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Polish Books Printed Anonymously in Early Modern Toruń

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Keywords: typographic anonyms; printing; early modern Toruń; Polish books

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Abstract: The first publication in Polish issued in Toruń appeared in 1581 in the publishing house of Melchior Nering and from that point onwards Polish books started to be regularly printed there. During the initial phase, they constituted approximately 25% of all works published in Copernicus' city. A small proportion of them were published as typographic anonyms, i.e. without mentioning the printer's name in the publication. The article aims to analyse anonymous printing production in Polish in Toruń until 1607: its range, statistics, topics, recipients, impact on literary culture and social function in the context of Toruń book culture and in comparison to anonymous printing in Cracow at that time.

Early modern typographers of the Kingdom of Poland (with the exception of those in Kraków) started to publish books in Polish quite late compared to their colleagues who printed in vernacular languages in other European publishing houses (Dlabačová – van Leerdam, 2023, p. 1; Kapeluś, 1965). It was not until the second half of the century that printers from cities other than the capital began to press books in Polish: in Königsberg (1543), Brest-Litovsk (1553), Pińczów (1558), Wrocław (1562), Nieśwież (1563), Łosk (1570), Węgrów (1570), Łusławice (1572), Zasław (1572), Vilnius (1576), Lviv (1578), Toruń (1581), Gdańsk (1594) and Nowy Wereszczyn (1597)¹. Nevertheless, the majority of their Polish book production was incidental and irregular. Only in four northern cities: Königsberg, Brest-Litovsk, Vilnius and Toruń, printing in Polish became a permanent part of the city's cultural life². From the end of the 16th century to the mid-17th century, Copernicus' city served as the publishing centre for Polish Lutheranism (*Drukarze*, 1962, p. 432). The first typographer who successfully introduced Polish publications to Toruń was Melchior Nering. Starting from 1581, during his eight years of work, the printer published at least 15 Polish publications, including the first Polish *New Testament* printed in Royal Prussia (in the Calvinist translation, the so-called Brzeg Bible), Martin Luther's catechism and the first Polish Toruń hymn book (Smolarek, 2014, p. 175; Tujakowski, 1970, pp. 14–22). Nering operated in Copernicus' city until 1587, and after his death in the same year, the publishing house passed into the hands of the typesetter working there, Andrzej Kociński, who for the next 21 years printed at least 130 books, including 29 in Polish (*Drukarze*, 1962, p. 215). Like his predecessor, he published hymn books, catechisms and dictionaries; he also printed pro-reformation polemical writings in Polish. After Kociński's death in 1607, the printing house became *de facto* the property of the Torunian institution called *Economia* (*Drukarze*, 1962, pp. 433–444; Buchwald-Pelcowa, 1997, p. 105; Tujakowski, 1970, pp. 22–38).

The printing offices of Nering and Kociński issued at least 52 publications in the Polish language³ out of 189 books published by them in total. It constituted ca. 27% of the total book production in Toruń at that time. In terms of the language, Polish publications were ranked second, just behind Latin books, whereas in terms of volume, they placed first (see table 1).

¹ Sources: own elaboration based on data from *Drukarze*, 1959–2001.

² In Königsberg, more than any other location, Polish printing had a significant role in establishing the norms of the Polish language (Sawa 2011/2012).

³ The two earliest booklets dated 1581 have been omitted as it is presumed that Melchior Nering pressed them in Grodzisk. The list of Polish publications also includes titles mentioned in bibliographies whose copies are currently unknown. There are several of them, so it does not affect the general statistics (Wojciechowska, 1927, p. 148).

Year	Polish		Latin		German	
	Number	Sheets	Number	Sheets	Number	Sheets
1569	-	-	3	20	3	67.5+?
1581	3	28	2	2	-	-
1582	4	40	6	15	-	-
1583	4	16.5+?	3	26	-	-
1584	-	-	5	15+?	6	85
1585	2	84 + ?	2	5.5	1	?
Ca 1586	-	-	1	1	-	-
1586	1	1.5	6	123	1	4
1587	1	54	4	129+?	-	-
1588	2	3+?	2	114.5	1	?
1589	-	-	6	6.5	2	20+?
1590	2	18+?	5	27.5+?	-	-
1591	2	5.5+?	2	8.5	1	3.5
1592	1	5.5	10	93.5+?	-	-
inter 1592–1596	1	14	-	-	-	-
1593	3	9+?	5	28.5	2	5+?
1594	1	171	5	14	-	-
1595	2	10	2	25	-	-
1596	2	71.5	7	16.25+?	-	-
1597	3	119	3	21+?	-	-
1598	-	-	6	9.5	1	24
1599	3	19.5+1	4	12.5	-	-
1600	3	13+?	5	15+?	-	-
1601	3	12.5	1	2	1	?
1602	2	29	2	1	-	-
1603	1	3	3	4	-	-
1604	2	?	4	10.5	1	14
1605	-	-	1	2.5	2	19
1606	1	1.5	5	13	-	-
1607	2	?	3	49.5	-	-
b.r.	1	?	1	1	1	?
Total	52	560.5	114	495	23	149.5

Table 1: Total book production (in Polish, Latin and German) in Toruń up to 1607

Sources: own elaboration based on data from: *Drukarze*, 1962, pp. 207–215, 272–291; Jarzębowski, 1969, pp. 29–182; Estreicher 1891–2014.

Polish books printed in Toruń included publications on current affairs (ephemeral booklets, e.g. funeral texts, prognostics, pamphlets), religious writings (polemics, catechisms, including a catechism for children, the *New Testament*, hymn books, sermons, postils) and humanistic texts (description of Prussia, Polish-German dictionaries for young people, poems by Jan Rybiński). The books on religious issues or used during worship formed the largest group. The subject matter of all three types of Polish publications indicates that they were intended to be practical and were intended for a broader audience with varying levels of education, rather than exclusively for the elite members of society⁴. The ephemeral booklets and humanistic texts dealt with local issues or were written by local authors; thereby, for the most part, they filled the market void, which, due to their localism, was not filled by similar Polish publications from Kraków. Hence, the typographers produced those books in Polish, which would undoubtedly be purchased by the inhabitants of Toruń (Jarzębowski, 1969, p. 11). It is noteworthy that the significance of books, particularly Polish-German ones, whose initial objective was to satisfy the city market, was swiftly recognised in other bilingual domains, as publications such as *Nomenclator* or *Wokabularz* were purchased and utilised by readers far beyond Toruń. The printing of Polish protestant books was associated with the growing popularity of Protestantism observed in the town from the mid-16th century. In addition to the predominant German trend, Polish Protestantism was also gaining popularity in the city, and it was evident that Polish protestants required books as well⁵. Whereas it was effortless to obtain dissident (primarily Lutheran) literature in German thanks to constant contact with cities such as Wittenberg and Leipzig (where, for example, future Toruń pastors were educated), the market for Polish protestant literature was much smaller (Salmonowicz 2005, p. 50; Wagner 2020, pp. 201–202, 209–215). Thus, printing houses in Toruń initiated the production of extensive Protestant publications in Polish, primarily intended for local audiences. Subsequently, they spread throughout Poland and Ducal Prussia (Salmonowicz, 2005, p. 50–51; Maliszewski, 1994, p. 264)⁶.

Among the at least 52 Polish publications printed in Toruń from 1581 to 1607, approximately 30% were issued without indicating the publisher's name on the title page. From a chronological perspective, the first typographer who published Polish books in town, Melchior Nering, printed them anonymously more often at the beginning of his work. During the period between 1581 and 1583, approximately half of his productions were published anonymously. Later on, this proportion experienced a significant decrease (see Table 2). In 1581, he

⁴ It is necessary to notice, however, that Latin and German publications were mostly of practical nature as well; additionally, among Latin books, there were also school textbooks published (e.g. six volumes of *Poetica* by Johann Sturm, Aesop's fables and Cicero's speeches).

⁵ On Polish population in Toruń, see: Cackowski, 1994, p. 23; Salmonowicz, 1994, pp. 247–248; Salmonowicz 1999, pp. 115–116.

⁶ Salmonowicz, 2005, pp. 50–51; Maliszewski, 1994, p. 264.

issued two typographic anonyms: *Rozmowy jezuitów poznańskich*⁷ by Andrzej Prażmowski and *Acrostichis własnego wyobrażenia kniazia wielkiego moskiewskiego* by Valentinus Neothelbel. Whether his two other anonymous works from this period (*Prawdziwe i gruntowne nowiny* and variant B of *Kronika* by Eutrophius) were published in Toruń or Grodzisk Wielkopolski is unknown. Since variant B is missing the publishing address (variant A: *W Grodzisku*) and the foreword by the translator Erazm Glicznar, it is assumed that Nering reprinted the *Kronika* in Toruń without Glicznar's consent. Nonetheless, the composition of the primary text in variant B is identical to that of variant A, with the exception of minor imperfections such as a shifted dot, which the printer would undoubtedly rectify in the second composition. Hence, it can be inferred that Nering added an additional title page to a portion of the unsold edition from Grodzisk, removed the preface, and republished it as a new publication after 1581 while operating in Toruń. It still remains, however, a product of the Grodzisk publishing house (*Drukarze*, 1962, pp. 282–282, 284).

Year	Anonymous production	Total production
1581	4	5
1582	4	10
1583	4	7
1584	-	11
1585	1	5
ca. 1586	-	1
1586	3	9
1587	-	5
1588	2	5
1589	-	8
1590	2	7
1591	2	5
1592	1	11
inter 1592-1596	1	1
1593	3	10
1594	1	6
1595	2	4
1596	2	9
1597	3	6

⁷ Czartoryski Library, call number 1458 I Cim. (only one copy survived). Another copy was supposed to be published with a publication *Questia o Kościele Bożym, iż błędzić nie może*. It was seen by Waclaw Aleksander Maciejowski before 1852 in Sieniawa in the Czartoryski library. Already a "defective copy" then, now it is completely lost. The Czartoryski copy of *Rozmowy jezuitów* does not include *Questia o Kościele Bożym*. See: Maciejowski, 1852, p. 171.

1598	-	7
1599	3	7
1600	3	8
1601	3	5
1602	2	4
1603	-	3
1604	2	7
1605	-	3
1606	1	6
1607	1	5
s.a.	1	1
Total	51	181

Table 2. Anonymous book production in Toruń up to 1607

Sources: own elaboration based on data from: *Drukarze*, 1962, pp. 207–215, 272–291; Jarzębowski, 1969, pp. 29–182; Estreicher 1891–2014.

From a chronological point of view, the first typographic anonym in Polish and, at the same time, the earliest publication that Nering published in Toruń was *Acrostichis własnego wyobrażenia kniazia wielkiego moskiewskiego* by Walenty Neothebel. The political pamphlet was published in late summer or early autumn of 1581 and, aimed at Ivan the Terrible, called for a general crackdown on the tsar. It belonged to a large group of anti-Moscow ephemeral information and propaganda publications, which were commissioned by Stephen Batory during the Polish-Russian war in 1577–1582. The royal camp was the first in Polish history to use the art of printing in warfare on such a large scale. It was nothing new, however – the art of printing had been used in war propaganda long before in Europe by all sides of the conflict, not only by the Europeans, but also e.g. by the Ottoman Turks attacking Europe (Tańkowski, 2013, p. 171).

When Stephen Batory started to organise, as it is often called, “a war press office to inform Poland and abroad about military operations against Moscow” (Nowak-Dłużewski, 1969, p. 231), he commissioned the work to two printers. In the south of Poland, he employed the royal typographer Mikołaj Scharfenberg, who published anti-Moscow pamphlets in Kraków but also sent his employee Walenty Łapka to the army with a field printing house. In the northern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it was Melchior Nering who published such publications (Franczak, 2016, p. 6). The printer had already worked promoting Batorian propaganda: in Poznań during Batory’s war with Gdańsk in 1576–1577 (Ptaszyński, 2003, p. 91) and in Grodzisk (there, for example, *Prawdziwe i gruntowne nowiny, jako król polski wojnę przeciwko Moskwie zaczął i 1580 roku zwycięstwo otrzymał* were published). *Acrostichis* is considered to be the most peculiar work of

anti-Moscow propaganda literature from the times of Stephen Batory. Written in simple language, full of colloquialisms and blunt comparisons, it has the form of a verse dialogue between Conscience and Tsar Ivan the Terrible, and its main part is Conscience's accusatory speech with a list of crimes committed by the Russian Tsar, full of macabre details (Franczak, 2016, pp. 5–6, 48). The work was published anonymously: the printer did not include his name on the title page, whereas the author concealed his name in an acrostic. The latter may have caused "omitting the place of printing and the printer's name in the work" (Mocarski, 1934, p. 26). A few months later, at the end of 1581, Nering published, as a typographic anonym, Andrzej Prażmowski's exegetical and dogmatic writing *Rozmowy z jezuitami o małżeństwie i bezżeństwie kapłańskim*. Out of the remaining three writings issued in 1581 (a Latin elegy following the demise of the very young Nicholas Czerny, who perished in the Battle of Pskov on September 29, 1581, a Latin aggressive polemic against anti-Trinitarians by Walenty Neothebel and a Latin Protestant writing by the Gdańsk theologian Johann Kittel), only the one by Neothebel was not a typographic anonym. In the upcoming two years, the anonymous production will account for an average of half of the publications pressed by Nering. In 1582, he published 10 works, four of which were published anonymously, and in 1583, he published seven works, four of which were published anonymously. In 1582, two of them were issued in Polish (*Consensus abo ugoda w nabożeństwie chrześcijańskim i Questia o Kościele Bożym*), in 1583 r. – none. Since *Questia* is most likely a co-published work (now lost) of the *Rozmowy jezuitów poznańskich* (Drukarze, 1962, p. 287), *Consensus*, comprising the texts of the Sandomierz consent agreements of 1570, remains the sole typographic anonym work published in Polish at that time.

Considering the diverse subject matter of the anonymous books published during the initial three years, it appears unlikely that Nering's decisions regarding the placement of his name on the title pages were influenced at that time by external factors such as censorship. Later on, however, one may observe an interesting occurrence: from 1584 onwards, the number of typographic anonyms decreased significantly, and by 1587, there were only six of them issued out of 31 books printed at that time. These included two funeral poems, one of which was penned by Kasper Frise on the occasion of the demise of Jan Stroband, the father of Mayor Henryk Stroband, who brought Nering to Toruń, and the other by Jan Międzyński on the occasion of the demise of Stefan Batory. Apart from them, Nering also printed anonymously the *Consensus in fide et religione Christiana* (1586) in Polish and Latin and may have printed the second volume of *Institutio literata* (1587). The diminution in the quantity of typographic anonyms published by Nering coincided with Henryk Stroband's investment in his printing establishment. Their cooperation was necessitated by Nering's financial difficulties: in 1583, Jakub Niemojewski pledged his printing house and books as a pledge for debts incurred in Grodzisk. Stroband repaid Nering's debt, purchased the pledged books, ordered new books for Nering's bookshop, allowed him to move his print-

ing house into his tenement house without paying rent, and finally provided the printing house with a new press and fonts. It helped save Nering's printing house, but at the same time, it deprived him of independence. It could be easily noticed as from 1584 onwards, one may observe an increasing number of publications on Toruń gymnasium and Stroband issued in Nering's printing house. Officially, Stroband entered into an agreement with Nering in 1586, and the terms outlined therein were of a censorship nature. The printer was prohibited from printing even small ephemera, particularly pamphlets, without Stroband's authorization (Mocar-ski, 1934, pp. 28–31). Since polemics and pamphlets were removed from Nering's publishing repertoire in 1583, it is possible that in 1586 Stroband formalised what he had already demanded from the printer before. Taking all this into consideration, the absence of typographic anonyms can be attributed to an external entity exercising some sort of control over the printer.

Nering's successor, Andrzej Kociński, assumed control of the printing office with all the associated responsibilities. Kociński was formerly an employee (typesetter) at Nering's publishing house (probably from 1583). In the agreement that Nering reached in 1586 with Stroband, the printer agreed not to dispose of the publishing house prior to remunerating the mayor for the debt. Since the printing house later passed into the hands of Kociński, either he paid off the debt for Nering's heirs or Stroband took over the printing house and appointed Kociński manager. Regardless of the circumstance, Stroband and the city remained closely associated with the publishing house. Kociński received a new workspace from Stroband and the city's resources, and during the period of 1601–1602, the city councillors, upon the printer's request, assisted him in overcoming financial difficulties. Kociński's primary areas of production are publications related to Toruń High School and Protestant writings. He did produce publications for Catholics as well (most likely around 1589, he published *Ewangelie i epistoły według rzymskiego mszału drukowane*, and calendars by Marcin Ruff for 1589 and 1593 dedicated to the Płock chapter). However, papist publications were banned in 1601 by the resolution of the Toruń city council (*Drukarze*, 1962, pp. 207–217).

Over the course of his 21-year career, Kociński published a minimum of 37 typographic anonyms out of a total of 134 printed publications. It accounts for approximately 27% of his production, which does not significantly differ from the proportions observed in other printing centres within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. What distinguishes the anonymous production of the Toruń printer from that of, for example, Kraków or Vilnius is the stability of their publishing. Throughout the entire period of his activity, Kociński printed two or three typographic anonyms per year. No events occurring in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at that time, e.g. the Polish-Swedish war or the Zebrzydowski rebellion, have brought a significant increase in this type of publications, as was the case, for example, in Kraków. Kociński printed anonymously, among others: sermons by Artomius (1588, Polish), calendars (1588, 1592, Polish), a speech on the life of Jakob Hubner (ca. 1590, Latin), a polemic with Catholics (1591, Pol-

ish), a polemic with Bellarmine (1593, Latin), the newspaper *Nova Turcica* (1593, Latin), a polemic with Stanisław Reszka (1593, Latin), a print in defence of the Warsaw Confederation (1595, Polish), a writing on the causes and solutions of discord between denominations (1596, Latin), a speech about the Toruń school (1596, Latin), a publication by Grzegorz of Żarnowiec (1597, Polish), an epitaphium (1598, Latin), a writing by Calvin (1599, Polish), *Wiosna* by Jan Rybiński (1599, Polish), anti-Jesuit booklet (1607, Polish). One-third of these anonymous publications were issued in Polish. These were primarily Protestant writings by Reformation authors from Prussia and Greater Poland who belonged to diverse religious affiliations. At the turn of the century, in Toruń, tensions between Lutherans and Crypto-Calvinists were waning, religious agreements were being deliberated, and fierce verbal confrontations against Catholicism erupted. These themes pervaded also the Polish Protestant literature published anonymously at that time by Koteniusz.

The printing of typographiconyms follows certain patterns: the printer anonymously published almost all Protestant polemics and other writings; he did not print pro-Catholic polemical literature; and unlike in other printing centres, he signed occasional publications with his name. All of this was a result of Stroband's patronage and the censorship imposed on the printing house during Nering's tenure, as well as of the 1601 resolution prohibiting the printing of Catholic books (initially all of them, but later renamed to solely ant dissident books). The production of Koteniusz was closely monitored by the Toruń city councillors, who, for instance, in 1602, cautioned him against printing anything "unless advised by wise individuals" (Buchwald-Pelcowa, 1997, p. 105).

Exceptionally, Koteniusz omitted his name from publications unrelated to the religion. Such was the case of the second volume of *Institutio literata*, published in 1587 without mentioning the printer's name. *Institutio literata* was a yearbook containing pedagogical treatises, published in 1586–1588. The first and second volumes were printed anonymously, while the third volume was signed by Koteniusz. The first volume is believed to have been published by Nering, as he was still running his workshop in 1586, and the second volume was published anonymously in 1587, the year of Nering's death. The printer died before November 10, so nothing would have prevented him from publishing *Institutio literata*. Moreover, the initial two treatises bear the date "1586" on their pages, indicating the commencement of printing in that year, and the preface "De ministris Ecclesiae" also suggests that the printing was started by Nering because it contains praise of Stephen Batory, for whom Nering printed. Nonetheless, due to the absence of the typographer's name on the title page, it is presumed that the printing was started by Nering and finished by Koteniusz (Jarzębowski, 1969, p. 85). The third volume had a publishing address with Koteniusz's name, as it was his work from beginning to end. Hence, *Institutio literata* stood out among the anonymous book production of Koteniusz and was primarily a result of technical rather than meritorious factors.

To summarise, the first Polish anonymous publications published in Toruń exhibit intricate connections between the patricians and typographers. The significant number of such books issued during the initial years of Nering's occupation suggests that the printer, cognizant of his prior experiences, particularly in Poznań, may have employed self-censorship in Toruń in a proactive manner. The appearance of Stroband and his insistence on controlling what Nering published led to a significant decrease in the number of anonymous publications, and Nering's successor, Koteniusz, maintained this policy. The imposed form of control also had an impact on the fact that occasional booklets, which were frequently published anonymously in Kraków, here in Toruń were printed with a publishing address. Furthermore, it compelled Koteniusz to publish anonymously Polish Protestant polemics, despite Protestantism being the predominant religious denomination in Toruń. This form of dependence was not prevalent in other printing centres of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and its occurrence in Toruń indicates the robustness of the patricians' position in the city at that time.

Annex: Polish typographic anonyms printed in Toruń in 1581–1607

1581

1. Neothebel Walenty

Acrostichis własnego wyobrażenia kniazia wielkiego moskiewskiego i prawdziwe opisanie sposobów przyrodzenia obyczajów, układności a osobliwych cnót a spraw rycerskich, z których w obec każdy rozumny łatwie obaczyć może, jeśli słuszno albo nie, iż przeciw takowemu możnemu Potentatowi terażniejsze i przeszłe nieprzyjacielskie wojny były i są podniesione i przedsięwzięte.

[Toruń : Melchior Nering], 1581.

[4] ff., A-D4 ; 4°.

E. 12, 24; Jarzębowski, 1969, 11; PK 993

Copies: Kórnik PAN Cim.Qu.2462; Toruń Książnica Kop. MAG 102422 (previously H.4°5 adl.1; K.IV.33)

2. Prażmowski Andrzej

Rozmowa jezuitów poznańskich, zwłaszcza R. Jana Canariusza, rektora Kollegium Poznańskiego, którą mieli z księdzem Andrzejem Prasmoviuszem z Radziejowa, słowa Bożego ministrem, o małżeństwie i bezżeństwie kapłańskim. Przy tym Questiabarzo potrzebna o tym jeśli Kościelna zwierzchność obłądzić się może.

[Toruń : Melchior Nering], 1581.

[34] ff., A-B8, C-E4, G2 ; 4°.

E. XXV, 227; Jarzębowski, 1969, 12

Copies: Kraków BCzart. XVI.1458/ICim.

3. Prażmowski Andrzej

Questia o Kościele Bożym, iż błądzić nie może, a jeśli się też w części obłądzi, a zwłaszcza Zwierzchność Kościelna jeśli się godzi od takowego Kościoła odłączyć.

[Toruń : Melchior Nering, 1581?].

[20] ff. ; 8°.

E. XXV, 227; Jarzębowski, 1969, 21

No known copies.

1582

4. Consensus

Consensus abo ugoda w nabożeństwie krześcijańskim prawdziwych wyznawców Ewangelii świętej i wiary powszechnej w jedyne Boga w Trójcy błogosławionej w Koronie Polskiej uczyniona, a spisana łacińskim i polskim językiem roku Pańskiego 1570, która aż do dziś za łaską Bożą trwa, a została wydrukowana dla pociechy kościoła Bożego roku Pańskiego 1582.

[Toruń : Melchior Nering, 1582].

[24] ff. A4, B-C8, a4 ; 8°.

E. –; Jarzębowski, 1969, 14; BUWr XVI, 386

Copies: Wrocław BUWr 331505

1586

5. Miączyński Jan

Lament Matki Korony Polskiej z śmierci przesławnego Pana, Pana Stefana pierwszego, króla polskiego, w roku niniejszym 1586. zmarłego / przez Jana Miączyńskiego w Płocku dnia 23 grudnia roku 1586 uczyniony.

[Toruń : Melchior Nering, 1586].

[6] ff., A6 ; 8°.

E. XXII, 321; Jarzębowski, 1969, 52; BUP XVI 193

Copies: Poznań BUP SD 2061/I; *Warszawa BNCim.P.Qu.8234 (war loss)

6. Consensus

Consensus in fide et religione Christiana, inter Ecclesias Evangelicas Maioris et Minoris Poloniae, Magnique Ducatus Lituaniae & caeterarum eius Regni provinciarum, primo Sendomiriae anno M.D.LXX. in Synodo generali sancitus & deinceps in aliis, acdemum in Wlodislaviensi generali Synodo anno M.W.LXXXIII. confirmatus & serenissimis Poloniae regibus Augusto, Henrico ac Stephano oblati, nunc autem ex decretis synodico in publicum typis editus anno Christi M.D.LXXVI = Zgodne rozumienie w wierze a nabożeństwie chrześcijańskim kościołów ewangelickich wielkiej i małej Polski i wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego i inszych tej Korony państw, naprzód w Sędomierzu roku 1570. Na Synodzie Generalnym postanowione i po tym na inszych, aż na ostatku na Włodzysławskim Generalnym roku 1583. Potwierdzone, a najjaśniejszym królom polskim Augustowi, Henrichowi i Stefanowi ofiarowane, a teraz podług dekretu synodowego wobec podane roku Pańskiego 1587.

[Toruń : Melchior Nering, ca 1586-1587].

[1], 1-66, I-LXVI, [1] pp., [1] f., A-H8, I4 ; 8°.

E. 14, 369–370; 17, 167; Jarzębowski, 1969, 48; BJ XVI 500; Ossol. XVI 451; PK 260

Copies: Gdańsk PAN NI 16251.8°adl.1, NI 16252.8°adl.2, NI 16250.8°adl.1; Gotcha UB Th.8° 2255; Kórnik PAN Cim.O.318; Kraków BJ Cim.O.544; Kraków PAN i PAU Cim.81; Warszawa BN XVI.O.6242; Wrocław BUWr 328736; Wrocław Ossol. XVI.O.349.

1588

7. Artomius Petrus

Kazania bądź nauki krześcijańskie o personie Syna Bożego z Maryi Panny przed 1588. lat narodzonego.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius, 1588].

[24] ff. A-C8 ; 8°.

E. XII, 243; Jarzębowski, 1969, 63

Copies: Toruń Książnica Kop. MAG 110487 (previously K.8°64)

8. Ruff Marcin

Przestroga gwiazdarska na Rok Pański 1589 / przez Marcina Ruffa z Welca, medyka i chirurga łomżeńskiego, z pilnością napisana.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius, 1588].

[8?] ff. ; 16°?.

E. —; Jarzębowski, 1969, 67

Copies: Toruń Książnica Kop. MAG 111581 (previously K.f.m.7)

1590

9. Mikołajewski Daniel

O sakramencie ciała i krwi Pańskiej księgi wydane naprzeciwko disceptacji wągrowieckiej / spisanej od X. Jezuitę poznańskiego.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius, 1590].

[64?] ff., A-Q4? ; 4°.

E. XXII, 378; Jarzębowski, 1969, 75; PK 929

Copies: Kórnik PAN Cim.Qu.2470

1592–1595

10. Respons

Respons w porywczą dany na upomnienie do ewangelików o zburzeniu zboru krakowskiego i na przestrożę do katolików od kogoś uczynioną w roku 1592.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius, inter 1592–1595].

[56] ff., A-O4 ; 4°.

E. 26, 256–257; Jarzębowski, 1969, 91; BJ XVI 2047; Ossol. XVI 2044; PK 1211

Copies: Gdańsk PAN NI 78.8°adl.8, NI 81.8°adl.19; Kórnik PAN Cim.Qu.2472; Kraków BCzart. 889/II; Kraków BJ Cim.5081; Pelplin Sem. VI.K.c.13 adl. c; Wrocław Ossol. XVI.Qu.2471

1595**11. Podpora**

Podpora Konfederacji przeciw wierszom podanym w Rozmowie Ziemianina z Księdzem o jej zniszczeniu.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius, 1595].

[22] ff., A-E4, F2 ; 4°.

E. XXIV, 414; Jarzębowski, 1969, 117; Ossol. XVI 1904; PK 1129

Copies: Kórnik PAN Cim.Qu.2476; Kraków BCzart. 849/II; Warszawa BN XVI.

Qu.400; Wrocław Ossol. XVI.Qu.2253

1597**12. Grzegorz z Żarnowca**

Nazwiska z objawieniem Jana świętego Krystusowi, zborom Pańskim, prawdziwym i fałszywym nauczycielom służące, także i zwierzchności rzymskiej i temu, który na niej siedzi, też Diabłu i ludziom wobec pospolitym i co które nazwisko znaczy z wyrozumieniem słów tajemnych. Przy tym o pożytkach każdej strony, także i o szkodach.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius, 1597].

[72] ff., A-S4 ; 4°.

E. XIX, 1; Jarzębowski, 1969, 130

Copies: Kraków BCzart. 970/II

1599**13. Kalwin Jan**

O zwierzchności świeckiej, porządne, według sznuru Pisma Świętego opisanie.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius], 1599.

[24] ff., a4, A-E4 ; 4°.

E. VIII, 107; XIX, 72; Jarzębowski, 1969, 141; PK 168 (attributed to Maciej Wirzbięta from Kraków)

Copies: Kórnik Cim.Qu.2665

14. Rybiński Jan

Wiosna Jana Rybinskiego.

[Toruń : Andreas Kottenius], 1599.

[4] ff., A4 ; 4°.

E. XXVI, 505; Jarzębowski, 1969, 147

Copies: Warszawa BN XVI.Qu.6425 (Bawor. from Czarn.)

1601**15. Artomius Petrus**

Diaeta duszna potraw i zabawek chrześcijańskich.

W Toruniu : [Andreas Kottenius], 1601.

12°.

E. XII, 242

No known copies.

1604**16. Artomius Petrus**

Kazanie o zjawnieniu Króla w żydowstwie narodzonego.

W Toruniu : [Andreas Kotenius], 1604.

E. XII, 243

No known copies.

1607**17. Relacja**

Relatia o skrytych sztukach jezuickich.

[Toruń : Andreas Kotenius], 1607.

[7] ff., A4, B3 ; 4°.

E. VIII, 139

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Książki polskie drukowane anonimowo w nowożytnym Toruniu

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S

Słowa kluczowe: anonimy typograficzne; drukarstwo; nowożytny Toruń; książki polskie

S

Streszczenie: Pierwsze wydanie w języku polskim wydane w Toruniu ukazało się w 1581 r. w oficynie Melchiora Neringa i od tego czasu zaczęto regularnie drukować w nim książki polskie. W początkowej fazie stanowiły one ok. 25% wszystkich prac wydanych w mieście Kopernika. Niewielka część z nich została opublikowana jako anonimy typograficzne, czyli bez podania nazwy drukarza w publikacji. Celem artykułu jest analiza anonimowej produkcji drukarskiej w języku polskim w Toruniu do 1607 roku: jej zasięgu, statystyk, tematów, odbiorców, wpływu na kulturę literacką i funkcję społeczną w kontekście toruńskiej kultury książki oraz na tle anonimowego druku w Krakowie w tym czasie.

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Polnische anonym gedruckte Bücher im frühneuzeitlichen Thorn

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Schlüsselworte: anonyme Drucke; Druckkunst; frühneuzeitliches Thorn; polnische Bücher

Zusammenfassung: Die erste Veröffentlichung in polnischer Sprache erschien 1581 in Thorn in der Druckerwerkstatt von Melchior Nering. Von diesem Moment an wurden dort regelmäßig polnische Bücher veröffentlicht. In der Anfangsphase machten sie etwa 25% aller Werke aus, die in der Stadt von Kopernikus gedruckt wurden. Ein kleiner Teil davon erschien als typografische Anonyme, d.h. ohne Namen des Druckers in der Veröffentlichung. Der vorliegende Beitrag zielt auf die Analyse der anonymen Druckereiproduktion in polnischer Sprache in Thorn bis 1607, ihrer Reichweite, Statistiken, Themen, Empfänger, der Rezeption in der literarischen Kultur und ihrer sozialen Funktion im Zusammenhang mit der Thorner Buchkultur und im Vergleich zu anonymen Drucken aus Krakau aus derselben Zeitspanne ab.