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FROM THE HISTORY OF SHAPING THE MENTALITY OF TORUŃ'S ELITE  
IN THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY:  
THE ATTEMPT TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE

**Key words:** the culture of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, Toruń's patriciate, the group of the so called "Scholars" in Toruń, the Protestant religious community, Toruń's Catholics, Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski, Sarmatian culture

The studies into the history of human mentality are difficult on account of missing sources and methodological issues. The renowned scientists in this field include Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, Georg Duby, Philippe Ariès, Jacques Le Goff, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Carlo Ginzburg, Aron Guriewicz.<sup>1</sup> French historiography has been the most successful in this field so far. The recent years have witnessed Polish historians joining this current of research.<sup>2</sup> This article

<sup>1</sup> The overview of studies over French mentality has been presented by: Bronisław GE-REMEK, *Umysłowość i psychologia zbiorowa w historii*, Przegląd Historyczny, R. 53: 1962, pp. 629–644; Antoni CZYŻ, *Kilka słów o badaniach nad historią mentalności*, Przegląd Powszechny, 1985, no. 12 (772), pp. 355–366. The attempts at defining history of mentality and its scientific scope were made by Georges DUBY, *Histoire des mentalités*, [in:] *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, dir. Charles SAMARAN, Paris 1961, pp. 937–965; Jacques LE GOFF, *Les mentalités: une histoire ambiguë*, [in:] *Faire de l'histoire. Nouveaux problèmes*, t. 3, dir. idem, Pierre NORA, Paris 1974, pp. 106–128. Several French works that address the issue of research over mentality have been translated into Polish, cf. e.g.: Georges DUBY, Robert MANDROU, *Historia kultury francuskiej. Wiek X–XX*, transl. Hanna SZUMAŃSKA-GROSSOWA, Warszawa 1965; Jacques LE GOFF, *Kultura średniowiecznej Europy*, transl. Hanna SZUMAŃSKA-GROSSOWA, Warszawa 1976; Jean DELUMEAU, *Strach w kulturze Zachodu XIV–XVIII w.*, transl. Adam SZYMANOWSKI, Warszawa 1986; Emmanuel LE ROY LADURIE, *Montaillou, wioska heretyków 1294–1324*, transl. Ewa Dora ŻÓŁKIEWSKA, Warszawa 1988; Michel FOUCAULT, *Historia szaleństwa w dobie klasycyzmu*, transl. Helena KĘSZYCKA, Warszawa 1987; Philippe ARIES, *Człowiek i śmierć*, transl. Eligia BĄKOWSKA, Warszawa 1989; Pierre CHAUNU, *Cywizacja wieku Oświecenia*, transl. Eligia BĄKOWSKA, Warszawa 1989, pp. 515–517; cf. also Carlo GINZBURG, *Ser i robaki: wizja świata pewnego mlynarza z XVI w.*, transl. Radosław KŁOS, Warszawa 1989; Aron J. GURIEWICZ, *Kategorie kultury średniowiecznej*, transl. Józef DANZYGIER, Warszawa 1976.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. the following works: Bogdan ROK, *Zagadnienie śmierci w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej*

is merely an attempt at formulating remarks about elite mentality of the community of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and it has been chiefly based on the research made so far into the general cultural history of Toruń in the periods of Baroque and Enlightenment by Stanisław Salomonowicz, Jerzy Wojtowicz, Jerzy Dygdała, Krzysztof Mikulski and partly by myself.<sup>3</sup> Studies by Maria Bogucka over the mentality of Gdańsk bourgeois in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which can be compared to the mentality of the people of Toruń of that time, have been substantively and methodologically supportive for this paper.<sup>4</sup> The following remarks are meant to formulate certain issues and pose hypotheses without, however, a possibility to analyse them in detail,

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*tej czasów saskich*, Wrocław 1991; idem, *Zagadnienie śmierci w kulturze staropolskiej*, Wrocław 1995; Jan KRACIK, *Pokonać czarną śmierć. Staropolskie postawy wobec zarazy*, Kraków 1991; Piotr KOWALSKI, *Theatrum świata wszystkiego i pojęciowy gospodarz. O wizji świata pewnego siedemnastowiecznego pisarza ziemiańskiego*, Kraków 2000; Kazimierz MALISZEWSKI, *Barokowe „theatrum mundi”*. Uwagi na podstawie analizy polskich gazet rękopiśmiennych, [in:] idem, *Komunikacja społeczna w kulturze staropolskiej*, Toruń 2001, pp. 143–188.

<sup>3</sup> See Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Uwagi o historii kultury Prus Królewskich XVII–XVIII wieku*, *Zapiski Historyczne* (further cit. ZH), vol. 39: 1974, pp. 147–176; idem, *Toruń w czasach baroku i oświecenia. Szkice z dziejów kultury Torunia XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1982; idem, *Szkice toruńskie z XVII–XVIII wieku*, Toruń 1992; idem, *Kultura umysłowa Torunia w dobie renesansu, reformacji i baroku*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, ed. Marian BISKUP, vol. 2, part 2: *W czasach renesansu, reformacji i wczesnego baroku (1548–1660)*, Toruń 1994, pp. 169–256; idem, *Kultura umysłowa Torunia między barokiem a oświeceniem*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, ed. Marian BISKUP, vol. 2, part 3: *Między barokiem i oświeceniem (1660–1793)*, Toruń 1996, pp. 299–371; idem, *Protestanci i katolicy w jednym mieście: casus Torunia w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Rzeczypospolita wielu wyznań. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji*, Kraków 18–20 listopada 2002, ed. Adam KAŻMIERCZYK, Krystyn MATWIJOWSKI, Kraków 2004, pp. 65–78; as well as his dissertations cited below. Cf. also generally Jerzy WOJTOWICZ, *Wpływ pracy na formowanie się typów umysłowości zbiorowości miejskiej XVI–XIX w.*, [in:] *Pamiętnik XII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich 17–20 września 1979*, part 1: *Sekcje I–IV*, Katowice 1979, pp. 212–220; idem, *Prace i rozrywki elity mieszczaństwa toruńskiego w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Imprezy towarzyskie i oficjalne w dawnym Toruniu. Szkice*, ed. Jacek STASZEWSKI, Toruń 1984, pp. 92–96. A contribution to the history of culture and mentality of the Polish-Catholic community in Toruń in the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be found in: Kazimierz MALISZEWSKI, *Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski, szlachcic, mieszczanin toruński, erudyta barokowy*, Warszawa 1982. Cf. the most recent approach from the point of view of literature: Krzysztof OBREMSKI, *Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski. Dziejopisarz i człowiek saskiego półwiecza*, Warszawa 2008 together with the review of this work by Jarosław Porazinski in: *Klio*, 2009, vol. 12, pp. 186–192.

<sup>4</sup> Maria BOGUCKA, *W kręgu mentalności mieszkańców gdańskiego w XVII wieku. Notatnik Michała Hancke*, [in:] *Ars Historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Poznań 1976, pp. 617–633 together with her remarks on the mentality of a Gdańsk burgher [in:] *Historia Gdańska*, ed. Edmund CIEŚLAK, vol. 2: *1454–1655*, Gdańsk 1982, pp. 674–685. See also her collection of works in: *Człowiek i świat. Studia z dziejów kultury i mentalności XV–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 2008.

or properly document them, rather than just provide an exhaustive presentation of a difficult subject that no-one has previously tackled directly before.<sup>5</sup>

By way of introduction it should be highlighted that Toruń of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was, quite like the two other great cities of Royal Prussia – Gdańsk and Elbląg, a special city from various perspectives. It was a royal city that was self-governed and had broad autonomy.<sup>6</sup> The elite of the city was comprised of the proud patriciate and a group of educated people who occupied posts in municipal authorities or became independent professionals. It is that elite of Toruń bourgeois of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries which is the focus of our attention in the article.

The patriciate of Toruń in that period was rather scarce and comprised of the total of a few dozens of families. The most important of them in the 17<sup>th</sup> century included: the Eskens, the Preusses, the Wedermeyers, the Anunds and the Strobands. In the 1720s the world of the patriciate and wealthy burghers of Toruń amounted probably to the total of 100 families (500 together with family members).<sup>7</sup> The most notable of them in the 18<sup>th</sup> century included: the Borkowscy, the Elsnsers, the Fengers, the Gerets, the Klosmans, the Nałęczes and the Zerneks.<sup>8</sup> A group of the so-called scholars (*Gelehrte*) should also be incorporated within this elite. They were people of various origin who, after having graduated from universities, embarked on a political career in the town, as well as people whose professions required better education, such as pastors, teachers, doctors and pharmacists, lawyers and the officers of municipal au-

<sup>5</sup> I made an attempt at sketching this issue in a short article *Na styku świata kultury protestancko-miejskiej i katolicko-sarmackiej. Uwagi o mentalności elity mieszkańców toruńskiego w XVIII i pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Między Zachodem a Wschodem. Etniczne, kulturowe i religijne pogranicza Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Agnieszka ZIELIŃSKA-NOWICKA, Toruń 2006, pp. 257–270. I have included some of the threads and issues from that article with the addition of the most recent source literature.

<sup>6</sup> Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Z dziejów walki o tzw. restaurację autonomicznych aspiracji Prus Królewskich w XVIII wieku*, *Analecta Cracoviensia*, vol. 7: 1975, pp. 433–457; idem, *Stan Prus Królewskich wobec Korony w XVII–XVIII w. Zarys problematyki*, *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici* (further cit. AUNC). *Historia XVIII*, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, book 128, Toruń 1982, pp. 103–119.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, *Myśl Oświecenia w Toruniu*, Toruń 1982, pp. 103–119. To compare the changes in the composition of the elite of Toruń bourgeois in the period discussed, see: Krzysztof MIKULSKI, *Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo Torunia od końca XIV do początku XVIII wieku*, Toruń 1999; idem, *Obcy w oblężonej twierdzy protestantyzmu – portret zbiorowy katolików toruńskich w II połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Rzeczypospolita wielu wyznań*, pp. 293–310; idem, *Pułapka nemożności. Społeczeństwo nowożytnego miasta wobec procesów modernizacyjnych (na przykładzie Torunia w XVII i XVIII w.)*, Toruń 2008; Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Urzędnicy miejscy Torunia 1651–1793*, Toruń 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Jerzy DYGDAŁA, Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *O genealogiach patrycjatu toruńskiego XVI–XVIII w.*, *ZH*, vol. 42: 1977, z. 3, pp. 469–490.

thorities. A binding factor that turned this group into a uniform whole was the community of Protestant (Lutheran) persuasion, which had strong family, economic and societal ties.

In order to reconstruct the elite mentality of Toruń burghers in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries one must start with education. All representatives of the elite first received a thorough upbringing at home. Then they went on to study at the Academic Grammar School. After graduation they continued their higher education at Lutheran or Calvinist universities in German lands or Switzerland and the Netherlands.<sup>9</sup> Their education usually culminated in a scientific journey made across the countries of Western Europe that lasted several years. The faculties that were most frequently studied included legal and historical sciences, theology, philosophy, but also medicine and classical philology. An important role in education was played by historical texts, the works of ancient authors were used as ready-made models to be drawn on in later public activity. After graduation most graduates returned to their hometowns bringing with them good manners, the knowledge of languages and the awareness of their cultural needs. Their future fate was in fact similar. Some of the young Torunians took charge of family businesses, others pursued their careers in municipal authorities where they started from lower ranks and climbed higher up the ladder to reach more responsible posts like that of a councillor or a mayor, which was the crowning achievement of a municipal career in Toruń.<sup>10</sup> The mother tongue for Toruń elite was German, yet nearly all of its representatives knew Polish, better or worse, which is understandable considering the fact that Toruń was surrounded by the Polish population. Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the knowledge of French began to disseminate. Excellent command of Latin, which was the language of official correspondence with the authorities of Poland, was a necessity.

The mentality of a Torunian in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was shaped by education, but also a life in a large city, which was a mediator of goods and ideas from the north to the south and east, and also from the west to the north and east. In the age of an accelerated development of culture of Baroque and Enlightenment, Toruń witnessed the advent of new trends, ideas, people and values in large waves. The city had been traditionally linked with Gdańsk and the Baltic, and further with Germany, the Netherlands, England and Scandinavian countries. Importantly, Toruń also maintained contact with Silesia

<sup>9</sup> Cf. generally: Marian PAWLAK, *Studio uniwersyteckie młodzieży Prus Królewskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, Toruń 1988.

<sup>10</sup> See the remarks by Jerzy Dygdała about the structure of municipal authorities in: Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Polityka Torunia wobec władz Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1764–1772*, Warszawa 1977, pp. 17–36; idem, *Urzędnicy miejscy Torunia*, passim.

(Wrocław), Lusatia and German Lands, Switzerland and Strasbourg. Last but not least, oriental elements arrived from the territory of Poland (also as a component of Sarmatian culture). It is also essential to note that Toruń was a destination for newcomers often from distant lands (Silesia or Lusatia), who settled here with their own history of beliefs, opinions and information.<sup>11</sup> Thus it may be concluded that in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Toruń maintained contact with the world and the Republic of Poland. One of the factors that support this claim is a complex system of correspondence.<sup>12</sup> The archives of Toruń contain a vast collection of newspapers from the years 1671–1772 (around 2700 copies). The analysis of these newspapers demonstrates the vastness of information about the events in Poland and the world that the representatives of Toruń patriciate had at their disposal.<sup>13</sup> It was no coincidence that information about the Far East or the New World (America) spread so eagerly in Toruń circles in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>14</sup> A map of America drawn by Daniel Cellarius Ferimontanus was hanging in the Academic Grammar School of Toruń. In 1703, the school's chancellor, Jędrzej Wende, announced a dispute concerning the attitude towards the conquest and Christianisation of the New World. Numerous mentions about America were posted in newspapers edited by the

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e.g.: Theodor WOTSCHKE, *Schlesier auf dem Thorner Gymnasium im 17. Jahrhundert*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens, Bd. 73: 1939, pp. 190–216; Stanisław TYNC, *Wędrowni Ślązaków, profesorów i studentów do Prus Królewskich w XVI w.*, Śląsk, vol. 3: 1948, pp. 1–3; and general remarks by Stanisław Salmonowicz in: Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Toruńskie gimnazjum akademickie (1681–1817). Studium z dziejów nauki i oświaty*, Poznań 1973, pp. 230 f., 396–397; idem, Marcin Opitz i środowisko intelektualne toruńskie lat trzydziestych XVII w., AUNC, Historia XI, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, book 74, Toruń 1977, pp. 53–70.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Korespondencja rezydentów miasta Torunia na dworze królewskim w XVIII wieku* w Archiwum Toruńskim, AUNC, Historia VIII, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, book 54, Toruń 1973, pp. 85–107. See also generally: Kazimierz MALISZEWSKI, *Mieszczańskie formy i metody komunikacji społecznej w wielkich miastach Prus Królewskich w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZH, vol. 57: 1992, z. 4, pp. 39–62; idem, *Bürgerliche Formen und Methoden gesellschaftlicher Kommunikation in den Metropolen des Königlichen Preussen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Kulturgeschichte Preussens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Sabine BECKMANN, Klaus GARBER, Tübingen 2005, pp. 575–596.

<sup>13</sup> Interesting observations were made after the analysis of the most important newspapers written nationwide (including the valuable Toruń collection), which can be accessed in: Kazimierz MALISZEWSKI, *Obraz świata i Rzeczypospolitej w polskich gazetach rękopiśmiennych z okresu późnego baroku. Studium z dziejów kształcania się i rozpowszechniania sarmackich stereotypów wiedzy i informacji o „theatrum mundi”*, Toruń 1990; cf. also: idem, *W kręgu staropolskich wyobrażeń o świecie*, Toruń 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Janusz TAZBIR, *Zainteresowania Nowym Światem w miastach Prus Królewskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, ZH, vol. 35: 1970, z. 3–4, pp. 31–46; Lech MOKRZECKI, *Początki wiedzy o morzu w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Problematyka morska w nauce gdańskiej doby Baroku i Oświecenia*, Wrocław 1983, passim; idem, *Piśmiennictwo dotyczące podróży i migracji a rozwój wiedzy o morzu w Rzeczypospolitej*, ZH, vol. 51: 1986, z. 3, pp. 69–84.

postmaster of Toruń, Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski.<sup>15</sup> One may claim that the representatives of Toruń patriciate had in all likelihood a wide scope of information about what happened in Poland and the world.

It is now worth pointing out that as early as around 1720 the educated elite of Toruń (with the exception of orthodox Lutheran pastors) converted into Enlightenment. It is no coincidence that in the 1720s and 1730s Toruń became the hub of Polish periodicals.<sup>16</sup> Credit for that, first and foremost, goes to the Vice-Chancellor of the local grammar school, Jerzy Piotr Schultz, who was the editor of the first scientific magazine in Toruń entitled “Das Gelahrte Preussen” (over the period of 1722–1725), a periodical publishing “Preussischer Todes-Tempel” (1728–1730) and a magazine with the characteristics of a public newspaper “Neues der Welt im Jahr Christii [...]” in consecutive succession (1733–1734).<sup>17</sup> One needs to mention the periodical “Meletemata Thorunensia” published by the Chancellor of the grammar school, Piotr Jaenichen (4 volumes were published – in 1726, 1727, 1731 and 1762).<sup>18</sup> These magazines

<sup>15</sup> Kazimierz MALISZEWSKI, *Agenca informacyjna Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego. Ze studiów nad dziejami komunikacji społecznej w XVIII w.*, ZH, vol. 48: 1983, z. 3, p. 64.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. studies on the history of Toruń press in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Toruńskie czasopisma naukowe w XVIII wieku*, Rocznik Toruński, vol. 11: 1976, pp. 215–227; idem, *Toruń w czasach baroku i oświecenia*, pp. 118–146; and also a review of the paper: Jerzy ŁOJEK, *Prasa polska w latach 1661–1831*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661–1864*, ed. idem, Warszawa 1976, pp. 60–69, in: Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Uwagi polemiczne o dziejach prasy polskiej w dobie porozbiorowej*, ZH, vol. 42: 1977, z. 3, pp. 107–111, where he proved that the history of the magazines of Gdańsk and Toruń from the 18<sup>th</sup> century were unduly left out. A complete summary and characteristics of Polish periodicals from the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (with respect to the periodicals of Gdańsk and Toruń) can be found in the paper: Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Die Zeitschriftentypen in Polen und ihre Rolle als Förderer der Aufklärung*, [in:] *Zeitschriften und Zeitungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, hrsg. v. István FRIED, Hans LEMBERG, Edith ROSENSTRAUCH, Berlin 1986, pp. 65–90.

<sup>17</sup> Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Upogru Oświecenia w Toruniu. Jerzy Piotr Schultz (1680–1748), historyk i politolog*, [in:] *Wiek Oświecenia*, [vol.] 1, Warszawa 1978, pp. 53–88; Maria DUNAJÓWNA, *Pierwsze toruńskie czasopismo naukowe w XVIII w. „Das Gelahrte Preussen”*, [in:] *Księga Pa-miątkowa 400-lecia Toruńskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego*, ed. Zbigniew ZDRÓJKOWSKI, vol. 1: XVI–XVIII w., Toruń 1972, pp. 241–269. Cooperating with the magazine was the chief erudite of Königsberg, Michael Lilenthal, known as a publisher “Erleutertes Preussen” (1724–1727). Toruń and Königsberg, or Shultz and Lilenthal, were cooperating with respect to exchange of information, but Schultz's initiatives and the magazine from Königsberg had no personal connections. Cf. Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Związek kulturalny Torunia i Gdańska z Królew-cem w XVIII w.*, [in:] *Kultura polska a kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbiro-wi w sześćdziesiątce rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 254–255, who rightly emphasises that “All initiatives related to periodicals, from Königsberg, Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg were eagerly accepted among the readers and co-workers within the circle of these four cities”.

<sup>18</sup> S. SALMONOWICZ, *Toruń w czasach baroku i oświecenia*, pp. 129–130; idem, *Mysł Oświe-cenia*, p. 31.

provided the elite of Toruń with ample scientific information and other news from the West, especially from German lands. At the same time Toruń became an information hub for other Polish territories on one hand, and source of scientific knowledge, education and publishing in Poland for the countries abroad on the other.

What particularly affected the mentality of the Toruń elite in the discussed period was Protestantism, which was dominant in Toruń in its Lutheran variety. Religion in modern times is known to have defined people's beliefs, attitudes towards the world and other people. Profound religiousness in its Lutheran or Calvinist variation pervaded the minds of the patriciate and wider circles of burghers. A Protestant, moderate pattern for life filled with education and work, embodied the requirement to economise, refrain from flaunting opulence through clothes, moderate consumption, etc. From the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the concept of life fostered by the local Lutheran clergy started gaining a dominant position in Toruń (with certain resistance on the part of the Calvinist patriciate).<sup>19</sup> All luxury, vanity and entertainment, which were regulated every now and again, were suspect and consequently eradicated. As early as in 1573, the pastors of Toruń, Jan Wenzel, Franciszek Stuler, Marcin Pottin and the Polish preacher Abraham of Zbąszyń submitted to the city council "articles on rectifying public corruption" with a view to introducing a strict, orthodox model of piety, which was close to the future Puritan standards.<sup>20</sup> All throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century the orthodox pastors were pressuring the municipal authorities in Toruń with respect to this issue. The most important municipal act that regulated traditional practices was the regulation of 1623 with regard to the attire, weddings, receptions, baptisms and funerals. Yet another regulation, "Thorn-Son und Fest-Tage-Ordnung" was announced on 4 October 1706. An emphasis was laid here on observing the ecclesiastical character of Sundays and church holidays from a puritan standpoint.<sup>21</sup> The aim of church authorities was to ban all activities on specific hours of the day on a Sunday, shut the city gates, and encourage the citizen to go to church. One may say that Protestant religion hampered the jolliness of Toruń bourgeois that burst with festivities on holidays and religious occasions, and censored the content of theatrical plays, prints and paintings. However, it must be emphasised that an average inhabitant of Toruń was deeply concerned about religious issues. This is reflected in the home book collections which contained

<sup>19</sup> Idem, *Z dziejów wyznanowych Torunia na przełomie XVI i XVIII wieku*, [in:] idem, *Szkiice toruńskie*, pp. 13–26.

<sup>20</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu, Kat. II, X, part 3: "Articuli de scandalis pubblius reformati, exhibit a Ministris Eccliae Thorunensis Senatu".

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *O reglamentacji obyczajowości mieszkańców w Toruniu w XVI–XVIII wieku. Zarys problematyki*, ZH, vol. 41: 1976, z. 3, pp. 87–103.

religious prints dating to 1625 and the period of 1708–1710, whose purpose was to bring religious consolation and shape human attitudes towards misfortunes, etc.<sup>22</sup>

The patriciate of Toruń of the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was under a strong influence of Pietism – a movement of religious revival within Lutheranism, whose aim was to restore the internal religious life and to stress the interconnection of mystical elements and a strong will in earthly life. Over the period of 1711–1724 Toruń became the hub of Pietism in the territory of Poland.<sup>23</sup> The following professors of the grammar school were Pietists: Paweł Pater (1656–1724), Jan Fryderyk Bachstrom (1686–1742), Jerzy Piotr Schultz (1680–1748) and Reinhold Fryderyk Bornmann. The pastors of Toruń – Johann Reinhold Bohm, Michał Bogusław Ruttich, pastor of Grębocin, Bogumił Kolichen, as well as the representatives of the patriciate of Toruń, including mayor Teofil Daniel Baerholz, concillor Jakub Meisner and many others were all Pietists. The Pietists of Toruń maintained strong relations with another Pietist, Francke of Halle (the university of Halle was one of the most influential philosophical hubs of the early Enlightenment in the entire Central and Eastern Europe), taking part in his numerous missionary and propaganda plans and activities. The use of moderate means while undertaking these missions earned them a recognition of the Pietist community. From the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, chiefly owing to the Pietists (e.g. M. B. Ruttich), the interest in the Polish language and literature increased, which was followed by numerous publishing initiatives and scientific endeavours.<sup>24</sup> All in all, one may state that Pietism in Toruń exerted a strong influence on the intellectual development of the local grammar school environment and the Lutheran Church, it enlivened the atmosphere of the city and weakened the ossified church, social and political ties.

Baroque and Sarmatian attitudes were no less influential than Protestantism as far as mentality of the inhabitants of Toruń were concerned, with their *joie de vivre*, living in the lap of luxury and promotion of oneself. The degree to which Sarmatian culture influenced the people of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries has not been studied yet and it is difficult to establish. No doubt, Sarmatian influences were first to reach those circles of Toruń that knew the Polish language and had direct contact with the Catholics and the nobility.

<sup>22</sup> See footnote 39.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Profesor Jan Fryderyk Bachstrom (1686–1742). Uczony, pietysta i awanturnik*, Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza, vol. 11: 1974, z. 1, pp. 15–52; idem, *Pietyzm w dawnym Toruniu*, Rocznik Toruński, vol. 13: 1978, pp. 185–194.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, *Tragiczny spór Michała Bogusława Rutticha. Z dziejów walki o język polski w Toruniu w początkach XVIII w.*, ZH, vol. 35: 1970, z. 1, pp. 37–50; idem, *Obrońcy i miłośnicy języka polskiego w Toruniu XVI–XVIII w.*, Toruń 1979.

The most notable figure here was J. K. Rubinkowski – a nobleman and burgher of Toruń in one person.<sup>25</sup> It seems that the personality of this Postmaster and Royal Burgrave combined mentality features characteristic of nobility and burghers. The author of *Janina* was on one hand aware of the Sarmatian tradition and believed in the primary values of the nobility, such as republicanism, freedom, equality or chivalry. Quite like an average Polish nobleman he felt he was a fully-fledged citizen of the Republic of Poland, a free individual with a highly developed sense of personal dignity, ready to defend the rights and interests with sword or tongue at any time. However, at the same time, during his active years spent in Toruń, this merchant and customs officer developed virtues that were typical of burghers, such as diligence, activeness, conscientiousness, cautiousness or frugality. He spent his life weighing pros and cons all the time, he lived by the principle that time is money and paid constant attention to solving petty problems related to everyday life. But more often than not he acted on the spur of the moment and had an inclination towards taking risks and bravado. As a high municipal official, J. K. Rubinkowski strongly believed in his responsibility over the fate of other inhabitants of the community of Toruń who were not capable of governing themselves. He was even convinced that being in charge of the affairs of the city was his mission. Personally, however, he felt aversion towards any subordination, he was wayward or even violent and easily gave vent to his vehement passions. Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski epitomised the characteristics of a serious burgher of Toruń and a rambunctious nobleman who led a double life: official, rigid, contained within the confines of a strict hierarchy, conforming to the norms of ethics and religious dogmas, and on the other hand spontaneous and carefree, full of joy and showing a tendency towards pleasures. Undoubtedly, with respect to mentality, methods and manner of acting, the Postmaster of Toruń perfectly fitted the Catholic community of Toruń, typical of the Baroque. We may even say that he epitomised all the intellectual characteristics of a numerous circle of Toruń Catholic elite that was recruited from councillors and friars. What brought Rubinkowski closer to fellow members of the religious community was his religious attitude based on Counter-Reformation, which influenced his entire public activities in Toruń. As a councillor, he was closely related to local friars and aspiring to the role of the “first Catholic” in town, he turned out to be fanatical and uncritical more often than not. It must be emphasised again that his Catholic zealousness did not always entail hostility towards Protestants, or at least did not stand in the way of being tolerant and establishing closer contacts with them.

<sup>25</sup> My analysis of the main features of J. K. Rubinkowski's mentality is based on his biography, cf. K. MALISZEWSKI, *Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski*, passim.

Thus, we may say that the Postmaster and the Royal Burgrave was one of the few Catholics of Toruń who aspired to be a scholarly representative of the so-called elite of power and prestige in Toruń, who divided his time between his numerous obligations as a merchant and an important municipal official, and interests of a man of letters, publicist, bibliophile and art lover. One may also argue that this editor of newspapers from Toruń is in a way a professional intellectual whose literary and publicist works were not only written for his own satisfaction, but also answered a particular social demand to gain financial profit and acquire the desired protection from different important figures in Poland. The figure of a rather short man, an entrepreneurial burgher and an active citizen of Toruń who ostentatiously wore a nobility costume with an indispensable sword at the belt, was a regular sight in the daily life of the city. It seems that his typically Sarmatian attitude and a colourful lifestyle impinged upon the culture of the rich patriciate of Toruń. However, this issue would require separate studies. To reiterate, J. K. Rubinkowski was a man formed on the border of two cultural circles: nobility and bourgeois. At times he is closer to the image of a nobleman at a homestead than a burgher of Toruń. On another occasion he seems to be a burgher who has just taken a nobleman's stance. In the light of features and manifestations of his mentality, his way of thinking and the system of values he stood by, the image of J. K. Rubinkowski that emerges is unconventional and outstanding at the same time. He was a true child of this difficult and complex epoch where the former times slowly faded away and slowly but surely the new era was born among the meanders of history. For that reason his biography became a lens which focused on the trends of the epoch: its hopes, superstitions and value systems. The figure of Rubinkowski reflected the life of Toruń of the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a town that was not uniform, a town where two communities: Polish and German, two persuasions: Catholic and Lutheran, fought and argued but also constituted a symbiosis.<sup>26</sup>

We may generally state that the Catholics of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Toruń made up a completely different cultural environment that clearly remained within the circle of the Sarmatian and Baroque culture where long-standing stereotypes and traditional cultural and scientific content that had been handed over remained in the same form for several generations. However, a general atmosphere of the city where, owing to the Protestant elite, a further development of cultural and scientific life in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was made possible and

<sup>26</sup> About a religious symbiosis in Toruń cf.: Adam KUCHARSKI, *Trudna koegzystencja konfesji na – Toruń miastem pokoju religijnego w epoce wcześnie nowożytnej? Fakty i opinie (XVI–XVIII w.)*, [in:] *Toruń miastem pokoju. II Pokój Toruński*, ed. Piotr OLIŃSKI, Waldemar ROZYNKOWSKI, Toruń 2016, pp. 141–196.

the ideas of Enlightenment started spreading on a larger scale, influenced in a certain degree local Catholic communities that were, on the whole, intellectually more advanced than the clergy and nobility in the Republic of Poland of the Saxon times.<sup>27</sup> The result of a permanent confrontation and mutual interaction of the Catholic and Protestant communities in Toruń was a reversed process, an influence of the lifestyle of Catholic elites and the culture of that circle on certain fractions of burghers, chiefly on the culture of the rich patriciate. A problem that remains to be studied concerns the degree and extent to which this process of Sarmatisation of bourgeois culture of Toruń in the 18<sup>th</sup> century existed. How did the permanent and seasonal presence of the nobility affect the town? It appears that M. Bogucka is right claiming that: "The culture of Royal Prussia, a terrain that was largely urbanised as regards our relations, and harbouring numerous social, nationalist and moral differences, is characterised by the elements of bourgeois and nobility which are so intertwined that it is not possible to distinguish two parallel cultural models, but one model that constitutes a symbiosis of multifarious trends".<sup>28</sup>

It must be remembered that some representatives of wealthy families from Prussia or Greater Poland such as: the Bniński, Dąmbski, Działyński, Karnkowski or Leski families had houses and land in Toruń. Toruń was frequently visited by Catholic nobility from Chełmno and Dobrzyń Lands, which left a mark on the shaping of religious atmosphere and growing tension between religions.<sup>29</sup>

Social and cultural life in Toruń must not be in any case viewed in isolation from the affairs of the state and it must be borne in mind that it developed on the border of two worlds: a Sarmatian world and that of the bourgeois.

It can be claimed that the patriciate of Toruń took over manners from the nobility and the magnates, which was epitomised in fashion, feasting, fun-

<sup>27</sup> The opinion expressed here would require verification on the basis of a detailed analysis and a quantitative study of the elusive issue of changing mentality in the transient epoch of co-existing Baroque and Enlightenment tendencies in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Royal Prussia. Zob. S. SALMONOWICZ, *Uwagi o historii kultury*, pp. 154–155. Cf. a study with interesting methodological suggestions: Janusz MACIEJEWSKI, *Oświecenie polskie. Początek formacji, jej stratyfikacja i przebieg procesu historyczno-literackiego*, [in:] *Problemy literatury staropolskiej okresu Oświecenia. Seria druga*, ed. Zbigniew GOŁIŃSKI, Wrocław 1977, pp. 5–128; together with the study: Paulina BUCHWALD-PELCOWA, „*Stare*” i „*nowe*” w czasach saskich, [in:] *Problemy literatury staropolskiej*, seria trzecia, ed. Janusz PELC, Wrocław 1978, pp. 95–143.

<sup>28</sup> Maria BOGUCKA, *Miejsce mieszkańców w społeczeństwie szlacheckim: atrakcyjność wzorców życia szlacheckiego w Polsce XVII wieku*, [in:] *Społeczeństwo staropolskie*, vol. 1, ed. Andrzej WYCZAŃSKI, Warszawa 1976, p. 190.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Jerzy WOJTOWICZ, *Studio nad kształtowaniem się układu kapitalistycznego w Toruniu. Stosunki przemysłowe miasta Torunia w XVIII wieku*, Toruń 1960, pp. 92, 99–100; J. DYGDŁA, *Polityka Torunia*, pp. 16.

rals, wedding receptions, etc. Numerous regulations issued by the authorities of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries that aimed at restricting the luxury of clothing, parties, etc. were not observed. At that time the patriciate of Toruń expressed a manifestation of luxury by taking over the model of life from the nobility. By taking example from the nobility, they bought land, made small granges and erected summer residences in the area of today's Przedmieście Chełmińskie, partly Bydgoskie and Bielany.<sup>30</sup> A drawing of 1740 depicting a summer house and a garden of a Toruń councillor in the grange has been preserved. It was a spacious, one-storey house made of the so-called "Prussian wall," with a large porch. In the garden, in the middle, there was a wide alley with a low hedgerow on both sides. In the centre there was a fountain, on four sides of which columns of flowers and ornamental shrubs had been placed. It is worth mentioning that the procedure of purchasing land property by the burghers of Toruń, Gdańsk and Elbląg was made easier on account of the special status of these cities. It appears that the possession of land property for the patricians of Toruń was not that important in economic terms. It was more about creating grounds and conditions for acquiring the way of life of the nobility.<sup>31</sup> It should also be noted that the interior of the house of a wealthy Torunian was not much different from the interior of a nobleman's manor house in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Presumably, bourgeois houses had more books.<sup>32</sup> The facades of bourgeois tenements in Toruń were ornamented with sculptures, gold plating and paintings with Latin maxims and symbolic emblems. It was a sheer travesty of Sarmatian architecture. Family festivities such as baptism, engagement, weddings and funerals were celebrated in similar abundance in the town of Copernicus as in manor houses of the nobility, with numerous guests attending.<sup>33</sup> An interesting expression of Baroque culture was found in the so-called riddles with sexual allusions which were often found in wedding panegyrics.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, these riddles were officially printed in the local printing works.

<sup>30</sup> J. WOJTOWICZ, *Studia*, pp. 38–45.

<sup>31</sup> M. BOGUCKA, *Miejsce mieszkańców*, pp. 193–194.

<sup>32</sup> In Toruń, for the period of 1562–1727, 33 book collections counting from 147 to 2516 books were registered, cf. J. WOJTOWICZ, *Miejskie inwestycje kulturalne w Prusach Królewskich XVI–XVIII wieku. Próba postawienia zagadnienia*, ZH, vol. 43: 1978, z. 2, p. 38, footnote 50.

<sup>33</sup> See Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Imprezy i uroczystości w dawnym Toruniu*, [in:] *Imprezy towarzyskie i oficjalne*, pp. 27–44.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. a collection of texts: Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *Gadki Toruńskie czyli zagadki weselne z przełomu XVII–XVIII w.* (48 publikacja Towarzystwa Bibliofilów im. J. Lelewela w Toruniu), Toruń 1980; idem, Piotr Szenknecht – *satyryk i wierszopis frywolny w XVIII-wiecznym Toruniu*, [in:] idem, *Szkice toruńskie*, pp. 46–60.

“Therefore, if on one hand we read strict church regulations from the epoch and municipal regulations which governed the life of Toruń from that time, and the riddles on the other, we can see an actual coexistence and flexibility of borders between the official moral rigor and rambunctiousness of the Baroque. We capture the moment where strict moral censorship of the authorities and governing elites yielded to the vitality of the epoch”.<sup>35</sup>

In essence, such texts were intended for the elites of the town. It was not folklore. One may argue that sensualism, concreteness and straightforwardness of expressions were fully epitomised in the riddles, and the erotic physiology of the human body, as well as anatomy, were broached with wedding day-specific carefree attitude and verbal easiness. As can be seen, the nobility and the bourgeois shared a similar sense of humour, which was common for the epoch but which is barely understood today.

Last but not least, the fact that Polish ideological influences in a way defined the way of thinking in the patricians of Toruń, is supported by the opinions of Jan Sachs, the Town Secretary, who defended the advantages of Polish Democracy of the Nobility, or later works by Krzysztof Hartknoch dedicated to Polish history and the Polish system.<sup>36</sup> It is worth noting that groups of educated burghers of Toruń primarily felt they were citizens of Royal Prussia which was part of the Republic of Poland, and it was within the very same Republic of Poland that they were privileged and therefore interested in maintaining their position. “Gente Prutenus, natione Polonus” – many inhabitants of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries used these words to talk about themselves, emphasising their devotion to their fatherland, while at the same time accepting the fact that it is part of a larger organism in a manner so natural and indivisible, as the members of one body.<sup>37</sup>

The power elite of Toruń had at its disposal broad legal, historical and political knowledge acquired in the grammar school, at foreign universities and in the practice of everyday life. They knew what the situation in the Republic was (via written newspapers among others), they were always in the know as far as the power structure on the royal court was concerned, they had mastered the techniques of getting things done, procrastinating, “softening” their opponents among the nobility elite in power. The national interest of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was foreign to them, but they did realise the prof-

<sup>35</sup> Idem, Piotr Szenknecht, p. 55.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Stanisław Kot, *Rzeczypospolita Polska w literaturze politycznej Zachodu*, Kraków 1919, pp. 133–139; Jerzy SERCZYK, Krzysztof Hartknoch (1644–1687), profesor Gimnazjum Akademickiego w Toruniu, historyk Pomorza i Prus, [in:] *Wybitni ludzie dawnego Torunia*, ed. Marian BISKUP, Warszawa 1982, pp. 81–88.

<sup>37</sup> See Stanisław HERBST, *Świadomość narodowa na ziemiach pruskich w XV–XVII w.*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie, 1962, no. 1, p. 3f.

its that such a relationship yielded. In the epoch when centralising tendencies were on the rise elsewhere in Europe, when uniform modern countries consolidated under the rule of one absolute monarch, the environment of Royal Prussia based on centralised authority represented a separatist and autonomous programme, whereas the patriciate of large cities, especially Gdańsk, but also Toruń, was the carrier of the most extreme, uncompromising autonomous tendencies.<sup>38</sup> Put simply, the attitude of Toruń authorities was extremely egoistical. A highly developed sense of personal dignity and superiority over other groups of bourgeois, often combined with specific patriarchalism were among basic collective features of this group. Many elite representatives of Toruń authorities profoundly believed in their responsibility for the fate of other members of the municipal community who were allegedly unable to exercise power, or even take a deeper insight in public matters.

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, along with the Swedish Wars (1626–1629, 1655–1660 and 1700–1717) Toruń entered an era of frequent crises – military conflicts, problems with supplies and epidemics. Death was commonplace for the Torunians. Undoubtedly, in the face of the ultimate matters, a mentality characteristic of the Baroque was being shaped. A strong sense of passing and ever-present awareness of the imminent death were an essential element of the epoch. Life was short, limited by diseases, therefore the people of Baroque lived dynamically and intensely. At the same time, they felt anxiety and concern about their livelihood and raised questions about human existence. The effect of the pestilence of 1624–1625 and 1708–1711 on the mentality of the Torunians is easily observable. A number of religious prints were published throughout their duration, whose aim was to bring solace and form attitudes against this calamity.<sup>39</sup> The prints of 1625 include a publication of a famous work from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by a Lutheran mystic, Johann Arndt (1555–1621) entitled *Geistliche Seelen-Artzney, wider die abschändliche Seuch oder Pestilenz, und ander Straffen, verfasset in vier Capitel* (Thorn 1625; Książnica Kopernikańska in Toruń, file no. K. f. n. 6), which contains considerations about the pestilence and other plagues as a God's punishment for sins, as well as guidelines on how to act in the time of the epidemics, how to pray, and how to accept divine judgements. The follower and propagator of Arndt's theories in Toruń was Konstanty Schutz, a German preacher at the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary who arrived from Poznań – Toxitus (1583–1625), an author of a voluminous prayer book – a hymnal entitled *Geistliche Klag und Trost-Gesange vorn Sterben, Todt*

<sup>38</sup> S. SALMONOWICZ, *Z dziejów walki*, passim

<sup>39</sup> Por. idem, *Toruń wobec zarazy w XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] idem, *Szkice toruńskie*, pp. 27–45; and generally J. KRACIK, op.cit., passim.

*und Bergrabinisse Aufs New ein richtiges Bandt-Buchlein zusammen Geordnet [...]* (Toruń 1625; 2 edition in 1639) which contained Luther's and Arndt's texts, as well as songs in German and Latin. In 1625 Toxitus also published *Vermahnungs-Brief An Alle Menschen genomen aus Aurelio Augustino [...]*, in which he attempted to combine the stoicism of ancient philosophy with the religious indications of mysticism so that eschatological attitudes of the congregation in the face of the pestilence could be established. Toxitus was then a preacher in the time of pestilence (the so-called "Pestprediger" – appointed from among the pastors of Toruń), to which he yielded at the age of 43.<sup>40</sup> All of the texts that were written in the age of the epidemic and demonstrate the mentality of the Torunians of that epoch, who were faced with the ultimate matters, give a testimony of their profound piousness and religiousness.

The inhabitants of Toruń in modern times, just as the old Polish society, were dependent on the natural environment. The forces of nature had not been harnessed yet, and the true reasons for most natural phenomena remained unknown. They were generally explicated by the working of God's providence, on which the fate of a single man, all societies and nations, or even the history of human civilisation depended. If it was believed that God created the world and left it for people to use, derive joy from, get acquainted with it and comment, then nature was considered as an open book the reading and contemplating of which gave birth to the feeling of admiration and gratitude towards the Creator, but it also sensitised to potential and actual threat from the nature which, as it was generally believed, was a tool of punishing providence. This kind of knowledge and thinking about nature was largely based on traditional sources, chiefly on the Bible, antique knowledge of nature and its later complements.<sup>41</sup>

The bourgeois of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, devoid of contemporary civilisational conveniences, was largely dependent on the vagaries of weather, and suffered the consequences of natural disasters quite badly. Handwritten newspapers published by the Postmaster of Toruń, J. K. Rubinkowski

<sup>40</sup> See George Gottlieb DITTMANN, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Thorn aus guten zuverlässigen Quellen gesammelt*, Bd. 1, [Toruń] 1789, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Tadeusz BIĘNKOWSKI, *Wiedza przyrodnicza w Polsce w wieku XVI*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 9–20 (further literature on the subject there); idem, *Natura nie jest nam macochą. Poznawanie zasobów naturalnych ziem polskich od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki, R. 44: 1999, no. 1, pp. 9–32. See also: Kazimierz DOBROWOLSKI, *Umysłowość i moralność społeczeństwa staropolskiego*, [in:] *Kultura staropolska*, Kraków 1932, pp. 168–204. Recent works include: Maria WICHOWA, *Pisarstwo Jana Ostroroga (1565–1622)*, Łódź 1998, especially chapter III: *Twórczość gospodarska Jana Ostroroga na tle staropolskiej literatury rolniczej*, pp. 46–178; Janusz TAZBIR, *Szlachcic w lesie i o lesie*, [in:] idem, *Prace wybrane*, vol. 4: *Studia nad kulturą staropolską*, Kraków 2001, pp. 221–242; Piotr BADYNA, *Obraz rodzinnej przyrody dzikiej w kulturze staropolskiej. Wybrane zwierzęta łowne w dziełach ks. Krzysztofa Kluka i Jakuba K. Haura*, Toruń 2013.

are a clear indication of how the citizens of Toruń feared natural disasters and all that which might damage their property, or pose a threat to the existence of a single individual or an entire municipal community.<sup>42</sup> The Torunians were in the state of psychosis in the face of the epidemics, which usually co-existed with two other plagues: famine and war.

In the collective mentality of the elite of the bourgeois of Toruń, two layers co-existed – the rational, which was comprised of scientific and common knowledge, and the traditional and emotional, which was largely irrational. The imagination of a burgher of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as much as the psyche of a man of Baroque, were stirred by the world of miracles and irrational phenomena. They attempted to pick out all sorts of concurrences and oppositions, omens, "praesagia" and peculiarities, in order to be able to interpret the sense of the surrounding natural and social reality in their own way. Handwritten newspapers delivered ample information on the subject to the readers.<sup>43</sup> There they could find information in the form of the so-called visual rumours, i.e. extensively described astronomical, astrological and astrometeorological phenomena, news about comets, meteors, pillars and crosses of fire. These "visual rumours" usually appeared in connection with the emergence of strong collective emotions, tensions, or even social psychoses, usually against the background of a collective threat, such as the war, pestilence or other disasters.<sup>44</sup> The contents of the rumours were the sign of vivid imagination and phantasies of people of Baroque, who were convinced they had seen signs in the sky, which in fact were just figments of their fertile minds. These psychological projections usually had an underlying cause. For example, in the period of great tensions caused by religious animosities between the Protestants of Toruń and Catholics, a few weeks prior to the famous religious tumult of 1724 in Toruń, J. K. Rubinkowski wrote that at night, a comet had been seen above the city, which was followed by: "Great Polish troops, flags and badges. God only knows if that is a bad omen for the Prussian province, and only God can stop it".<sup>45</sup> We may presume that the newspaper reports about "curiosities" or "miracles", mysterious and supernatural phenomena presented in a sensational

<sup>42</sup> K. MALISZEWSKI, *Agencja informacyjna*, p. 65.

<sup>43</sup> Idem, *Obraz świata*, pp. 174–181.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. generally Jacek BANASZKIEWICZ, *Nerwice społeczne jako problem badawczy dla historyka*, *Historyka. Studia metodologiczne*, vol. 3: 1972, pp. 103–116. See also Stanisław SALMONOWICZ, *O badaniach nad historią kultury staropolskiego Torunia (1466–1793)*, *Rocznik Toruński*, vol. 15: 1980, p. 331: "One of the essential issues in the mentality of the man of mid 17<sup>th</sup> century and the epoch of the Great Northern War, was the problem of fear, anxiety about livelihood and basic questions of human existence".

<sup>45</sup> Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie [The Czartoryski Library in Cracow], file no. IV/2741: J. K. Rubinkowski's newspaper for Elżbieta Sieniawska, Toruń, 12 VI 1724.

manner could arouse the interest of a burgher of Toruń. Even if the reader did not believe the stories of comets, witches, sea monsters, three-headed calves or the Devil himself having been recruited to the Prussian army, they willingly read them, as they satisfied a spiritual need, and provided a thrill of sensation, similar to what a modern reader can derive from a detective story. *Nota bene*, such tidings were interwoven with political or military information reports. More often than not, factual and rational information about what actually happened was mixed with alleged phenomena which were a figment of human imagination and fantasies. One may pose a question whether such a blend of rational and irrational information was typical only of Baroque newspapers and the way people of that epoch thought.

To conclude, let us attempt to briefly summarise the most important mentality features of Toruń bourgeois in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It appears that the inhabitants of Toruń and Gdańsk shared some of the mentality elements. However, the people of Gdańsk were more influenced by the fact of living in a great port, a city that was open to the sea. An inhabitant of Gdańsk, and possibly Elbląg, had a daily experience of visitors from the far world, listened to the stories about remote countries and lands, adventures on the sea. Gdańsk was much more open to the broadly understood marine culture than Toruń.<sup>46</sup> However, it appears that the city of Copernicus was more related to the Polish and Sarmatian culture. Yet the mentality of its inhabitants was much more different from the mentality of the inhabitants of Poznań or Kalisz. What is striking in the mentality of the Torunians in the discussed epoch is the ability to adapt and the co-existence of different elements that make up a coherent whole. It seems that the burgher of Toruń was not as torn apart inside as a typical man of Baroque. Such tragic flaw was absent from the burghers of Toruń. They were able to reconcile the matters of the material world (work and business) with the non-material world (faith and existential fear). However, the conclusions presented above are largely hypothetical. The issue of mentality studies among the bourgeois of Toruń of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century requires more detailed research. The remarks contained here may only provide a starting point for further studies.

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Maria Bogucka's remarks on the subject in: *Historia Gdańską*, vol. 2, pp. 675–676; and her observations and thoughts in the collection entitled *Człowiek i świat*, *passim*; moreover, remarks in: L. MOKRZECKI, *Początki wiedzy o morzu*, *passim*.

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FROM THE HISTORY OF SHAPING THE MENTALITY OF TORUŃ'S ELITE  
IN THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY:

THE ATTEMPT TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE

Summary

**Key words:** the culture of Toruń in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, Toruń's patriciate, the group of the so called "Scholars" in Toruń, the Protestant religious community, Toruń's Catholics, Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski, Sarmatian culture

The article constitutes the attempt to formulate remarks and hypotheses referring to the mentality of the elite of Toruń's burghers in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, mainly on the basis of the research concerning the history of the culture of Toruń in this period. Toruń's elite consisted of the few rich members of the proud patriciate and the group of the so called "Scholars" (*Gelehrte*) – people of various backgrounds, who, having acquired the university education, made a political career in the town and representatives of professions requiring a much better education: priests, teachers, doctors, pharmacists, lawyers and officials of the city authorities. The factors which united all those people in one group was the Protestant religious community (Lutherans), family, social and economic connections. The mentality of Toruń's inhabitants was affected greatly by the life in a big city where goods were exchanged and people travelled from the north to the south and the east, and from the west to the north and east. Toruń was traditionally connected with Gdańsk and the Baltic Sea, Germany, the Netherlands, England and the Scandinavian countries. The mentality of the patriciate and burghers was imbued with religiousness in the Lutheran or Calvinist sense. The Protestant model of personal life filled with science and work prevailed. At the same time the mentality of Toruń's burghers, in the first place those who spoke Polish and had direct contacts with noblemen and Catholics, was affected by the Baroque-Sarmatian models promoting the joy of life, the pursuit of luxury and presenting oneself from the best side. A case in point is Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski (1668–1749) – a nobleman and burgher of Toruń. This postmaster and burgrave of Toruń combined the features typical of the mentality of the noblemen and burghers. Toruń's patriciate adopted many customs from noblemen and magnates, which was reflected in fashion, ceremonies, funerals, weddings, etc. Like noblemen, patricians purchased land, set up small "folwarks" and erected summer mansions in the countryside. Inhabitants of Toruń were mentally connected with inhabitants of Gdańsk. Yet, the mentality of Gdańsk's inhabitants was mainly affected by the fact of living in

a harbor open to the sea. Toruń was more closely connected with the Polish-Sarmatian background. What should be underlined is the ability to adapt and co-exist of various groups along with the ability to create a coherent whole. Toruń's burghers were capable of reconciliating the material (the sphere of business and economy) with the spiritual (the sphere of belief and existential fear).

ZUR AUSBILDUNG DER MENTALITÄT IN DER GESELLSCHAFTLICHEN  
ELITE THORNS IM 17. UND IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS.

EIN PROBLEMAUFRISS

Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Kultur in Thorn im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Thorner Patriziat, die Gruppe der sog. „Gelehrten“ in Thorn, protestantische Glaubensgemeinschaft, Thorner Katholiken, Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski, sarmatische Kultur

Der Artikel stellt einen Versuch dar, Überlegungen und Hypothesen zur Mentalität der bürgerlichen Elite Thorns im 17. und der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts zu formulieren, hauptsächlich auf der Grundlage bisheriger Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte Thorns in dieser Epoche. Die Elite von Thorn wurde von einem zahlenmäßig kleinen, aber reichen und stolzen Patriziat sowie der Gruppe der sogenannten „Gelehrten“ gebildet, Menschen verschiedener Herkunft, die nach dem Erwerb von Universitätswissen politische Karriere in der Stadt gemacht hatten, außerdem von Vertretern von Berufen, die eine umfangreichere Ausbildung erforderten: Pastoren, Lehrer, Ärzte und Apotheker, Juristen und Angestellte der Stadtbehörden. Die Faktoren, die diese Gruppe zu einer Einheit verbanden, waren die protestantische (lutherische) Glaubensgemeinschaft sowie familiäre, gesellige und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen. Einfluss auf die Mentalität der Thorner hatte auch das Leben in einer großen Stadt, in der Waren und Ideen von Norden nach Süden und Osten und von Westen nach Norden und Osten ausgetauscht wurden. Es gab traditionelle Verbindungen von Thorn nach Danzig und zur Ostsee und darüber nach Norddeutschland, den Niederlanden, England und den skandinavischen Ländern. Die Gedankenwelt des Patriziats und weiterer Kreise der Bürger war stark von lutherischer oder calvinistischer Religiosität durchdrungen. Vorherrschend war ein protestantisches Modell des persönlichen Lebens, das von Lernen und Arbeit geprägt war. Einfluss auf die Mentalität der Thorner Bürger, vor allem auf die, die Polnisch sprachen und in unmittelbarem Kontakt zu adligen und katholischen Kreisen standen, hatten zugleich barock-sarmatische Modelle. Sie führten zu Lebensfreude, einer Neigung zum Luxus und dazu, sich von seiner besten Seite zu präsentieren. An der Spitze steht hier die Gestalt von Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski (1668–1749), eines Adligen und Thorner Bürgers in einer Person. In der Persönlichkeit des Thorner Postmeisters und Burggrafen vereinigten sich in eigentümlicher Weise die typischen Eigenschaften der adligen und der bürgerlichen Mentalität. Das

Patriziat von Thorn übernahm viele Sitten vom Kleinadel und den Magnaten, was unter anderem in der Mode und dem Zeremoniell bei Gastmählern, Beerdigungen, Hochzeitsfeiern und ähnlichem zum Ausdruck kam. Die Patrizier nahmen sich den Adel zum Vorbild, kauften Land, schufen kleine „Gutshöfe“ und errichteten Sommerresidenzen außerhalb der Stadt. Viele mentale Züge verbanden die damaligen Thorner mit den Danzigern. Doch die Gedankenwelt der Danziger war noch mehr geprägt durch das Leben in einem großen Hafen am offenen Meer. Thorn war stärker mit dem polnisch-sarmatischen Hinterland verbunden. Besonders auffällig waren die Fähigkeit zur Anpassung und zum Zusammenleben verschiedener Gruppen sowie das Vermögen zur Schaffung eines homogenen Ganzen. Die Thorner Bürger konnten die Dinge der materiellen Welt (Bereich von Arbeit und Geschäften) mit den Dingen der immateriellen Welt (Bereich von Glauben und existenzieller Furcht) miteinander verbinden.



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