Brest in 1563;
- gatherings * and ** TV (variant B) produced at Jan Karcan's printing house in Vilnius at the end of the 16th century;
- gathering Bb TN, with regard to which we may assume that it was also produced at Jan Karcan's printing house (it emerges from the description by Bentkowski that the initials on the additionally printed leaves of the index were different from those used in the basic stock).³² We should also mention here a few additionally printed title pages: one produced in Brest and the rest in the unknown printing houses at the beginning of the 17th century (one) and in the 19th century (two).

In the European and American libraries, both public and belonging to museums, seminaries, monasteries or congregations, there are 135 copies of the Brest Bible and one third of these are complete or bear minor traces of defects. The number of copies that are in private hands is not known. We must agree with I. Kwilecka who claims that the BB is among those Polish prints from the 16th century that survived in relatively good condition.³³ The number of copies of the BB that survived encourages us to verify claims about the number of copies published in total. It is difficult to conclude that there were only 300³⁴ or even 500 copies released.³⁵ Most probably, the number of copies published amounted to 1000. This shows how spectacular the initiative of Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black” was. Surely,

w Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej) (the copy is also lost). The last copy was discussed by Samuel Bogumił Linde from Krakow in his letter addressed to Józef Ossoliński (25 Aug. 1799): “One day I made a trip to Kalwaria where I saw ... the whole *Radziwiłł Bible* in the possession of the proud Bernardines...; I only had the chance to see it because they did not want to give me access to it neither for persuasions, monies, exchanges, lending forms or threats. The only thing that could help was applying force against them. I am skinny, however, and the monks are fat and big” (*Korespondencja Józefa Maksymiliana Ossolińskiego*, collected and edited by W. Jabłońska, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, 1975, p. 104).

³² Unfortunately, we did not succeed in finding any copy with an untypical colophon, as described by Bentkowski. The only trace in point was the description of the BB from the Christ Church College Library in Oxford: “Colophon (vol. 3): Ty nayprzednieysze y nayzacnieysze Księgi, dla ćwiczenia w zakonach Bożych...”. Unfortunately, it proved to be false: in fact this colophon as well is a basic version with the word “nazacnieysze”.

³³ I. Kwilecka, “Biblia Leopolda i Biblia brzeska...,” p. 37; eadem, „Biblia brzeska, jej dzieje i znaczenie,” p. 119.

³⁴ W. Benedyktowicz, “Z dziejów edycji Biblii brzeskiej (W 400 rocznicę jej wydania),” *Pielgrzym Polski* 1963, No. 9, p. 85; I. Kwilecka, “Z dziejów przekładu...,” p. 148.

³⁵ M. Topolska, *Czytelnik i książka...*, p. 88.

his intention was to provide the Holy Bible to all the Evangelical Reformed congregations and not only in Grand Duchy of Lithuania but also in the Kingdom of Poland.

Admittedly, the claim that the BB is a very rare phenomenon is to be treated as outdated,³⁶ but the copies of variant B are unquestionably unique. As was already mentioned, there are only five copies of the variant known and only one of these is complete (and one is lost). Also rare are the copies of the BB including gatherings from reprint A. At present only 11 of these have been found (two copies of variant B included).

As emerges from the enclosed list of the copies of the BB that have survived, 60 have been examined relatively closely, other 70 copies were studied for general information (or for very general information) and a few of them could not be accessed. We may expect that there are many more typographic peculiarities waiting to be detected in the BB.³⁷ It may be the case that before the next (fairly) significant anniversary of the publication of the BB we may succeed in preparing a detailed catalogue of all the copies of the spectacular masterpiece of Old-Polish culture available.

Finally, let me thank all those who patiently and generously helped me to collect the detailed bibliographic descriptions and digital reproductions, which were invaluable for examination of the variants of the BB. Special thanks go to Ms Agnieszka Perzanowska and Iwona Długopolska from the National Museum in Krakow, and to those who – upon my request – examined copies of the BB in search of gatherings from the reprints: Ms Alina Baran from Krakow, Iryna Ciborovska-Rymarovič from Kiev, Rima Dirsyte from Vilnius, Irina Kačur from L'viv, Irina Karpova from Moscow, Daiva Narbutienė from Vilnius, Violeta Paunksnytė-Gailiūnienė from Biržai, Lucyna Pyrzowska from Krakow and Elisabeth Walle from Paris. Finally, great thanks go to those who informed me about the copies of the Bible that

³⁶ The information about the alleged fact of the buying out and burning of the stock of the BB was disclosed already in 1620. It was placed by Adam Melchior in the biography of Henryk Stroband (*Vitae Germanorum Iureconsultorum et Politicorum*, Heidelberg 1620, pp. 411–412) and from this time onwards it has been continuously disseminated. This operation, however, was ascribed to Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Orphan" (the son of Mikołaj "the Black") only by Kasper Niesiecki (*Korona polska...*, Vol. 3, Lwów 1740, p. 832). The legend could have been established on the basis of actual events that took place in Vilnius in 1581, when the brother of Mikołaj Krzysztof, the bishop of Vilnius Jerzy Radziwiłł ordered the dissident books to be burnt (see M. Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w świetle propagandy wyznaniowej*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, 1973, pp. 82–83). Also, Niesiecki (op. cit., p. 830) refers to information about these events, but – contrary to the information included in the note about "the Orphan" – the events from 1581 are acknowledged in the relevant sources (the act of burning the books was condemned by king Stefan Batory). As evidenced by the number of copies preserved, if the BB was among the books that were burned then it could have been only a few or about a dozen volumes.

³⁷ For example, we cannot exclude the scenario that reprint A exceeded gathering Y (our assumption here is based exclusively on one copy of the BB).

were not evidenced in the catalogues and literature: Snieguolė Kubiliūtė and Violeta Paunksnytė-Gailiūnienė from Biržai, Jolanta Sztuchlik and Marcin Gabryś from Cieszyn, Alina Baran and Lilia Kowkiel from Krakow and finally Paulina Miś and Krzysztof Bandola-Skierski from Warsaw.

List of copies of the Brest Bible with division into variants

Variant A

(copies verified, without gatherings from reprint A)

Czech Republic

Český Těšín

Museum of Těšín Silesia (Czech: *Muzeum Těšínska*)

H 17940

France

Paris

Polish Library in Paris (French: *Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris*, Polish: *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*)

FA 2111 IV (starts from l. *2, title page: printed in the 19th century)

Lithuania

Biržai

Biržai Region Museum “Sėla” (Lithuanian: *Biržų krašto muziejus “Sėla”*)

BKM GEK–14318

BKM GEK–8806 (starts from l. *3)

Vilnius

The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Lithuanian: *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*)

L-16/2-24 a

Poland

Cieszyn

Tschammer Library and Archive (Polish: *Biblioteka i Archiwum im. Tschammera*)

Deposit of the Synod of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Warsaw (Polish: *Synod Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego w Warszawie*)

no call number

Cieszyn Library (Polish: *Książnica Cieszyńska*)

BD 4357 IV (starts from l. **2, title page fabricated, preserved l. *2)

Katowice

Silesian Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Śląska*)
225010 IV (starts from l. *7, preserved l. *2)

Kórnik

Kórnik Library, scientific unit of Polish Academy of Sciences (Polish: *Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN*)
Cim. F. 4057
TV: <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=2752&from=FBC>
TN: <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=2746&from=FBC>

Krakow

Jagiellonian Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Jagiellońska*)
Cim. F.8323 (starts from l. *2)
Cim. F.8706 (starts from l. *3)

Library of the National Museum in Krakow (Polish: *Biblioteka Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*)
XVI.1
<http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=83322&from=FBC>
XVI.3 (starts from l. *2, title page fabricated)

Main Library of the Pontifical University of John Paul II (Polish: *Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II w Krakowie*)
st. dr. 159

XX. Czartoryski Library (Polish: *Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich*)
Cim. 1686 III

Lublin

University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Polish: *Biblioteka Główna Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II*)
XVI. 1766

Poznań

Raczyński Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Raczyńskich*)
IV.K.c.16
50 IV

Rzeszów

Provincial and City Public Library in Rzeszów (Polish: *Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Rzeszowie*)
ST-1170
<http://www.pbc.rzeszow.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=5722&from=FBC>

Toruń

Nicolaus Copernicus University Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu*)

Pol.6.IV.9 (copy from the former Königsberg State and University Library; German: *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg*), donation of Bogusław Radziwiłł

<http://kpbk.umk.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=138076>

Warsaw

National Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Narodowa*)

F.XVI.294

F.XVI.296

F.XVI.969 (starts from l. *2, lack of leaves 1-6)

Library of the Metropolitan Seminar of the Warsaw Archdiocese (Polish: *Biblioteka Seminarium Metropolitalnego Archidiecezji Warszawskiej*)

A. 26. 2 (50506)

Library of the Synod of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Warsaw (Polish: *Biblioteka Synodu Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego w Warszawie*)

no call number

Warsaw University Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie*)

Sd. 612.64 (starts from l. *2)

Sd. 612.65

Sd. 612.68

Wrocław

Wrocław University Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu*)

437427

Library of the Ossoliński National Institute (Polish: *Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*)

XVI. F. 4013

XVI. F. 4014

XVI. F. 4015

<http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=8401&from=FBC>

XVI. F. 4016

<http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=7886&from=FBC>

XVI. F. 4017 (starts from l. *7)

<http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=7976&from=FBC>

Ukraine

Kiev

Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Ukrainian: *Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського*)

In. 338

L'viv

Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine (Ukrainian: *Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені Василя Стефаника*)

СТ-IV 81268

Variant A with leaves from reprint A

(copies verified are marked specifically with *,

Leaves from the reprint given in brackets; copies without asterisks are randomly verified)

Austria

Vienna

Austrian National Library (German: *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*)

*4.C.9. (**gathering A**)

Germany

Stuttgart

State Library of Württemberg (German: *Württembergische Landesbibliothek*)

*Bb poln. 156301 (**gatherings A and F**)

Great Britain

Cambridge

Cambridge University Library (Bible Society Library)

BSS.232.B63 (**gathering P**)

Manchester

Manchester University Library (John Rylands Library)

19175 (**gatherings E and F**)

Poland

Krakow

Library of the National Museum in Krakow (Polish: *Biblioteka Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*)

*XVI.1473 (starts from l. *6, **gatherings A-Y**)

Lublin

University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Polish: *Biblioteka Główna Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II*)
*XVI. 1868 (**gatherings D and E**)

Łódź

Library of the University of Lodz (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*)
102319 (starts from l. *2, **gathering A**)

Sweden

Västerås

Municipal Library (Swedish: *Västerås stadsbibliotek*)
Be 1:7 – St. 1:15 (starts from l. *2, **leaf 1**)

Ukraine

L'viv

Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine (Ukrainian: *Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені Василя Стефаника*)
*CT-IV 5865 (starts from l. *2, **leaves K₃, K₄, P₃, P₄, gathering Q**)

Odessa

Scientific Library of the Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University (Ukrainian: *Одеський національний університет імені І. І. Мечникова*)
Воронцов / 13695 (starts from l. **1 variant A, lack of l. 3, **leaves 1, 2, 5, 6 from the reprint**)
Indefinite variant (without **gathering ***) with leaves from reprint A

Variant A

(copies not verified with the aim of identifying cases of reprint)

Germany

Dresden

Saxon State and University Library (German: *Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*)
S.B.6

Greifswald

Greifswald University Library (German: *Universitätsbibliothek Greifswald*)
543/Fa 767 2° (defective)

Rostock

University of Rostock Library (German: *Universitätsbibliothek Rostock*)
Fb-111

Wolfenbüttel

Herzog August Library (German: *Herzog-August-Bibliothek*)
Bibel-S. 2° 209

Great Britain

Cambridge

Cambridge University Library
Young 56

Oxford

Bodleian Library
Auct. V 3.15 (title page fabricated)

Christ Church Library
NA.2.4, 2.5, 2.6 (in 3 volumes)

Lithuania

Vilnius

Vilnius University Library (Lithuanian: *Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka*)
II 2286

National Museum of Lithuania (Lithuanian: *Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus*)
R-565 (starts from l. *3)

Lithuanian Art Museum (Lithuanian: *Lietuvos dailės muziejus*)
Deposit of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Biržai (Lithuanian: *Biržų evangelikų reformatų bažnyčia*)
no call number (starts from l. *2)

Poland

Gdańsk

Gdansk Library, scientific unit of Polish Academy of Sciences (Polish: *Biblioteka Gdańska PAN*)
HD 15108 20

Katowice

Parish of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Katowice
(Polish: *Parafia Ewangelicko-Augsburska w Katowicach*)
no call number (starts from l. *2)

Lubiń

Library of the Benedictine Abbey in Lubiń (Polish: *Biblioteka Opactwa Benedyktynów w Lubiniu*)
XVI/1 (copy from the collection of Edmund Radziwiłł OSB)

Nieborów

Museum in Nieborów and Arkadia (Polish: *Muzeum w Nieborowie i Arkadii*)
281 (starts from l. *2)

Olsztyn

Museum of Warmia and Masuria (Polish: *Muzeum Warmii i Mazur*)
st. dr. 113 (starts from l. *4)

Poznań

University Library in Poznań (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu*)
114 828 IV
SD 916 IV

Żychlin

Parish of the Evangelical Church of the Reformed Confession in Żychlin
(Polish: *Parafia Ewangelicko-Reformowana w Żychlinie*)
no call number (starts from l. *2)

Russia

Moscow

Russian State Library (Russian: *Российская государственная библиотека*)
МК VII-12 496, Inv. 22753
МК VII-12 498, Inv. 9869 (starts from l. *4)
XVI-401

St. Petersburg

Russian State Archive of the Navy (Russian: *Российский государственный архив Военно-Морского Флота*)
Ф. 9 Дубасов, No 1496

Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Russian: *Библиотека Российской академии наук*)
2187. f.max./2152

National Library of Russia (Russian: *Российская национальная библиотека*)
17a.14.1.19
РшF/319

Sweden

Uppsala

Uppsala University Library (Swedish: *Uppsala universitetsbibliotek*)
Bibl. Sla. polska. Fol. 37.1 (lack of the last leaf)

United States of America

New York

Christian Keller, Jr. Library
Bible Polish +1563

The New York Public Library
KB+++ 1563

San Marino, California

The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens
32901

Yale

Yale University Library
1987 Folio 7

Vatican

Vatican Apostolic Library (Italian: *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*)
R.G.Bibbia.S.62

Variant B

Krakow

Jagiellonian Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Jagiellońska*)
Cim. 8324 (**gathering * from variant B, gathering ** from variant A, leaves 1, 6 from reprint A**)
<http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=230789&from=FBC>
<http://polona.pl/item/11638206/o/>

London

British Library
C.11.d.6 (**gathering * from variant B, gathering ** from variant A, leaf 1 from reprint A**, copy verified with the aim of identifying cases of reprint A only up to l. 8)

Moscow

Russian State Library (Russian: *Российская государственная библиотека*)
MKVII-12 497, Inv. 9868 (starts from l. *_{iii} - *_{vii} variant B, lack of gathering **, title page and l. *_{ii} from other copy; copy not verified with the aim of identifying cases of reprint A)

Paris

National Library of France (French: *Bibliothèque nationale de France*)
Res-A-458 (copy without the title page, gathering * and gathering ** from variant B, **without leaves from reprint A**)

Warsaw

Library of the Secondary School in Warsaw (Polish: *Biblioteka Liceum Warszawskiego*)

Lost copy (**gathering * from variant B, gathering ** from variant A, without leaves from reprint A, gathering Bb of TN from variant B**, copy verified by Feliks Bentkowski, now lost)

Indefinite variant (copies without the gathering *)

(copies verified with the aim of identifying cases of reprint A, marked with*)

Belarus

Brest

M. Gorky Brest Regional Library (Belarusian: *Брэсцкая абласная бібліятэка ім. М.Горкага*)

*18кx11116 (starts from l. 121)

Minsk

Yakub Kolas Central Scientific Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus (Belarusian: *Цэнтральная навуковая бібліятэка імя Якуба Коласа Нацыянальнай акадэміі навук Беларусі*)

*Ср. 2107 (starts from l. 45)

France

Paris

Polish Library in Paris (French: *Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris*, Polish: *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu*)

*FA 198 IV (starts from l. 7)

Great Britain

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Lib.Polon. E 132 (starts from l. 8)

*5 DELTA 286 (7a) (only fragments)

Lithuania

Biržai

Parish of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Biržai (Lithuanian: *Biržų evangelikų reformatų parapija*)

no call number (starts from l. 2, preserved l. **5)

Švobiškis

Parish of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Švobiškis (Lithuanian: *Švobiškio evangelikų reformatų parapija*)

no call number (starts from l. 9)

Vilnius

The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Lithuanian: *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*)

L-16/2-24 b (starts from l. 54)

L-16/2-24 c (starts from l. 129)

L-16/2-24 d (starts from l. 79)

*L-16/2-24 e (starts from l. 152)

Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (Lithuanian: *Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka*)

*R.XVI: F.13/1-2 inventory number R 8929 (starts from l. **2)

*R.XVI: F.13/1-2 inventory number Sn 890334 (starts from l. 2, title page: reprint)

Vilnius University Library (Lithuanian: *Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka*)

II 2283 (starts from l. 32)

II 2284 (starts from l. 55)

II 2285 (starts from l. 57)

Poland

Cieszyn

Cieszyn Library (Polish: *Książnica Cieszyńska*)

*Cl 1116 IV (starts from l. 4)

*Cl 1116 IV/dublet (starts from l. 128)

Gniezno

Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno (Polish: *Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie*)

PL. 350 (starts from l. 1)

PL. 373 (starts from l. 120)

Katowice

Silesian Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Śląska*)

*225090 IV (starts from l. 9)

Kórnik

Kórnik Library, scientific unit of Polish Academy of Sciences (Polish: *Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN*)

Cim. F. 4297 (starts from l. 101)

Cim. F. 4298 (starts from l. 33)

Krakow

Jagiellonian Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Jagiellońska*)

*Cim. F.8325 (starts from l. 9)

*Cim. F.8441 (starts from l. 1)

*Cim. F.8588 (starts from l. 80)

Library of the Congregation of the Mission in Krakow (Polish: *Biblioteka Zgromadzenia Księży Misjonarzy w Krakowie*)

*3-I-E₂ (starts from l. 7)

Scientific Library of PAAS and PAS in Krakow (Polish: *Biblioteka PAU i PAN w Krakowie*)

*4048 St. dr. (starts from l. 1, title page: printed in the 19th century)

Licheń Stary

Father Józef Jastrzębowski Museum (Polish: *Muzeum im. ks. Józefa Jarzębowskiego w Sanktuarium Maryjnym w Licheniu*)

ML 6S0063 (starts from l. **₄)

Lublin

Library of the Metropolitan Seminary in Lublin (Polish: *Biblioteka Metropolitalnego Seminarium Duchownego w Lublinie*)

*16.2508 (starts from l. 28)

Płock

Zieliński Library of the Płock Scientific Society (Polish: *Biblioteka im. Zielińskich Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego*)

XVI. 190 (starts from l. 17)

Poznań

Library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning (Polish: *Biblioteka Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*)

104504 IV (starts from l. 45)

University Library in Poznań (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu*)

SD 160 IV (starts from l. 39)

Ruda Śląska

Municipal Public Library in Ruda Śląska (Polish: *Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Rudzie Śląskiej*)

*CN 27 (starts from l. 135, finishes with l. 579)

Warsaw

Central Archives of Historical Records (Polish: *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych*)

*225 ZEA 2747 (starts from l. 2)

Library of the National Museum in Warsaw (Polish: *Biblioteka Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*)

*XVI. 4SD 331 (starts from l. 8)

Warsaw Public Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Publiczna m. st. Warszawy*)

*F. XVI. 120 (starts from l. 25)

Library of the Higher Metropolitan Seminary in Warsaw (Polish: *Biblioteka Wyższego Metropolitalnego Seminarium Duchownego w Warszawie*)

*A. 38. 1 (starts from l. **2)

*I. 2. 3 (starts from l. 1)

Library of the Synod of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Warsaw (Polish: *Biblioteka Synodu Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego w Warszawie*)

*no call number (starts from l. 20)

Warsaw University Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie*)

*Sd. 612.66 (starts from l. 14)

*Sd. 612.69 (starts from l. 14)

Holy Trinity Parish of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession (Polish: *Parafia Ewangelicko-Augsburska Świętej Trójcy w Warszawie*)

*no call number (starts from l. 2)

Wieluń

Wieluń Land Museum (Polish: *Muzeum Ziemi Wieluńskiej*)

MZW-H-161 (starts from l. 1)

Wrocław

Library of the Papal Faculty of Theology in Wrocław (Polish: *Biblioteka Papieskiego Wydziału Teologicznego we Wrocławiu*)

*III-701 C (starts from l. 101)

Zielona Góra

Zielona Góra University Library (Polish: *Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego*)

ZS/627 (starts from l. 1)

Russia

Moscow

Margarita Rudomino All-Russia State Library for Foreign Literature (Russian: *Всероссийская государственная библиотека иностранной литературы имени М. И. Рудомино*)

B 582 (starts from l. 5)

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Tarnów

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Translated by Edyta Więclawska

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