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THE PSALTER IN POLISH IN THE MIDDLE AGES
AND THE RENAISSANCE: AN ATTEMPT
AT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOLOGICAL SYNTHESIS

This paper seeks to synthesize information on the achievements of Polish biblical editing in the Renaissance period as regards the Psalter. The findings presented here are based on my own research of the whole source material from that period of time (143 editions of the biblical prints; for the entire list see Pietkiewicz, 2016, pp. 625–650). My research spans the years from 1518 (the appearance of the first biblical print in Polish) to 1638 (closing down of an anti-Trinitarian printing house in Raków). First, however, I discuss very briefly the translations of the Psalter into Polish preserved in manuscripts and dating from the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance—for they constitute a kind of prelude to the production of prints (some of the old versions were printed). I review the bibliography of Renaissance prints with the text of the psalms in Polish. Then I present the dynamics of Psalter editing development in quantitative, qualitative, and functional aspects. Finally, I present the root causes that were decisive in the emergence and development of the Polish Psalter editing.

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1. PSALTER IN POLISH IN MANUSCRIPT

The oldest extant manuscripts as a monument of the Polish language prove that the history of translations of the Holy Scriptures into Polish began in the Middle Ages with the translation of the Book of Psalms. Not counting the legendary *Psalter of St Kinga*, presumed to have existed as early as the 13th century on the basis of a hagiographic reference (Brückner, 1903, pp. 5–6; Kossowska, 1968, pp. 15–18), the following biblical monuments in Polish have survived from the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance: (1) the *Florian Psalter* from the 14th/15th century (the whole Psalter); (2) *Psalterium trilingue (Prague Charter)* from the late 14th century (Ps 1:1 only); (3) *Medici Charter (Swidzinski Charter)* from ca. 1405 (Psalm *Miserere*); (4) *Evangelary of the Canons Regular of Cracow* from ca. 1420 (fragments of the Gospels); (5) the *Queen Sophia's Bible* from 1455 (the whole Bible; the text of the Psalter has not survived, but was probably in volume 2 of the Bible); (6) the *Puławski Psalter* from second half of the 15th century (entire Psalter); (7) *Card of Boleslav Erzepki*—copy of the 15th-century original (Ps 45(44)); (8) *Psalter of the Prophet David*, in the translation of Walenty Wróbel, 1528; (9) translations by Tomasz of Zbrudzew from ca. 1536–1555 (Pentateuch, lectionary and epistles, Book of Revelation, numerous glosses on the letters to Romans, Galatians, Hebrews); (10) *Wacław (Wenceslas) prayer book*—texts of selected psalms—latter half of the 15th century; (11) *Vigils for the deceased*—manuscript from c. 1520 (texts of selected psalms); (12) Manuscripts from the Archdiocesan Archive of Poznań from the early 16th century (Psalm *Miserere*); (13) Fragments and quotations scattered throughout various manuscripts, e.g., collections of Latin sermons (Pietkiewicz, 2013, pp. 30–47).

In the above list, nine out of thirteen manuscripts include psalms. This material allows us to draw some general conclusions about the manuscripts of the Psalter in Polish: the Psalter was a very popular book in medieval and early Renaissance Poland and it was among the most popular books of the Bible. By the time the first printed Psalters appeared in Polish, there were several translations into Polish (at least three). The Psalter was copied in various publishing forms: as part of the whole Bible, a separately edited book, individual psalms, parts of prayer books. Some relics can be linked to the need for a Polish Psalter for women (lay and religious) and less educated priests who were not fluent in Latin. The Psalter was translated from the Latin Vulgate, often with an extensive use of Czech translations. Among the Czech translations of the Bible, which could have been used in the creation of the Polish translations, the following are most often mentioned: *Leskovec-Dresden Bible*, the *Zablacki's Bible* and the *Olomuc Bible* (Polkowski, 1883; Urbańczyk, 1946; Urbańczyk & Kyas, 1965–1971; Kossowska, 1968, p. 77; Łobucki, 2017, pp. 92, 98, 101; Kowalska, 2018, p. 151). Psalters in Polish were used as additional aids to the Divine Office or as books for personal prayer and meditation (Pietkiewicz, 2013, pp. 47–50).

2. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRINTED PSALTER IN POLISH

How many translations of the psalms into Polish were published during the Renaissance? When it comes to editions of the entire or almost entire Psalter, we have altogether 12 independent translations in 64 editions including the Book of Palms printed 6 times in the entire Bible editions (see the bibliography): the *Kraków Psalter* in 2 editions (1532, 1535); Psalter (*Zołtarz*) translated by Walenty Wróbel in 8 editions (1539–1567); Psalter translated by Mikołaj Rej in 2 editions (1546, 1550); Psalter translated by Jakub Lubelczyk (1558); Psalter from the *Leopolita's Bible* in 3 editions (twice in the whole Bible (1561, 1575/1577) and the reprint of the Psalter in so-called *Trent Psalter* (1572); Psalter of the *Brest Bible* in 2 editions (in the whole Bible (1563) and as a separate book (1564)); Psalter translated by Paweł Milejewski in 2 editions (1563?, 1587); Psalter of *Budny's Bible* or so-called *Nesvizh Bible* (1572); Psalter translated by Jan Kochanowski in 27 known editions (1579–1629) and once reprinted with melodies by Gomółka (1580); Wujek's Psalter in 4 editions: in the whole Bible (1599) and as a separate book (1594, 1612, 1626); Psalter translated by Maciej Rybiński in 9 editions (1605–1636); Psalter of the *Gdańsk Bible* in 2 editions (in the whole Bible (1632) and as a separate book (1633).

From the Renaissance period we have 23 editions of single psalms and collections of psalms (see bibliography): *Ps 46*, (no year), *Ps 13* (1546), *Ps 1* (1556), *Ps 85* (1556), *Ps 13* (1556), *Ps 127* (1556), *Ps 1* (1558), *Ps 36* (1558), *Ps 45* (1558); *Ps 50* (1558), *Ps 70* (1558), *Ps 79* (1558), *Ps 85* (1558), *Ps 102* (1558), *Ps 113* (1558), *Ps 116* (1558), *Ps 123* (1558), *Ps 127* (1558), *Ps 129* (1558), *Ps 113* (1565), *Siedm psalmow pokvtnych Jana Kochanowskiego* [Seven penitential psalms], translated by Jan Kochanowski (1579), *Siedem psalmów pokutnych* [Seven penitential psalms], translated by Mikołaj Rej (1547), *Niektore Psalmy Dawidowe Częścią Poprawione Częścią z nowv przelozone Na Stare Noty* [Some David's Psalms partly corrected, partly re-translated to old sheet music], translated by Salomin Rysiński (1614).

Psalms from various translations were also published in prayer books (*Hortulus animae*, 1527; 1530; 1585; 1636), cantionals and catechisms (see bibliography). We also have one commentary on the *Miserere* psalm (*Ps 50*, 1531).

3. QUANTITATIVE DEVELOPMENT

How does the printed Psalter in Polish compare in terms of quantity to other parts of the Bible? In the Renaissance period the following biblical translations were produced in total in Polish: 5 first editions of the whole Bible (altogether in 6 editions); 10 first editions of the New Testament (in 23 editions, excluding editions of the entire Bible); 12 first editions of the whole Psalter (in 58 editions, excluding 6 editions of the entire

Bible); 6 biblical commentaries (in 7 editions); 21 first editions of individual psalms and their anthologies (in 23 editions); 11 first editions of individual books, their fragments or collections (in 26 editions). Overall, we have 65 first editions printed 143 times—about 5,798 printed sheets. As for psalms, we have 33 first editions (50.77%) printed 81 times (56.64%)—about 1,714 printed sheets (29.56%) (excluding 6 editions of the entire Bible). The data show that the Psalter in the Renaissance Poland was the most popular book of the Bible and probably one of the most popular books in general.

What was the distribution of the Psalter's publishing production for individual denominations present in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth? Table 1 presents the data (I only consider separate editions of the entire Psalter including the Milejewski's Psalter).

Table 1. Participation of denominations in the production of entirely printed Psalters

Denomination	First editions		Total editions		Printed sheets	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Catholics	5	41.67	16	27.59	540.76	32.02
Protestants	5	41.67	14	24.14	348.765	20.65
Polish Brethren	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kochanowski's Psalter	2	16.67	28	48.28	799.25	47.33
Total	12		58		1,688.775	

We also need to remember about 5 translations that were part of the entire Bible:

- Catholic Leopolita's Bible, 1561, 1575/1577—the Psalter was also reprinted in so-called Trent Psalter (a kind of breviary) in 1572;
- Reformed Brest Bible, 1563—the Psalter was also reprinted in 1564;
- Polish Brethren's Nesvizh (Budny's) Bible, 1572;
- Catholic Wujek's Bible, 1599—the Psalter was also reprinted in 1594, 1612, 1626;
- Reformed/Czech Brethren's Gdańsk Bible, 1632—the Psalter was also reprinted in 1633.

As can be seen, the production of Psalters is spread more or less evenly between Catholics and Protestants. The slightly higher number of sheets produced by Catholics is related to their preference for larger book formats. As for the Psalter translated by Kochanowski, it is difficult to attribute it to a particular denominational group. Rather, it was the result of Kochanowski's humanist interest in ancient poetry.

4. QUALITATIVE DEVELOPMENT

While presenting the qualitative development of Polish biblical editing, let me present the issues connected with the choice of the basis for the translations, the format, the layout of prints, the choice and adjustment of illustrations and the application of elements facilitating multi-functional usage of biblical prints.

4.1 Basis and method of translations

The problem of the source text for the translation of biblical texts is a complicated matter. On the one hand, the translators or publishers themselves often indicate in introductions their choice of the source. During the Renaissance, they had two basic language versions to choose from: Latin and Hebrew. The Latin Psalter translated by St Jerome existed in three variants: *Psalterium Romanum* from ca. 383—an Old Latin text slightly revised based on the Septuagint; *Psalterium Gallicanum* from ca. 387—a translation based on the Septuagint; *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* from ca. 393—a translation from Hebrew. The most popular Latin version used in the liturgy was *Psalterium Gallicanum*, which was found in the Vulgate editions. The only translator to consciously choose *Psalterium Gallicanum* was Jakub Wujek. He justified his choice extensively in the *Preface* to the 1594 edition of the Psalter. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the translators' choice was not limited to the one version from which they translated. Consulting other language versions, including translations into modern languages, was common practice, which makes the choice of the source text for a translation always a complex matter. From which versions did the Polish translators of the Psalter translate? We take into account their declarations provided in their introductions and prefaces, as well as contemporary research (Table 2).

Table 2. Sources and method of translations of Psalter in Polish

	Psalter	Year of first edition	Sources of translation	Method of translation	Denomination
1	Kraków Ps	1532	Vulgate	Literal	Catholic
2	Wróbel's/Glaber's Ps	1539	Vulgate	Prose paraphrase	Catholic

3	Rej's Ps	before 1546	Campensis, Psalmorum omnium iuxta hebraicum veritatem paraphrastica interpretatio	Prose paraphrase	Catholic
4	Lubelczyk's Ps	1558	Vulgate	Poetic paraphrase + music	Protestant
5	Leopolita's Ps/Trent Ps	1561/1572	Vulgate	Literal	Catholic
6	Brest Ps	1563	Hebrew Bible	Literal	Protestant
7	Milejewski's Ps	ca. 1563–1578	Vulgate (+ some Hebrew variants), Brest Bible	Prose paraphrase	Protestant
8	Nesvizh/Budny's Ps	1572	Hebrew Bible	Literal	Anti-Trinitarian
9	Kochanowski's Ps	1579	Latin paraphrases (Buchanan, Campensis) and Polish versions	Poetic paraphrase + music by Gomółka	–
10	Wujek's Ps	1594	Vulgate	Literal	Catholic
11	Rybiński's Ps	1605	Paraphrases in French (Marot, de Bèze)	Poetic paraphrase + music	Protestant
12	Gdańsk Ps	1633	Hebrew Bible	Literal	Protestant

As can be seen, the most common source for translations of the Psalter into Polish was the Latin Vulgate. It was used by both Catholics and Protestants (6 translations in total). The three non-Catholic translations included in the entire Bibles (the *Brest Bible*, the *Nesvizh Bible* and the *Gdańsk Bible*) were translated from the Hebrew Bible. Three paraphrases were translated from Latin and French paraphrases (3 translations in total).

As far as the method of translation is concerned, simplifying the problem somewhat, three methods can be distinguished: literal translation (6 translations), poetic paraphrase (3 translations), and prose paraphrase (3 translations). Three of the poetic paraphrases included musical notes.

4.2 Format

The format is a very important element of any book, as it reflects the book's intended function. The formats for the Psalter edition are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. The number of editions of Psalter produced in given formats in subsequent 20-year periods

	2°	4°	8°	12°	24°
1518–1537	–	–	2	–	–
1538–1557	–	–	9	–	–
1558–1577	1	1	1	–	–
1578–1597	–	13	–	3	–
1598–1617	–	13	1	1	–
1618–1638	–	5	3	2	3
	1	32	16	6	3

Table 4. The number of the Book of Psalms produced in given formats by individual denomination groups

	2°	4°	8°	12°	24°
Catholics	–	1	12	3	–
Protestants	1	3	4	3	3
Polish Brethren	–	–	–	–	–

The choice of a format was connected with the size of a book, its functions and addressees. Bigger formats like *folio* and *quarto* were well suited for printing the texts of the Bible and the New Testament with a sizeable academic apparatus, and were intended for educated readers involved in religious polemics. We have only one edition of the Psalter *in folio*: Lubelczyk's Psalter (1558). It was a poetic paraphrase equipped with melodies, arguments and numerous commentaries of a theological and moral nature written in the spirit of the Reformation, with numerous polemical accents. The most popular formats for Psalters were the handy *quarto* and *octavo*. These books were easy to carry, they could be read at home and in church. In the 17th century, even smaller formats were published, which was strictly connected with the function of the Psalter. In that time, we could notice the domination of the Counter-Reformation, which marginalized Protestants for whom the psalms became the source of consolation and strength in turbulent times. Small formats were portable, so people could read the "book of consolation" (see Rybiński's Psalter, 1619, folio) (6r; Rybiński's Psalter, 1624, folio A3r) at any time and place. Portability was the decisive factor in the choice of format, which was important for non-Catholics travelling to organised synods. Therefore, non-Catholic typography

opted for smaller formats, while Catholics chose the bigger version. Protestant Psalters were also used to a greater extent as songbooks during church services. That is why they were equipped with sheet music and their format was reduced so that they could simply be carried in a pocket (e.g. Rybiński's Psalter 1618, 1628, 1636). It is worth mentioning that along with the appearance of a smaller format, though impoverished, the price got reduced, which made the book widely available for the masses.

4.3 Content

Printed Psalters in Polish contained different aids facilitating the understanding of the text (so-called meta-text), material identification of the print (title pages, printer's mark), and introductory material, along with the inspired text.

4.3.1 Title pages

The role of title pages is not just to indicate the title of a work. They also specify its content, function and purpose, indicate the translator, the basis and method of translation, determine confessional orientation of printing and advertise the translation.

The title page of Wujek's Psalter (1594), for example, contains almost all the elements mentioned above:

PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. Teraz znowu z Laćńskiego / z Græckiego / y z Zydowskiego / na Polski ięzyk z pilnością przełożony / y Argumentami / y Annotacyami objaśniony. Przez D. IAKVBA WVYKA, Theologa Societatis IESV. Z dozwoleń Starszych. Pod rozsądek Kościoła S. powszechnego Rzymskiego wszystko niech podlęże.

[David's Psalter. Now from Latin and Greek and Hebrew into Polish meticulously translated, commented and annotated by Jakub Wujek, a theologian the Societas IESV, with the permission of the Superiors, subject to the discernment of the Roman Catholic Church.]

In the 1612 edition of Wujek's Psalter, the reason and addressee of the reprint were added:

PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. [...] Teraz znowu / na żądanie wielu Panien zakonnych Laćńskiego ięzyka nieumiejących / a Psalterz mowić pragnących / bez argumentow y annotacyi przedrukowany.

[David's Psalter. Now at the demand of numerous nuns who do not know Latin but wish to say the Psalter, it is printed without commentary and annotations.]

Rej's Psalter (1546) title provides an equally rich set of information:

Psalterz Dawidow / ktory snadz iest prawy fundament / wssytkiego pisma krzesćyjańskiego / teraz nowo prawie na Polski ięzyk przełożon / acz nie iednakosćią słow / co być niemoże / ale ysz wždy położenie rzeczy wkażdem wierssu wedlug łacińskiego ięzyka sie zamyka. Przytem też Argument to iest wyrozumienie rzeczy / oczem Prorok mowił iest / przed każdym Psalmem krotcze napisan. Przytem tez zakazdem Psalmem iest napisana modlitwa krotkimi słowy wedlug podobienstwa onegoz Psalmu. Regestr tych kxiąg: na końcu naidziesz czćićielu uczćiwy / tobie potrzebnych.

[David's Psalter / which apparently is the proper foundation / of all Christian writings / now translated anew into the Polish language / though not with the same words / which cannot be / because not every verse is rendered according to the Latin language. The Argument, that is the understanding of things / which the Prophet said / before each Psalm, is written briefly. A short prayer is also written after each Psalm similar in its contents to the Psalm. A list of these books you shall find, good worshipper, at the end.]

4.3.2 Dedications

Dedications and other additional elements (dedicatory letters, emblems, poems *On an Emblem*) indicate the genesis of an edition and locate it in the context of contemporary social relations. Among the 58 examined editions of the Psalter, 45 possess dedications (*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1539a; 1539b; 1540a; 1540b; 1543; 1547; 1567; Rej's Psalter, 1546; 1550; Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; *Brest Psalter*, 1564; 28 editions of Kochanowski's Psalter; Milejewski's Psalter, 1587; Wujek's Psalter, 1594; Rybiński's Psalter, 1616; 1617; 1618; 1624). Two editions have perished (*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1551; Milejewski's Psalter, 1563), but most likely they also had dedications.

A gradation of dedications can be noted: editions of the entire Bible were, with the exception of the *Nesvizh Bible*, dedicated to the queen of Poland. Four of the 23 editions of the New Testament were also dedicated to the royals (Pietkiewicz, 2016, pp. 581–583). As for the Psalms, two editions of Rej's Psalter were dedicated to Sigismund I the Old and a reprint of the Psalter from the *Brest Bible* (1564) was dedicated to Anna Jagiellonka, who became king of Poland in 1575. The remaining psalters were dedicated to magnates and wealthy nobles (*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1539a; 1539b; 1540b; 1543; 1547; 1567; Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; Rybiński's Psalter, 1616; 1617), their wives or daughters (*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1540a; Milejewski's Psalter, 1587; Rybiński's Psalter, 1618) and bishops (all editions of Kochanowski's Psalter; Wujek's Psalter, 1594). One dedication (Rybiński's Psalter, 1624) had collective recipients—seniors of the Evangelical church in Kraków. The dedicators were usually editors (*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1539a; 1539b; 1540b; 1543; 1547), printers (*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1540a; 1567; Milejewski's Psalter, 1587; Rybiński's Psalter, 1616; 1617; 1624),

translators (Rej's Psalter, 1546; 1550; Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; all editions of Kochanowski's Psalter; Wujek's Psalter, 1594), publishers who financed the edition (*Brest Psalter*, 1564) and church superiors (Rybiński's Psalter, 1618).

Dedications had the following functions: economic function—dedication was connected with remuneration, which covered the costs of publishing; prestigious function—prints were a gift which evoked kindness, strengthened friendship and expressed gratitude for care; promotional function—the dedicating people took the initiative to meet the new needs of the Renaissance period. While emphasizing the value of the work they sometimes solicited personal fame and memory of posterity; they advertised their printing houses. Aesthetically printed, novel works, fashionable and preceded by a glare of publicity, could count on better sales and thus higher profit. Another function was polemical-apologetic—the person the work was dedicated to was informally obliged to defend it and promote it, which was significant in the case of polemical texts.

4.3.3 *Elements introducing the text and accompanying it (metatext)*

The text of Psalms was preceded by forewords and/or prefaces (*Zoltarz Dawidow*, 1539a; 1539b; 1540a; 1540b; 1543; 1547; Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; *Trent Psalter*, 1579; Milejewski's Psalter, 1587; Wujek's Psalter, 1594), which justified its emergence and presented the reason for a new translation or edition, informed the reader of the translation technique and the source text used for translation. One could find words of encouragement to read the Divine Word, suggestions concerning a determined method of reading and interpretation of the text. Only Wujek's Psalter (1594) included an introduction that was an attempt at academic approach to the study of the Bible and textual criticism. Psalters were very often supplemented with notes for the reading of the psalms (all editions of *Zoltarz Dawidow*; Wujek's Psalter, 1594), sometimes with commentary on given psalms or parts of them, with prayers accompanying particular psalms (Rej's Psalter, 1546; 1550), various registers and indexes (e.g. liturgical, thematic). Hymns and songs used in the Divine Office were also added to the psalms (*Kraków Psalter*, 1532; 1535; *Zoltarz Dawidow*, 1567; Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; *Trent Psalter*, 1579; Wujek's Psalter, 1594; 1612; 1626).

Printed Psalters comprised sometimes marginal notes of different kinds: concordances (*Brest Psalter*, 1564; Milejewski's Psalter, 1587; Wujek's Psalter, 1594), philological notes (Wujek's Psalter, 1594), notes concerning criticism of the text (Wujek's Psalter, 1594), short commentary (Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; *Brest Psalter*, 1564; Wujek's Psalter, 1594) and summarizing notes (Rej's Psalter, 1546; 1550; Milejewski's Psalter, 1587; Wujek's Psalter, 1594). The richest edition of the Psalter was Wujek's Psalter (1594). The idea behind adding to the Wujek's Psalter adequate aids was to provide readers with material to study texts, the results of which was to be of service in religious argumentation.

4.3.4 *Illustrative material*

Illustrations in Psalters in Polish can be divided into two groups: heraldic and connected with text of psalms.

In heraldic illustrations, the emblems of the addressees of the work had similar functions to dedications; in the case of printer's marks, or emblems of other creators of books, they constituted a kind of signature.

Illustrations of biblical themes constitute the most numerous group. The most common illustrative motif in Polish Psalters is King David praying (e.g. *Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1540a), sometimes with a harp in his hand (e.g. Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; all editions of Kochanowski's Psalter; Wujek's Psalter, 1594, Rybiński's Psalter, 1632) or presenting other scenes from David's life (e.g. *Kraków Psalter*, 1532, 1535; Rybiński's Psalter 1636). These illustrations unambiguously link the Psalter to David and the events of his life and encourage a prayerful reading of the psalms, especially the prayer of praise.

In the *Kraków Psalter* (1532, 1535), an ornamental initial with the bust of Christ appears at the opening of Ps 1—an obvious encouragement to carry out a Christological interpretation of the Psalter. Perhaps the passion motifs in some editions of Wróbel/Glaber's Psalter (*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1547, folio A7v and [351r]; 1547, folio 350v) are intended to encourage a Christological interpretation of the psalms, too.

5. FUNCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In Polish biblical editing functional development can also be noticed. Biblical text availability constitutes the fundamental function of each and every biblical text. Other functions assigned to the book by its creators depend on the assumptions and realisation of this very function.

The functions of the Psalter include:

- educational functions:
 - upbringing and formation of moral attitudes (moral sense suggested by so-called *argumenta*);
 - lessons in reading and interpretation of a text (for example: distinguishing between different meanings of Scripture (in *argumenta* and commentaries, also visible on title pages), critical reading, handling different versions [an element of textual criticism]);
 - getting acquainted with biblical history (for example the history of King David);
- ideological functions (Psalter as a tool used for spreading ideas):
 - humanistic (Kochanowski's Psalter);

- religious, Reformation and Counter-Reformation—polemical-propaganda function (Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558; Wujek's Psalter, 1594);
 - national—the mere use of a text in Polish aroused national identity; this idea is conveyed in a well-known quote from the poem “Do tego co czytał [To the one who read]” by Mikołaj Rej: “A niechaj narodowie wždy postronni znają, Iż Polacy nie gęsi, iż swój język mają! [Let all the neighbouring nations know that the Polish people are not geese and they have their own language]”; this idea was put into practice by Rej, among others, by translating the Psalter into Polish, which was an aid to praying in Polish); dedications offering the Psalter to kings and queens (Sigismund I the Old and Anna Jagiellonka) were also not without significance.
- worship functions (assistance in personal religious life; assistance in experiencing the liturgy—the Psalter in Polish as a prayer book, meditation book, church hymnbook or assistance in reciting the *oficium*).

6. THE CAUSES OF DEVELOPMENT OF POLISH BIBLICAL EDITING WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE PSALTER

The data presented above show the dynamism of development of Polish biblical editing during the Renaissance, especially in relation to the Psalters in Polish. Finally, it is worth trying to systematize them.

In chronological order, the appearance and development of humanism became the root cause of development of the Polish biblical editing. The humanists searched for ancient wisdom, educational patterns and material for philological research in Holy Scripture. The Bible also constituted the source of poetic inspiration for humanists. Humanists are also credited with the creation of intellectual foundations, owing to which the translation and publishing of Holy Scripture was possible. The translation and reading of the Psalter in vernacular languages is perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the age.

The development of the Polish language constituted an important factor that impacted the development of Polish writing and editing, also the biblical one, in the 16th century. The Psalter in Polish is today one of the most important sources for the study of the origins of the Polish language.

Adequate economic conditions were indispensable for the development of the printing industry. This was particularly true for such demanding and expensive prints as biblical texts. Around the mid-16th century such conditions occurred in Kraków. Printers from Kraków (the Szarfenbergs, Wietor, Ungler, Wirzbięta) were rich enough to finance the printing of the whole Bible—almost 70% of the Psalters in Polish were published in

this city. At this time, in my opinion, the most beautiful print of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the Renaissance was Lubelczyk's Psalter, printed by Wirzbięta (1558), looking magnificent in every respect and printed in a dignified *in folio* format. In the second half of the 16th century, the support of the Reformation provided by magnates led to the appearance of an economic base also beyond Kraków, which was crucial for costly printing of the Bible (centres in Brest, Nesvitz, Losk). During this period, Psalters were published in Brest on the Bug, Raków, Gdańsk and Toruń. At the beginning of the 17th century, when the economic conditions of the Reformation deteriorated (on the situation of the Reformation camp in Poland at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries see Tazbir, 1999, pp. 127–181; Urban, 1988), problems connected with expensive translation and printing of the Bible appeared (e.g. with the works on *the Gdańsk Bible*) (Nowak, 1968).

The Renaissance was also the time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, which greatly strengthened interest in matters of religion and especially the Bible. Consequently, there was a great demand from the public for biblical texts in national languages. The Bible in national languages became the forum of religious polemics, which further increased the production of translations and editions. Since the mid-16th century religious polemics was the most significant factor securing the development of Polish biblical editing. The emergence, development, divisions, and the twilight of Reformation and continuous strengthening of Counter-Reformation constitute the fundamental reasons for the appearance of new biblical translations. Transformations in denominations in Poland are precisely reflected in the dynamics of biblical editing development. The need for faith polemics led to the emergence of biblical prints of complicated content, which became a kind of religious weapon equipped with all the necessary tools. The need to print such complicated books contributed to the widespread increase in the level of Polish typography. To a greater extent, this applied to prints of the entire Bible and the New Testament, and to a somewhat lesser extent to Psalters, although we can also place the emergence of such Psalters as Lubelczyk's Psalter (1558) or Wujek's Psalter (1594) in a climate of fierce religious polemics.

ABBREVIATIONS

BJ	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library in Kraków]
BK	Kórnik, Biblioteka PAN [Kórnik Library of Polish Academy of Sciences]
BN	Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library of Poland in Warsaw]
Cluj U	Cluj (Romania), Academia Annexe III (Collegium Unitariorum)
Gd PAN	Gdańsk, Biblioteka PAN [Gdańsk Library of Polish Academy of Sciences]
Ka BŚ	Katowice, Biblioteka Śląska [Silesian Library in Katowice]
Kr BCz	Kraków, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich [The Czartoryski Princes Library in Kraków]

Kr PAN	Kraków, Biblioteka PAN [Kraków Library of Polish Academy of Sciences]
Lu Łop.	Lublin, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopocińskiego [Hieronim Łopociński's Provincial Public Library in Lublin]
Lv BU	Lwów, Biblioteka Naukowa Państwowego Uniwersytetu im. Iwana Franka [Scientific Library of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv]
Pa BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Po BTPN	Poznań, Biblioteka Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk [The Library of Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences]
Po BU	Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka [Poznań University Library]
St WLB	Stuttgart, Württembergischen Landesbibliothek
Tor KK	Toruń, Książnica Kopernikańska [Copernik Library in Toruń]
Wa BPMS	Warszawa, Biblioteka Publiczna Miasta Stołecznego [Public Library of the Capital City of Warsaw]
Wa BU	Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka [Warsaw University Library]
Wa BWMSD	Warszawa, Biblioteka Metropolitalnego Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego [Library of Metropolitan Higher Seminary in Warsaw]
Wa Kras	Warszawa, Biblioteka im. Krasińskich [Krasiński's Library in Warsaw] (destroyed in 1944)
Wr BU	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka [Wrocław University Library]
Wr PWT	Wrocław, Biblioteka Papieskiego Wydziału Teologicznego [Library of Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław]
ZNiO	Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich [The National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław]

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- Translations of the whole Bible (in chronological order)

[*Leopolita's Bible*, 1561] = *Biblia To iest. Księgi Starego y Nowego Zakonu / na Polski język / z pilnością według Laćińskiej Biblijy od Kościoła Krześciańskiego powszechnego przyięthey / nowo wyłożona. Cum Gratia et Priuilegio. S. R. M.* (J.N. Leopolita, Trans.). (1561). Kraków: Drukarnia Szarfenbergów ZNiO XVI. F.4065; 4084; 4087; BJ Cim. 8307; BK Cim.F.4058; 4059; Lv BU 185415 III; Wa BU Sd. 612.60; Wa BPMS XVI. F.108; Wa BWMSD; St WLB Bb poln. 156101; BJ Cim. 8307.

[*Leopolita's Bible*, 1575] = *Biblia To iest: KSięgi STarego y NOwego Zakonu / na Polski język / według Laćińskiej Biblijy od Koscioła Krześciańskiego powszechnego przyiętey: na wielu mieyscach z pilnością poprawiona / y figurami ozdobiona. Cum Gratia et Priuilegio. S. R. M.* (1575). Kraków: Drukarnia Mikołaja Szarfenberga (2n ed.). ZNiO XVI. F.4176; 4178.

[*Leopolita's Bible*, 1577] = *Biblia To iest: Księgi Starego y Nowego Zakonu / na Polski język według Laćińskiej Biblijy / od KOścioła Chrześciańskiego powszechnego przyiętey: na wielu mieyscach z pilnością poprawiona / y Figurami ozdobiona, Cum Gratia et Priuilegio. S. R. M.* (1577). Kraków: Drukarnia Mikołaja Szarfenberga (typographical variant of the 1575 edition with title pages and dedications changed). Lv BU 185404 IV; ZNiO XVI. F.4109; 4329; Wr BU 437779.

- [*Brest Bible*, 1563] = *Bjblia święta / Tho iest / Księgi Starego y Nowego Zakonu / własnie z Zydowskiego / Greckiego / y Łacińskiego / nowo na Polski ięzyk z pilnością y wiernie wyłożone.* (1563). Brześć Litewski (Brest-Litovsk): [by Stanisław Muremelius or Cyprian Bazylik?]. Lv BU 185403 IV; Wa BU Sd.612.65; ZNiO XVI. F.4013; Wr BU 437427; Wr PWT; Pa BN Rés. 458; St WLB Bb poln. 156301.
- [*Nesvizh Bible*, 1572] = *Biblia. To iest / księgi starego y nowego Przymierza / znowu z ięzyka Ebreyskiego / Grecskiego y Łacińskiego / na Polski przełożone* (1572). [Nieśwież (Nesvizh), Zasław or Uzda?]: Drukarnia Macieja Kawieczynskiego (printer: Daniel of Łęczycza). Wa BU Sd.614.300; ZNiO XVI.Qu.2336; 2338; 2339.
- [*Wujek's Bible*, 1599] = *BIBLIA TO IEST KSIĘGI STAREGO Y NOWEGO TESTAMNETV WEDŁVG ŁACINSKIEGO przekładu starego, w kościele powszechnym przyjętego, na Polski ięzyk z nowu z pilnością przełożone, Z DOKŁADANIEM TEXTV ZYDOWSKIEGO y Greckiego, y z wykładem Katholickim, trudniejszych mieysc do obrony Wiary świętey powszechney przeciw kacerztwóm tych czasów należących: PRZEZ D. IAKVBA WVYKA z WĄGROWCA, THEOLOGA SOCIETATIS IESV. Z DOZWOLENIEM STOLICE APOSTOLSKIEY, a nakładem Iego M. Księdza Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego, etc.* Wydane (1599). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Lv BU 5131 III; Wr BU 437771; Wr PWT; Wa BU Sd.612.49; ZNiO XVI. F.4289.
- [*Gdańsk Bible*, 1632] = *BIBLIA Święta: To jest, KSIĘGI STAREGO Y NOWEGO PRZYMIERZA z Zydowskiego y Greckiego Języka na Polski pilnie y wiernie przetłumaczone. Cum Gratia et Privilegio.* S. R. M. (1632). Gdańsk: Drukarnia Andrzeja Hunefeldta. Lv BU 185504 I; Wa BU Sd. 713.819; ZNiO XVII-3245; 3246; 3248; Wr BU 328624; BJ 311273; St WLB B poln. 163201 adl.

- Translations of the Book of Psalms (in chronological order)

Kraków Psalter

- [*Kraków Psalter*, 1532] = *Psalterz albo kościelne spiewanie / Krola Dawida / nowo pilnie przełożony / z łacińskiego ięzika w polski / według szczerego textu.* (1532). [Kraków: Hieronim Wietor]. BJ Cim.907; BJ Cim. vol. 25.
- [*Kraków Psalter*, 1535] = *Psalterz albo kościelne śpiewanie / Krola Dawida / nowo pilnie przełożony / z łacińskiego ięzika w Polski / według szczerego textu.* (1535). Kraków: Hieronim Wietor. ZNiO XVI. O.1021; Kr PAN 62.

Zołtarz Dawidow (David's Psalter), trans. Walenty Wróbel

- [*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1539a] = *Zołtarz Dawidow / przez Mistrza Valantheo Wrobla z Poznania na rzecz polską wyłożony.* (1539). Kraków: Officina Ungleriana. ZNiO XVI. O.389; 481; 966.
- [*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1539b] = *Psalterium Dauidicum: Zoltarz Dawidow przez Mistrza Walentego Wrobla z Poznania na rzecz polską wyłożony.* (1539). Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg (2nd ed.). BK Cim.O.117; Kr BCz 1031/I.
- [*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1540a] = *Zoltarz Dawidow przez Mistrza Walentego Wrobla z Poznania / polską mową wyłożony / Teraz zwiętszą pilnością pismem Lacińskiem y Polskiem wydrukowany / ktemu też iest Regestr przydany / przez ktory łatwie może być każdy Psalm nalieżony.* (1540). Kraków: Hieronim Wietor (3rd ed.). Wr BU 305158.
- [*Zołtarz Dawidow*, 1540b] = *Psalterium Dauidis. Zoltarz Dawidow przez Mistrza Walentego Wrobla z Poznania na rzecz polską wyłożony.* (1540). Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg (4th ed.). ZNiO XVI. O.576.

- [*Zołtarcz Dawidow*, 1543] = *Psalterium Davidis. Zołtarcz Dawidow przez Mistrza Walantego Wrobla z Poznania na rzecz polską wyłożony*. (1543). Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg (5th ed.). ZNiO XVI. O.880; 881.
- [*Zołtarcz Dawidow*, 1547] = *Psal. Davidis. Zołtarcz Dawidow przez Mistrza Walantego Wrobla z Poznania na rzecz Polską wyłożony*. (1547). Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg (6th ed.). Wr BU 300306; ZNiO XVI. O.724.
- [*Zołtarcz Dawidow*, 1551] = [*Zołtarcz Dawidow*]. (1551). Kraków: Officina Ungleriana (7th ed.). Lost print.
- [*Zołtarcz Dawidow*, 1567] = *Zołtharz Dawidow / Przez Mistrza Walantego Wrobla / niekiedy kaznodzieję Poznańskiego / na rzecz Polską wyłożony*. (1567). Kraków: Mikołaj Szarfenberg (8th ed.). ZNiO XVI. O.273; 274; 848.

David's Psalter, trans. Mikołaj Rej

- [Rej's Psalter, 1546] = *Psalterz Dawidow / ktory snadz iest prawy fundament / wssytkiego pisma krzesćyjańskiego / teraz nowo prawie na Polski ięzyk przelożon / acz nie iednakosćią słow / co być niemoże / ale ysz wždy położenie rzeczy wkażdem wierssu według łacińskiego ięzyka sie zamyka. Przytem też Argument to iest wyrozumienie rzeczy / oczem Prorok mowił iest / przed każdym Psalmem krotcze napisan. Przytem tez zakazdem Psalmem iest napisana modlitwa krotkimi słowy według podobienstwa onegoz Psalmu. Registr tych ksiąg: na końcu naidziesz czčićielu uczćiwy / tobie potrzebnych*. (befor 1546). [Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg?]. BK Cim.O.343; Kr BCz Cim.1039.
- [Rej's Psalter, 1550] = [*Psalterz Dawidow*. (ca. 1550). Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg?] (2nd ed.). Po BTPN 100009; Wa BU Sd. 618.66.

David's Psalter, trans. Jakub Lubelczyk

- [Lubelczyk's Psalter, 1558] = *Psalterz Dawida onego Świętego / a wieczny pamięci godnego Krola y Proroka: teraz nowo na piosneczki po Polsku przelożony / a według Zydowskiego rozdziału na pięcioro ksiąg rozdzielony. A dla lepszego zrozumienia / są przydane Argumenta y annotacyie / tho iest / krociuchne wypisanie / iżby wiedzyeli ci co go używać będą / czo ktory Psalm w sobie zamyka. Też dla łączniejszego znalezyenia / reyestr wssytkich Psalmow na końcu iest przydany*. (1558). Kraków: Maciej Wirzbięta. BN XVI. F.505; Wa BU Sd. 612.232; ZNiO XVI. F.4081; BK Cim.F.4034; BJ Cim.8294; Tor KK 112469-112470.L.fol.; Po BTPN 59401.

Reprint of Psalter from the *Brest Bible*

- [*Brest Psalter*, 1564] = *Księgi Psalmow / abo pieśni Dawidowych ktore pospolicie zową Psalterz*. (1564). Brześć Litewski (Brest-Litovsk): [by Cyprian Bazylik?]. Kr BCz Cim.1517/I.

Trent Psalter

- [*Trent Psalter*, 1572] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW, Porządkiem Kościoła Świętego / Powszechnego / Apostolskiego / według postanowienia S. Concilium Trydeńskiego terazniejszego na każdy dzień przez cały Tydzień / porządnie rozłożony. Cum GRatia et PRIuilegio S. R. M.* (1572). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. ZNiO XVI. O.25; Tor KK 35.

David's Psalter, trans. Jan Kochanowski

- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1578] = [*Psalterz Dawidów przekładania Jana Kochanowskiego*]. (1578 [in fact ca. 1590-1593]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Po BU S. D. 3620 I adl.

- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1579] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1579). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Kr BCz Cim.1815/II.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1583] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1583). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Kr BCz Cim. 2076/I; ZNiO XVI.Qu.3111 adl.; Po BTPN 12152/I.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1585] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1585 [in fact ca. 1590–1593]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Gd PAN Dm 3443. 8° adl.; Lv BU 55304 II.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1585/1586a] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1585/1586). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. BJ Cim.Qu.4495.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1585/1586b] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1585/1586 [in fact ca. 1598 or ca. 1590–1598]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Wa BU Sd. 614.292; 614.298.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1586a] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1586 [in fact ca. 1598]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. ZNiO XVI.Qu.2443; Wa BU Sd. 614.299.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1586/1587a] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1586/1587 [in fact ca. 1594–1600]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. BN XVI.Qu.1415.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1586b] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1586 [in fact ca. 1604]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. ZNiO XVII-7037; Wa BU Sd. 614.302.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1586/1587b] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1586/1587 [in fact after 1590]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. War. A: Kr BCz Cim.1841/II.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1587a] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1587). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. BN XVI.Qu.1407 adl.; BN XVI.Qu.6954.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1587b] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (after 1587). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. ZNiO XVI.Qu.2301.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1590] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1590 [in fact after 1590]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Lu Łop. 9589; BN XVI.Qu.931.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1587c] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1587 [in fact after 1590]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Kr BCz Cim. 2031/I.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1587d] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1587 [in fact ca. 1590–1594]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. ZNiO XVI.Qu.2301; BN XVI.Qu.6953.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1601] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1601). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. ZNiO XVII-2736; Lv BU 152354 II.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1606a] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1606). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. ZNiO XVII-1346; Tor KK 110606.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1606b] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1606 [in fact after 1606]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa [in fact unknown printing house]. Ka BŚ 10404/I adl.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1606c] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1606 [in fact after 1606]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa [in fact unknown printing house]. Po BTPN 40105/I.

- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1606d] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1606 [in fact after 1606]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa [in fact unknown printing house]. Kr BCz 35741/II).
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1606e] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1606 [in fact after 1606]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa [in fact unknown printing house]. Kr BCz 35739/II; Gd PAN 142/54.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1606f] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1606 [in fact after 1606]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa [in fact unknown printing house]. Chyrów; Königsberg; Wa Kras.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1606g] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. PRZEKLADANIA JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1606 [in fact after 1606]). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa [in fact unknown printing house]. ZNiO XVII-677.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1610/1611] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. Przekładania JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1610/1611). Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka. ZNiO XVII-811 adl.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1612/1614] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. Przekładania JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1612/1614). Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka. ZNiO XVII-1221.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1617] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. Przekładania JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1617). Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka. Lv BU 59298 II; ZNiO XVII-1337.
- [Kochanowski's Psalter, 1629] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. Przekładania JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO*. (1629). Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka. ZNiO XVII-2738; Lw BU 59298 II.

Psalter music (for David's Psalter by Jan Kochanowski) by Mikołaj Gomółka

- [Kochanowski's/Gomółka Psalter, 1580] = *MELODIE Na Psalterz Polski, przez Mikolaia Gomółke wczynione*. (1580). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. Wa BU Sd. 614.11; Gd PAN 476/54.

David's Psalms, trans. Paweł Milejewski

- [Milejewski's Psalter, 1563] = [*PSALMY Dawidowe / na modlitwy Chrześcijańskie przełożone. Przydana jest k temu rozmowa o modlitwie / y modlitwy ludzi świętych z Biblii wybrane*]. (ca. 1563–1578). [Place?]: [Publisher?]. Lost print.
- [Milejewski's Psalter, 1587] = *PSALMY Dawidowe / na modlitwy Chrześcijańskie przełożone. Przydana jest k temu rozmowa o modlitwie / y modlitwy ludzi świętych z Biblii wybrane*. (1587). [Kraków]: Aleksander Rodecki (2nd ed.). BN XVI.O.409.

Psalter, trans. Jakub Wujek

- [Wujek's Psalter, 1594] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW. Teraz znowu z Łacińskiego / z Græckiego / y z Żydowskiego / na Polski ięzyk z pilnością przełożony / y Argumentami / y Annotacyami objaśniony. Przez D. IAKVBA WVYKA, Theologa Societatis IESV. Z dozwoleniem Starszych. Pod rozszakdek Kościoła S. powszechnego Rzymyskiego wszyto niech podlęze*. (1594). Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka. ZNiO XVI.Qu.2659; 3095; Lv BU 1964 II.
- [Wujek's Psalter, 1612] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW Z Łacińskiego / z Græckiego / y z Żydowskiego na Polski ięzyk z pilnością przełożony. Przez D. IAKVBA WVYKA, Theologa Societatis IESV. Z dozwoleniem Starszych. Teraz znowu / na żądanie wiela Panien zakonnych Łacińskiego ięzyka nieumiejących / a Psalterz mowić pragnących / bez argumentow y annotacyi przedrukowany*. (1612). Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka. ZNiO XVII-3012; BK 126877.

[Wujek's Psalter, 1626] = *PSALTERZ DAWIDOW Z Laćińskiego / z Greckiego / y z Zydowskiego na Polski ięzyk z pilnością przełożony. Przez D. IAKVBA WVYKA, Theologa Societatis IESV. Z dozwoleniem Starszych. Teraz znowu / na żądanie wielu Panien zakonnych Laćińskiego ięzyka nieumiejących / a Psalterz mowić pragnących / bez argumentow y annotacyi przedrukowany.* (1626). Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka. ZNiO XVII-2525.

David's Psalms, trans. Maciej Rybiński

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1605] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE: PRZEKLADANIA X. MACIEIA RYBINSKIEGO. Na Melodye Psalmow Francuskich vrobione, W ROKU PANSKIM, 1605. Pod Rozsądek KOSCIOŁA PRAWOWIERNEGO Wszystko niechay podłęże.* (1605). [Raków]: Sebastian Sternacki. BN XVII. W.1.2373; BJ 311043/I; Kr BCz 24047; Tor KK 103992.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1616] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE: Przekładania X. MACIEIA RYBINSKIEGO. Na melodye Psalmow Francuskich vrobione.* (1616). Gdańsk: Andrzej Hünefeldt (2nd ed.). BK 1426.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1617] = *PSALMY MONARCHI Y PROROKA S. DAWIDA: PRZEKLADANIA X. MACIEJA RYBINSKIEGO. Znowu Przejrzane y Wydrukowane.* (1617). Toruń: Augustyn Ferber (3rd ed.). Kr BCz 24075.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1618] = *PSALMY MONARCHI Y PROROKA S. DAWIDA: Przekładania X. MACIEJA RYBINSKIEGO. Znowu Przejrzane y Wydrukowane.* (1618). Toruń: Augustyn Ferber (4th ed.). Kr BCz 24662; Wr BU 372669.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1619] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE, Z HYMNAMI. PIESNI DUCHOWNE. KATECHIZM MNIEYSZY Y VVIETSZY. Z składami davnemi VViary Katolickiey: MODLITW OSOBLIWYCH STO. Z wielką pilnością / y potrzebną wydane / na część y chwałę Boga w Trojcy jedynego / a na pożytek kościoła powszechnego Apostolskiego / na Panie Jezusie Christusie jedynym fundamencie Słowem Bożym zbudowanego.* (1619). Gdańsk: Andrzej Hünefeldt (5th ed.). ZNiO XVII-1425 adl.; 1426 adl.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1624] = *PSALTERZ Dawidow, PRZEKLADANIA X. MACIEIA RYBINSKIEGO, Na Melodie Psalmow Francuskich / z Argumentami X. IANA TURNOVVSKEGO Superintendenta Wielgop: uczyniony. Teraz znowu na żądanie wielu ludzi pobożnych / poprawiony / y przedrukowany : z przydaniem na końcu kilku Pieśni nabożnych.* (1624). Raków: [Sebastian Sternacki] (6th ed.). BK 12264.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1628] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE Przekładania X. MACIEIA RYBINSKIEGO.* (1628). Gdańsk: Andrzej Hünefeldt (7th ed.). Wr BU 541298.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1632] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE Przekładania X. MACIEIA RYBINSKIEGO.* [1632]. Gdańsk: Andrzej Hünefeldt (8th ed.). BJ 311274 adl.; BK 1748; Kr BCz 24128; ZNiO XVII-4330; Wr BU 328624 adl.; St WLB B poln. 163201 adl.

[Rybiński's Psalter, 1636] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE Przekładania X. MACIEIA RYBINSKIEGO.* [1636]. Gdańsk: Andrzej Hünefeldt (9th ed.). ZNiO XVII-2298; St WLB 3228005 adl.

Reprint of Psalter from the *Gdańsk Bible (Gdańsk Psalter)*

[*Grańsk Psalter*, 1633] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE Cum Gratia et Privilegio S. R. Majest. Polon. et Sveciæ.* (1633). Gdańsk: Andrzej Hünefeldt. ZNiO XVII-2577.

- Editions of a single psalm and collections of psalms (in chronological order)

- [Ps 46] = *Prośba o ducha Świętego. Druga pieśń o S. Duchu. Veni creator Spiritus. etcet. I Psalm xlvi.* [Place?]: [Publisher?]. Kr BCz 1626 I adl.
- [Ps 13, 1546] = *Psalm Dawidow Xij. z notami / z łacińskiego języka na Polski przełożony. B. W[ojewódka].* (1546). Kraków: Hieronim Wietor. ZNiO XVI.96 adl.
- [Ps 1, 1556] = *Pieśń przy pogrzebie Człowieka krześcijańskiego. Przyłożon też iest Psalm Pierwssy. Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum. &c., transl. [Andrzej Trzeciecki].* (1556). [Kraków]: Łazarz Andrysowic. Kr BCz Cim.1631/I adl.
- [Ps 85, 1556] = *PSALM DAWIDOW LXXXV. Inclina DOMine aurem tuam. &c. M. R[ej].* (after 1550 or ca. 1556). Kraków: Łazarz Andrysowic. ZNiO XVI. O.846.
- [Ps 13, 1556] = [*Psalm XIII (Rzekł niemądri w ser. swoim)*] (B. Wojewódka, Trans.). (ca. 1556). Kraków: Łazarz Andrysowic. BJ Cim.O.513.
- [Ps 127, 1556] = *PSALM CXXVII. Beati omnes qui timent Dominum. &c. B. W[ojewódka].* (ca. 1556). Kraków: Łazarz Andrysowic. ZNiO XVI. O.936.
- [Ps 1, 1558] = *Pieśń przy pogrzebie Człowieka Krześcijańskiego. Przyłożon tesz iest Psalm pierwssy. Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, &c. (A. Trzeciecki, Trans.).* (ca. 1558-1561). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.285 adl.
- [Ps 36, 1558] = *Psalm. XXXVI. Noli æmulari in malignantibus, neque zelaueris facientes iniquitatem. Ku poćiesse człowieka Krześcijańskiego / wiernie przy Panu swym trwającego. Po Polsku uczyniony. J. L.[ubelczyk].* (1558). [Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher]. BN XVI. O.281 adl.
- [Ps 45, 1558] = *PSALM XLV. DEVS NOSTER REFVGIVM. Ktorem sobie koscioł święthy mysl dobrą czyni / w ninieissym porusseniu. AP.* (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.276 adl.
- [Ps 50, 1558] = *Psalm Dawidow L. Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam &c. B. V. [ojewódka].* (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.280 adl.
- [Ps 70, 1558] = *Psalm Dawidow Lxx. In te domine speraui &c. S.[tanisław] K.[leryka].* (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.277 adl.
- [Ps 79, 1558] = *Psalm Lxxix. DEVS, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum: posuerunt Ierusalem in pomorum custodiam. &c. Po polsku ku spiewaniu przełożony. Jak. [ub] Lub.[elczyk].* (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.282 adl.
- [Ps 85, 1558] = [*Psalm LXXXV. Inclina Domine aurem tuam &c. M. R[ej].*] (1558). [Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher]. BN XVI. O.273 adl.
- [Ps 102, 1558] = *Psalm Dawidow C.ij. z łacińskiego języka na Polski ku spiewaniu Przełożony* (B. Wojewódki, Trans.). (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher BN XVI. O.279 adl.
- [Ps 113, 1558] = *Psalm Dawidow. CXIII. In exitu Jsrael de Egipto. M. R.[ej].* (1958). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.272 adl.
- [Ps 116, 1558] = *Psalm Dawidow. C.XVI. Laudate DOMInum omnes gentes. &c. (M. Rej, Trans.).* (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher BN XVI. O.274 adl.
- [Ps 123, 1558] = *Pieśń o zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim. W kthorey sie zamyka sposob usprawiedliwienia naszego. Przydany iest ktemu Psalm cxxij.* (ca. 1558-1561). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.263 adl.
- [Ps 127, 1558] = *Psalm Dawidow. CXXVII. Beati omnes qui timent Dominum. &c. B. W[ojewódka].* (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.275 adl.
- [Ps 129, 1558] = *Psalm. Cxxix. De profundis clamaui ad te Domine* (B. Wojewódka, Trans.). (1558). Kraków: Mateusz Siebeneicher. BN XVI. O.278 adl.

- [Ps 113, 1565] = *Psalm Dawidow / CXIII. In exitu Israel de Egipto. M. R.[ej].* (after 1565, ca. 1573?). Kraków: Stanisław Szarfenberg. Wa BU Sd. 618.64.
- [Kochanowski's *Siedem psalmów pokutnych*, 1579] = *SIEDM PSALMOW POKVTNYCH JANA KOCHANOWSKIEGO. Cum Gratia et Priuilegio S. R. M..* (1579). Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa. BK Cim.Qu.2249.
- [Rej's *Siedem psalmów pokutnych*, 1547] = [*Siedem psalmów pokutnych* (M. Reja, Trans.). (before 1547). Kraków: [Publisher?]. Lost print.
- [Rysiński's *Psalter*, 1614] = *NIKTORE PSALMY DAWIDOWE CZĘŚCIĄ POPRAWIONE CZĘŚCIĄ Z NOWV PRZELOZONE NA STARE NOTY. OD SALOMONA RYSINSKIEGO. ZA ZLECENIEM STARSZYCH.* (1614). Lubcz nad Niemnem (Lubcz-on-the-Niemen): Piotr Blast. Tor KK TN 23017 adl.

- The Biblical commentaries (in chronological order)

On Ps 50

- [Ps 50, 1531] = *Psalm dauidow piecdziesty / ktory się poczyna Smituy sie na demną boże / według prawey historyey iego. Od chwalebneho biskupa Carpenterackiego wyłożony a zwykladu iego y wyrozumienia ynnich doktorow świętych na polski ięzyk spilnoscia przełożony.* (1531). Kraków: Florian Ungler. BJ Cim.19; ZNiO XVI. O.494.

- Prints left in the Summaries

Polish *Hortulus animae* with biblical fragments

- [*Hortulus animae*, 1527] = [*Hortulus animae.* (ca. 1527). Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg]. BJ Cim.217; 1556.
- [*Hortulus animae*, 1530] = [*Hortulus animae.* (ca. 1530). Kraków: Hieronim Wietor]. BJ Cim.218.
- [*Hortulus animae*, 1585] = [*Hortulus animae.* (after 1585). Kraków: Mikołaj Szarfenberg]. ZNiO XVI. O.737.
- [*Hortulus animae*, 1636] = [*Hortulus animae.* (1636). Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk. BJ 311160/I.

Cantionals containing the psalms (examples)

- [*Cantional*, 1554] = *Cantional Albo Ksiegy chwał Boskich / to iest Piesni Duchowne...* (Walenty from Brzozów, Trans.). (1554). Królewiec (Königsberg): Aleksander Augezdecki. ZNiO XVI.4047; Gd PAN 1791/64.
- [*Cantional*, 1569] = *CANTIONAL, Albo: Pieśni Duchowne / z Słowa Bozego słożone: dla Chwały iedynego Pana Boga, w Troycy Błogosławioney, y pożytku Kosciola Krześciańskiego, w Języku Polskim zaś odnowione, obyśnione, a Wydrukowane* (Walenty from Brzozów, Trans.). (1569). Kraków: Maciej Wirzbięta. ZNiO XVI.Qu.2131; Kr BCz Cim.1564 I.
- [*Cantional*, 1587] = *CANTIONAL: ALBO Piesni Duchowne / z Pisma S. ku czći a chwale samemu P. Bogu w Troycy iedynemu: Y też pomnożeniu kościola iego ś. porządkiem dobrym a starożytnym sporządzone. Z więtszą pilnością niż przed tym wyrobione / z przydaniem Pieśni niektorych / y Psalmow nowotnych.* (1587). Toruń: Melchior Nering. Kr BCz Cim.1579 I.
- [*Psalmy – Pieśni*, 1610] = *Psalmy. — Pieśni.* (1610). [Raków: Sebastian Sternacki]. Cluj U R. 1863 adl.
- [*Cantional*, 1611] = *CANTIOAL PIESNI DUCHOWNYCH, Hymnów y Psalmow Świętych / NA WIECZNA WIELKIEGO BOGA, OICA, SYNA, Y DUCHA SWIETEGO CHWALE: A JEDNOTY*

PRAWOWIERNEGO KOSCIOLA BOZEGO POZYTEK POSPOLITY. (1611). Toruń: Augustyn Ferber. Kr BCz 24011 II.

[*Psalmy – Pieśni*, 1614] = *Psalmy*. — *Pieśni*. (between 1614 and 1620). [Raków: Sebastian Sternacki]. Cluj U R.1851 adl.

[*Pieśni duchowe*, 1619] = *PIESNI DUCHOWNE Według porządku Wyznania wiarey powszechnej krześcijańskiej...* (1619). Gdańsk: Andrzej Hünefeldt. ZNiO XVII-1426 adl.

[*Cantional*, 1620] = *CANTIONAL, to iest: Pieśni Krześcijańskie: ku Chwale Boga w Troycy Jedynego / y pocieszę Wiernych Jego: porządkiem nie tylko słusznym / ale też z pilnością wielką / nad pierwsze wydania / nie bez Correctury znaczney / wypuszczone. Z Przydatkiem Psalmow y Piosneczek teraz nowo zebranych: więc y Modlitw niemało.* (1620). Toruń: Augustyn Ferber. Kr BCz 24594 I; BK 11351; ZNiO XVI. O.948; Gd PAN XX B o 379; 204/54.

[*Psalmy Dawidowe*, 1620] = *PSALMY DAWIDOWE Z Ewngelią Pana Christusovvą zgodne. Do których są przyłączone PIESNI pobożne, z Pism Svwiętych wzięte.* (1620). Raków: Sebasian Sternacki. BN XVII.1.499.

[*Psalmy niektóre*, 1625] = *PSALMY Niektore Krola Dawida, Proroka Bożego, z Ewanielią Pana Christusową zgodne. Do których są przyłączone PIESNI pobożne, z Pism świętych wzięte.* (1625). [Raków]: Sebastian Sternacki. BK 118; Cluj U R.1865.

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THE PSALTER IN POLISH IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE:
AN ATTEMPT AT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOLOGICAL SYNTHESIS

S u m m a r y

The paper constitutes an attempt to synthesize information on the achievements of Polish Biblical editing in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance period as regards the Psalter. The Author reviews the bibliography of Renaissance prints with the text of the Psalms in Polish, presents the dynamics of Psalter editing development in quantitative, qualitative, and functional aspects, presents the root causes, which were decisive in the emergence and development of the Polish Psalter editing.

Keywords: Psalter; Bible translations into Polish; Renaissance; bibliography; bibliology

POLSKA REDAKCJA PSAŁTERZA W OKRESIE ŚREDNIOWIECZA I ODRODZENIA.
PRÓBA SYNTEZY BIBLIOGRAFICZNEJ I BIBLIOLOGICZNEJ

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł stanowi próbę syntezy informacji na temat dorobku polskiego edytorstwa biblijnego w średniowieczu i w okresie renesansu w odniesieniu do Psalterza. Autor dokonuje przeglądu bibliografii renesansowych druków zawierających psalmy w języku polskim, przedstawia dynamikę rozwoju edytorstwa psalterzowego w aspekcie ilościowym, jakościowym i funkcjonalnym, prezentuje podstawowe przyczyny, które zadecydowały o powstaniu i rozwoju polskiego edytorstwa psalterzowego.

Słowa kluczowe: Psalterz; tłumaczenia Biblii na polski; odrodzenie; bibliografia; bibliologia

A u t h o r ' s b i o

Rajmund Pietkiewicz received his PhD in humanities (bibliology) from the University of Wrocław in 2003, and PhD in theology (biblical theology) from Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław in 2004. He earned his licentiate in biblical sciences from The Pontifical Biblical Institute "Biblicum" in Rome in 2008, a post-doctoral degree in theology (biblical theology) from the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław in 2012. He is Director of the Chair of the Old Testament Exegesis at the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław. He lectures on Old Testament Exegesis and Hebrew. He specializes in the study on biblical translations, especially into Polish ones dating back to the period of Reformation and Renaissance.