

“Contrafaction” in Lithuanian book publishing in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century: The publication of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes*

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The period beginning in 1795 in Lithuania Major,¹ following the third partition of the joint Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and lasting until 1904, was a distinctive era in the history of Lithuanian book publishing. The year 1864, the start of the prohibition of the use of Latin characters in the Lithuanian press, can be considered a dividing line, separating the period into two.² A total of 833 known “contrafactions,”³ that is to say publications with falsified imprint information,⁴ were produced during the forty years of

¹ Lithuania Major is a term used to define the ethnic Lithuanian lands stretching northward and eastward from the border between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Prussia (later the German Empire), i.e. the lands ruled by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and later, between 1795 and 1915, by the Russian Empire. These territories correspond almost entirely to the present-day territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

² Following the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (I Rzeczpospolita) at the end of the eighteenth century by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, all the territories that belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – most of ethnographic Lithuania – became part of the Russian Empire in 1795. Only a small part – Užnemunė (part of the Provinz Neuostpreußen) – was incorporated into Prussia. The Neman River became the dividing line between the different ethnographic regions of Lithuania, which now belonged to different countries. The Tsarist government implemented an imperial governmental system in Lithuania, now part of the Russian Empire, and wasted no time in taking steps to consolidate its power. In the 1850s, the government banned the official use of the name “Lithuania” and the territory became known as the Northwest Region of Russia. The nineteenth century for Lithuania was a period of occupation and struggles for independence of the subjugated peoples, with rebellions in 1830–31 and 1863–64. Having suppressed these, the Tsarist government took to a radical restructuring of the Northwestern Region and implemented a “program of the recovery of Russian origins” based on a policy of open Russification. One of the key tools used for Russification was the replacement of the Latin alphabet in Lithuanian publications with the Russian one (*grazhdanka*) and the prohibition of the old traditional alphabet in Lithuanian publishing throughout the Empire. The Tsar’s policy was not a success and eventually collapsed, following the establishment of illegal Lithuanian publishing abroad and its dissemination throughout Lithuania.

³ *Lietuviškieji kontrafakiniai leidiniai, 1865–1904 m.: bibliografijos rodyklė (Contrafacted publications in Lithuanian, 1865–1904: Bibliographic index)*. Vilnius, 2004.

⁴ The term “contrafaction” is derived from the Latin *contra+facere*, French *contrefaçon*, meaning counterfeiting. Lithuanian bibliologists give it several meanings: a contrafaction can be a publication with an intentionally falsified date, place, publisher, and sometimes author; it can also be a violation of copyright, when the work is reprinted and distributed without the author’s consent. The first meaning is equivalent to the English term “counterfeit edition.” The second meaning is equivalent to the term

the press ban. Usually produced in the print shops of Lithuania Minor,⁵ they were illegally smuggled across the border and accounted for the majority of books in the Lithuanian language that circulated throughout Lithuania Major, at that time part of the Russian Empire. Contrafactions can thus be identified as the main type of book publishing in the period, with respect to the details of book production, publishing, repertoire, and distribution between 1864 and 1904.

Contrafaction was not customary in book publishing in Lithuanian in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. There is not a single case of contrafaction described in the first volume⁶ of the *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija. Serija A. Knygos lietuvių kalba* (*Bibliography of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, Series A: Books in the Lithuanian language*) in the period between 1795 and 1864. According to the priest and historian Kazimieras Gečys, the only mention of any such work, possibly printed at the Zawadzki publishing house,⁷ can be found in the annotations of the 1860 and 1861 editions of the publication *Apej brostwa blaiwystes* (*About the Temperance Brotherhood*),⁸ drawn up by Motiejus Valančius.⁹ The first researcher who raised this

“pirated edition.” In this article “contrafaction” has the meaning of publication with an intentionally false imprint.

⁵ Lithuania Minor is a term used to define a territory on the left bank of the Neman River annexed by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century, then relinquished to Prussia, in the mid-nineteenth century becoming part of the German Empire. Lithuania Minor got its name due to the region’s substantial Lithuanian-speaking population. Before the second half of the nineteenth century, publishing and printing in Lithuanian in Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Major constituted two independent and almost unrelated worlds of book publishing, separated by state borders and influenced by different cultures, languages, and religious traditions, as well as by the need to meet the different requirements of literate Lithuanians in Lithuania Major and ethnic Lithuanians in Lithuania Minor.

⁶ *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija. Serija A. Knygos lietuvių kalba* (*Bibliography of the Lithuanian SSR, Series A: Books in the Lithuanian language*), Vol. 1: 1547–1861. Vilnius, 1969.

⁷ The Zawadzki enterprise was one of the largest private publishing, manufacturing, and distribution enterprises in Lithuania Major during the nineteenth century. It made significant contributions to the development of modern publishing businesses in the country. It operated in Vilnius between 1805 and 1840 and also had bookshops in Vilnius (since 1808), Warsaw, Varniai (1853–66), and Kaunas (1881–95). The enterprise also distributed its publications in other cities in Poland, Russia, France, and Germany, and employed forms and methods of organization of the publishing and dissemination of its publications that were modern for the time. The founder of the enterprise, Józef Zawadzki (1781–1838), studied book printing and trade in Wrocław and Leipzig; his enterprises were passed down to his son, Adam Zawadzki (1814–1878) and later to the other members of the family and their descendants. Until 1828, he had an exclusive right to print (and until 1825, to sell) the publications of Vilnius University. Zawadzki published several thousand works, including textbooks, calendars, and books on various topics in the sciences, arts, literature, and religion in the key European languages, as well as in Hebrew and Arabic; approximately 700 of the published book titles were in Lithuanian.

⁸ *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija. Serija A. Knygos lietuvių kalba* (*Bibliography of the Lithuanian SSR, Series A: Books in the Lithuanian language*), Vol. 1: 1547–1861, pp. 434–35. Vilnius, 1969.

⁹ Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875) was a bishop, a public figure, writer, and national educator. In 1850, following his consecration as Bishop of Samogitia, he took on various types of activity: he reorganized the diocese and the theological seminary, initiated the temperance movement, participated in the education of children and adults, developed a wide network of parochial schools, and wrote, censored, and distributed religious literature in Lithuanian.

idea and attempted to justify it was in fact Gečys, who defended his doctoral thesis, *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1863 (The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia between 1858 and 1864)*, in the Department of Theology at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius, and later published it in Vilnius in 1935.¹⁰ He based his hypothesis on files found at the Chancellery of the Governor General of Vilnius, which provided detailed administrative correspondence about the temperance movement (currently stored at the Lithuania State Historical Archive), the correspondence of the Zawadzki enterprise, and a study of several no longer extant editions of *Apej brostwa blaiwystes*.

Gečys claimed that both the 1858–59 and later editions of the booklets on temperance were printed not at the printing house of E. Vaikinis in Klaipėda,¹¹ as indicated on the title page, but rather by Zawadzki in Vilnius. In his view, due to the start of government repression, the booklet and its distribution were banned immediately after publication and part of the edition was confiscated. Subsequent editions were then issued with false publishing information.¹² However, this view is not shared by all researchers.

Lithuanian bibliographers Silvestras Baltramaitis¹³ and Vaclovas Biržiška,¹⁴ who worked both before and after Gečys, did not believe that the 1860–61 editions of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* were counterfeit. Domas Kaunas, a book researcher from Lithuania Minor, claims that Valančius had established a relationship with Vaikinis, whose publishing house printed a variety of leaflets on the topic of temperance in 1860 and 1861.¹⁵ Historian Vytautas Merkys is of the same opinion and discusses the publication

¹⁰ Gieczys, Kazimierz. *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864*: Disertacja doktorska (*Studja teologiczne*, t. 4) (*The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia between 1858 and 1864*: Doctoral Dissertation) (*Theological Studies*, vol. 4). Wilno, 1935.

¹¹ The printing house of E. Vaikinis operated in Klaipėda in Lithuania Minor between 1855 and 1866. It published eight books intended for the market of Lithuania Major, and also sold its own publications and those printed by others.

¹² Gieczys, Kazimierz. *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864*: Disertacja doktorska (*Studja teologiczne*, t. 4) (*The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia between 1858 and 1864*: Doctoral Dissertation) (*Theological Studies*, vol. 4), pp. 44–45. Wilno, 1935.

¹³ Балтрамайтис, Силвестрас. *Список литовских и древне-прусских книг, изданных с 1553 по 1903 год* (*List of old Lithuanian and Prussian books published between 1553 and 1903*). Изд 2-е (2nd edition). СПб, 1904, įrašas 619. (St. Petersburg, 1904, entry no. 619.)

¹⁴ Biržiška, Vaclovas. *Lietuvių bibliografija*. D. 2. 1800–64 (*Lithuanian bibliography*. Part 2, 1800–64), įrašas 1326a (entry no. 1326a). Kaunas, 1926. Biržiška, Vaclovas. *Antrosios Lietuvių bibliografijos dalies (1800–1864) papildymai* (*Additions to the second bibliography of Lithuania (1800–1864)*). In *Lietuvių bibliografija*. D. 3, įrašas 1228 (entry no. 1228) (*Lithuanian bibliography*, Part 3). Kaunas, 1929.

¹⁵ Kaunas, Domas. *Mažosios Lietuvos knyga: lietuviškos knygos raida 1547–1940* (*Books in Lithuania Minor: Development of Lithuanian books between 1547 and 1940*), p. 273. Vilnius, 1996. Kaunas, Domas. *Iš lietuvių knygos istorijos: Klaipėdos krašto lietuviška knyga iki 1919 m.* (*From the book history of Lithuania: Lithuanian books of the Klaipėda region before 1919*), p. 75. Vilnius, 1986.

of literature on the temperance movement in his monograph on Motiejus Valančius¹⁶; historians Antanas Tyla¹⁷ and Zita Medišauskienė are also in agreement.¹⁸ The only person who is seemingly in agreement with Gečys is Egidijus Aleksandravičius, in his study of temperance in nineteenth-century Lithuania.¹⁹

The present article first examines the situation in Lithuanian historiography, which most likely resulted from following the traditions of Lithuanian bibliography adhered to by contemporary authorities with respect to bibliology and the historical sciences. It then focuses on the publication history of the booklet *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* by Motiejus Valančius. This research is important not so much because it reveals the history of a particular nineteenth-century publication from Lithuania Major, but because it clarifies the start of relations between the producers and distributors of Lithuanian publications in Lithuania Major and Lithuania Minor. These relations became closely interlinked in the later nineteenth century and contributed to a close rapport between the two parts of Lithuania. This beginning is, in turn, associated with the printing of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* in Klaipėda in 1860–61.

The dissertation of Kazimieras Gečys presents still relevant insights into publications on the topic of temperance. The first endorsement of his claims can be found in the article “Lietuviškų knygų leidėjai ir jų leidiniai 1795–1864 m.” (“Lithuanian book publishers and their publications between 1795 and 1864”).²⁰ In his analysis of the issues surrounding the publishing and dissemination of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes*, Gečys was incorrect only in not knowing the year of publication of the booklet, actually published in 1860. This article attempts to supplement his arguments on the topic, based on information from accumulated archival material on the Zawadzki enterprise,²¹ the

¹⁶ Merkys, Vytautas. *Motiejus Valančius: tarp katalikiškojo universalizmo ir tautiškumo (Motiejus Valančius: Between Catholic universalism and national identity)*, p. 350. Vilnius, 1999.

¹⁷ Medišauskienė, Zita. *Rusijos cenzūra Lietuvoje XIX a. viduryje (Russian censorship in Lithuania in the mid-nineteenth century)*, p. 259. Kaunas, 1998.

¹⁸ Tyla, Antanas. “Motiejaus Valančiaus laišakai Adomui Zavadzkiui” (“Letters of Motiejus Valančius to Adomas Zavadzki”), *Lietuvos TSR aukštųjų mokyklų mokslo darbai. Literatūra (Scientific research of the Schools of Higher Education of the Lithuanian SSR. Literature)*, 1969, vol. 11 (10), pp. 93–107.

¹⁹ Aleksandravičius, Egidijus. *Blaivybė Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje (Temperance in nineteenth-century Lithuania)*, p. 70. Vilnius, 1990.

²⁰ Navickienė, Aušra. “Lietuviškų knygų leidėjai ir jų leidiniai 1795–1864 m.” (“Lithuanian book publishers and their publications between 1795 and 1864”), *Knygotyra (Book Science)*, 1993, vol. 19, p. 15.

²¹ J. Zawadzki firmos knygų, išsiųstų į Varnius ir Šiluvą, registracijos žurnalas (Registration journal of Zawadzki’s enterprise regarding books sent to Varniai and Šiluva), Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuania State Historical Archive), f. 1135, apr. 7, b. 106. J. J. Zawadzki firmos Varnių knygyno pirkėjų knygų užsakymai ir sąskaitos (1853–1865) (Order and invoices of the book buyers of Zawadzki’s bookstore in Varniai, (1853–1865)), Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuania State Historical Archive), f. 1135, apr. 7, b. 109.

published correspondence of those involved in book publishing and commerce,²² and an inspection of all remaining copies of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes*, as well as the findings of their typographical analysis.

In July 1858, following the start of preaching on the topic of temperance in the parishes of Samogitia and the establishment of temperance brotherhoods, Valančius wrote a Lithuanian language brochure, *Apej brostwą blaiwistes*, in his residence at Varniai. We are inclined to agree with Vytautas Merkys that it was probably a translation of a Polish publication on a similar topic published in Poznań, whose precursor may have been the rules of the temperance brotherhood of the diocese of Wrocław, approved by Pope Pius IX in 1851.²³

In accordance with the regulations governing book publishing at the time, Valančius, as a religious censor, approved his own writings on August 24th and sent the manuscript to Zawadzki in Vilnius, who undertook to publish it. In turn, the publisher forwarded the manuscript to the censorship committee in Vilnius, where it received the blessing of the secular censorship office within ten days. The manuscript, ready for publishing, was looked over by the supernumerary censor of Lithuanian books at the time, Viktoras Aramavičius, who had been censoring the Lithuanian press since 1857. Its approved copy was then signed by censor Pavel Kukolnik, who was not a Lithuanian speaker. The title page of the booklet gives the publisher and the place of printing as “Kausztu ir spaustuvejė Juozapa Zawadzkia” (“at his own expense and in the printing house of Józef Zawadzki”). This means that the printing was funded and carried out by the Zawadzki enterprise, which sent 2000 copies of the publication to Varniai on November 21st, 1858, and recorded this in the registration journal of books sent to the Varniai bookshop.²⁴ Most probably this was not the first shipment of the publication: approximately 500 copies had already reached Samogitia. The report of the governor of Kaunas regarding the circulation of this publication, published at the end of November 1859, indicates that it had already been widely disseminated by this time.²⁵

²² Tyla, Antanas. “Motiejus Valančiaus laiškai Adomui Zawadzkiui” (“Letters of Motiejus Valančius to Adomas Zawadzki”), *Lietuvos TSR aukštųjų mokyklų mokslo darbai. Literatūra (Scientific research of the Schools of Higher Education of the Lithuanian SSR. Literature)*, 1969, vol. 11 (10), pp. 93–107.

²³ Merkys, Vytautas. *Motiejus Valančius: tarp katalikiškojo universalizmo ir tautiškumo (Motiejus Valančius: Between Catholic universalism and national identity)*, p. 348. Vilnius, 1999.

²⁴ J. Zawadzki firmos knygų, išsiųstų į Varnius ir Šiluvą, registracijos žurnalas (Registration journal of Zawadzki’s enterprise regarding books sent to Varniai and Šiluva). Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuania State Historical Archive), f. 1135, apr. 7, b. 106, l. 245 [v].

²⁵ Gieczys, Kazimierz. *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864: Disertacja doktorska (Studja teologiczne, t. 4) (The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia*

There are several opinions regarding the number of copies of the publication: though various sources, based on notes taken by Motiejus Valančius, indicate that 40,000 copies were published, we believe the number to be 10,000. Valančius noted: “I wrote it in 1858. Mr. Zawadzki printed 40,000 copies, but the government prohibited its sale.”²⁶ There were probably four editions of the booklet between 1858 and 1861, only the first of which appears to have been legally published. Thus, it is possible that the bishop wrote down the total number of copies of all four editions in his diary and not the actual number of copies published in 1858, as has hitherto usually been assumed. This hypothesis is backed by official sources, which put the number of copies of *Apej brostwą blaiwistes* printed in 1858 at 10,000.²⁷ The hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that other publications written or financed by Motiejus Valančius in the 1850s, with similar content and for the same readership, were also published in editions of 10,000 copies each, namely *Istorije szwęta Senoje istatima* (*The sacred history of the Old Testament*) in 1852, *Žine kajp rejk atlikti spawiednę isz wisa amžiaus* (*How to make a confession encompassing your whole life*) in 1852, and *Katekizas Kataliku* (*The Catholic catechism*) in 1854, edited by Juozapas Ženevičius.

The appearance of a publication encouraging the establishment of temperance brotherhoods aroused the anger of the Russian government authorities. Correspondence between various Russian government officials and their correspondence with Valančius and others, which was used by Gečys, Aleksandravičius,²⁸ and Merkys,²⁹ helps to partially uncover the situation in 1858. As Merkys notes:

Already on November 6th, 1858, the Governor of Kaunas, Stanislovas Chominskis, sounded the alarm regarding the publication of this booklet and sent a note on the matter to the Governor-General of Vilnius, Vladimir Nazimov. The latter requested the Vilnius censorship committee to send one Lithuanian copy with a translation into Russian.

between 1858 and 1864: Doctoral Dissertation) (*Theological Studies*, vol. 4), p. 39. Wilno, 1935.

²⁶ Valančius, Motiejus. *Namų užrašai / Sudarė Aldona Prašmantaitė* (*Domestic notes*, compiled by Aldona Prašmantaitė), p. 867. Vilnius, 2003.

²⁷ Gieczys, Kazimierz. *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864: Disertacja doktorska* (*Studja teologiczne*, t. 4) (*The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia between 1858 and 1864: Doctoral Dissertation*) (*Theological Studies*, vol. 4), p. 39. Wilno, 1935.

²⁸ Aleksandravičius, Egidijus. *Blaivybė Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje* (*Temperance in nineteenth-century Lithuania*), pp. 68–70. Vilnius, 1990.

²⁹ Merkys, Vytautas. *Motiejus Valančius: tarp katalikiškojo universalizmo ir tautiškumo* (*Motiejus Valančius: Between Catholic universalism and national identity*), pp. 347–50. Vilnius, 1999.

First, the chairman of the censorship committee sent a copy of the booklet in Lithuanian with an accompanying translation into Russian, and after three days additionally reported that the publication *Apej brostvá blaiwistes* had been printed in an edition of 10,000 copies at the Zawadzki print shop, 2,500 copies of which had already been sent to Valančius on November 23rd. The remaining copies were seized and were being held by the censorship committee. When questioned by the committee, the publisher explained that the booklet was printed at his own expense, but at the request of Valančius, hence he tried to recover the expenses by disseminating the copies.

The publisher managed to distribute only 2,353 copies of the 1858 edition. More than three-quarters of the edition was confiscated: 7,500 copies, which the publisher had not yet managed to send to Varniai, were returned to the censorship committee from the Zawadzki print shop, along with 147 copies which were sent in by Valančius. It is clear that as the temperance movement was growing in scale the demand for such publications remained high. Seeking to surmount the difficulties associated with censorship, Valančius sought both to advocate temperance and to publish literature promoting the temperance movement. On December 8th, 1858, Valančius wrote to the head of the company at the time, Adam Zawadzki:

We have finally received the booklet “Blajwistes,” which caused the problems, but it was printed in such a way that it cannot be released. It is clear that Mr. Director does not employ any proof-reader when printing books in the Samogitian language. If the troubles cease and they allow the sale of the booklet, I would like to include one single paragraph, which I have deleted here in the reprint of the edition.³⁰

Zawadzki received the letter on December 11th, 1858 and replied to the bishop on January 2nd, 1859. Although the content of his reply is unknown, we believe that the text of *Apej brostvá blaiwistes* was edited and its second edition was printed at the start of 1859. It is unclear whether the edition was legal or whether the censorship committee was aware of it. The official date of the proscription of the booklet is associated with

³⁰ Tyla, Antanas. “Motiejaus Valančiaus laiškai Adomui Zavadzkiui” (“Letters of Motiejus Valančius to Adomas Zavadzki”), *Lietuvos TSR aukštųjų mokyklų mokslo darbai. Literatūra (Scientific research of the Schools of Higher Education of the Lithuanian SSR. Literature)*, 1969, vol. 11 (10), p. 104.

the resolutions of the regional government regarding literature promoting temperance brotherhoods, which were finally made public in the autumn of 1860.³¹ However, it is likely that the second edition was not approved by the censors.

Not a single copy of the second edition of the booklet has survived, though an entry in Vaclovas Biržiška's 1926 *Lietuvių bibliografija* (*Lithuanian bibliography*) and the dissertation findings of Kazimieras Gečys (1935), attest to its existence. Biržiška mentions that "probably 7,500 copies of this booklet were confiscated at the print shop and therefore, in the following year, it was printed in Klaipėda."³² It is possible that he was wrong, as the archival sources show that 7,500 copies of the first edition were confiscated in 1859, that is to say that it was published in 1858. It is unclear whether Vaclovas Biržiška carried out his bibliographical work by acquainting himself with the publication personally. In his dissertation Gečys claims that Zawadzki printed *Apie Brostwą Blaiwistes arba Nusituriejima*³³ again in 1859 and provides a precise bibliographic description, as well as discussing the peculiarities of its contents. He points out that the title page of the booklet was missing a reference regarding the funding of the publication, and notes that the text had been abridged and previous editing errors corrected.

Historian Egidijus Aleksandravičius proposes the following version of the 1859 publication history of the booklet.³⁴ Agreeing with Gečys regarding the location of the printing of the subsequent editions, he claims that

Motiejus Valančius, exploiting the prevailing uncertainty of the situation and seeing the confusion of the regional administration, solicited Zawadzki twice more to publish the booklet "Apej Brostwą..." The number of copies of both editions is unknown. The second edition (1859) by Zawadzki was presented as a continuation of the first and copies of the third edition indicate that the printing took place in Klaipėda.

³¹ Medišauskienė, Z. *Rusijos cenzūra Lietuvoje XIX a. viduryje* (*Russian censorship in Lithuania in the mid-nineteenth century*), pp. 258–59. Kaunas, 1998.

³² Biržiška, Vaclovas. *Lietuvių bibliografija* (*Lithuanian bibliography*), Part 2, 1800–1864, , įrašas 1187 (entry no. 1228). Kaunas, 1926.

³³ Gieczys, Kazimierz. *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864*: Disertacja doktorska (*Studja teologiczne*, t. 4) (*The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia between 1858 and 1864*: Doctoral Dissertation) (*Theological Studies*, vol. 4), p. 44. Wilno, 1935.

³⁴ Aleksandravičius, Egidijus. *Blaivybė Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje* (*Temperance in nineteenth-century Lithuania*), pp. 68–70. Vilnius, 1990.

Even though Aleksandravičius, like Gečys, was incorrect in assuming that the edition of 1861 was the third edition of the booklet (in reality, this was the fourth or even the fifth edition), his statement regarding the publication of 1859 as the continuation of the first edition (i.e. that of 1858) explains the appearance of the booklet in 1859, even if it is somewhat lacking in detail.

Comparing the 1858 and 1859 editions, Gečys found several differences in their content: the edition of 1859 had omitted sub-paragraphs two and nine from paragraph three, and errors in the text had been edited out. These particular details of the content were also noted when comparing the surviving publications from 1860-61 and the first edition of the booklet. It can therefore be claimed that there were two versions of the booklet: version one, which, due to its higher volume of text, shall now be referred to as the comprehensive edition, and version two, whose text was somewhat reduced. The comprehensive edition of 1858 consisted of eight chapters or paragraphs, including the description of the temperance brotherhood, the pledge, the orders, prayers, religious festivals, excerpts from the Holy Scripture on drunkenness, wise words from medical doctors, and examples taken from ordinary life. The abridged version contains the same paragraphs, but they have been shortened and in some of the editions the line lengths are shorter. From 1859 onward, only the abridged version of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* was published, most likely in three editions. *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija* records a total of six editions, two of which are mentioned for the first time. However, adjustments need to be made not only to their place of publication but also to the number of editions. The editions in question are those of 1860 under entry No. 1228 and 1861 under entry No. 1230, which may not have been published at all.³⁵ However, one thing is clear at present: all of the editions were printed at the same printing house, Zawadzki in Vilnius. A comparison of the text of the surviving copies of the editions of 1860 and 1861 with the booklet of 1858 shows that while preparing its release after 1860 all of the text had been re-typeset and its volume had been reduced by four pages. Due to the controversies surrounding the booklet, the activities of the temperance brotherhood in general, and the attempts to conceal the identities of the real publisher and printer of the booklet, the post-1860 editions began to provide false publication details, giving them as “Kausztu ir Spaustuwieje Ed. Waikinnis & Co.” (“at his own expense at the printing house of Ed. Waikinnis & Co.”).

³⁵ *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija. Serija A. Knygos lietuvių kalba (Bibliography of the Lithuanian SSR. Series A. Books in the Lithuanian Language)*. Vol. 1: 1547–1861, pp. 434–35. Vilnius, 1969.

Following a *de visu* analysis of the 1860-61 editions of the publication, it was discovered that they did not include any approbations: there is neither a religious one, signed by Valančius or another religious censor, nor a secular one, like that issued for the edition of 1858 by Kukolnik. It is very likely that the 1859 edition also had no approbation, as it would have been rather foolhardy to seek the approval of the censorship committee for such a publication, especially as an officer of the Vilnius censorship committee had just been reprimanded for approving the previous edition (Aramavičius was made a scapegoat for the approbation and given a reprimand). Unfortunately, these considerations cannot be supported by written evidence. It is partially confirmed, however, by the fact that Valančius was making efforts to circumvent the institutions of the secular censorship, something that were viewed dimly by the government. As a consequence of his activities, Valančius was likewise refused the consent required to publish the periodical *Pakeleivingas (A Passer-By)*, a publication also in preparation at the time. The main reason for not giving this required consent was the strict position taken by the Governor-General Vladimir Nazimov in his letter to the Minister of the Interior, dated May 30th, 1859. In this letter, it was mentioned that the bishop had violated the established censorship order when he published the rules of the temperance brotherhood,³⁶ hence the censorship of the periodical could not be entrusted solely to him. It is possible that the offences of the bishop were not limited to the approbation of the 1858 edition of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes*, and may have also included its illegal edition of 1859.

Other issues arise in trying to reconstruct the publishing history of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes*. Would Adam Zawadzki have taken the risk in 1859 of reprinting a publication that had been seized not long before? If the temperance brotherhoods had not yet been officially banned in 1859, but just the literature promoting them, how great a risk was it? Why could the editions published later than 1860 not have been printed in Klaipėda? What were the reasons and the motivation behind Adam Zawadzki's decision to illegally print *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* and to falsify the information regarding its publication?

The answers may be found by first clarifying the peculiarities of Lithuanian book

³⁶ Aleksandravičius, Egidijus. *Blaivybė Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje (Temperance in nineteenth-century Lithuania)*, p. 78. Vilnius, 1990. Gieczys, Kazimierz. *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864: Disertacja doktorska (Studja teologiczne, t. 4) (The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia between 1858 and 1864: Doctoral Dissertation) (Theological Studies, vol. 4)*, pp. 139–40. Wilno, 1935.

publishing in the nineteenth century, as well as the Zawadzki enterprise and the publication of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* itself. By the mid-nineteenth century, publishing Lithuanian books had become a lucrative business. When comparing it to the beginning of the nineteenth century, this fact is proven by a several-fold increase in the number of book publishers, as well as other changes, such as a diversified field of publishers, an increase in the print-runs of editions, new forms and methods of book dissemination, an increase in trading volume, and an expansion in the geographical coverage of the book trade institutions. In the middle of the century, Vilnius was a key locality for the publication and manufacturing of Lithuanian literature. However, an additional center of Lithuanian culture was also developing in Varniai, where plans for large-scale Lithuanian book publishing were being drawn up. At the time when Motiejus Valančius became a bishop, Varniai had accumulated a reasonably large number of Lithuanian intellectuals. With the advent of the temperance movement, Valančius and his supporters formed an even closer-knit circle by writing and publishing various booklets in support and promotion of the movement. In his capacity as bishop, Valančius also took over religious censorship, thus altering the scope and the content of the most essential Lithuanian publications. The bishop chose for the publication and dissemination of his own writings and those of others the company which in 1853 established the first permanent bookshop in the nineteenth century in the province of Lithuania.³⁷ The members of the Zawadzki family were successful in developing the family business in book publishing, production, and distribution. They had excellent knowledge of the laws of the market and were able to quickly adapt to new business conditions. Although Adam Zawadzki was not a particular supporter of Lithuanian publications, the difficult financial situation of the enterprise in the 1830s and 1840s, along with the constant business battle with Teophilus Glückberg and the problem of the local Jewish community capturing the trade business, led him to establish “a small branch to support the complicated affairs in Vilnius.”³⁸ Soon after, Zawadzki became the most important book publisher and distributor in the diocese of Samogitia. Even though he lacked any kind of permit or letter to serve as proof of the privileges granted to him by the bishop, Zawadzki printed books for Valančius and his close collaborators:

³⁷ Navickienė, Aušra. “Juozapo Zawadzki firmos lietuviškų leidinių platinimas 1805–1864 m.” (“Distribution of publications in the Lithuanian language between 1805 and 1864 by the enterprise of Juozapas Zawadzki”), *Knygotyra (Book Science)*, 1994, vol. 20, pp. 34–44.

³⁸ Cybulski, Radosław. *Józef Zawadzki – księgarz, drukarz, wydawca (Józef Zawadzki – book seller, printer, publisher)*, p. 236. Wrocław, 1972.

these publications in Lithuanian, forming the backbone of the print production in Lithuanian as a whole, were much in demand. They were distributed not just in Vilnius but also in Samogitia, where most of the readership of the Lithuanian publications resided.

As a publication, *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* was considered part of the literature which satisfied the needs of the religious organizations and belonged in the mass demand category. Given the scale of the temperance movement as a phenomenon unique to the western part of Lithuania, and the number of people who joined the brotherhoods, it can be seen that literature on temperance was in great demand. Every printer of the time was interested in publishing booklets of this type, as is confirmed by some of the estimates: assuming that there were 10,000 copies of the first edition of 1858 and the price of each copy was 1.5 kopeks,³⁹ tallying up the numbers allows us to see that the publisher expected a healthy profit. However, this did not take into account that a majority of copies were subsequently confiscated (7,500 + 147 = 7647 copies), meaning that Zawadzki, the publisher, experienced a financial loss. It is hard to believe that as a businessman he would not have attempted to implement his publishing plans to try to recover the losses. This is entirely plausible, as a disregard for censorship and failure to comply with the rules established by the government were not rare practices for the printers and publishers of the time, especially the Zawadzki. A monograph by Adam Mickiewicz⁴⁰ describes how the company, at that time under the leadership of the founder Józef Zawadzki, falsified publishing information when there were plans to reprint poetry by Mickiewicz at the end of 1822 or beginning of 1823. On November 2nd, 1822, Józef Jeżowski, a friend of Mickiewicz, wrote to him, “Zawadzki’s advice is to reprint the first volume with the same censorship and the same errors.”⁴¹ The fear then, as well as in the case analyzed here, was that the censors would not allow the reprinting of the edition. This decision was welcomed and consent was expressed in Mickiewicz’s letter to Jan Czczot, dated December 4th, 1822: “Let Zawadzki, if he can easily and securely obtain the censorship, prepare the second volume; if not, let him

³⁹ J. Zawadzki firmos knygų, išsiųstų į Varnius ir Šiluvą, registracijos žurnalas (Registration journal of Zawadzki’s enterprise regarding books sent to Varniai and Šiluva). Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuania State Historical Archive), f. 1135, apr. 7, b. 106, l. 245 [v].

⁴⁰ Piročkinas, Arnoldas. *Devyneri Adomo Mickevičiaus metai. Biografinė apybraiža (Nine years of Adam Mickiewicz: A biographical essay)*, pp. 313-14. Vilnius, 1995.

⁴¹ *Korespondencja filomatów (1817–1832) / Wybor i opracowanie Marta Zielińska (Correspondence between philomaths (1817–1832)*, selected and edited by Marta Zielińska), p. 347. Warsaw, 1989.

reprint it as it is, leaving the errors.”⁴² Zawadzki then released the second, contrafaction edition of the book, of which bibliographers had no knowledge throughout the nineteenth century.

Assuming that a total of 40,000 copies of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* were printed over four years and that the price of the publication was much higher in the later years, that is, about 4–5 kopeks⁴³ and not the 1.5 kopeks of 1858, it can reasonably be argued that the publication was a profitable one. If Zawadzki was not afraid to print the second edition of the booklet in 1859, even with the initiation of the prosecution case regarding its publication, we believe that the logical sequence of events would have then been to falsify the information regarding the publication of the new edition and to continue a profitable endeavor.

The theory that the 1860 and 1861 editions of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* were printed in Vilnius is confirmed by the surviving documentation of the Zawadzki enterprise, according to an entry in the Registration journal of Zawadzki’s enterprise regarding books sent to Varniai and Šiluva (1853–1863),⁴⁴ currently stored in the Lithuania State Historical Archive. 2,000 copies of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* were sent to Varniai by mail on November 21st, 1858, costing half a kopek each; the total amounted to 30 rubles. Another document, the orders and invoices of the book buyers of Zawadzki’s bookstore in Varniai (1853–65),⁴⁵ has entries recording that fifty copies of the publication were sent to the priest Kazimieras Gabalevičius on June 11th, 1861, priced at 5 kopeks each, and ten copies were sent to a notable literary figure, Laurynas Ivinskis, on January 10th, 1861, priced at 4 kopeks each. At the time, there were no other publications with a similar title, hence the entries cited most likely refer to the 1861 edition of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes*. Furthermore, a letter dated April 12th, 1860 was sent to Zawadzki by Aleksandras Kobylinskis, who worked at the Varniai bookstore. It requests “more detailed answers to our letters, in which we have asked you

⁴² *Korespondencja filomatów (1817–1832) / Wybor i opracowanie Marta Zielińska (Correspondence between philomaths (1817–1832), selected and edited by Marta Zielińska), p. 362. Warsaw, 1989.*

⁴³ J. Zawadzki firmos knygų, išsiųstų į Varnius ir Šiluvą, registracijos žurnalas (Registration journal of Zawadzki’s enterprise regarding books sent to Varniai and Šiluva). Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuania State Historical Archive), f. 1135, apr. 7, b. 106, l. 29, 41.

⁴⁴ J. Zawadzki firmos knygų, išsiųstų į Varnius ir Šiluvą, registracijos žurnalas (Registration journal of Zawadzki’s enterprise regarding books sent to Varniai and Šiluva). Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuania State Historical Archive), f. 1135, apr. 7, b. 106, l. 245 [v].

⁴⁵ J. Zawadzki firmos knygų, išsiųstų į Varnius ir Šiluvą, registracijos žurnalas (Registration journal of Zawadzki’s enterprise regarding books sent to Varniai and Šiluva). Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuania State Historical Archive), f. 1135, apr. 7, b. 106, l. 29, 41.

to print the booklets for the temperance brotherhoods as soon as possible.”⁴⁶

One of the most reliable methods used in the investigation of contrafactions is typographical analysis. Using it for the case study of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* revealed both differences and similarities between the editions of 1858 and 1860–61. The key difference is that different typefaces were used for the main text in both the comprehensive and the abridged editions of the booklet, as well as different design elements on the title page, whereas the composition of the publication itself, the layout of the text, the alignment of type, text composition, and some of the typefaces used were the same. While this shows that the printer used a different typeface from the one he normally used for his Lithuanian language books in the majority of the publications of 1860–61, it does not prove that the booklets were printed in Klaipėda. Rather, it demonstrates the cleverness of the printer in his attempts to mislead the censors and other government authorities. The typeface used, which was not typical of the Lithuanian language books published by the Zawadzki, was popular among the Vilnius printers of the mid-nineteenth century, who usually used the products of the local type founders. Abelis Syrkinas, another mid-century printer working in Vilnius, printed a publication on temperance in 1862, *Rodikle prijemima ing brostwą blajwistes* (*Indicators for being accepted into the Temperance Brotherhood*), which used the same drawings and a slightly smaller typeface. How likely, then, is it that the 1860–61 editions of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* were produced in Klaipėda?

Seen from today's perspective, the situation surrounding the persecution of the temperance movement and publications on the topic, which arose after 1858, was similar to the period of the press ban, when the printing houses of Lithuania Minor became locations for the mass production of contrafactions. However, in seeking to assess the situation from the point of those in the book business in 1860, it does not seem that either Valančius or his entourage were ready to give up established relations with the book publishers of Vilnius and their distribution networks for a single, small publication. If they had abandoned the Vilnius publishers, they would have then had to try to persuade Vaikinis, a small business owner in Klaipėda, to undertake the production of a book intended for the market of Lithuania Major and to then successfully and independently distribute the publication themselves. Due to the

⁴⁶ Gieczys, Kazimierz. *Bractwa trzeźwości w diecezji żmudzkiej w latach 1858–1864*: Disertacja doktorska (*Studja teologiczne*, t. 4) (*The Brotherhood of Temperance in the Diocese of Samogitia between 1858 and 1864*: Doctoral Dissertation) (*Theological Studies*, vol. 4), pp. 44–45. Wilno, 1935.

widespread use of the black-letter typeface in Lithuania Minor, Vaikinis printed the Lithuanian publications using black-letter, the production of which was financed by private individuals or groups.⁴⁷ He started his business only in 1855, and the first Lithuanian language books intended for the readership of Lithuania Minor were published after 1863. In order to produce several booklets for Valančius, Vaikinis would have had to acquire significant quantities of Latin type, and the costs would definitely not have been covered by the publications produced in that type.

Though not all these questions can be answered even today, these arguments lead to the conclusion that the 1860–61 editions of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* were printed in Vilnius, falsifying the publication information on their title pages. They can thus reasonably be identified as contrafactions from the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Based on the data of the Lithuanian retrospective bibliography, these are probably the first and the only known instances of Lithuanian contrafaction in this period. The conditions, factors, and people involved in the book business who determined their publication show that as early as the middle of the century a model for resistance to censorship had formed around Valančius and his entourage, which later determined the behavior and stance of those active in Lithuanian book publishing and distribution during the 1864 ban on Lithuanian language publications. The 1860–61 reprinting of *Apej brostwą blaiwystes* in Vilnius and not in Klaipėda also permits us to push back the estimated start of publishing business relations between Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Major to later years, when the first contrafactive publications appeared in Lithuania Minor and were intended for the readership of Lithuania Major.

⁴⁷ Kaunas, Domas. *Iš lietuvių knygos istorijos: Klaipėdos krašto lietuviška knyga iki 1919 m.* (From the book history of Lithuania: Lithuanian books of the Klaipėda region before 1919), pp. 74–76. Vilnius, 1986.

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