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VILNIUS, 2022

Martyno Mažvydo skaitymai

Considered and recommended for publishing as a collection of research articles by the Working Group on Scholarly Activities of the National Library of Lithuania on 16 September, 2022 (Protocol No. 4)

All submitted manuscripts are subject to peer review
by two independent, anonymous expert referees

The Publishing was funded by
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania



MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF
THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

Image used for book covers:

Lubieniecki, Stanisław, *Theatri Cometicæ*,
Amsterdam, 1668

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The bibliographical information about this publication is available
in the Lithuanian Integrated Library Information System (LIBIS) *ibiblioteka.lt*

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 OPEN ACCESS



DOI: 10.51740/DPT.1

ISBN 978-609-405-227-9 (PRINT)

ISBN 978-609-405-228-6 (ONLINE)

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He Who Is 'Willing to Make a Book of Anything' – on the Literary Activities of Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz¹

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Abstract: The article discusses the literary activity of Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz (Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius, 1755-1822). Marewicz was one of the few men of his generation to become a professional writer. The literary activity became his way of ensuring a more secure material and social position. The article investigates how Marewicz envisioned writing as a profession and the publishing possibilities that were open to him. The focus is greater on his literary activity in Vilnius, which has been less researched in historiography. The article presents an exploration of Marewicz's autobiographical works as well as the dedications and introductions of his books, wherein the writer encoded his intentions. The article then discusses Marewicz's relationship to the individuals he dedicated his work to and what means the writer had at his disposal with respect to the publication and distribution of his books. The conclusion presents a discussion of how typical and how unique the case of Marewicz was in the Enlightenment period.

Keywords: Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz (Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius), Enlightenment writer, literary activity, Vilnius

Introduction

Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz (Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius, 1755-1822), the rittmeister of the Voivodeship of Trakai, was a poor nobleman who tried to make a living as a writer. For a long time, he had neither land nor office and was not associated with any institution or any single patron, so writing and selling books became his way of securing material comforts and a better station in society. With no other source of income, Marewicz had to write and publish abundantly. Typically, he printed his works out of his own pocket and had to ensure their distribution himself. Marewicz can be viewed as one of the few independent writers of his time. This was a rare phenomenon in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time, where literary men, as noted by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, did not see writing as a professional activity.²

His many works and the great variety of subjects he wrote on earned Marewicz the reputation of a graphomaniac. The image of Marewicz formed by his first biographer, Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (Eustachijus Tiškevičius) was less than favourable. In his short book, *A Study of Habits*,³ published in 1870, Marewicz

¹ This research was funded by a grant (No. S-LIP-21-04) from the Research Council of Lithuania.

² Kostkiewiczowa, Teresa, 'Poeci Oświecenia. Oświeceniowe poglądy na poezję', in: *Świat poprawić – zuchwałé rzemiosło. Antologia poezji polskiego Oświecenia*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981, p. 7.

³ Tyszkiewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, Warszawa: Drukarnia Gazety Warszawskiej, 1870.

is presented as strange and pathetic, a man who with no education attempted to 'break through to Parnassus'.⁴ It was only in the past few decades that the writer's work has caught the attention of Polish literary historians. He has been comprehensively studied by Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, who has written articles on him for three biographical dictionaries.⁵ She has made the work of Marewicz relevant again by demonstrating his originality in the literary context of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While Aleksandrowska sees Marewicz as a second-rate literary figure, she also considers him one of the most singular writers of the Enlightenment.⁶ Another Polish scholar, Anna Petlak, is currently compiling a comprehensive publication of Marewicz's writings. She has already published collections of his early poetry, prefaced by her own introduction, as well as several articles on Marewicz's dramatic works.⁷

In the discourse of Lithuanian literary history, Marewicz is hardly mentioned, even though he spent the better part of his life in Vilnius and wrote at least half of his books there. In general, we have little information about independent writers working in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and so, one of the aims of this study is to present Marewicz's literary activity in Vilnius. The article will also discuss how Marewicz envisioned writing as a profession and what publishing opportunities were available to him. The article will be presented as a case study, reflecting on the social and cultural processes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Enlightenment era through the activity of a specific author: the formation of new literary practices, motives for writing and attitudes towards writing.

As my main source, I will be using Marewicz's books, many of which are rich in autobiographical detail. Marewicz's entire creative legacy has so far not been systematically studied. A total of 41 titles by Marewicz have up to this point been identified in the memory institutions of Lithuania and Poland.⁸ At least 22 of the titles were published in Vilnius. Marewicz also published his work in Warsaw, Krakow and Lviv. The focus of this study will be the dedications, introductions and epigraphs of his books and any additional information pertaining to their distribution.

The life of Marewicz

Marewicz was born in 1755, to the family of a landless nobleman from the *powiat* of Trakai. He attended the Jesuit school in Vilnius, however, he dropped out having barely reached grammar grade. In 1776, he departed for a several year journey across various cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 'with no purpose in mind', and later settled down in Warsaw for three years as he attempted to resolve

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter – PSB), Vol. 19, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974, pp. 633-635; Idem, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, edited by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Vol. 2, Warszawa, 1994, pp. 332-341; Idem, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy (1755–1822)', in: *Dawni pisarze polscy od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski. Przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny*, Vol. 2, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2001, pp. 427-429.

⁶ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, edited by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Vol. 2, Warszawa Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1994, pp. 332, 339.

⁷ Petlak, Anna, 'Wprowadzenie do lektury', in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, compiled and provided with an introduction by Anna Petlak, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, pp. 13-81; Idem, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, pp. 147-162; Idem, 'Źródła z epoki jako świadectwa polskiej i rosyjskiej recepcji opery Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza *Polusia, Córka kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona...*', in: *Napis*, Vol. 24, 2018, pp. 225-241.

⁸ The publication XVIII a. *Lietuvos knygos lenkų kalba. Kontrolinis sąrašas*, edited by Marija Ivanovič, Karina Basiul, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, 2015, pp. 240-242 presents 25 entries of works published by Marewicz in Vilnius. Two of these books were reprints. The place of publication of one book (*Do stanów sejmujących wiersz Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, rotmistrza wojwództwa trockiego, w czasie ordynaryjnego seymu w Warszawie (1788)*) should be Warsaw, as indicated in a list compiled by the author himself and presented in *Szczęście w nieszczęściu czyli wzor stałości ludzkosci i cierpliwości: Drama oryginalne we czterech aktach przez Wincentego Marewicza napisane*, [S.l.: s.n.], 1798, pp. [1-3] at the end of the book.

various legal issues.⁹ Having achieved little in Warsaw and spent all his money, Marewicz returned to Vilnius in 1783. For a while, he studied geography under the patronage of the Bishop of Vilnius, Ignacy Jakub Massalski (Ignotas Jokūbas Masalskis), but probably never applied his studies in real life. Once he took up residence in Vilnius, Marewicz took to writing. His first work was a comedy written in Vilnius, in 1783 entitled *Miłość dla cnoty* (*Love for Virtue*). He wrote the play to attract the attention of a young woman of noble birth, producing the comedy himself and staging it with a troupe of amateur actors brought together for that express purpose. Rejected by the young lady in question, Marewicz left Vilnius again the following year and departed for Warsaw, where he spent several years, during which he began to publish his works. He was first published in 1784 by *Magazyn Warszawski*, a literary newspaper that showcased several of his poems.¹⁰ From 1786 onwards, Marewicz began to publish his works in earnest.

During his stay in Warsaw, Marewicz also sought to manage various legal issues: he requested the support of the king in recovering a debt he was owed with which he wished to buy out his family *folwark* [estate] in the *powiat* of Trakai, also hoping he would appoint him the king's chamberlain, however, his efforts were fruitless. In late 1788-early 1789, Marewicz left for Grodno, and then returned to Vilnius. Mid-1789, he travelled to Krakow, where he published several more manuscripts. From Krakow, Marewicz travelled to Nesvizh and then Vilnius, where he lived up until late 1798 and continued to publish his writings.

At the beginning of 1791, under the patronage of the Maciej Radziwiłł (Motiejus Radvila), the castellan of Vilnius, to whom the writer had dedicated a work entitled *Szczere interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem* (*Marewicz's Sincere Interest in Marewicz*),¹¹ Marewicz purchased a small house and some land near Lukiškės, on Pakalnės (*Podgórna*) Street.¹² In July of 1791, he accepted the rights of the townspeople and was shortly elected assessor of elections for the second district. However, his participation in the activity of the municipal government was short-lived because in May of 1792, war broke out between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia. Wishing to aid his country's army, Marewicz pledged all he had for the use of the military and committed to sending a volunteer knowledgeable in military service.¹³ In 1794, Marewicz and his wife (identity unknown) participated in the Kościuszko Uprising.¹⁴

After the last partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Marewicz lived in Vilnius for a while, writing and publishing occasional poems and plays. His plays were staged in Vilnius, and Marewicz acted in them with his wife. From late 1798, he lived in Lviv, later in Warsaw. In 1802, having left his wife behind in Warsaw, he departed for Vilnius to pursue the return of his Lithuanian assets in the courts and lived there until 1806. It is unclear when he finally settled down in Warsaw again, but we do know that he was living there by fall of 1819 and serving as an officer of the Civil Commission of Warsaw's District 4. He was a member of the Temple of Isis masonic lodge. He did not publish any of his written work during this period. He died in Warsaw in 1822. In June of the same year, the Public Library purchased 140 volumes of his work from his widow. After his death, in 1836, a small part of his ironic parody, the poem *Nefelonikones*, which Marewicz wrote in the early nineteenth century, was published in Paris.¹⁵

⁹ For more on Marewicz's biography see the work of Aleksandrowska and the introduction written by Petlak (see footnotes 2 and 3), also see: Balaišytė, Lina, 'Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius apie save ir Tėvynę: XVIII a. pabaigos literato (savi)refleksijos', in: *XVIII amžiaus studijos, Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė: personalijos, idėjos, refleksijos*, Vilnius, 2020, Vol. 6, pp. 294-322.

¹⁰ The poems are reprinted in Marewicz's debut collection of poems, *Samotne zabawki wierszem* (1786). Now published: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, pp. 92-94.

¹¹ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Szczere interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem do Jaśnie Oświeconego Xięcia Imci Macieja Radziwiłły kasztelana wileńskiego, kawalera polskich orderów, podane w Nieświżu w rękopismie roku 1791. msca kwietnia d. 2.*, [Wilno, 1791].

¹² Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *PSB*, p. 635.

¹³ On 24 May 1792, the Warsaw newspaper *Korrespondent Warszawski* reported on Marewicz's donation: the rights to a brick building, a small manor and garden, 269 złoty, an armed volunteer with a horse and a hussar's uniform, and printed books to the value of 2,000 złoty. He also promised that upon the resolution of certain affairs, he would 'willingly dedicate his life to the Fatherland'. See: *Korrespondent Warszawski*, 1792, No. 16, pp. 140-141.

¹⁴ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *PSB*, p. 635.

¹⁵ In 1836, an individual who went by the initials of L. K. published one of four parts of Marewicz's poem, signed in the introduction

On Marewicz's creative work

Marewicz's literary activity, which began with a comedy of manners and several small satirical works published in the press, sprawled in several different directions. Marewicz produced various political projects, small volumes of poetry, letters in verse and collections of prose, three comedic and two dramatic plays, a political opera, occasional patriotic and panegyric poems and a collection of quotations. Some of his works are difficult to attribute to any one genre because a single volume could be a compilation of treatises, satirical miniatures panegyrics, patriotic poetry and so on.

We can presume that Marewicz was greatly influenced by Warsaw's literary scene. The city brought together various writers under the patronage of the king, literary societies thrived and there were several literary periodicals to choose from, making it a favourable environment for creative activity. Roman Kaleta once noted that in the late eighteenth century, the professional writer was an exclusively Varsovian phenomenon. He cites a nineteenth century publicist, who describes the Varsovian literary type of the previous century: 'People who have ink for blood, who are willing to make a book or article of anything and have no other affairs except for literary ones.'¹⁶ According to the anonymous publicist, the professional writer was characteristically unattached to any one object and combined a certain universality with superficiality.¹⁷ Such a description can readily be applied to Marewicz as well, who actively published the most eclectic material.

Despite this variety of material, we can see that Marewicz's greatest passion was social criticism. In the social sense, Marewicz was like the 'poor poets' who, according to Aleksandrowska, 'considered creative work a public activity that meant having an independent position on social and political problems.'¹⁸ In his work, Marewicz frequently sought to unmask social ills and reveal a crisis of traditional values. Social criticism dominated his autobiographical works, in which he depicted himself as a lone figure in a hypocritical and money-driven society, rejected for his virtue.¹⁹ The theme of being valued for one's virtue as opposed to one's wealth and status dominated in Marewicz's comedic and dramatic plays.²⁰ The period of state reform also encouraged him to voice his opinions on various political issues.²¹

Based on his date of birth and time of his literary debut, Marewicz can be attributed to the third generation of writers in the classification of five generations of Polish-Lithuanian Enlightenment writers proposed by literary historians.²² Aleksandrowska has dubbed the third generation, writers born from 1750 to 1769, the 'activists' ('działacze'). What Marewicz had in common with other members of his generation was a world view shaped by the experience of the intense political life of the state. Marewicz's lineage was also typical – over 70% of third-generation Enlightenment writers were noblemen. However, it should be noted that only a very small percentage of this generation could be called professional writers. The majority of these literary figures were clergymen, teachers, officials, publishers and military

with 'Józef Marewicz z starej daty Polak' ('Józef Marewicz, an old-fashioned Pole'). Aleksandrowska has identified the author as none other than Wincenty Ignacy himself (Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *PSB*, p. 635).

¹⁶ Kaleta, Roman, 'Miejsce i społeczna funkcja literatów w okresie Oświecenia', in: *Problemy literatury polskiej okresu Oświecenia*, Wrocław, Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1973, p. 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 339.

¹⁹ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Projekt nieuskuteczniiony prozą i wierszem Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, Rotmistrza Woiewództwa Trockiego*, Warszawa, 1788; Idem, *Szczerze interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem...*, and others.

²⁰ E.g., Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Miłość wszystkich porównywa: komedia oryginalna w pięciu aktach*, W Wilnie: [s.n.], 1796; Idem, *Miłość dla cnoty...* Warszawa: [s.n.], 1787].

²¹ For more on the topic see: Balaišytė, Lina, '„Leiskite ir man, ką galvoju, pasakyti!“: Apie Vincento Ignaco Marevičiaus politinę poeziją ir veiklų patriotizmą', in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, Vol. 52: *Senoji poezija: formos, sankirtos, paraštės*, Vilnius, 2021, pp. 93–107.

²² Kostkiewiczowa, Teresa, 'Poeci Oświecenia. Oświeceniowe poglądy na poezję', in: *Świat poprawić – zuchwale rzemiosło. Antologia poezji polskiego Oświecenia*, edited by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981, p. 6; Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Pisarze – generacje i rodowód społeczny', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 400–409.

officers.²³ It is only in the ‘continuator’ (*kontynuatorzy*) generation that a more substantial 16% become ‘professionals’, but even they, according to Aleksandrowska, could be viewed as noblemen who made a living as landowners and possessors.²⁴

What made Marewicz stand out from his generation of writers was his meagre education. Aleksandrowska notes that the writers of the ‘activist’ generation were educated individuals who grew up in the time of Stanisław August – a ruler who paid particular attention to education. With not even a school diploma to his name, Marewicz himself admitted that he had studied ‘neither poetry nor rhetoric’.²⁵ He also mentioned that he had no knowledge of foreign languages and, therefore, could not ‘follow in the footsteps of one of those fashionable foreign writers’.²⁶ It is thus not difficult to see why literary scholars frequently write Marewicz off as a second- or even third-rate writer. However, Aleksandrowska sees Marewicz’s exceptional originality as a writer. She believes that the ‘intrigue of the writer’s creative work lies somewhere in between the imitation of other writers and the discovery of original forms of expression’.²⁷ In the introduction to *Waryacya: wiersz nowego rodzaju* (*Variation: a new kind of poem*), Marewicz explains his creative process thus:

I came upon the idea of writing a poem of a new kind. Because I had never studied poetry, I always wrote with no rules in mind, and in this new bundle of poems, I created rules for myself, making an effort to have the title fit the subject, breaking sudden and disordered surges of thought after thought into separate lines.²⁸

Aleksandrowska notes that Marewicz was mostly inspired by the quest for the natural and the authentic postulated by sentimentalism.²⁹ In the dedication of *Zdarzenia czyli sny* (*Occurrences or dreams*) Marewicz describes his literary *modus operandi* thus: ‘This work is the fruit of the toiled earth, in which nature itself operates, unenhanced by any art’.³⁰

Of course, the poorly educated Marewicz could not expect to be widely recognised, and it seems he was aware of his limited ability himself. As she presents his early poetry, Petlak observes that Marewicz called his first collection of poems ‘a job poorly done’ (*licha praca*).³¹ Petlak believes that this possibly reveals the poet’s lack of confidence in his creative ability but also sees such rhetoric as the exaggerated modesty that was typical of the language of dedicative texts.³² Expressions of this demonstrative modesty can also be found in a poem in the said collection entitled *Do książki przy oddaniu jej do prasy* (*To this little book, as it is handed off for publication*), which contains the lines ‘Little book, fruit of a small mind!’ and ‘I created this (though perhaps not so fluently)’.³³ Actually, Marewicz did not speak of his own talent anywhere and most probably viewed writing as honest work. This point of view is reflected in several phrases he chose as epigraphs for his books: ‘Better a poor job than a perfect idleness’ or ‘He who does what he can, does enough’.³⁴ He completes one of his dedications thus: ‘Whether my work is

²³ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, ‘Pisarze – generacje i rodowód społeczny’, in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 406–407.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

²⁵ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskruteczniiony prozą i wierszem...*, p. 15.

²⁶ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zdarzenia czyli sny Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza Rotmistrz woje: Trockiego wierszem i prozą*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Warszawa: Drukarnia P. Dufoura, 1786, p. [8].

²⁷ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, ‘Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz’, in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 340.

²⁸ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Waryacya: wiersz nowego rodzaju Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, rotmistrza województwa trockiego*, Warszawa: [Dufour], 1788, p. 1.

²⁹ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, ‘Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz’, in: *PSB*, p. 634.

³⁰ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zdarzenia czyli sny...*, p. [8].

³¹ Petlak, Anna, ‘Wprowadzenie do lektury’, in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, p. 32.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁴ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Przysłowia i maxymy Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, rotmistrza województwa trockiego*, Warszawa: [s.n.], 1788.

good or bad is for society to decide. I can only solemnly and confidently swear that I had the best of intentions.³⁵

As a typical product of the Enlightenment, Marewicz viewed his works from the perspective of good citizenship and considered the writing of books a service to society. In one of his works, he elaborates on his intentions:

Not wishing to be an inactive citizen of the Fatherland and an idle body consuming the bread produced by the land in vain, I decided to undertake this work, which suitably demonstrates if not my abilities, then at least my desires. With this intention in mind, I wrote the first small volume of 'Occurrences' as an entertainment and benefit to society [...], so that in making my readers merry, I could direct them on the useful path of contemplation.³⁶

In another work, he explains that he can only be of use to the state by doing such work because he is 'helpless'. With this he likely had in mind that his lack of wealth prevented him from getting involved in state service – an injustice he wrote about frequently.³⁷

He saw the utility of his work in the unmasking of social evils – something he considered the duty of every good citizen.³⁸ Marewicz was constantly trying to reveal the vices of society and even viewed some of his own work as too bold: in his dedication to Franciszek Czapski, the voivode of Chełm, he writes that he will hand over his work 'revealing the true character of masked personalities' and asks for it to be published only after his death.³⁹ Interestingly, in his bold political work *Polusia, Córka kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona* (*Polusia, the Wheelwright's Daughter, or Freedom Liberated*), Marewicz attempted to hide his authorship, presenting himself as the translator of the work from Russian, using the introduction to convincingly describe the difficulties he encountered in translating the work.⁴⁰

Alongside its educational benefits, Marewicz obviously valued literary activity because it gave him renown, i.e., elevated his status. As he tells the story of how unrequited love inspired his creative work, the writer admits: 'Had I not experienced love, I would have sat in the corner obscured by the fog of irrelevance, known to no one, and now they call me a literary man.'⁴¹ Even more importantly for Marewicz, of course, was the opportunity offered by literary activity to secure the patronage of the powerful. It can be said that his works became a means for him to build relationships with the nobility. This is probably best illustrated by Marewicz's aforementioned reaching out to Maciej Radziwiłł. On the cover of the book he dedicated to the nobleman, Marewicz writes that the work was first submitted to Radziwiłł in Nesvizh in manuscript form, i.e., at the Radziwiłł manor, and only later published.⁴² The book, in which Marewicz tells the story of his life, seems to have touched the nobleman, who himself had literary inclinations, and he granted Marewicz a large amount of money. Later, he would publish two books with panegyrics addressed to Radziwiłł and his wife Elżbieta Chodkiewiczówna Radziwiłłowa (Elżbieta Chodkevičiūtė Radvilienė) as a mark of gratitude for the allocated funds.⁴³

³⁵ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskućeczny prozǫ i wierszem...*, p. 9.

³⁶ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zdarzenia albo sny...*, p. [7].

³⁷ '[...] not being able to serve my country by any other means due to my helplessness, I did what I was able to. I decried foul deeds and glorified virtue so that others may be guided by example.' See *Proiekt nieuskućeczny prozǫ i wierszem...*, p. 161.

³⁸ E.g., in the poem Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Do stanów seymuiczych...* (*The Estates Assembled at Parliament*) he wrote: 'He who calls himself a good citizen, / Is the friend of country and countrymen. / And a friend must have reflective qualities, / Showing every spot to be seen.'

³⁹ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 336.

⁴⁰ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Polusia, Córka kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona. Opera tragiczna w dwóch aktach. Z Rossyjskiego na Polski język przetłumaczona*, [S.l.], 1789. For more see Petlak, Anna, 'Źródła z epoki jako świadectwa polskiej i rosyjskiej recepcji opery Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza *Polusia, Córka kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona*...'

⁴¹ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskućeczny prozǫ i wierszem...*, p. 15.

⁴² Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Szczere interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem...*, [Wilno: s.n., 1791].

⁴³ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Satyra zamiast wdzięczności na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Macieja Radziwiłłę kasztelanu wileńskiego...*, [Wilno, 1791]; Idem, *Kłamstwo czyli wiersz do ... Elżbiety z hrabiów Chodkiewiczów Radziwiłłowej, kasztelanowej*

Marewicz typically dedicated his books to the noblemen whose support or patronage he sought. He usually addressed them as a 'lesser person', convinced that it was the duty of the 'great ones' to take care of weaker members of society. A consistent motif can be discovered in his dedications: Marewicz likens himself to a small blade of grass, while the nobleman he compares to a great tree that protects the blade from trouble, or himself to a small stream rescued by a great river.⁴⁴ As was common in the Enlightenment era, Marewicz would then praise the nobleman for his virtuous citizenship. For example, in the dedication of *Proiekt nieuszkutechniony prozą i wierszem* (*An Unrealised Project in Prose and Verse*) to Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (Adomas Kazimieras Čartoriskis), Marewicz writes that he would not dare to address the duke with his dedication and request for patronage, if Czartoryski were 'a friend of flattery and an enemy of truth, [...], a greater friend to himself than the Fatherland' and 'driven by his own interests instead of justice, [...], if he valued lineage, wealth and station over intelligence, good citizenship and virtue'.⁴⁵ Curiously, Marewicz often emphasised that he did not know personally the individual he was dedicating his book to and whose patronage he was seeking to secure. This was perhaps meant to demonstrate that he was praising the individual not to flatter them but because of a genuine respect for their work.⁴⁶ Sometimes, Marewicz demonstratively avoided exaggerated praise. For example, in the dedication of *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona* (*Polusia, the Wheelwright's Daughter, or Freedom Liberated*) to the hetman of the GDL, Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (Mykolas Kazimieras Oginskis), Marewicz writes: 'It might surprise the Dear Reader that the great name inscribed at the beginning of this opera has received no compliment [...]. This was determined by the fear of countrymen saying that the praise is of a hungry writer, and a compliment does not taste good before a meal.'⁴⁷

Alongside praise, Marewicz also frequently tried to play on the compassion of the individual he was dedicating his work to, by speaking of his hardship and inability to conform in an 'unjust' society. For example, in the dedication of the drama *A Wife Abandoned on an Uninhabited Island*, he depicts himself as having been rejected due to his virtue: 'The wife was abandoned by her husband by accident, while the author has been forgotten by his fellow countrymen for the sin of caring about man's good name.'⁴⁸ It was not uncommon for Marewicz to complain of his poverty, and he presented his works as the most fitting expression of gratitude or gift for the powerful. For example, in a word of congratulations to Izabella Czartoryska, he writes: 'If I were wealthy, I would know what to gift to give you for the New Year, but as I am destitute... Hush, hush! I already know – to You, I present Your portrait, as painted by a Poet who does not seek to ingratiate himself.'⁴⁹

The majority of Marewicz's books were dedicated to various noblemen, so it does not look like he was associated with any individual on a long-term basis. Marewicz dedicated the greatest number of works to the GDL chancellor, Aleksander Sapieha (Aleksandras Sapiega).⁵⁰ The text of one dedication

wilen. w oktawę oktawy jey imienin r. 1791 grudnia d. 3, W Wilnie: [s.n., 1791]. In 1795, published yet another panegyric dedicated to Radziwiłłowa: Idem, *Do xiężny Elzbiety z Chodkiewiczow Radziwiłłowej* ..., [Wilno: s.n.], 1795.

⁴⁴ For more on this see Balaišytė, Lina, 'Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius apie save ir Tėvynę: XVIII a. pabaigos literato (savi)refleksijos', p. 306.

⁴⁵ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuszkutechniony prozą i wierszem*, p. [2-6].

⁴⁶ E.g., having presented specific noblemen as good examples, Marewicz highlighted that he did 'not personally owe any debt of gratitude' and has not 'been the recipient of any favours from them. I am indebted to them for their service to the country, as a citizen, as is the entire Fatherland'. See Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuszkutechniony prozą i wierszem*, pp. 161-162.

⁴⁷ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona*..., p. [5].

⁴⁸ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zona opuszczona na bezludnej wyspie*..., fol. A2r. For more on this dedication see: Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', p. 153.

⁴⁹ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Bukiet zamiast kołody na Nowy Rok 1799. dla [...] xiężny [...] Izabelli z hrabiow Flemingow Czartoryskiej* ..., W Lwowie: drukiem Pillerowskim, [1798/99], p. [7].

⁵⁰ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Satyra Na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Alexandra Sapiechę Kanclerza Wielkiego*..., [Wilno]: Drukarnia Akademicka, [1790]; *Do [...] Alexandra Sapiehy [...] w oktawę jego imienin*..., Wilno, [post 10 V] 1792. The comedy *Miłość dla cnoty*..., Warszawa: [s.n., 1787] and the collection *Dorywcze zabawki wierszem i prozą*..., Warszawa, [1788] were dedicated to Sapieha.

reveals that the chancellor helped Marewicz during a time of illness. Worth noting is the fact that after Sapieha's death, Marewicz dedicated his work to Sapieha's daughter, Marianna Sapiehówna-Puzynowa (Marijona Sapiegaitė-Puzinienė), in the hope that she would 'inherit' her father's patronage of himself.⁵¹

There was also a case in which Marewicz tried to secure the patronage of an influential individual in advance, by dedicating his work to the Archbishop of Lviv, Kajetan Ignacy Kicki. At the time, the writer intended to move from Vilnius, which had just been incorporated by the Russian Empire, to Lviv, which had become part of the Holy Roman Empire.⁵² In the dedication of a comedy to the archbishop, Marewicz wrote that the reward he hoped for in return for his patronage would be the popularity of the play: 'And if my work were to be so successful that it achieved renown in society and circulated widely from hand to hand, everyone would see, inscribed to my sweetest satisfaction, the sign of respect and gratitude to you, which I wish to make eternal with this immortal work.'⁵³

Marewicz's books

The publication and sale of his books were for a long time Marewicz's principal source of income. Except for a brief stint in the service of the municipal government of Vilnius and the previously mentioned financial support offered by Radziwiłł, any additional sources of income Marewicz may have had are unknown. We can therefore say that the active publication of works was a necessity for Marewicz. Anything he wrote, he immediately published, and his book publishing activity gathered great speed. He made his début in the press in 1784, by 1786 and 1787, he was publishing two books a year, and by 1788, he had published 10 titles in Warsaw.

As if to confirm the previously cited publicist's observation on the Varsovian literary men who rushed to make a book of anything, Marewicz published everything wrote: not just his fiction and articles, but his letters, various requests, petitions and addresses. For example, among the love poems and panegyric writings in the collection *Dorywcze zabawki* (*Chance Entertainments*), Marewicz included 'A petition to the king upon the submission of a printed Memorandum to the Permanent Council for my case in 1780', a 'Speech given to the king in a private audience in 1788' and similar pieces, in which he relates his requests, describing the consequences of those requests in the footnotes.⁵⁴ Here, he also emphasised that all of the letters to the king were presented in printed form. At the end of one of his books, Marewicz present the king with a request regarding another individual – 'the Lithuanian Rafał Czerwiakowski (Rapolas Červiakovskis), a professor of surgery and obstetrics at the Kraków Academy', explaining his decisions to publish a public request by saying that he 'could later also publicly express gratitude for the assistance'.⁵⁵ As a separate book, Marewicz published a poem and petition addressed to Stanisław August, with the aim of defending the interests of a widow from Kraków.⁵⁶

In 1790, he returned to Vilnius and continued to live off of his literary endeavours. In 1791 and 1792, he published six books annually. The majority of them were composed of panegyrics, however, there were also a substantial number of politically engaged works. Marewicz was in Vilnius during an important turning point for the state, when the Four-Year Sejm was in session and approved the Constitution of

⁵¹ 'Believe me, Madame, even though you know me not, / That I was loved by thy father. / He is no longer here. But You take his place. / If you wish to allow the servants of Sapieha to continue living, / Tell them to take Marewicz's name out of your father's list and include it in your own; / So that they inherit the Daughter's attention as the legacy of the Father.' See: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Wszystko się skończyło na projekcie...*, p. [6].

⁵² '[...] as I move from the unwelcoming northern expanses [the Russian Empire] to the sweet domain of the good, humane and just Most Enlightened Francis II [the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire], I ask you to accept me into your herd of sheep, so that I may be in Your loving, sensitive and merciful care.' See Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Szczęście w nieszczęściu...*, 1798, p. [10].

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Dorywcze zabawki wierszem i prozą*, Warszawa: Druk. P. Dufour, 1788, pp. 48-60.

⁵⁵ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Uwaga nad losem biednej Tekluni, z prośbą do króla*, [S.l.: s.n.], 1791, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁶ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Uwaga nad losem biednej Tekluni, z prośbą do króla*, W Krakowie: [s.n.], 1789.

3 May 1791. A year later the Russian-backed Targowica Confederation was established, war broke out with Russia and was followed by the Kościuszko Uprising and, ultimately, the downfall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A fierce patriot and supporter of state reform, Marewicz participated in every political event and expressed his opinion on various public issues in his publications. He published solemn speeches, a description of decorations dedicated to the anniversary of the Constitution, patriotic poetry and works of a similar nature.⁵⁷ With patriotic moods predominant in society, political works often took on the role of journalism and were especially popular. We can presume that Marewicz's books were also in high demand. We know that one of his works, published in Vilnius under the title *Kołąda na Nowy Rok 1794 dla króla y nieszczęśliwego narodu* (*Greeting to the King and the Unhappy Nation for the New Year of 1794*), was written during a dramatic time for the state and was reprinted with subscriber funds just 19 days after the publication of the first edition.⁵⁸

The war with Russia and the Kościuszko Uprising prevented Marewicz from going about his work as usual. However, by 1795, he had already published two dramas, which were staged at the Vilnius Theatre, followed by two more in 1796 and 1798. Tyszkiewicz claims that in 1795, the Vilnius Theatre, which was not doing well financially, generated a significant amount of income by staging Marewicz's comedy *Miłość wszystkich porównywa* (*All Equals in Love*), in which the playwright himself had a role.⁵⁹ It was somewhere around late 1798-early 1799 that Marewicz published what was probably his last work.⁶⁰ Aleksandrowska speculates that he may have stopped publishing books because he was plagued by his reputation as a graphomaniac,⁶¹ but it is also possible that when he left Vilnius after the dissolution of the Republic of Both Nations, Marewicz was no longer able to adjust to his new circumstances and the changing needs of the public.

Marewicz typically self-published and likely had to manage sales of his books as well. While he lived in Warsaw, he printed a substantial number of books at the Missionary Press, but he worked with other printing works as well.⁶² The books he published in Vilnius do not indicate any publishing house, however, several vignettes have allowed us to identify two books as having been printed at the Basilian Press.⁶³ Petlak notes that one list of Marewicz's books includes publications from as many as 26 works printed in different printing houses. According to the scholar, this means that the lists were published not by any single publisher, but by the author himself.⁶⁴ Book lists were published in several of the books Marewicz published in 1788 and one publication from 1798.⁶⁵ They listed book titles, places of publication and prices. The list published in 1798 still included all the books that had been listed ten years prior. The prices of the books remained almost the same. It was mostly the cost of the lower-value books that

⁵⁷ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Do współ-braci moich wielmożnych y urodzonych ...*, Wilno: [s.n.], 1791; *Opis Illuminacyi Daney w dniu 3 Maia Roku 1792...*, [Wilno], 1792; *Mowa po ukończonym obiorze urzędników drugiego cyrkulu wileńskiego roku...*, [Wilno]: [s.n.], 1792.

⁵⁸ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Kołąda na Nowy Rok 1794 dla króla y nieszczęśliwego narodu*, [Wilno: s.n.], 1794. The first edition of the book was published on 5 January 1794, while the second edition was published on 24 January. The latter contains a declaration that the republication was paid for by subscribers.

⁵⁹ Tyszkiewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, p. 18.

⁶⁰ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Bukiet zamiast kołądy na Nowy Rok 1799. dla [...] xiężny [...] Izabelli z hrabiów Flemingów Czartoryskich...*, W Lwowie: drukiem Pillerowskim, [1798/99]. Literary historians speculate that several anonymous works could have been written by him, but this has never been confirmed. In 1821, Marewicz's work *Nefelonikones* was published posthumously in Paris. For more on this see: Balaišytė, Lina, „Leiskite ir man, ką galvoju, pasakyti!": Apie Vincento Ignaco Marevičiaus politinę poeziją ir veiklų patriotizmą, in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra, Senoji poezija: formos, sankirtos, paraštės*, edited by Ona Dilytė-Čiurinskienė, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2021, Vol. 52, pp. 93-107.

⁶¹ Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *PSB*, p. 635.

⁶² Petlak, Anna, 'Wprowadzenie do lektury', in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, p. 20.

⁶³ A description of the two books kept at the Rare Book Department of the Vilnius University Library indicates that their place of publication, the Basilian press, was identified based on a vignette (*Do współ-braci moich...; Mowa po ukończonym obiorze...*).

⁶⁴ Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, p. 159.

⁶⁵ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Dorywcze zabawki wierszem i prozą...; Waryacya: wiersz nowego rodzaju...; Gołąbek Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza Rotmistrza Woiewodztwa Trockiego*, Warszawa: [s.n.], 1788; *Szczęście w nieszczęściu...*, 1798.

increased (from 15-18 groszy to 20). The most expensive was a two-volume work entitled *Zdarzenia czyli sny* (*Occurrences or Dreams*): in 1788, it cost 5 zloty, while in 1798, the price went up to 5 zloty and 15 groszy. Marewicz's rather popular plays were sold at a price ranging from 1 zloty and 15 groszy to 3 zloty. This was a rather common price point for similar publications.⁶⁶

The lists of Marewicz's books do not include the majority of the panegyrics he wrote for various noblemen. The only exceptions were those works in which his praise for an individual was more elaborate and original in form, e.g. panegyrics dedicated to Sapieha, Radziwiłł and his wife,⁶⁷ which were written as persiflage, a form of mock criticism actually intended as praise that was popular in the Enlightenment period. Interestingly, Marewicz's most popular creation – the political opera *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona* (*Polusia, the Wheelwright's Daughter, or Liberated Freedom*), which was printed seven times – did not make the list either.⁶⁸ Perhaps in 1798, when almost the entire territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been incorporated into the Russian Empire, it was dangerous to offer books containing anti-Russian sentiment. However, it is worth noting that Marewicz did include the patriotic works he published in 1791 and 1792 in the lists, which were also rich with statements critical of the policies of the Russian Empire.

We do not know how Marewicz went about selling his books. Typically, publishing houses handed the entire print run over to the client or distributed the publications themselves.⁶⁹ We can only guess that Marewicz undertook the task of distributing his books himself. This is possibly evidenced by the aforementioned booklists he compiled himself. Alongside published titles, one list includes the titles of 'completed manuscripts' and even 'incomplete manuscripts'.⁷⁰ It was undoubtedly for purposes of advertising that Marewicz also listed the cities in which his dramas had been staged alongside their titles. For example, on the cover of *Miłość wszystkich porównywa* (*All Equals in Love*), he indicates that the 'comedy had been staged several times in the theatres of Warsaw, Lviv and Vilnius'.⁷¹ In addition to this, it was obviously important for Marewicz to demonstrate his noble birth and status. On the title page of many of his publications, he printed vignettes with the family coat of arms, the *Kościęsza*, and indicated his title along with his signature – 'Rittmeister of the Voivodeship of Trakai' or simply the initials 'R. W. T.'. Marewicz must have commissioned different engravers to create his vignettes because they did not all look the same. For example, in the work dedicated to his beloved 'Laura', *Ostatnia do Laury odezwa wierszem i prozą* (*A Last Address to Laura in Verse and Prose*), the vignette depicts a heart pierced with an arrow above the coat of arms.⁷²

Tyszkiewicz claims that Marewicz not only sent his books to noblemen but went from door to door and sold them himself.⁷³ This is also reiterated by Aleksandrowska and Petlak, but what this assertion is based on is unclear. By that time, there were established book distribution practices: books were sold either by the publishing houses or through private bookshops, postal workers and so on.⁷⁴ In one publi-

⁶⁶ For more on book pricing see: Petrauskienė, Irena, 'Knygų plitimo keliai Lietuvoje XVI-XVIII a.', in: *Kultūrų sankirtos: skiriama dr. Ingės Lukšaitės 60-mečiui*, Vilnius: Diemedis, 2000, pp. 181-182; Szczepanec, Józef, 'Drukarstwo – księgarstwo', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, edited by Teresy Kostkiewiczowej, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 82-83.

⁶⁷ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Satyra Na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Alexandra Sapiehę...; Satyra zamiast wdzięczności na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Macieja Radziwiłłę; Kłamstwo czyli wiersz do ...; Elżbiety z hrabiów Chodkiewiczów Radziwiłłowej...*

⁶⁸ Petlak, Anna, 'Źródła z epoki jako świadectwa polskiej i rosyjskiej recepcji opery Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza *Polusia*'..., in: *Napis*, Vol. XXIV, 2018, pp. 225-241.

⁶⁹ For more on the mechanisms of book publishing see: Kažuro, Ina, *Vilniaus bazilijonų vienuolyno spaustuvs veikla 1628-1839 m.*, doctoral dissertation, Vilnius, 2019, p. 135.

⁷⁰ *Gołqbek...*, 1788.

⁷¹ Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, p. 158.

⁷² See: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Ostatnia do Laury odezwa wierszem i prozą*, Warszawa: Drukarnia Misjonarzy, 1788.

⁷³ Tyszkiewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, p. 20.

⁷⁴ Szczepanec, Józef, 'Drukarstwo – księgarstwo', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, edited by Teresy Kostkiewiczowej, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 79-80.

cation, Marewicz indicates that readers can purchase his book in the Warsaw postal office run by a Swiss ('u Szwaycara').⁷⁵ As mentioned previously, the publication of some of Marewicz's works was funded through contributions from subscribers. Perhaps potential buyers could have reached out to Marewicz personally. In one book, Marewicz included a notice that announced what city he would be staying in, the duration of his stay and where correspondence should be addressed.⁷⁶

We do not know for certain, how much Marewicz earned from his book sales. From the fact that in 1792, he pledged to the army of the Republic a number of books to the value of 2,000 zloty, we can deduce that the business of publishing could have made him a tidy profit because this was no small amount.⁷⁷ Whatever Marewicz's reputation may have been among his contemporaries, it must be noted that his efforts in publishing quickly made him a literary figure of some renown,⁷⁸ and some of his works achieved notable popular success. By 1788, the comedy *Milość wszystkich porównywa* (*All Equals in Love*) had been staged by the king's troupe in Warsaw, and later in the theatres of Vilnius and Lviv as well.⁷⁹ As already mentioned, seven editions of *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja* were printed over the course of three years, and even several hand-copied editions of the work have been discovered.⁸⁰ Curiously, even works of a very specific genre, such as the address to the king in defence of the interests of a young widow from Krakow, were printed twice (1789, 1791).⁸¹

We can presume that Marewicz's books were quite widely circulated. Even his critical first biographer, Tyszkiewicz, admitted that he first took an interest in Marewicz's work because he had discovered a large collection of the writer's books at the library of the Birżai Majorat.⁸² By the way, the copy of Marewicz's *Kolęda na Nowy Rok 1794 dla króla y nieszczęśliwego narodu* in the collection of the library of the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences, contains an inscription that indicates the book was presented by an unknown person to Tyszkiewicz as a gift for his 42nd birthday in 1856.⁸³ So, the work that decried the tearing apart of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and hoped for a better turn in coming years was still relevant to subjects of the former GDL under the yoke of the Russian Empire – even 60 years after the destruction of the state. It should also not escape our notice that Marewicz's last work, written in 1821 and contemplating the causes of the nation's fall, was published in Paris in 1836, while the publisher (only his initials are known) encouraged readers to send in any of Marewicz's manuscripts that they might find.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Do stanów seymujących...*, 1788.

⁷⁶ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Dorywcze zabawki wierszem i prozą...*, 1788.

⁷⁷ *Korrespondent Warszawski*, 1792, No. 16, pp. 140-141. Writing on the wages of writers, Józef Szczepanec, presents the following numbers: in the 1780s, the annual salary of a new teacher amounted to 1,200 zloty, while that of a professor at the Vilnius Academy amounted to 6,000 zloty. See Szczepanec, Józef, 'Drukarstwo – księgarstwo', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, p. 81.

⁷⁸ Much is revealed by the fact that in publishing a work in support of Russian policy and wishing to keep his identity a secret, Stanisław Trembecki signed it with Marewicz's name. See: Krystyna Maksimowicz, 'Wstęp', in: *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego, cz. 1: 1788–1789*, edited by Krystyna Maksimowicz, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1998, pp. 9-10. Marewicz was dubbed a poet by the king in a letter from 1789. See Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 337.

⁷⁹ Petlak, Anna, 'Wprowadzenie do lektury', in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, p. 21.

⁸⁰ Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, p. 158.

⁸¹ *Uwaga nad losem biedney Tekluni z prozbą do króla...*, W Krakowie: [s.n.], 1789; *Uwaga nad losem biedney Tekluni...*, [S.l.: s.n.], 1791.

⁸² Tyszkiewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, p. 1.

⁸³ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Kolęda na Nowy Rok 1794 dla króla y nieszczęśliwego narodu...* [Wilno: s.n., 1794]. (XVIII.2.234). The inscription in Tyszkiewicz's copy is signed by the initials 'X. K. A. L. S. P.'

⁸⁴ Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Nefelonikones. Urywki z Ociemnicelstwa. Zbiór osobliwych obrazów z dzieł dawnego świata*, Paryż: Drukarnia Maulde et Renou, 1836.

Conclusions

The literary work of Marewicz was in some respects typical of the Enlightenment period, and in others completely distinct. On the one hand, Marewicz was a typical Enlightenment character who wished to be of use to his country and who viewed his literary activity through the prism of good citizenship. He saw the publication of his written work as a means of publicity that could serve as a tool for making society better and a platform for celebrating virtuous citizens and teaching useful things. On the other hand, writing and publishing books was his main source of income, which was not characteristic of the literary figures of the time. Unlike the majority of the writers of his generation, Marewicz did not have a good education but was probably aware of his limitations and viewed his creative activity as honest work. This was perhaps why he made 'a book of anything', i.e. every text he wrote he deemed worth publishing and selling. Without any influential patrons or customers to support him, Marewicz had to take care of the publishing and distribution process himself. For this end, he used the typical promotional means of the time: publishing lists of books, accumulating subscribers and using signs of his noble origin and status. Literary activity was Marewicz's main source of income not just in Warsaw, but in Vilnius as well, where there were probably even fewer independently operating writers. Demand for Marewicz's work increased during the period of state reforms, as politically engaged works were especially popular. His dramatic works were also in demand and staged in Vilnius. Literary activity was also a way for Marewicz to establish himself in society. As an idiosyncratic personality who found it difficult to fit into his environment, he tried various unorthodox methods of improving his societal and material station. For example, he personally addressed members of the nobility he had not been introduced to by submitting his works to them in the hope of securing their patronage or financial support; he dedicated very personal works to them, which depicted him as rejected by society for his virtue; he also produced occasional works of an original form, in which he mock-criticised the individual he had dedicated his work to, calling the work 'satire' or 'deception'.

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