

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS  
OF 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY  
POPULACE IN GDAŃSK





ZDZISŁAW KROPIDŁOWSKI

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS  
OF 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY  
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ON THE BASIS OF THE GDAŃSK BOOK  
OF WHEAT BREAD JOURNEYMEN BAKERS' FRATERNITY  
OF 1724–1768



Translated by  
Teresa Ossowska

WYDAWNICTWO UNIwersYTETU GDAŃSKIEGO  
WYDAWNICTWO UNIwersYTETU KAZIMIERZA WIELKIEGO W BYDGOSZCZY  
GDAŃSK–BYDGOSZCZ 2017

**G**uerloblichen  
**B**rüderschaft  
derer Loos- und Kuchen-Becker-  
**G**esellen  
der Königlichenn Stadt  
**D**arßig /



**N**ahmen  
**B**uch

Worinnen die / nach überstandenen  
Lehr-jahren / neu gewordene Gesellen  
eingeschrieben werden /  
angefangen int Jahr Christi 1724.

Dieses Buch zeigt die Gesellen /  
derer Namen hier sich stellen /  
nach der Ordnung / wie die Zeiten /  
Sie zur Tüchtigkeit bereiten /  
da zugleich die Brüderschaft /  
frei-vereint zusammenten hat.

A hord of enemies revels in vain  
In order to limit the power of truth,  
In vain persecuting soul tries  
To violate the rights of the weaker brother.  
The ardour of a patriot will win even  
When it is faced with thousands of obstacles.  
Magnanimity will shake hands with him,  
It will help to fight for freedom,  
It guards and protects innocence  
And overcomes its impotence.

*(From p. 95v)*

Reviewers

Professor Jerzy Konieczny  
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Technical Editor

Natalia Maliszewska

Cover and Title Pages Design

Andrzej Taranek

Cover Photo

Fragment of c. 20, Gdańsk Library of Polish Academy of Science, sig. Ms 936

Title Page Photo

Fragment of p. 171, State Archive in Gdańsk, 300, C/1487

Typesetting and Page Layout

Urszula Jędryczka

Financial support comes from Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz

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Gdańsk University Press

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ISBN 978-83-7865-586-2

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego  
ul. Armii Krajowej 119/121, 81-824 Sopot  
tel./fax 58 523 11 37, tel. 725 991 206  
e-mail: [wydawnictwo@ug.edu.pl](mailto:wydawnictwo@ug.edu.pl)  
[www.wyd.ug.edu.pl](http://www.wyd.ug.edu.pl)

Online bookstore: [www.kiw.ug.edu.pl](http://www.kiw.ug.edu.pl)

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## INTRODUCTION

Gdańsk was the only Polish city that had a character of a European metropolis. The 16<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the time of its greatness – it was the “breadbasket of Europe” at the time. Although the Polish-Swedish war, called “Swedish Deluge” and the 18<sup>th</sup> century marked the beginning of its slow decline, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the city was still one of the largest in the Baltic region and its culture influenced neighbouring countries. It was also one of the largest and richest cities in Poland, with great military significance and high position in the country. It was gradually accepting the ideas of the Enlightenment while still maintaining the previous cultural formation.

Although numerous works on its history have been published, there is still a need for studies on the awareness or, in other words, mentality of its inhabitants. This applies particularly to the lower social strata. The plebs and commonalty produced far fewer source documents than the intellectual elite of the city, and even if they were created, they were of lesser importance for the studies on the city history. Nevertheless, several original sources such as *silva rerum*, collections of notes or private albums etc. have been preserved, which have rarely been used by researchers so far. According to Maria Bogucka, they have been neglected in spite of the fact that their role in documenting the perception and intellectual level of ancient societies is great, since people belonging to lower social strata expressed opinions that were not so much their own as typical for the mentality of their social environment.

As a rule, they noted opinions of their social group, guild, neighbours or stories heard at a sermon or during a public dispute and accepted as their own comments on military and social events common in their environment, popular poems, anecdotes, sayings, songs, passed from mouth to mouth. In this way they documented certain forms of mental life of the entire social groups whose members the authors of these sources were<sup>1</sup>.

Bogucka studied a notebook written in 1629–1644 by Michael Hancke, which is stored in the Library of the Gdańsk Academy of Sciences (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN –

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<sup>1</sup> M. Bogucka, *Człowiek i świat. Studia z dziejów kultury i mentalności XV–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 2008, p. 190.



hereinafter: Gd. Lib. PAN)<sup>2</sup>. It is an interesting source of knowledge on the mentality of a middle-class inhabitant of mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Gdańsk. He was a city official of the lower order, a writer of the Wyżyny District Office. He was a support worker to the three councillors who administrated the areas around the city which belonged to Gdańsk on the privilege of King Casimir granted on 16 June 1454. He was a member of the commonage of Gdańsk, boasting high activity<sup>3</sup>, mastering trade within the city, developing crafts and leading financial operations (credits and bills of exchange)<sup>4</sup> in mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. The commonalty of the time also appreciated the importance of education and tried to gain it in schools of various types. Maria Bogucka underlines the fact that Michael Hancke's notebook includes very few personal data but is a valuable source of knowledge on mental life of the community that was his own<sup>5</sup>.

It is not the only document depicting social life of the middle class in Gdańsk, whose role gradually increased, particularly in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. It included mostly members of Gdańsk guilds. The system of guild corporations in Gdańsk, which covered professional, political, social and religious life was formed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It was regulated by municipal law and corporate statutes as well as internal practice. Generally speaking, it should be noted that they tried, especially the largest ones, to imitate the organization of the state or the municipal entity. A typical example of this may be the fact that several books were used in running corporation offices. The most important was the one that contained the statute of the guild and the second was the chronicle containing a register of its members, and sometimes also the highlights of corporate life. There were also cash books of the guild, health insurance fund books, widow and funeral registers. Members of the guilds also participated – to a greater or lesser extent – in intellectual life of the city. Publications, occasional speeches, sermons, religious disputes, the press, school and theatre – all shaped the culture of the whole society in accordance with the spirit of Baroque and the Enlightenment.

Among several hundred surviving books produced in Gdańsk guilds' chambers we find an outstanding book of the wheat bread journeymen fraternity. Its title, recorded in neat, decorative style is as follows: *Einer loeblichen Brüderschafft derer Loof- und Kuchen-Becker-Gesellen der Stadt Königlichen Dantzig, Nahmens-Buch, Worinnen die, nach überstandenen Lehr-Jahren, neu gewordene Gesellen eingeschrieben werden, angefangen im Jahr Christi 1724*<sup>6</sup>. Henceforth it will be referred to interchangeably

<sup>2</sup> Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 915.

<sup>3</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku w połowie XVIII w. Sojusz pospólstwa z dworem królewskim*, Wrocław 1972, p. 20 and n.

<sup>4</sup> M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1962. *Passim*.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bogucka, *Człowiek i świat...*, p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> *Einer loeblichen Brüderschafft derer Loof- und Kuchen-Becker-Gesellen der Königlichen Stadt Dantzig, Nahmens-Buch, Worinnen die, nach überstandenen Lehr-Jahren, neu gewordene Gesellen eingeschrieben werden, angefangen im Jahr Christi 1724*, Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936.



as *The Gdańsk Book of the Bread Roll and Cake Bakers Fraternity* or as *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* or simply as *The Book*.

It is stored in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. *The Book* is bound in parchment on which an unknown bookbinder imprinted a frame with delicate, small plant ornaments. The cover also includes names of two senior members of the Fraternity: Die Hrn. BEYSITZER Hr. ABRAHAM PETZEL and the writer: Hr. GEORGE JOCH, and below: ANNO 1724.

The book consists of 102 cards, five of them unused. It was presented to the Gdańsk Library in 1898 as a gift from Des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins and forgotten until it was released by me in the form of phototypy, in Polish transcription and translation. Entries were made in the German language. Phototypy allows full control of text and any details crucial for research.

*The Book's* rediscovery is of special historical significance. It is a much richer source of knowledge of mental state of the commonalty in Gdańsk than the exemplary private album by Michael Hancke.

In the first place, *The Book* consists of entries of new journeymen joining the fraternity, with each year treated separately and distinguished and enriched with colorful illustrations. The illustrations include a decorative presentation of the guild trade mark (*gmerk*) expanded to the form and layout of the coat of arms of the City of Gdańsk and two cartouches with names of fraternity executives: two senior masters who acted as jurors, two senior journeymen and the name of the writer. At the bottom of the page there are two names of jurors from the brewers' guild, whose role within the fraternity is difficult to define today. They may have participated in some form of supervision over its activities or they could have performed the role of mediators during conflicts between masters and journeymen.

What is important is that it also comprises literary texts, sentences of pedagogical and philosophical character, devotional poems and prayers correlated with illustrations. As the limitations enabled the authors to perform only one topic for topos and illustrations in a given year, only most important issues and problems were probably chosen. These may be classified as political, military, social, and religious in character; also those related to everyday social issues within the fraternity.

Our conviction that the choices made were consistent with the views of the majority of the commonalty of Gdańsk, to which the elders of the fraternity belonged seems to be justified. The choice of topics and graphic forms was probably agreed upon with brewers and painters who also belonged to the same social group.

Therefore, it may be concluded that *The Book* is a testimony of the 18<sup>th</sup> century mentality of the largest social group in Gdańsk, associated in over hundred small and large guilds<sup>7</sup>. *The Book* includes data about 340 wheat baker journeymen. We may

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<sup>7</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, *Samopomoc w korporacjach rzemieślniczych Gdańska, Torunia i Elbląga (XIV–XVIII w.)*, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 50–55.

assume, in accordance with the statistics of this phenomenon, that in the years 1724–1768 the number of journeymen increased by about eight men per year. One of the objectives of the guild was to first integrate them with the corporation, next with the urban society, and ultimately with the Polish state. One's own prosperity was considered to be connected with the well-being of Europe, Poland and, finally, the City of Gdańsk and the guild. It was generally identified with political freedom of the state, although the need to fight for peace in Europe and terminate any destructive wars on the old continent was also perceived. Yet, most important for a Protestant city like Gdańsk was the desire to maintain unity within its walls and adherence to freedom and religious tolerance. Religious matters were important as life conceived by 18<sup>th</sup>-century people was followed by God's judgment, and either a reward for good deeds and maintaining faith in God or by punishment for evil and lack of faith.

Therefore, *The Book* played at least two roles: on one hand it was an annual record of journeymen and evidence of the culture of the Gdańsk commonage, who made a special effort to make their book a testimony of political, social and cultural values they shared. Its other function was to fulfill educational, moral and social obligations to applicants seeking admission to a major bakers' corporation.

They edited and adorned it in order to highlight the rank of their corporation and to shape the views of its new members. Another of their goals was to celebrate the admission to the guild, a part of which was a "sermon", i.e. instruction directed by the master to a journeyman or by the elders to an applicant on how to behave in the corporation and in the city, what aims to choose, what to believe, what is most valuable. Depending on circumstances, they probably made use of the treasury of sentences, poems and comments on political and economic issues as well as some problems that the city and the corporation experienced, and which had been recorded in *The Book* and illustrated by local artists.

Other guilds did not care so much about their books. The documents produced by various guilds in Gdańsk, which have been preserved in the State Archive, contain few examples of such concern. Only journeymen of the bookbinding guild adorned their chronicle with a colorful illustration showing a bookbinding workshop and fishermen painted pictures of fish and equipment for their catch. Also masters of both guilds of bakers slightly improved their book with embellished entries or pasted engravings of important figures, and kept one etching of 1750, connected with their profession, depicting bread stalls. The Brotherhood of St. George, associating urban patricians, that is, the elite, also made a few modest decorations in their book<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> *Portret ponad wszystko: Jacob Wessel i jego wiek. Sztuka gdańska XVIII wieku. Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Narodowym w Gdańsku 15.12.2005–26.02.2006*, eds. D. Kaczor, A. Mosingiewicz, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 241–243.

Like everywhere else in European cities the community of Gdańsk was divided into patricians, commonalty and plebeians. Yet other divisions can also be made, taking into account specific aspects of particular professions. The first group includes associations of merchants, brewers (owners of breweries) and shopkeepers. In Gdańsk, they were known in Latin form as *officinae atrium*<sup>9</sup> (they added names of occupations which were very precisely defined and far exceeded the number of guilds as they took into account specializations within the same profession and guild), and in German texts as *Gilde* or *Zunft* (where members were entitled to the so-called “great” citizenship), in contrast to *Bruderschaft*, *Gewerk*, *Handwerk*, *Sozietät*, *Campagne*, that is, organizations dealing with production and services. This second group was led by the so-called four “main” guilds. These included corporations of butchers, bakers, blacksmiths and tailors<sup>10</sup>. This group of organizations received “the office” from the authorities for supply of specified products and boasted what was called “small” citizenship. The guilds, especially the main and richest, were the elite of the second class of urban society – the commonalty. Their interests were represented by the Third Rank.

It was appointed by King Sigismund the Old in 1526. Raising the bakers’ guild to the position of one of the main representatives of craftsmen’s interests in Gdańsk most clearly demonstrates the high status of this organization in the political, economic and social life of the city. At the time of appointment of the Third Rank there was one bakers’ guild, but after it had split up, the honours were only held by the guild of rye bread bakers, as larger and more powerful economically than the rest. The task of each of the major guilds was to defend interests of the incorporated guilds. The guilds “incorporated” into the guild of producers of rye bread were: coopers, bookbinders, painters, hairdressers, rope makers, producers of wheat bread, pewter founders, musicians, turners of logs and chairs, drill fabric producers (*Zeymacher*) – altogether eleven guilds including the main one<sup>11</sup>.

In many corporations including bakers there was a secondary division of organizations of masters and journeymen, where masters passed on some of their powers and responsibilities to journeymen’s self-government. It represented and organized their social life in the area designated to them by the masters<sup>12</sup>. Journeymen’s organizations tried to follow the ways of masters; among others, they kept their own books.

Masters – as the employers – imposed on journeymen’s corporations – as the employees – forms of action which possessed legal sanction in the statute, which, in turn,

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<sup>9</sup> For instance: J.H. Pasorius, *Alea mundi seu theatrum vicissitudines acc metamorphoses naturales, domesticas, civiles, aulicas, ecclesiasticas, acc literarias...*, Gedani 1630, Caput XVIII, p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> S. Matysiak, *O stosunku Gdańska do Polski i ustroju Gdańska w latach 1454–1793*, “Przegląd Zachodni” 1954, No. 10, pp. 403–405.

<sup>11</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo w II połowie XVII i XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1973, pp. 248–249.

<sup>12</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, *Samopomoc...*, p. 54.

was approved by the City Council. Since 1637 Gdańsk journeymen were required to have a third type of citizenship, i.e. the so-called “common” or workers’ citizenship<sup>13</sup>. Their bodies were controlled directly by masters and never acted independently, without the consent of guardians appointed by masters; their statutes were agreed upon with the masters and approved by the Council. Therefore, the book of the journeymen’s corporation expressed not only the views of journeymen for whom it was compiled but also their masters’, whose aim was to ensure harmonious relationships within the guild.

Jerzy Trzoska is a merit scholar dealing with the Gdańsk baking and milling guilds of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. His book<sup>14</sup>, published in 1973, refers to two earlier works of a German historian named Siegfried Rühle. The first was of a normative-legal character and the other a popular overview of the history of Gdańsk bakers’ guilds<sup>15</sup>.

The study by Jerzy Trzoska includes a detailed description of mutual relations, organizational divisions and types of bakery products in Gdańsk<sup>16</sup>. His monograph was a continuation of Maria Bogucka’s work<sup>17</sup> on the Gdańsk centre of production relating to the period between 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century; the role of bakery was depicted until the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The researchers mentioned above benefited from the work of Theodor Hirsch<sup>18</sup> devoted to trade and craftsmanship in Gdańsk during the Teutonic Knights’ rule. It abounds in knowledge about the origins of the bakers’ guild activities.

Trzoska claims that he used a range of sources in his work. He examined the records of both bakers’ guilds (i.e. rye bread producers and wheat bread producers) and, to a lesser extent, the milling guild. They are stored in the State Archive in Gdańsk (Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku – hereinafter: APG). These are recesses of guild meetings, yearbooks, books of resolutions, chronicles, inventories of assets, lists of masters, books of entries of journeymen joining and leaving the guild, cash books of the guild and journeymen’s fraternity. A small script dated 9 March 1775 has been retained containing inventory of stamps, money, books and magazines held by the bakers’ guilds<sup>19</sup>.

In the guild’s library we find manuscripts and printed books in the German language, but also copies in Polish and Latin. On 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1676 the corporation acquired

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<sup>13</sup> S. Matysiak, *Dzieje Gdańska* [in:] T. Bieniecki et al., *Gdańsk. Jego dzieje i kultura*, Warszawa 1969, p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*

<sup>15</sup> S. Rühle, *Das Gewerk der Böttcher in Danzig*, “Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins“ 1930, Vol. 4, pp. 59–74; S. Rühle, *Geschichte des Gewerks der Bäcker zu Danzig*, Danzig 1932.

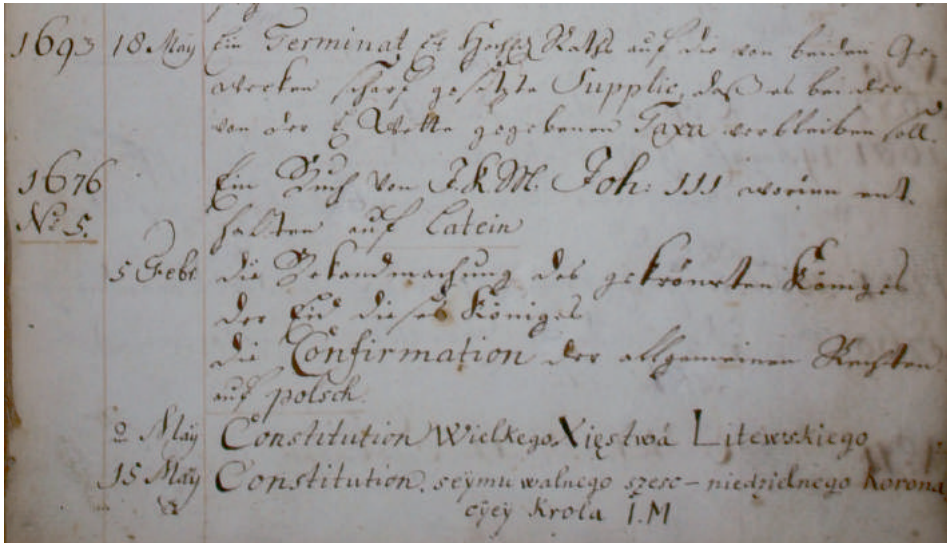
<sup>16</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*, pp. 83–89, 103–107, 189–310.

<sup>17</sup> M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny...*

<sup>18</sup> T. Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Leipzig 1858.

<sup>19</sup> APG, 300, C/1502.

*The Constitutions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, and on May 15<sup>th</sup> – *The Constitutions of the Parliamentary Coronation Session of John III Sobieski*<sup>20</sup>. Because the inventory does not mention *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*, it can be assumed that it was owned by the fraternity of journeymen and stored in their chest.



Ilustracion 0.1. Detal of APG, 300, C/1502, p. 7.

Books containing records of members of other guilds in Gdańsk were kept in a similar manner to the book mentioned above. They contain lists of enrolled apprentices, journeymen applying for “master years”, lists of corporations’ authorities and their accounts of funds and the guilds’ property management. However, none of them was adorned with such rich, colourful illustrations; nor do they contain any references to political and social life in the city, in Poland and the Baltic Sea region.

Some of the issues raised in this paper have already been discussed in books on governmental affairs, political struggles and their background. The works of Edmund Cieślak<sup>21</sup> deal with the problem of Gdańsk bakers’ participation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century home affairs.

Political and social context of labour has been dealt with in many studies. The most important is the monumental *History of Gdańsk* by Edmund Cieślak<sup>22</sup>. In his book

<sup>20</sup> APG, 300, C/1502, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*; E. Cieślak, *Spoleczne podstawy ścisłego zespolenia Gdańska z Polską w XVII i XVIII wieku*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 1966, Vol. 31, fasc. 3, pp. 193–217.

<sup>22</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, ed. E. Cieślak, Vol. 1–5, Gdańsk 1978–1997.



book the author makes references to previous major publications by Gotthilf Löschin<sup>23</sup>, Gottfried Lengnich<sup>24</sup> and Erich Keyser<sup>25</sup>.

Trzoska also reviewed extremely rich base of sources stored in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences such as collections of printed and manuscript edicts and regulations (ref. Od and Ms) and made copies of various decisions of the Council concerning bakers' guilds, ordinance on regulations related to making use of the services of urban mills and descriptions of the milling and baking processes known from guild sources, as well as from the collection of municipal documents<sup>26</sup>. However, he did not take advantage of the book with signature Ms 936, popularly known as the bakers' book. Also, none of the above mentioned works made a direct reference to the views, awareness and mentality of the commonage of Gdańsk.

As early as in the 15<sup>th</sup> century journeymen of some of the Gdańsk guilds founded their own organizations called fraternities. Their purpose was, first and foremost, to provide care to their members in times of sickness or disability or because of their old age. Since the Middle Ages they had also highlighted their religious purposes<sup>27</sup>.

At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century one of the first fraternities was founded by journeymen bakers of rye bread; at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – journeymen bakers of wheat bread; their journeymen obtained their regulations and statutes in 1507 and 1566, respectively<sup>28</sup>.

The author of this work edited *The Book* in the form of a facsimile, rewriting of the text, translation into Polish and a critical edition for the general public in 2010. He also elaborated on the issues of “Unanimity” and “Discord”, often appearing on its pages<sup>29</sup> and the patriotic awareness of bakers portrayed in *The Book*<sup>30</sup>. These studies anticipated and contributed to the drafting of this monograph, where the author revised the issues and made some corrections.

To place the subject within the chronological, geographical, social and political contexts we should, first of all, refer to works of historians of Gdańsk, Poland and Prussia. The most valuable piece is a monumental *History of Gdańsk* by Edmund Cieślak (vol-

<sup>23</sup> G. Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit*, Danzig 1822–1823, Vol. 1–2.

<sup>24</sup> G. Lengnich, *Ius publicum Civitas Gedanensis oder der Stadt Danzig Verfassung und Rechte*, Danzig 1900.

<sup>25</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Köln–Wien 1972.

<sup>26</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny...*, p. 351–352.

<sup>28</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*, p. 277.

<sup>29</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, “Zgoda” i “Niezgoda” w Księdze gdańskiej korporacji czeladniczej bułkarzy i ciastkarzy z lat 1724–1768 [in:] *Studia z dziejów książki i prasy. Przegląd badań za lata 2007–2010*, ed. Z. Kropidłowski, D. Spychała, K. Wodniak, Bydgoszcz 2010, pp. 61–86.

<sup>30</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, *Patriotyzm gdański, niemiecki czy polski w świetle gdańskiej Księgi bułkarzy i ciastkarzy z lat 1724–1768* [in:] *Książka, biblioteka, informacja. Między podziałami a wspólnotą III*, ed. J. Dzieńniakowska, M. Olczak-Kardas, Kielce 2012, pp. 267–287.

ume 2 and 3, part 1) and the works of Bogucka, Jerzy Kasprzyk, Edmund Kotarski, Kazimierz Kubik, Lech Mokrzecki, Emanuel Roztworowski. A complete list of references are to be found at the end of the book.

This work has been organized around topics. The first chapter is devoted to the presentation of the contents of *The Book* within the context of other books of bakers' guilds. It contains miniatures of all the pages of the original in order to introduce the reader to its character and show some editorial problems of *The Book's* principals. The author's primary aim was to evoke the spirit created in *The Book* and experienced by journeymen who were confronted with it during corporate meetings when, standing in front of *The Book*, they had to effect their entries confirming their own decision to train in craftsmanship in Gdańsk. In addition to its social significance it was also a cultural celebration in the spirit of Baroque. The candidate stood up to "play the role of the baker, from that moment until death".

Special attention was paid to *gmerk* (craftsmen's stamp sign) of the fraternity; it was presented in a very decorative way in the form of a coat of arms of the city of Gdańsk. This visualization of the guild trade mark denoted its high position in business relations in the city, imitating the honour of ennoblement in social life. Similarly, respect for the guild's authorities was expressed by inclusion of their names in ornamental cartouches at the top of the page.

Chapter two discusses the objectives of the book. The first, resulting from their statutory regulations, was the registry of members. However, the fraternity's authorities gradually added entries containing comments on current affairs, maxims of philosophy and wisdom as well as remarks of pedagogical nature. They represented their own educational ideas and were discussed against the background of the views of Gdańsk thinkers who enjoyed high authority and had a major impact on all classes of residents through public lectures, debates and sermons.

Chapter three considers the authorship of the book, the origin of entries, selection of texts and tries to decipher the authorship of those texts, which is not an easy task to do today.

The fourth chapter presents the role of illustrations in *The Book* and describes painters – members of the guild of painters and portraitists who performed illuminations in *The Book*.

Chapter five is devoted to a chronological study of the evolution of political views expressed in the form of occasional poetry and visualization in the form of illustrations. They are representative of the common people of Gdańsk. The commonalty clearly distinguished between relationships with Poland, kings of Poland, Polish gentry, rulers of neighbouring countries, namely Prussia and Russia. A lot of thought in *The Book* was devoted to the Russian-Swedish war and the major attention was paid to the Seven Years' War and its consequences.

Chapter six develops social views of the common people; the major issue was access to power and its exercising in the city, which caused “discord” in Gdańsk. Another equally important subject was how to attain “unanimity” within the corporation, in the city, and even in the state. It was also proved that the role of *The Book* was to participate in general and social education of journeymen. The fraternity presented the highest values of social virtues to its applicants, which, according to the editors of *The Book*, shaped the personality of individuals and in this way contributed to their appropriate social attitude.

The seventh chapter highlights the impact of Baroque ideology on the subject matter of *The Book* and on education of journeymen; this influence consists mainly in the use of vanitative motives and the invocation *memento mori* in poems and illustrations. The inevitability of death and the following judgment of God do not allow to hide flaws, sins and moral, social or even political errors. Playing one’s role in *teatrum mundi* lasts until the end of one’s life and beyond, into eternal life. This applies equally to the journeyman and the king.

In short, I would like to invite you to plunge into Gdańsk bakers and artists’ account and try to imagine political and social consciousness of the Gdańsk commonalty in the period of the Enlightenment, which can be fully understood by reading deeply into the words and contemplating the “gripping images” of *The Book*. Thanks to this valuable historical document, which is the source of both our knowledge and imagination, we are able to comprehend the power and importance of this social and political group and its horizons (whether limited or broad). I encourage you to study this social testament of the commonalty in Gdańsk, which is representative of any community and consider the arguments used, properly balanced and adapted to the capabilities of the middle social group.



# 1. THE JOURNEYMEN'S BOOK AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF OTHER BAKERS' GUILD BOOKS

## 1.1. Description

A significant part of documentation once belonging to bakers' guilds is kept in the State Archive in Gdańsk. It contains, among others, the guild's chronicle with attached copperplate engravings of Gdańsk patricians and copies of privileges, decrees, mandates and letters. There is also a separate collection of royal privileges, urban ordinations and regulations. Particularly valuable are the guild's statutes and resolutions.

Among the documents of the guild there is also an inventory of the archives and the book collection; it was written on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1775 when masters Joh[ann] Gottfr[ied] Gottschalck and Christoph[er] Wergell were to take over the leadership of the guild in the second quarter of the year. Books and papers were stored in a steel box, in a small cabinet and two or three other boxes for keeping books<sup>1</sup>. Some of them have survived to this day, yet *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* cannot be found among them.

*The Book* cannot be compared to other guilds' preserved documents similar in function as their editorial program was usually limited to a register. One can only ask why the guild of painters and portrait makers in Gdańsk did not produce a more elaborate yearbook. Comparing preserved works of bakers' guilds with *The Book* and also with the main commemorative book of artists' guild we may conclude that there are significant differences. The first impression is that of the format and binding of *The Book*; when confronted with other handwritten books produced in the offices of the Gdańsk guilds we notice that *The Book's* format is extended – its size is 40 by 16.5 cm.

Today we may only assume that this format was deliberately chosen because it was convenient for making entries of journeymen, writing poetic texts and making illustrations consisting of several topics, composed vertically and arranged hierarchically.

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<sup>1</sup> APG, 300, C/1502, pp. 6–17.

## 1. The Journeymen's Book Against the Background...

The binding was made of white parchment like other important books of the guild. All the books are covered with delicate ornaments. Additionally, the minute book of quarterly meetings of the guild, which was started at the same time, i.e. in 1723, has a house mark (*gmerk*). It is important because it is not in the form of heraldic crest referring to the City of Gdańsk, which was systematically used in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeyman Bakers*.

Similarities can be traced only in designing and making the title pages of both books. Lettering, the typeface, ornaments, harmonious typestyle and proportions in both books indicates that it could have been conceived by the same painter or writer.

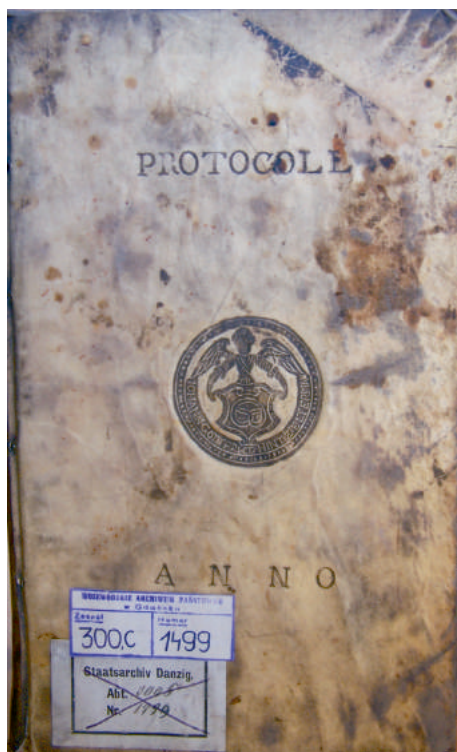


Illustration 1.1. Cover of *The Book of Minutes of Guild Meetings* with the imprint of Johan Gottfried Hinze's signet ring, senior of the guild, who was probably the founder of the book.



Illustration 1.2. View of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeyman Bakers*, Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936. The proportions between both books have been retained.

## 1.1. Description

The guild's ledger founded in 1767 was more richly decorated. The parchment contained a more complex trade mark composed in the form of the Gdańsk coat of arms. Two lions supported the heraldic escutcheon depicting a bagel placed below an open royal crown dating back to the times of King Casimir of the Jagiellonian dynasty. Inside the book a few pages were painted decoratively with a feather. Special forms were used to emphasize the name of a senior guild master and councillor who accounted for money spent during his term of office. Another method used was colouring of letters.



Illustration 1.3. View of *The Guild's Ledger of 1767*, APG, 300, C/1510.

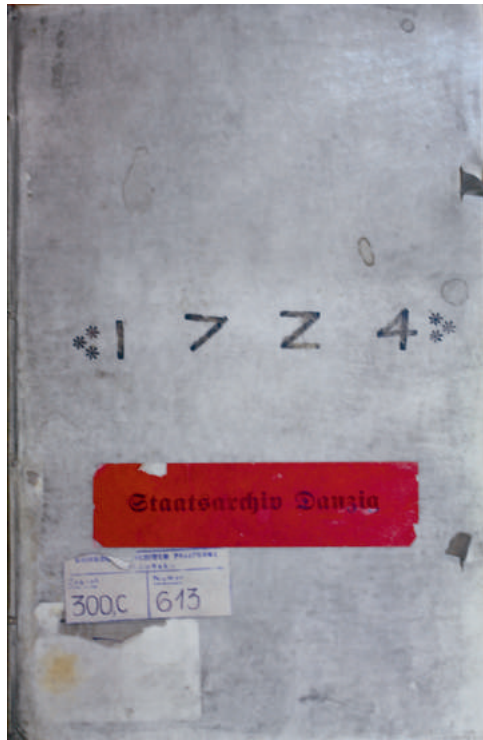


Illustration 1.4. Cover of *The Book of Gdańsk Painters* made of parchment, containing no decorations but only the date of *The Book's* renovation, namely 1724.

For comparison, illustration 1.7 shows the title page of *The Book of Gdańsk Painters and Portraitists* (APG, 300, C/613, p. 5), which was renovated in 1724, that is exactly when *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* was founded. *The Book* of painters was renovated by Christian Friedrich Falckenberg. As a senior guild member he encountered an old book, perhaps already deprived of the title page, containing entries from 1634. He repaired it at his own expense and added a new title page presented in illustration 1.7.





Illustration 1.5. Title page of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*, Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936.



Illustration 1.6. Duplicate of the title page of *Memorial of the Four Main Guilds to King Augustus III*, APG, 300, C/1460.

the method of entitling craftman's books in previous centuries.

The title page of *The Bakers' Guild Ledger of 1767* was designed in a slightly different way. However, one must consider the fact that it was written much later (illustration 1.8). It represents the coat of arms of the bakers' guild in a cartouche kept by two

lions. They also support the bakers' house mark, i.e. pretzel while some allegories and putti were painted on a number of Baroque architectural elements. An inscription: "Anno 1767" (the date of founding the book) was placed on a ribbon at the bottom together with garlands of flowers and fruit.

The pre-title page of *The Book of Minutes of the Gdańsk Bakers' Guild Meetings of 1723* is also ornamental. It was made on a copperplate base with a picture of the bakers' trade mark supported by a little flying angel. A large angel is blowing a trum-



Illustration 1.8. Title page of *The Bakers' Guild Ledger of 1767*, APG, 300, C/1510, p. 4.

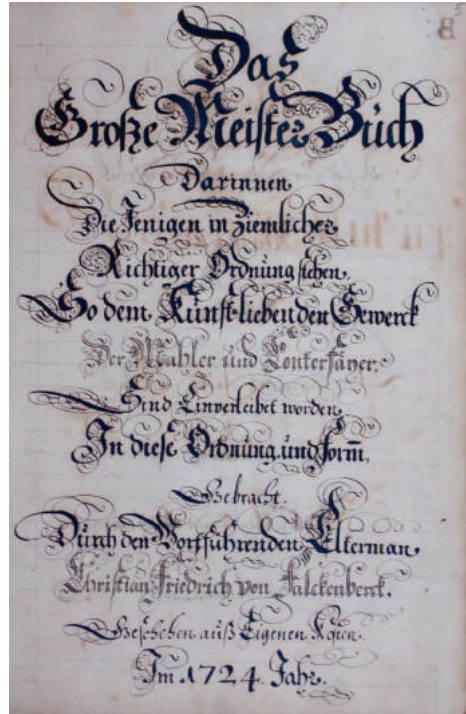


Illustration 1.7. New title page of *The Book of Gdańsk Painters and Portraitists*, APG, 300, C/613, p. 5.

pet producing hand-written names of guild elders and founders of *The Book* instead of sounds. They are Michael Trosien, senior of the guild and his companion, Nathanael Jener. At the top there is a cloud with the word *Yahweh* in Hebrew. Rays of grace are streaming down from God but the angels covered the place on which it is falling with a curtain. An angel with a laurel wreath is keeping his foot on a box. This engraving might have been supplemented with later entries and additional pictures according to the purpose for which it was to be used.



## 1. The Journeymen's Book Against the Background...



Illustration 1.9. Pre-title page of *The Book of Minutes of the Gdańsk Bakers' Guild Meetings of 1723*, APG, 300, C/1499, p. 3.

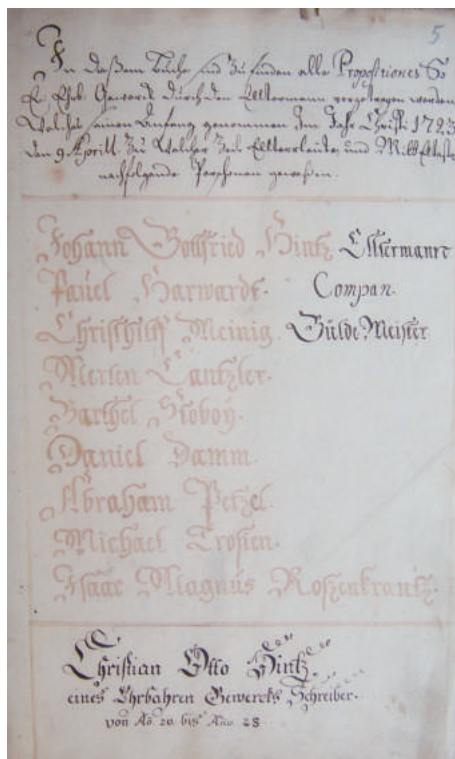


Illustration 1.10. Title page of *The Book of Minutes of the Gdańsk Bakers' Guild Meetings of 1723*, APG, 300, C/1499, p. 5.

In contrast, the title page of *The Book of Minutes of the Gdańsk Bakers' Guild Meetings of 1723* contains only names of seniors written in lower quality ink, which has faded considerably. The only part written in black ink which has retained its deep black colour is the guild's writer's name, namely Christian Otto Hintz. The title page also contains annotations, probably from a later period, defining who held positions of the guild's masters such as the elder of the guild, his companion and the writer. These names were later mentioned in several books of rye bread, wheat bread guilds and even the journeymen's fraternity.

The inside of the books is less ornamental, does not contain any literary texts or miniature paintings. Only the pages of *The Book of Minutes of the Gdańsk Bakers' Guild Meetings of 1723* include decorative records of accounts for the year, in the form consistent with the title pages of previous books, but it does not contain any artistic ideas comparable to *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*. Illustration 1.11 exemplifies how *The Book of Minutes of the Gdańsk Bakers' Guild Meetings of 1723* was

1.1. Description



Illustration 1.11. One of the most richly decorated pages of *The Bakers' Guild Ledger of 1767*, APG, 300, C/1510, p. 25.

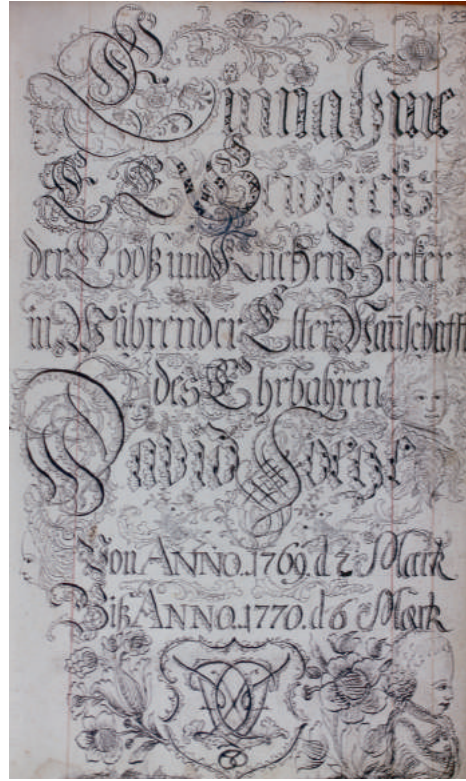


Illustration 1.12. Page from *The Bakers' Guild Ledger of 1767*, APG, 300, C/1510, p. 35.

decorated with ornate lettering and a picture of two figures supporting a signet ring of Master Gottfrid Jennert at the end.

On the front page of Master David Toece's account for the period from March 2, 1769 to March 6, 1770, we find very similar lettering to that of the title page of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*. The difference is that the bakers' house mark used in it contains only a picture of the pretzel.

Among the bakers' guild books there was one of outstanding importance, which included a detailed description of a court case between the bakers of rye bread and wheat bread bakers (called confectioners). Despite its great historical and pedagogical significance, it was decorated with few copperplate engravings. Illustration 1.13 presents an engraving depicting the Polish king John III Sobieski. It was sewn in between pp. 380–381.





Despite the vacancies the book seems to have been made in accordance with a deliberate concept as to what should be recorded and illustrated in the book. As a result of numerous contacts with painters the elders of the corporation learned to maintain a certain level of creativity on the design (allegory, metaphor and symbol) and participated in some kind of intellectual work, the aim of which was to convey some ideas to the members of the fraternity in order to form journeymen's consciousness.

## 1.2. House Mark (*Gmerk*) – Corporational Coat of Arms

The guild house mark in the form referring to the coat of arms of the City of Gdańsk should be considered the most important element in the composition of an illustration. There are thirteen illustrations in *The Book*, in which the coat of arms takes the most important place. Its composition refers to the representation shown in the work of Reinhold Curicke<sup>2</sup>. Pasting an uncoloured copperplate on the flyleaf of one of the most important books of the guild, namely, the one describing the controversy between bakers' guilds in a place where they usually placed frontispiece proves that the city coat of arms boasted great respect.

Gdańsk coat of arms depicts two white crosses placed on red background, one above the other, and above them a gold crown, which symbolizes the connection of the city with the kingdom of Poland. Two lions are holding the crest; above, instead of a helmet, there is an unsheathed sword pointing upwards as a warning to enemies. On the left there is a palm leaf and on the right an olive twig which is twisting round the hilt of the sword – a sign of love of peace. The symbolism of the coat of arms is clear: Gdańsk loves peace, because it is the foundation of its prosperity, but woe betide him who wants to disrupt the peace<sup>3</sup>.

A representation of the guild house mark in the form of a coat of arms with two symbols, namely: the pretzel at the bottom and the strudel on top cannot be found anywhere in the archives of bakers' guilds in Gdańsk. This form is a reference to the tradition of baking but also a mark of distinction of the corporation. Higher position on an axis always denotes predominance. Placing a strudel over a pretzel may underline superiority of the corporation involved in the production of white, wheat bread, which specializes in confectionery, i.e. the branch that is technologically more advanced and probably bringing higher profits.

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<sup>2</sup> R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig historische Beschreibung*, Amsterdam und Dantzig 1687, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> *Dyament w koronie*, eds. M. Babnis, J. Kukliński, Z. Nowak, J.K. Sawicki, Gdańsk–Gdynia 1997, p. 112.

1. The Journeymen's Book Against the Background...



Illustration 1.14. Coat of arms of the City of Gdańsk from a coloured copy of the work by Curike. *Idem, Der Stadt DantzighistorischeBeschreibung*, Amsterdam and Dantzig 1687, p. 147.



Illustration 1.15. Engraving containing a description of a controversy between bakers' guilds, pasted into the book, APG, 300, C/1483, p. 1.

1.2. House Mark (*Gmerk*) – Corporational Coat of Arms



Illustration 1.16. View of the coat of arms of the corporation placed on c. 18.



Illustration 1.17. View of a signet ring belonging to master Johann Gottfried Hinze.

However, no other documents indicate the existence of a third, to some extent independent and distinctive, branch of Gdańsk bakery. Only *The Book* highlights this difference stating that it is the book of both Gdańsk bread rolls and cakes producers.

Such representation was systematically used in *The Book* in its illustrations and combined with allegorical elements, which were not directly connected with some productive activity but rather related to culture and principles of social life, starting with state issues, through urban and corporate affairs and ending with the journeyman's attitude to his fate within the corporation, the city and even after death.

The illustration painted on c. 18 of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* may serve as the best example of the closest similarity of the guild's coat of arms to that of the city's.

Several elements were taken from the city coat of arms. For comparison, illustration 17 shows a signet ring of Johann Gottfried Hinze, senior guild baker, impressed onto the binding of *The Book of Minutes of 1767*. The significant difference is that there is only a pretzel on the shield held by an angel.

The crest in *The Book* (c. 18) is supported by two lions. Delicate floral ornaments painted on a purple shield surround the pretzel and strudel signs, i.e. the guild house mark. Like in the Gdańsk coat of arms, two palm leaves are placed above the shield; there is also the royal crown and some olive twigs around the whole crest. However, it looks slightly different on pages relating to the years in which the city was involved in or at risk of war; on cc. 20, 22 and 24, in connection with the defense of King Stanislaus Leszczyński and c. 72 referring to the Seven Years' War, where the illustrators painted one or more swords placed in the lions' paws to present the coat of arms as a symbol of authority and power and a deterrent for enemies of the city.

On an illustration dated 1734 we see a combination of two contradictory symbols: two swords in the paws of lions and palm leaves that surround or even form the crest. The lions have their heads turned away from each other, as if watching the environment and protecting the crest against any danger with their weapons. They continued to be presented in this way in the following visualizations. The escutcheon is blue – the colour symbolizing duration, stability and fidelity. It could have been deliberately selected and sometimes interchanged with purple – although both colours were of equal importance, blue also emphasized independence, integrity and noble intention<sup>4</sup>.

The composition of elements on the coat of arms in illustration 1.19 is similar except for the olive twigs painted over the crown. This small modification was probably connected with the end of defense of the city and king Stanislaus Leszczyński in 1734 against the Russian and Saxon armies. The illustration is modest, not coloured and therefore probably less costly, which may have resulted from the impoverishment

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<sup>4</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej*, trans. W. Zakrzewska, P. Pachciarek, R. Turzyński, Warszawa 1990, p. 116.



1.2. House Mark (*Gmerk*) – Corporational Coat of Arms



Illustration 1.18. The coat of arms of 1734, detail of c. 20.



Illustration 1.19. Modest painting of 1735 made after the defensive war of king Stanislaus Leszczyński, Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936, detail of c. 22.



Illustration 1.20. Detail of c. 24.

of the city and society, the payment of significant contributions following the siege and Russian restrictions after 1734.

But in the following year another splendid symbolic painting was made. The lions are still holding their swords but instead of the cartouche above there is Mercury, the Roman gods' messenger, guardian of merchants, trade and profit, wearing a distinctive hat with small wings called *petasos*. An unfolded scroll containing the names of the guild authorities is hanging down from his arm. In his right hand he is holding palm leaves and his left one, armed with a stick called *caduceus* is pointing at the names of the guild elders (see illustration 1.20). This probably refers to the statue of Mercury placed in front of the Artus Court in the Long Market in Gdańsk. The artist followed a design by Giovanni da Bologna, a Florentine Mannerist sculptor.

The crest is purple again but its frame is blue like in older versions.

The escutcheon of 1758 also underwent some modifications; in fact, the coat of arms does not contain

an escutcheon, and the field is only bordered by two palm leaves kept by two lions in their paws. The leaves are winding into the crown; both the crown and the pretzel and strudel were painted silver, the colour of chivalry – full of nobility, purity, innocence and reason. It symbolizes, among others, righteousness, joy, peace, victory, happiness<sup>5</sup>, i.e. virtues and states of mind much needed in a situation of prolonging war. Red and silver were most often used in Polish heraldry.

<sup>5</sup> K. Węgorowska, *Kamienie szlachetne i metale szlachetne we współczesnej frazeologii polskiej*, "Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Linguistica" 2008, Vol. 4, p. 335.



## 1.2. House Mark (*Gmerk*) – Corporational Coat of Arms



Illustration 1.21. Guild coat of arms of 1758, detail of c. 72.



Illustration 1.22. Detail of c. 83.

The shape of the escutcheon also underwent some modifications. Initially, it referred to the universal pattern, but since the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century we can find several new solutions in *The Book*. The presentations on cc. 83 and 96 may serve as examples.

The latter example shows a highly elongated escutcheon, which indicates that it was cut out of a sash, possibly from a theatre curtain – an important Baroque symbol. The crown, slightly askew, has been placed upon the upper part of the escutcheon, which makes the impression that it is in motion.

As shown in the examples, painters used several ways to present the guild mark. In *The Book* we may find complex forms, very different from a simple guild house mark. Starting with the first illustration, it was placed in a cartouche or an escutcheon, and even in the full heraldic styling, on the crest with a helmet, a jewel for decoration

and mantling symbolizing a colorful shawl or cloak; its aim was primarily to protect the knight from the scorching heat and in heraldry it became a decorative element.

There are many scientific views on how townspeople changed the house mark to the coat of arms. A bourgeois joining the nobility class frequently abandoned the house mark to show his social advancement and complete break away from the middle class customs. There were also exceptions of ennobled townspeople, who remained devoted to the middle class while enjoying their new honours. This concerned, however, burghers of the largest Polish cities like Kraków and Lviv. The townspeople of Kraków were commonly considered noblemen as a result of royal privilege which equated their rights with those of the gentry.

Rich forms of guild crest that were ordered with painters could have been a sign of wheat bread and bread roll bakers as well as confectioners' upmanship over the rank of rye bread bakers. Unfortunately, this problem cannot be clinched due to lack of sources. The question of the use of the concept of the coat of arms in relation to city corporations remains uncertain. It should be noted that the bakers' sign, which should be a house mark, is presented in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* clearly and consciously in the form and with the most important elements of the coat of arms of the city of Gdańsk.

Marian Gumowski, who made a study of Toruń house marks, came to the conclusion that while we may consider them signs of barcodes, pictorial motifs containing



Illustration 1.23. Detail of c. 96.



vegetables, animals or humans should be treated as bourgher crests<sup>6</sup>. He also argued that house marks were used primarily by craftsmen and coats of arms by patricians. He admits, however, that there are many exceptions to this rule.

The wheat bread bakers' crest in *The Book* was initially introduced as more modest and clearly referred to the coat of arms of the city, but gradually painters started using more and more complex forms. It is always highlighted, however, either by location in the centre of the illustration, by colour or by showing it in particular light. This form indicates high ambitions of the corporation and their upmanship over other guilds.

### 1.3. The Attitude to the Fraternity Authorities

*The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* also emphasized special respect paid to masters in power and journeymen authorities. All the illustrations contain a list of names of bakers' guild officials placed at the top and at the bottom – a list of brewers' guild officials, which supports the whole picture. More ornamental forms were used to record names of bakers: they were always written in gold. Initially, they used a cartridge for c. 9v. in order to distinguish the names of masters in charge of the guild and journeymen's fraternity but on this page they used the form of sash. In later times names were placed on a theatre curtain or below a kind of canopy. On c. 9v. putti support garlands of leaves and a shelf and sash with the names of the fraternity authorities. The illustration is modest, only the names of the authorities were highlighted with the use of gold lettering.

Similarly, c. 14 looks modest, only the angels are more prominent.

Starting with c. 16 painters performed works containing more varied elements of Baroque ornamentation; they painted canopies of baudekin and theatre curtains in the background, on which the names of the Fraternity authorities were written down.

Only on one occasion the description of journeymen fraternity was placed on a sash partly covering a cartouche presenting a view of the sea battle between Swedish and Russian ships near Wisłoujście. This event of 1745 was of great importance for the city which had boasted peace since 1734.

Sometime later they started using oval rococo cartouches with plant elements and sophisticated framing.

The presentation of the authorities of the bakers' fraternity should be compared with those of the brewers' fraternity. It can be stated that the paintings placed at the bottom of the page maintain a similar level of artistic expression; they use corresponding

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<sup>6</sup> M. Gumowski, *Herbarz patrycjatu toruńskiego*, Toruń 1970, pp. 6–7.

1. The Journeymen's Book Against the Background...



Illustration 1.24. Detail of c. 9.



Illustration 1.25. Detail of c. 14.

### 1.3. The Attitude to the Fraternity Authorities

forms or colouring. They never applied the same or alike elements of illustrations; preserving harmony and graphic forms was the only goal of the authors.

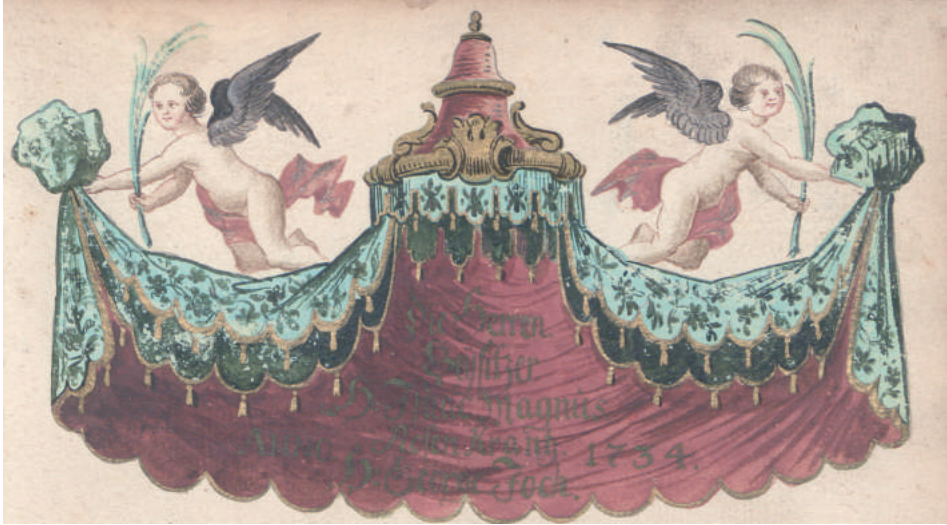


Illustration 1.26. Detail of c. 16.



Illustration 1.27. Detail of c. 26.



1. The Journeymen's Book Against the Background...



Illustration 1.28. Detail of c. 31.



Illustration 1.29. Detail of c. 41.



1.3. The Attitude to the Fraternity Authorities



Illustration 1.30. Detail of c. 83.



Illustration 1.31. Detail of c. 49.

## 1. The Journeymen's Book Against the Background...

The names of the brewers were written in cartouches but each was originally painted and the concepts or colour solutions were never the same.

Among the illustrations we can find only one that makes reference to theatrical symbols. Despite this fact, names of brewers were presented in more modest forms and we can draw a conclusion that they were not important for the purpose of the book. They were only to match the ideas and colours of other illustrations in the book. Only on c. 9 the names of brewers were more prominently displayed on a red curtain with golden inscription.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the editors of *The Book* showed great respect to the authorities of both the fraternity and the whole guild. Their names were usually distinguished by the use of golden lettering on a varied background.

For our purposes other fragments of illustrations seem to be of far greater significance, namely those which contain miniature paintings referring to historical events and allegorical ones. They will be presented later in our work.



Illustration 1.32. Detail of c. 9.

## 2. THE AIMS OF THE BOOK

### 2.1. Registration of Members

The Book was established and edited to achieve several aims. First of all, the corporation ran records of journeymen joining it, which was important on the day when they presented their piece of master craft and sat the master exam or when a journeyman decided to undertake his professional journey. He was then given a certificate proving his course of study and work in the Gdańsk guild. When he decided to set off he received a travelling or mastering letter (Wanderbuch).

The records were in fact just a confirmation of the contract concluded between the journeyman and the corporation, which entrusted a master the task of teaching a journeyman his particular craft. He then undertook to act as a mentor-teacher and teacher of the profession in relation to the journeyman. The agreement was certified by a gift which the journeyman submitted; the Guild accepted it “with pleasure”, which was in turn a sign of validation of the contract and taking responsibility for that person, and not just for training.

The kinds of gifts presented to the guild reveal certain facts pertaining to social life within the fraternity, as the gifts in kind were delivered for the corporation’s current needs, e.g. repairing a bed, offering a prayer book, windowpane, cups, plates or badges.

The book also contains some educational objectives of moral nature although they are not directly expressed. The urban community was after shaping opinions and attitudes, implementing or conscious adoption by journeymen of a worldview that was widely recognized in the corporation, and in the city – a sense of life, political views, proper attitude to the population of Gdańsk, the Polish state and Evangelical Church. *The Book* refers to the theory of organisation of social life expressed – among others – in the work of Pastorius from Gdańsk. Concluding his discussion of the welfare state in the chapter on its fundamentals, he says explicitly that it depends on the condition of the craft (*ars industria*), but “craftsmen can not claim too much attention or trust because fate plays tricks on us and they finally may not be able to avoid

the imminent disaster<sup>1</sup>. He appreciates the work of craftsmen, but also warns against their excessive claims, mainly economic, which might undermine the political or economic order<sup>2</sup>.

*The Book* contains some educational objectives for the sake of large numbers of young countrymen joining the corporation. The eighteenth century witnessed considerable migration of workforce, which resulted in some assimilation problems within the guild.

Table 1. Origin of journeymen joining the corporation in the years 1724–1768

Year	Gdańsk citizens		Newcomers	
	Total	Masters' sons	Total	Unknown origin
1725	6	1	–	–
1726	9	–	–	–
1727	1	–	–	–
1728	5	–	1	1
1729	5	–	–	–
1730	6	–	2	2
1731	5	1	2	–
1732	–	–	2	2
1733	–	–	4	4
1734	2	2	1	1
1735	4	4	6	1
1736	1	1	9	1
1737	1	1	3	3
1738	2	–	17	4
1739	6	2	8	–
1740	3	–	12	–
1741	8	1	5	1
1742	5	1	1	–
1743	2	–	–	–
1744	10	–	1	–
1745	10	1	1	1

<sup>1</sup> J.H. Pastorius, *Alea mundi...*, Caput XXV, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 106.



## 2.1. Registration of Members

Year	Gdańsk citizens		Newcomers	
	Total	Masters' sons	Total	Unknown origin
1746	3	1	5	–
1747	3	1	1	–
1748	4	2	1	–
1749	7	–	3	–
1750	3	–	2	–
1751	2	1	5	–
1752	3	–	1	–
1753	5	1	5	–
1754	2	–	5	2
1755	–	–	9	1
1756	2	–	5	–
1757	3	1	2	–
1758	–	–	1	–
1759	4	–	1	–
1760	1	–	5	4
1761	3	–	4	–
1762	2	–	9	–
1763	8	–	10	2
1764	1	–	7	1
1765	1	–	7	3
1766	6	2	3	–
1767	2	–	10	–
1768	2	1	5	–
Total	158	25	181	34

Source: Z. Kropidłowski.

Within 42 years 340 journeymen joined the corporation; 158 came from Gdańsk, 25 of whom continued their family tradition (masters' sons). This fact was established with high probability by comparing the name of the candidate joining the guild and the name of the master who undertook to teach and promote the journeyman (probably his son) to master. 181 baker journeymen came from outside the city; for 147 the place of their origin was given and in 34 cases this information was omitted. The largest number of journeymen, i.e. 27, came from Berlin, thirteen from Koenigsberg,

eight from Słupsk, five from each of the following towns: Gorzów, Frankfurt an der Oder, Magdeburg, Riegenwald and Sępólno, four from Chełmoniec. Three came from each: Eisleben, Hamburg, Iławka and Węgorzewo and two travelled from each: Bautzen, Clausin [Czarniachow] Darłowo, Gumbünden, Klaipeda, Kołobrzeg, Lobsen [Lobsen?, Łobrzyca?] Lubawka, Sandau, Strzelce Krajeńskie and Szczecin. One person came from each: Boblitz, Brandenburg, Breitenbach, Dobre Miasto, Friedland, Golub, Grim [?], Grudziądz, Halle, Halberstadt, Krasków, Kuburg [Siedliczka?] Kyritz, Lietzen, Leipzig, Marburg, Marbach, Miastko, Międzyrzecze, Narwa, Nidzica, Oranienburg, Passewalk, Plziehn [Poznań?], Pyrzyce, Regensburg, Reszel, Stepnica [?], Stralsund, Toruń, Troszyn, Wandów, Zeiten [Zittau]. In 1752 journeyman Thomas Suhderland came from England, but exact place of his origin was not given.

Among the bakers' guild documents which have survived to-day there are two journeyman certificates. The first, in the name of Schumacher, was written with great care on parchment and with the guild's seal<sup>3</sup> and the other of Lieben, printed on paper, dated 1799<sup>4</sup>. Evident deterioration of quality, care and materials used allows us to conclude impoverishment of the city, decreasing significance and importance of the document and the use of printing to facilitate the work of the person issuing the document.



Illustration 2.1. Schumacher's journeyman certificate, APG, 300, C/1384.

<sup>3</sup> APG, 300, C/1384.

<sup>4</sup> APG, 300, C/1399.

## 2.1. Registration of Members



Illustration 2.2. Guild seal, APG, 300, C/1384.



Illustration 2.3. Copy of Lieben's journeyman certificate, APG, 300, C/1399.

Large influx of strangers always leads to assimilation problems. Even at the time each community of economic character strove for its members to identify their individual success with its interests. This might have been the purpose for writing *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*.

Another important objective was to ensure that the entry in *The Book* was an opportunity for the candidate to become acquainted with the guild's tradition, which *The Book* expressed and to which it belonged. The book contains basic personal data of members of the fraternity. Although its main task was to register emancipated journeymen, it also included some additional information such as the journeyman's origin, the amount of the registration fee and the name of the master who accepted him. In over ten cases instead of mentioning the amount of the registration fee they recorded that "what he gave the Fraternity satisfied them"<sup>5</sup>.

The next important goal was to emphasize deference to elders and immortalize Fraternity authorities. Almost every year *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* recorded the names of two masters who were jurors of the whole wheat bread bakers' corporation. In the second place they recorded the names of two elder journeymen and the name of the writer. In addition, the names of two jurors of the brewers' guild were given; they probably constituted the board controlling activities of the bakers' guild journeymen on behalf of the City Council. Therefore, illustrations included two cartouches on which artists printed their names in gold, and the corporation crest was placed on the third one.

The entry fee was mainly paid in florens, sometimes called guldens in the Dutch mode, although they may have been coins imported from other areas. Only one payment was made in thalers (1726) and another was a ducat coin (1768). Apart from cash, other gifts included silver cups, badges or silver trays, pewter pitchers, one silver bowl and a cup of silver gold plated inside. In remaining cases entry fee was paid in the form of two beds, two boxes, and a window pane. They also added a gift of wine (in 1747 they wrote that it was good French wine) measured in various ancient forms (półgarniec = 1.88 l, sztof = 1.23 l, achtel or anker). In the last entry for 1768 they reported that a liberated journeyman presented some herrings and cheese. There is also a very interesting piece of information about an offering of a prayer book made by Christian Kasten in 1734.

During the Protestant period religious importance of guild corporations gradually decreased although baptisms, weddings and funerals were still celebrated with great solemnity and journeymen were allowed to enter the bakers' chapel of St. Bartolomeus church<sup>6</sup>. The evidence of this is included in the Liturgical Agenda of the Lutheran

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<sup>5</sup> The first such entry is dated 16<sup>th</sup> April 1725 and regards Daniel Bergerau from Słupsk. Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936, c. 4; similar entry may be found on c. 17.

<sup>6</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Danzig...*, p. 259.



## 2.2. Education

division, several issues of which were printed for the city of Gdańsk, Gdańsk province and the whole of Ducal and Royal Prussia<sup>7</sup>.

The Fraternity was also in possession of its own counter (collection box), which was repaired for 6 florens in 1753<sup>8</sup>. It was probably kept in their own tavern although this is not certain. Journeymen could also benefit from a tavern jointly with another corporation (perhaps masters of bakers, millers or brewers corporations). Rühle reports that only rye bread bakers' guild had its own building in Szeroka Street<sup>9</sup>. Another property, also known as the seat of the guild, was also located in the Old Town. Millers' organizations used to meet in a tavern located on the Mill Island<sup>10</sup>. It has been rebuilt according to the drawings preserved in the State Archive in Gdańsk. The tavern stored corporate insignia, dishes – silver cups and pewter pitchers designed primarily for wine and beer, books and cash. The corporation counters which survived up-to-date are kept in the National Museum in Gdańsk<sup>11</sup>.

The book was stored at the tavern, in a counter-box, together with elders' insignia, seal, cash books, cash and other valuables. Some of them were very artistic, made of silver or even gold-plated.

The existence of *The Book* and its appearance and contents formed part of the dignity of guild members and were probably designed so as to emphasize the importance of the guild in the city, its long tradition and values maintained by a particular fraternity. It expected all its members – old and new ones – to respect and defend the tradition. Decorated with paintings, the book probably exerted particularly uplifting feelings, added splendour to the admission ceremony.

## 2.2. Education

The 17<sup>th</sup> century in Europe brought new interest in politics and social ethics. In place of the existing Catholic or Protestant ethics they began to preach new moral principles based on a new reading of the works of ancient authors dealing with the principles of human relationships. They began shaping people's outlook through philosophical education.

New ideas were henceforth to determine the purpose of human life free from any religious system. They turned away from expectations of happiness in afterlife (*bonis*

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<sup>7</sup> Order of the Noble Council on the Order of the Divine Office and church prayers in Evangelical Lutheran churches of the City of Gdańsk, published in March 1708, printed by Jan Zacharias Stolla 1714.

<sup>8</sup> Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936, c. 63.

<sup>9</sup> S. Rühle, *Geschichte des Gewerks der Bäcker zu Danzig...*, p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*, p. 202.

<sup>11</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, *Samopomoc...*, il. 1, 2, 3, 4, 11.

*Dei manifestando et glorificando*), and looked for principles of achieving it in personal and social life.

In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century social ethics of rationalist kind became one of the most important subjects in a number of schools belonging to various religious orders in Europe. *Nicomacheian Ethics*, *Etica eudemia* and the eighth book of *Politeia* by Aristotle became the subject of treatises and numerous discussions polarizing knowledge. Considerations of ethical views were also based on Plato's *Harmides*, *Protagoras* and *Menon*; Plato claimed that ethics deals with virtues needed to achieve happiness in social and civil life<sup>12</sup>. Together with Aristotle and Plato other ancient authors came back to life, such as Seneca with his works (*De beneficii*, *De vita beata* and *De ira*), Marcus Aurelius, and Cicero (*De finibus malorum et bonorum*, *De summo bono et malo*, *De officiis*, *Tusculanae Disputationes*).

New ideas found fertile ground first in Protestant countries, especially in Germany, and then spread to Poland. Numerous discussions on this subject led to the emergence of special research centres dealing with this issue. Among precepts that reached Gdańsk were mainly those taught in Collegium Ethicum in Frankfurt an der Oder, expressed especially by Valentine Kruger and Professor Buttelius in Szczecin. Echoes of discussions conducted there leaked to Poland and found ardent followers and propagators<sup>13</sup>.

According to Luke Kurdybach there were three reasons for turning to Aristotle and ancient ethics in Poland in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. One of them was the threat of schisms within the Protestant church and simultaneous attacks on it by the Counter-Reformation. Lutherans weakened in their expansiveness and their priests confined themselves mainly to the defence of the doctrine and focused on how to maintain religious practice among followers; they neglected efforts to preserve Christian standards of morality in everyday life.

Another equally important reason was Lutherans' lost hopes of reconstruction of socio-political relationships, which had been expected since Luther's leaving the Roman Catholic Church. As it never happened, there was a general conviction in Germany that only a moral revival of individuals and whole societies may lead to universal improvement of relationships.

The third factor was that since Lutheranism could not make its followers observe moral precepts in everyday life, one should seek support for morality in indications of rationalist social ethics. In that situation *Nicomachean Ethics* became an ideal starting point for discussion and guidelines on how to regulate social relations and the attitude of the individual to the society basing on real life<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius gdański pedagog XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 1970, pp. 115 and 120.

<sup>13</sup> Ł. Kurdybacha, *Z dziejów pedagogiki ariańskiej*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 85–86.

<sup>14</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 117.

In Gdańsk, the source of humanism was Academic College, also called *gymnasium illustre*. Thanks to rector Jacob Fabricius and conrector Peter Lossius it reached semi-academic level in 1580. In its final year (*prima*) there were classes of philosophy, theology, law and medicine. One of its graduates (in 1590) was Bartholomäus Keckermann, who later continued his studies in Wittenberg, Leipzig and Heidelberg. Until 1598 he received scholarship from the City Council of Gdańsk. He became famous when he gave lectures and conducted classes for students at Heidelberg University. He published a number of valuable works. At 26 he was asked to take the position of conrector and philosophy professor in Gdańsk. As he had to complete his duties in Germany, he therefore received permission to postpone his return till later. He travelled to Zurich and during his stay there he had professional contacts with professors at *Collegium Carolinum*.

Finally, in 1602, he returned to his hometown and the following year he started a course in philosophy. One of his first students was Peter Krüger (1580–1639)<sup>15</sup>, who later became a professor of the College in Gdańsk, whose main interests were in mathematics and astronomy. He issued a textbook of arithmetics<sup>16</sup> as well as calendars with texts popularizing achievements of science and Polish history. They enjoyed great popularity, probably also among the commonage of Gdańsk.

Keckermann's views are known from his numerous publications. Although his complete timetable at the Gdańsk College has not been preserved, some of his works include a note stating that they were taught there. In addition to his own lectures he published numerous exercises and students' debates, which he diligently read, corrected, edited, and probably wrote himself, because they presented the same "learned" method and style<sup>17</sup>. For this reason he seemed to attract and appeal to young people from Poland, Lithuania and Silesia. Between 1602 and 1609 he gave two full cycles of lectures on full encyclopaedic course of science<sup>18</sup>.

His views exerted a certain influence on various religious denominations. In Poland it was mainly Arians, who introduced issues of social ethics into their school curricula. For example, in Raków, lectures on the subject were entrusted to John Crell, who, commissioned by the elders of his denomination, wrote textbooks for teaching social ethics on the basis of Keckermann's teachings. The most popular one was *Prima ethices slementa, in gratiam studiosus iuventutis*, published in 1635. Happiness was presented as the main human goal<sup>19</sup>. He described it as "an action of the mind, en-

<sup>15</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> J. Pastorius, *De iuventutis instituendae ratione Diatribe*, Elbingae 1653, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> B. Nadolski, *Życie i działalność naukowa uczonego gdańskiego Bartłomieja Keckermanna. Studium z dziejów odrodzenia na Pomorzu*, Toruń 1961, pp. 17–18.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> *Johannis Crelli Franci Prima ethices elemnta in gratiam studiosis iuventutis. Opus posthumum*, Racoviae 1635.

dowed with reason, according to the most perfect virtue in a perfect life. This virtue is considered to be an attitude of the mind endowed with reason and improving that mind and rendering the work of the mind to be good<sup>20</sup>.

Similar teaching was presented by Jan Jonson, a Calvinist, physician practicing in Leszno, naturalist, historian and philosopher. He wrote the first textbook of ethics entitled *Enchiridion ethicum*, designed for high school students, published in 1634<sup>21</sup>. He rejected the tradition of shaping moral precepts on the basis of religious revelation and argued that ethics is a set of moral precepts which are to ensure human happiness on earth through the conduct fitting to basic virtues such as: patience, prudence, justice, temperance, thrift etc.<sup>22</sup>

Joachim Pastorius (1610/1611–1681), when working on his textbook on ethics entitled *Character virtutum variis, aliorum etiam, Veterum qua, qua recentium Autorum coloribus adumbratus...*, issued in Gdańsk in 1653, based it on Crell's manual and probably also on works of other Gdańsk professors and thinkers.

Keckermann, in his work *Systema ethicae* and other dissertations and debates carried out under his leadership, strongly advocated ethics independent of any religious systems. According to Keckermann ethics was "wisdom of directing the will and desires to find the public good". Elsewhere in *Systema ethicae III libris adornatum* (1607) he wrote that ethics sees the goal of man in achieving *bonum civile*; by this he meant human behaviour in a human society. He believed that man has a right to happiness both in purely personal terms and in social life. To achieve this "moral and civil" virtues are required; proper guidance in teaching these virtues should render man acting honestly, prudently and fairly.

While giving lectures on politics he stressed that its subject is the state, which is built of many organisations. In the first book entitled *Systema disciplinae politicae* he spoke, among others, about trade and people dealing with trade, that is about artists and craftsmen, family and other relationships, municipalities and districts, about citizens and their rights and obligations and finally about religious tolerance, the Spanish Inquisition and the ideal monarch. Keckermann based his theoretical considerations on examples taken from historiography and the history of Europe, Poland, Prussia and even Gdańsk<sup>23</sup>. It was the most comprehensive handling of state affairs in that period.

He referred his ideas also to craftsmen and their environment, devoting two chapters to this issue. In the first one he recognizes a hierarchy of professions and puts the artisan's job in a lower position than that of the merchant. Artisans (*ordo artificum*) and labourers (*ordo opificum*) are the cause of countless benefits and prosperity of the

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<sup>20</sup> Cite as: K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 118.

<sup>21</sup> J. Jonston, *Enchiridion ethicum* [...], Lugduni Batavorum 1634.

<sup>22</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 121.

<sup>23</sup> B. Nadolski, *Życie i działalność naukowa...*, pp. 86–87 and 131.



state. Therefore, they should struggle to gain and maintain their due rights and privileges. He underlined the fact that without craftsmen the state would not survive or thrive. He also classified craft professions and divided them into services of a higher order, such as the work of printers, painters and embroiderers, sculptors and engravers, goldsmiths etc., i.e. professions where the working tool is more the mind, education and intellectual abilities and coarse, dirty, downright humiliating services performed by shoemakers, tanners and other jobs in which materials are processed but at the same time their health is ruined<sup>24</sup>.

It is worth noting that Keckermann discussed bakers' issues in the context of providing poor members of the population with food. He supported the idea of establishing the Office of Stocks in Gdańsk (*Vorrath*), the task of which would be to buy and store grain in times of prosperity, especially in autumn, and sell it out at the time of high prices (mainly pre-harvest time, also during natural disasters and war). He clearly stated that the concern of the authorities should be "to introduce set food prices with regard to instability of both present and future times. These arrangements should apply especially to those who sell bread and drinks. It should be of great concern for the authorities to set the price of bread for two groups, namely bakers and those who sell it in the harbour". He cited the case of the Venetian Republic and the Netherlands where at a fixed date every year the authorities officially published prices at which bakers were obliged to sell their bread<sup>25</sup>.

In contrast, when discussing the causes of luxury and vanity, he expressed himself unfavorably about confectioners and cake bakers, i.e. members of the wheat bakers' guild, because he felt that they belonged to crafts leading to trouble which stemmed from a number of commonly known reasons: "citizens are urged to excess, whims and ruinous vanities, which are characteristic of youth, whether by cake bakers themselves or by some other craftsmen representing most abominable crafts"<sup>26</sup>. Elsewhere he expresses some criticism again relating to confectioners' craft, writing that the authorities should take care of subjects. He writes that since the officials' concern is that the

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<sup>24</sup> B. Keckermann, *Systema Disciplinae Politicae...*, Dantiscano 1607, Liber 1, Caput XIV, pp. 250–251.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, Liber 1. Caput VIII, p. 186: "De cura et regimine Principis circa subditorum nativitatem et educationem De paranda annona sunt hi Canones: Precium [pretium] annonae pro varietate et circumstantia temporum atque annorum statui curet, inprimis apud eos, qui panem et potum vendunt. Valde necessaria ista cura est in republica, ut duobus hominum generibus certa annonae precia statuatur, nempe pistoribus, et illis qui portum vendunt; sicut quidem laudabili instituto in republica Veneta certi magistratus sive aediles ad eam rem sunt ordinati, sicut autor [auctor] aliquoties [aliquotiens] citatus inquit, loco etiam proxime citato. Sunt veteris iustitiae aediles, qui cibariis precium ascribunt. Et in Hollandia certis ac statis temporibus rem anni publice per praeconem proclamantur, quanti pistorum panem vendere debeat".

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, Liber 1. Caput IX, p. 201: "De cura Principis circa educationem subditorum. Instrumenta vitiorum publica sunt, quaecunque, vel a cupidinariis, vel ab allis vanissimarum artium opificibus fabricantur ad luxum, libidines, vanitates iuventuti perniciosas".

city would not sell rotten meat and other food, it should also prevent cake bakers from doing any damage to subjects' health by excess of their sweets<sup>27</sup>. He therefore calls on the authorities even to legally restrict access to sweets and on the society to retain self-restraint and moderation in this respect<sup>28</sup>.

This work was released by one of his disciples in Hanover in 1607, followed by the second edition next year, which proves that it boasted high interest among his contemporaries<sup>29</sup>.

Keckerman managed to create a scientific movement in the city, which lasted until the time of the partitions. The city authorities (mainly councillors, appointed for control of the Academic College) and professors took an active part in celebrations of national ceremonies organized in the city. Gdańsk is in possession of a poster dated 1658 containing an invitation, not only for students but also for all concerned, to the solemn celebration of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gdańsk College. The program included several popular lectures about the role and importance of poetry and also those related to political developments and scientific discoveries<sup>30</sup>. Those lectures were later continued, expanded and popularized during circumstantial sermons, similarly to what happened on the occasion of the invention of printing, when academic meetings continued in churches and occasional sermons were preached, so that almost all citizens of Gdańsk had an opportunity to listen to them<sup>31</sup>.

His thoughts were continued in education of young people of Gdańsk on various levels, from nearly academic at the College, to basic and professional in craft corporations. Publications and disputes were not limited to lectures on virtues and their descriptions, but explained moral principles giving examples drawn from the past and contemporary life. Not surprisingly then, simplified versions of those printed materials and speeches were used in corporations by the elders for the formation of journeymen.

*The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* also alluded to the tradition of high schools, where a full course of law and history included public and private lectures and practical exercises which shaped patriotism of young people and newcomers to the city.

Issues connected with the history of Poland were dealt with at the faculty of history and law, as well as the faculties of other scientific disciplines and a number of representatives of Gdańsk patricians who studied historical problems. The first professor who was appointed to the chair of history and law was Peter Bruncow (Bruncovius) in

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, Liber 1. Caput VIII, p. 182: "Provideat, magistratus, ne carnes aut pisces corrapti, contagiosi et putridi publice vendantur, ne fructus immaturi sub in initium autumnus immoderatus usurpentur; ne denique cupendarii cupediis suis ac deliciis nimiis valetudinis subditorum noceant".

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 202.

<sup>29</sup> B. Nadolski, *Życie i działalność naukowa...*, pp. 85–90.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 28–32.

<sup>31</sup> Z. Nowak, *Po starą księgę sięgam ze wzruszeniem. Szkice z dziejów i kultury książki w Prusach Królewskich od XV do XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 358–361.

the years 1602–1619. His successor Krzysztof Riccius (1619–1638) became the town syndic of Gdańsk in 1639; he published his work entitled *Regium Problema de principium tranquilla election*, in which he described some facts of Polish history, but also of Gdańsk and its relationship to Poland. He was the first researcher of the history of political regimes with particular emphasis on the history of Poland. His successor, Peter Oelhaf, emphasized, among others, tolerant and neutral attitude of King Sigismund I to Protestants of various denominations.

Issues of Polish history were also dealt with by some representatives of other scientific disciplines: philosophers like (already mentioned) Keckermann, a professor of logics and rhetoric Melchior Lauban, a professor of logics and Greek A. Hojer, a Polish teacher Jan Guliński. The last one used various state ceremonies as well as regional public festivities with the participation of city authorities to give orations on Polish history, which were then published and contributed to the popularization of knowledge about culture, history and Polish literature.

Among the people that shaped townspeople's views on political, social, philosophical (ethical) and historical issues were distinguished professors receiving the title of *iuris et historiarum professor publicus ordinarius*: Filip Weymer, Peter Bruncow, Krzysztof Rosteuscher, and especially the already mentioned Pastorius. He was primarily a historian and teacher (though he received much recognition for his occasional poetry), even though he was a state and church official. He changed his religion several times in his lifetime. In 1656 he was awarded the position of the court physician and royal historiographer. He also received the title of Brandenburg historiographer in 1659 but soon resigned from this position and devoted his efforts entirely to the service at the Polish royal court. He was one of the most outstanding men of both Gdańsk and Poland in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

It is important to note that he was deeply interested in social, political and economic problems of Gdańsk<sup>32</sup>. Those problems were dealt with during his four-year history teaching at a high school in Elbląg and then close to thirteen years in the Academic College in Gdańsk. He was a historian at the court of Polish kings, and above all, a historical writer, the author of an important textbook of history and extensive historical works. Pastorius demonstrated independent thought and created a synthesis of history. He took part in the collection of historical documents related to King John II Casimir, government officials and Church dignitaries<sup>33</sup>. He obtained the title of a Polish noble for his historical work *Florus Polonicus seu Polonicae Historiae, Epitome Nova*, edited in the form of a manual in 1662<sup>34</sup>. Polish history was described in a manner accessible to young people on its 214 pages, from legendary times to the death of

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<sup>32</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

<sup>34</sup> B. Schulz, *Das Danziger Academische Gymnasium in Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Danzig 1941, p. 19.

King Sigismund II Augustus in 1572. It served as a source of good examples and role models to young people. The popularity of this work meant five editions until 1679; the text was extended to 911 pages because it included a foreword *Sarmatia laureate* by Wojciech Bartochowski, a professor of rhetoric at the Jesuit college of Gdańsk, also an epigram by M.Z. Boxhorn of 1653 written in honour of Pastorius, two extensive poems by J.P. Titus and G. Hirschmann, dedicated to King John III Sobieski.

A great credit should be given to Pastorius for emphasizing the educational role of national history understood as a treasury of models of moral behaviour. Moreover, he adorned his work with numerous sayings used in education of young people<sup>35</sup>. His tractate *De dignitate historiae oratio* is one of the first dissertations on the teaching of history in Gdańsk<sup>36</sup>. Among his other important works are sketches on history and history teaching entitled *Alae seu Theatrum Mundi vicissitudines et metamorphoses naturales [...] novo compedio exhibens*, written in 1658 and published in Gdańsk in 1680. The section devoted to economic issues contains a few remarks about the role of craft as a basic industrial production; another one was devoted to outstanding scientists from Pomerania, such as Hosius, Copernicus, Rheticus and Dantyszek<sup>37</sup>.

Patorius wrote three textbooks on ethics based on a long tradition of teaching secular ethics. He benefited from the work of Keckerman, J. Jonston, John J. Crell and Licinius Namysłowski, an Arian activist from Namysłów (a town in Silesia)<sup>38</sup>. The textbook by Pastorius entitled *Character virtutum* was the most concise one and although the enunciation was more restrained, it was adapted for school use. It consists of 25 chapters addressing the issue of virtues such as prudence, piety, honesty, temperance, diligence, generosity, modesty, fortitude, endurance, truthfulness and discretion.

Pastorius argued that anyone who wants to get to heaven must overcome some frailties of human nature, one's own shortcomings and develop all kinds of virtues. Among them the most important is prudence, which he called the princess of virtues. It is for the faculties of mind what the eye is for the body and the rudder to the ship. He discussed numerous advantages of this virtue but never gave guidance on how to attain it. The main advantage of prudence is that it helps man to adapt to the current trends and policy, notwithstanding honesty. In other words, it enables man to oscillate between "determination in impudence and blind subjection"<sup>39</sup>. Prudence is the virtue most frequently praised in the book of Gdańsk bakers.

The textbook was designed primarily for young nobles but it was well-known in Gdańsk, published a couple of times and each time slightly changed. It is important to remember that Pastorius believed that ethics has to be individual and social at the

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<sup>35</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 59.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 120–122.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 126–127.



same time, for every man is a living individual in society and only such understanding of ethics may bring order and harmony to life.

Some of the virtues analyzed in *Character virtutum* are again considered in another work of ethics entitled *Palaestra nobilium*. They are illustrated by proverbs or sentences from literature, mostly ancient. Pastorius sometimes made a comparison of human features and virtues with natural phenomena and properties of plants and animals. This approach to ethical considerations is imitated in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*. In *Palestra nobilium* he stresses the importance of justice, which he defines as the greatest star enclosing all human affairs; it is the epitome of all virtues, the venerable mother of peace and happiness, the director of offices, the queen of human society, the protection against wrongs and the practice field of valiance<sup>40</sup>.

In his third work entitled *Stella aurea* Pastorius discusses the importance of valour. Like in *Palestra nobilium*, he teaches that truly brave people are able to struggle against adversities of nature after giving the cause a thought and not under the influence of an impulse; they can also lay down their lives if it is necessary to save a higher purpose, eg. to rescue a threatened life or for the sake of fellow man<sup>41</sup>.

Being aware that one needs to invent various ways of reaching out to young people and society as a whole, he combined theoretical work with ideas on teaching. They contained interesting teaching tips tested by him in high schools in Elbląg and Gdańsk. Observing the organization of contemporary primary and secondary schools and studying pedagogical works of Philip Melanchthon, J. Lipsius, J.C. Frey, J. Caselius, J.E. Lubinus and especially those of Jan Amos Comenius, Pastorius conceived the idea of developing his own organizational structure of elementary school and secondary education and appropriate methods of teaching<sup>42</sup>.

He supported the idea of Comenius that young people should be provided with encyclopedic knowledge using the textbook *Janua rerum* but in his opinion it should be translated into national languages. He also demanded that it should include message on the profession of faith and fundamental principles of moral conduct so that ethical principles would become the touchstone of their conduct in life<sup>43</sup>. Discussing the overall structure of elementary school he said that “we lead boys early in their mental development from the point where they can barely express their impressions into the treasury of knowledge. We lead them not along an even path but in steps, without haste or risk of failure”<sup>44</sup>.

A similar educational method was used by editors of the book of journeymen bakers. Once a year it was enriched with additional sentences, poems and illustrated with

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 131.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 130 and 139.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 141.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 142.

<sup>44</sup> J. Pastorius, *De iuventutis...*, p. 18.

paintings in a similar way to what Comenius did with his book. Pastorius postulated that each student used a notebook to record important sentences and phrases that someday he might find useful<sup>45</sup>.

He himself took advantage of a rich collection of quotations from ancient authors in chapter fifteenth of his work *Character virtutum* (entitled: *While reading think about practice*). He made a choice of live issues tailored to the author's educational goals<sup>46</sup>. Referring to the views of Comenius expressed in his *Great didactics*, Pastorius reflected on forms of teaching young people in terms of usability of their studies. He believed that young people should learn only what is truly beneficial to them. The principle of gradation of learning difficulties was taken from Descartes' *Discourse on the Method*; namely, he decided that senses, reason, and arguments were indispensable means to acquire knowledge. He repeatedly quoted Thomas Campanelli, who thought that learning was based on sensory perception. Thus Pastorius advocated comprehensive training of the senses and imagination of the student and therefore thought it important to use illustrations, demonstrations and proper words<sup>47</sup>. In addition, he saw the need to teach arithmetic to artisans' children because in his view the advancement of commerce and craftsmanship resulted in the development of the city and an opportunity for every apprentice<sup>48</sup>.

Pastorius' educational program can generally be viewed as a "civilising program". Although it concerned directly Polish noble youth it also referred to education in general<sup>49</sup>. There were several editions of his books of ethics and on Polish history; his advice and instructions on education and organisation of teaching process were widely known and accepted in Gdańsk. Probably craft corporations looked favourably at the guidelines emphasizing the need to prepare young people to practical life and to function well in social and even political sense<sup>50</sup>. He wrote that crafts "if not combatted [oppressed], provide the authorities they rely on a happy [successful] life"<sup>51</sup>. According to Pastorius after elementary school candidates for craft education should undertake vocational training conducted by masters<sup>52</sup> (perhaps thinking here, like Paul Pater, of vocational schools).

The fact that the bakers' book takes no account of religious issues may lead to the conclusion that they made use of Pastorius views and that his books enjoyed great popularity<sup>53</sup>. Generally, it can be said that he gave words of understanding for the

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 28; K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 148.

<sup>46</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 193.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 152.

<sup>48</sup> J. Pastorius, *De iuventutis...*, p. 46; K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 151.

<sup>49</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 189.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>51</sup> J. Pastorius, *Alea mundi...*, Caput XVIII, p. 75.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, Caput II, p. 76.

<sup>53</sup> K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius...*, p. 193.

value of education and the role of all educational activities within the community and even emphasized their significance<sup>54</sup>. In his works he was an advocate of treating the development of science in Gdańsk and Gdańsk reasons of state as part of current affairs, including economic ones, of the Polish state<sup>55</sup>.

In 18<sup>th</sup> century Gdańsk, teaching history in general and Polish history in particular became more popular. Lectures were conducted by both professors from the faculty of law and history as well as teachers of rhetoric and poetics, the Greek and oriental languages and the Polish language, and even teachers of mathematics, medicine and philosophy. Their lectures usually took place in the first two classes at the Gdańsk College. History was also taught during private seminars. Although the range of material was not exactly the same in subsequent years and depended on many factors, contemporary issues were always discussed profoundly.

Lech Mokrzecki analysed catalogues of the Gdańsk Academic College treating them as a source for reconstruction of history teaching in Gdańsk. He found that the main focus had been on current issues, political events, the demands of contemporary environment and students' interests. Lectures were based on local professors' lines of research. Both public classes and private lessons of history had significant influence on the formation of political attitudes of wide circles of the middle class. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1701–1748) history lessons were conducted by Samuel Friedrich Willenberg. For the following two years his successor was a prominent lawyer, historian and politician Gottfried Lengnich. Three outstanding professors of law and history worked in the school in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: first Georg Friedrich Krause in the years 1751–1753, then Gotlieb Pauli to 1763 and from 1764 to 1809 – Daniel Gralath (the younger)<sup>56</sup>.

Just as it was in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they stressed general mobilization around issues of defense and the need to strive for Polish independence. They underlined the fact that not only the elite but also the commoners and the poor decided to provide for the defence of the country and a national welfare<sup>57</sup>.

In a public discourse delivered in Gdańsk in October 1726 (and later published), Willenberg recalled and dwelt on earlier views by S. Petrycy and Pastorius on education and creating schools tailored to the needs of children of different social status and wealth, emphasizing that *ab education salus civitatis dependent*. According to him, the purpose of education should be to implement a program that would prepare children and youth for the work that their parents had chosen for them. Therefore, he considered parents' responsibility for the choice of relevant teachers or a suitable school. For city dwellers the most important issue was to acquire practical skills needed for their

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 196.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 198.

<sup>56</sup> L. Mokrzecki, *Wokół staropolskiej nauki i oświaty*, Gdańsk 2001, pp. 373–389.

<sup>57</sup> L. Mokrzecki, *W kręgu prac historyków gdańskich XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 1974, p. 22.

future careers. So the emphasis was put on education of professional workers, merchants, sailors, bankers, clergymen, lawyers, civil servants and public activists. Girls should be educated to know how to run a guild workshop<sup>58</sup>.

On the other hand, Gottfried Arnold warned parents not to let themselves be deceived by teachers who encouraged them to send their children to arts college preparing for a career of clerks or clergymen. He mentioned the decision of Frederick I, King of Prussia, expressed in his special edict, to check the abilities of candidates to university so that inappropriate people did not block others' admission to university. Arnold also warned against private teachers' favourable opinions of their children's skills and abilities as they were likely to praise their students only to achieve greater remuneration for their work. It should not be forgotten that vocational teaching was equally honourable and desirable. Although there were more and less noble occupations, the work of craftsmen, performed manually (*opera manuarum*), was equally valuable to the state. He alluded to the views of Keckermann, dating back to early 17<sup>th</sup> century, stressing that an artisan could obtain temporal happiness exercising his innate abilities and achieve a significant position in the craft or in any other art. "Not from every piece of wood can an effigy of Mercury be carved"<sup>59</sup>. On the other hand, having an innate ability, he could easily reach high position in his craft or in any other art. Parents should take note of this and not burden their children with their own excessive ambitions<sup>60</sup>.

The above views of Gdańsk elites were an inspiration for the elders of the guild in defining the goals of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*. This awareness was expressed on c. 56v., which contains a poem calling on the residents of the city and especially members of the fraternity to attain a social consensus, which was a condition for God's blessing.

Sheer envy is the most harmful of all,  
It may destroy a town or even a country,  
[...]  
This is exactly what is going on within the city walls of Gdańsk,  
Such evil cannot be continued.

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<sup>58</sup> S.F. Willenberg, *Disseratio iuridica de insufficientia paternae educationis ad vitam civilem*, Gedani 1726, Caput XXXIV, p. 23–24: "Saepe parentes a praeceptoribus decipiuntur, qui liberorum ingenium laudant, aptos admodum ad studia eos, quod praeclarum instrumentum futuri sint Ecclesiae vel Curiae, depraedicant, quo sibi singularis informationis laudem concilient, favorem parentum ad danda largiora beneficia mereantur. His si parententes fidem habuerint, ex dato consilio filium studiis reservaverint, aptiorem ad opera manuarum, serio tandem deplorabunt, quod ad actum sit de temporali ejus felicitate, ad quam opificio vel alia arte facilius pervenire potuisset, demum verum esse agnoscent, non ex omni ligno fabricari posse Mercurium. Commotus ex his causis pia memoriae Rex Prussiae Fridericus, ut peculiari Edicto statueret, sine selectu ingeniorum neminem ad studia admittendum esse".

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 100.



## 2.2. Education

The Only God in the Holy Trinity, you who rule the world,  
And who have always kept reins of power as a warning to us,  
Give us concord, put away envy and trouble,  
Bring the golden age back.  
Give our distinguished guild, which is the owner of the Book,  
your blessing, prosperity and anything our hearts desire.  
Let agreement add to its splendour,  
And let envy, hate and disagreement perish in disgrace.

Therefore, it seems that the guild authorities' deliberate aim was to set the educational objective for the editors and painters of *The Book*. It can be assumed that they carefully selected texts and illustrations endowed with symbols to make more complex ideas. They were not just copies of scientific, literary or artistic information; instead, they were used in accordance with their own social and artistic consciousness.

## 3. GUILD WRITERS AND THEIR WORK

### 3.1. Writers

The main concern of guild writers was to run the corporate office which contained several books. The most important was the book containing provisions of the statute signed by founders of the Fraternity and representatives of the city authorities. As it was not long – it contained several articles that were recorded on a few pages – they often added information about important events concerning elections in the guild or fraternity authorities, copies of privileges, quoted settlements of disagreements between the guild and bunglers (craftsmen that did not belong to the guild), listed what they had bought and recorded contracts for the corporation. Sometimes they also kept a register of guild members but another solution, especially in large organizations, was to keep a separate record book which contained basic personal data of new members. Such a separate register was kept for the fraternity of wheat bread bakers, which we call the guild of bread roll and cake bakers. Its main task was to register emancipation of apprentices into journeymen – they recorded the name of an emancipated student, his place of origin, the amount of the registration fee for the guild and the name of the master with whom he started an apprenticeship. In several cases, they missed out the fee, but recorded that “he donated gifts to the Fraternity so that they were pleased”<sup>1</sup>.

It was important that the candidate could write so that he was able to make the entry himself. This was the requirement in many corporations, especially when making a note in the masters’ book. All the members present at the meeting were then obliged to stand up in silence in order to honour the significance of the moment and not to disturb the act while the candidate sat at the elders’ table and made the entry into the book of the corporation.

Every year they elected new officials of the guild, namely two jurors who were chosen from among the masters, two senior journeymen who ruled in the name of the fraternity and the writer who was the legal guardian of the book.

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<sup>1</sup> The first such record is dated 16<sup>th</sup> April 1725; it concerns Daniel Bergerau from Słupsk. Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936, c. 4.

### 3. Guild Writers and Their Work

Table 2. Writers and admission fee into the Fraternity in the years 1724–1768

Year	Statutory writer	Number of journeymen	Admission fee required from all applicants in a given year	Gifts submitted by all applicants in a given year
1724	Simon Pakhauser	–	–	–
1725	Abraham Jencke	6	60 florins and a gift	–
1726	Abraham Jencke	9	84 florins and 4 thalers	–
1727	Abraham Jencke	1	–	Silver mug
1728	Nathanael Trosten	6	27 florins	Two silver plaques and a silver bowl
1729	Nathanael Trosten	5	45 florins	–
1730	Abraham Jencke	8	85 florins	Bed
1731	Johann Gottfried Büttner	7	42 florins and a gift	–
1732	Johann Gottfried Büttner	2	18 florins	–
1733	Gottfried Jenner	4	28 florins	–
1734	Gottfried Jenner	3	27 florins	Prayerbook, silver mug and 8 half-gallons of wine
1735	Gottfried Jenner	10	69 florins	Silver mug, silver plaque, 27 litres of wine (someone promised prayerbook)
1736	Gottfried Jenner	10	74 florins	20 half-gallons of wine
1737	Gottfried Jenner po Nathanaelu Foßie	4	32 florins	Two pewter pots
1738	Nathanael Foß	19	73 florins, for 8 journeymen no fee was given	–
1739	Nathanael Foß	14	56 florins, for 7 journeymen no fee was given	Silver mug
1740	Nathanael Foß	15	74 florins	Silver plaque
1741	Nathanael Foß	14	128 florins	Two trunks
1742	Nathanael Foß	6	39 florins	–
1743	Nathanael Foß	2	18 florins	–
1744	Nathanael Foß	11	104 florins	Two bunk beds
1745	Nathanael Foß	11	93 florins	Silver mug, two pewter jugs and 32 litres of wine
1746	Nathanael Foß	8	68 florins	–
1747	Nathanael Foß	4	36 florins	20 half-gallons of French wine

### 3.1. Writers

Year	Statutory writer	Number of journeymen	Admission fee required from all applicants in a given year	Gifts submitted by all applicants in a given year
1748	Nathanael Foß	5	36 florins	Silver mug and 26,5 litres of wine
1749	Nathanael Foß	10	79 florins	–
1750	Nathanael Foß	5	40 florins	–
1751	Nathanael Foß	7	55 florins	Silver mug and 15 litres of wine
1752	Nathanael Foß	4	39 florins	One barrel of good wine
1753	Nathanael Foß	10	64 florins, for one journey- men no fee was given	15 litres of wine
1754	Nathanael Foß	7	41 florins	15 litres [of wine?]
1755	Nathanael Foß	9	65 florins	
1756	Nathanael Foß	7	59 florins	12 half-gallons of wine
1757	Nathanael Foß	5	22 florins	Silver mug, silver plaque and 30 half-gallons of wine
1758	Nathanael Foß	1	6 florins	–
1759	Nathanael Foß	5	49 florins	–
1760	Nathanael Foß	6	34 florins	Two silver plaques and 17 litres of wine
1761	Nathanael Foß	7	56 florins	15 half-gallons of wine
1762	Joachim Gottfried Harwardt	11	79 florins	12 half-gallons of wine
1763	–	18	164 florins	12 half-gallons of wine
1764	Johann Friedrich Harwart	8	45 florins	2 jugs and one window glass
1765	Johan Friedrich Harwart i Michael Berner	8	67 florins i 15 gr.	–
1766	Michael Berner	9	65 florins	Silver mug and 37 litres of wine
1767	Michael Börner	12	95 florins 21 groszy	–
1768	–	7	30 florins, 1 ducat	Gold plated wine cup, 37 litres of wine, herrings and cheese

Source: Z. Kropidłowski.

The writers were: Simon Pakhauser in 1724, Abraham Jencke 1725–1727 and in 1730, Nathanael Trosten 1728–1729, Johann Gottfried Büttner 1731–1732, Gottfried Jenner 1733–1737. Nathanael Foß held the office betw.1737 and 1761, i.e. as long as 24 years. The next writer was Joachim Gottfried Harwardt 1762–1765 and from 1765 until the book was finished, i.e. to 1767 it was Michael Berner (Börner). In 1763 and 1768 the writer's name was not given.



So during the 42 years there were eight writers in the fraternity, of whom Nathanael Foß held this honorable position for 24 years. They largely contributed to the drafting of the book in its current form.

#### 3.2. Edition of *The Book*

An analysis of the entries in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* shows that the main task of the writers of the corporation was to register new members admitted to the fraternity at the general meeting of members, that is, listing the names of the candidates, their place of origin, entry fees and donations which they made on this occasion. They either replaced the donation or were given in addition to it. Those gifts also tell us a lot about social life within the corporation. Over 42 years the guild collected 2448 florins and 36 cents, four thalers and one ducat and one person made an additional donation. In 23 cases the fee was not mentioned. In addition to cash gifts they donated eight silver cups, silver bowl, silver and gold-plated wine cup, seven silver plaques, two tin pitchers and two undefined jugs, two trunks, one bed and two bunks, one window glass, prayer book, 8.5 barrels and 8.5 imperial gallons of wine, also 159 half-gallons and 147 litres of wine, as well as herring and cheese.

Only on few occasions some information on specific spending and corporate events was mentioned. In 1738 they stated that the guild spent 3 guildens on “mending coats” and the funeral of Christin Carl Lehman from Berlin – 20 florins and 6 cents. In 1753 they spent 18 florins and 3 cents on bed linen for the guild’s patients and 6 florins to repair the guild’s trunk. That year they also granted some allowance to journeymen – casualties in Domanice. One received the amount of 6 florins, and another 3 florins. There is also an entry about Friedrich Wilhelm, who “was removed from the blackboard” and fined 20 florins. Likewise, at the end of the book (on c. 100v.), dated 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1753, there is an entry relating to Peter Fege, who testified false information and persuaded someone “that he said that he had asked to be admitted to the Guild, which was not true”. His false statement was considered “by the jurors and the whole splendid fraternity” and he was fined 16 florins; the entry was made to warn everybody against perjury and punishment.

The names of two jurors from the brewers’ fraternity were also given each time, which may suggest that journeymen brewers belonged to the guild alongside bakers. They might have been brewers who did not have their own business and were only hired by the owners to work in breweries. The names of masters coming from the other guild were always given at the end of the list of the corporation’s executives, even after the name of the fraternity writer. Brewers could only provide a supervisory body

controlling the journeymen and a mediatory body between journeymen and masters by the order of the City Council.

It's difficult to explain why, in two cases, the master baker's name was recorded as a representative of the brewers' fraternity. In 1736 it was stated that Johann Friedrich Brandt was a juror of the brewers' guild (he was noted as a companion of the baker master and juror David Ölrich in 1746) and in 1742 Jacob Ritcher was the brewers's

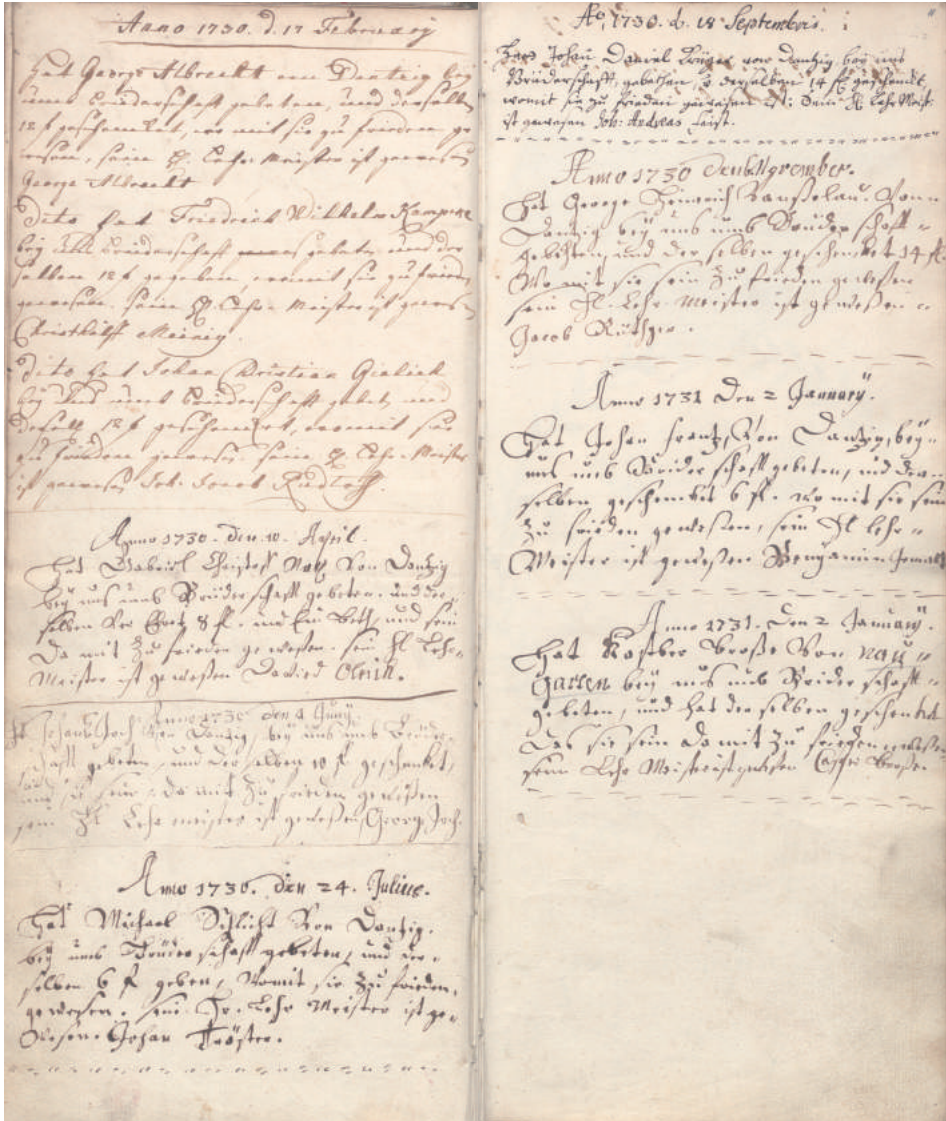


Illustration 3.1. View of cc. 10v. and 11.

3. Guild Writers and Their Work

juror while he was earlier (1738) recorded as a companion of the baker master Christhlf Menig.

Among the jurors of the bakers' guild several names appear repeatedly. The first recorded juror (1724) Abraham Petzel held the position also in 1732. Christoph Menig served the guild in 1729, 1735, 1738, 1744, 1745 and 1749. He promoted his disciple Friedrich Wilhelm Kampcke as a journeyman, in 1730 and Christoph Menig (probably his son) in 1734.

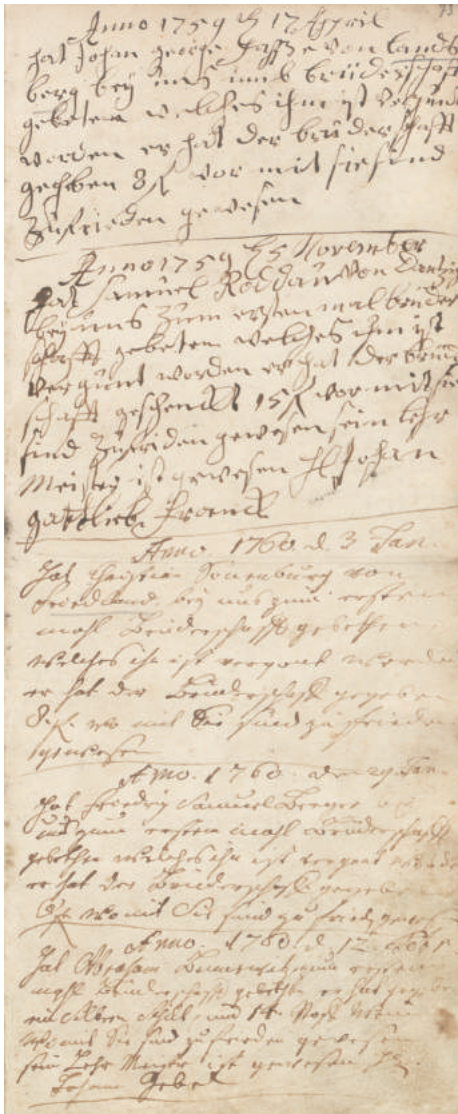


Illustration 3.2. View of c. 73.

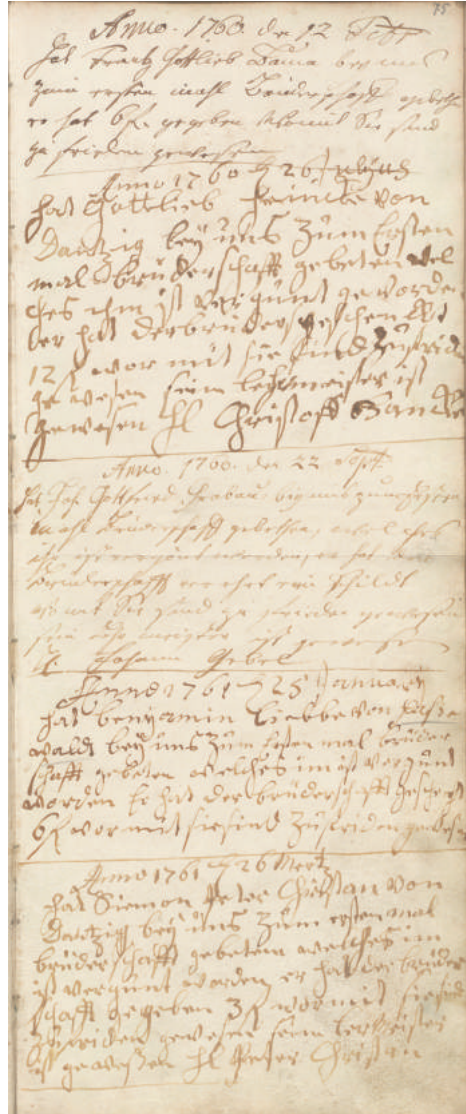


Illustration 3.3. View of c. 75.



George Albrecht was equally active; he served as a juror on behalf of the baker's guild in 1728, 1733, 1737, 1743; he was also recorded in 1733 as a companion to Abraham Bennewitz on behalf of the guild of brewers. Later the position of juror was occupied several times by Gottfried Jenner, whose name was recorded for the years 1751, 1757, 1759, 1766. Before obtaining the position of master, i.e. as a journeyman he was the fraternity writer (1731–1738).



Illustration 3.4. View of cc. 19v. and 20.



There are no recurring names among the jurors from the guild of brewers. This may indicate that they were not interested in the affairs of the guild and considered their control service to be onerous and not yielding any benefits.

Reflecting on the role of the fraternity writer one should put a question whether he actually made all entries. The entries were in fact of different ranks; they may be divided into ceremonial ones associated with illustrations and statutory ones pertaining to apprentices joining the journeymen's society. One cannot clearly answer this question since there was a custom among Gdańsk corporations to ensure that candidates joining a guild made the entry into the book with their own hand. If that was the case, what was the role of the writer – did he just take care of the book or substituted for candidates who were not able to fulfill any literate duties or maybe he was the creator of the iconographic program and the merits of the book. But since the program and content were at high quality they might have been performed by some external, hired writer. Next, one needs to consider whether the iconographic program was the work of the board or maybe even the whole guild, or just subsequent writers. And if so, to what extent? Did the eight consecutive writers have extraordinary painting skills and literary, historical and socio-political education? This program could also have been the common work of the bakers' guild together with painters and portraitists of Gdańsk.

Now, limiting our considerations to the entries of candidates only, after analyzing the nature of the writing, it becomes clear that there were different ways of proceeding. The hypothesis that the entries were made by someone from beyond, employed by the corporation, becomes invalid in the light of the fact that even those dated in the same year were made by several people. The easiest explanation would be to say that it was masters who recorded names of their apprentices at the ceremony of emancipation. However, there are examples of entries made by the same person in a given year relating to journeymen who were admitted to work under different masters. This is evidenced by the records of 1730, where one hand noted the admission of Georg Albrecht [Jr.] from Gdańsk, Friedrich Wilhelm Kampcke and Johan Christian Gialich whose masters were in turn: George Albrecht [father], Christhilff Meing and Jacob Rudolf. Therefore, we may conclude that individual masters could not make entries relating to their own journeymen themselves.

We find, however, two pieces of evidence that journeymen were literate people able to write with great skill and care. The most valid argument is the entry dating back to 1734, when an older journeyman Gottfried Trosien claimed that the text incorporated into the painting of the siege of the city by Russian troops was unreadable. Moreover, he considered it important and therefore rewrote it on the preceding page and stressed that he did it himself. He gave his name and position in the guild proving that he was an elder journeyman. Anyway, his name was mentioned first in the list of the guild's authorities placed in the bottom cartouche (rectangular in shape).

An entry dated 1745 was equally important to solve the problem of the role of the writer in the guild and in editing of the book. On cc. 40v. and 41 there is interrelated content, both written and painted, on the fate of the Polish state, Gdańsk and the guild. Those pieces of information are related to each other in colour and order, which means that both pages were painted and written by the same person, but whether it was a baker, or a member of the painters' guild is not clear. At the end of the entry we find these words:

Nathaniel Foß was still holding  
The office of the writer.  
Thanks be to heavens,  
Which have always supported us.  
Just one request  
Before I put the quill away.  
God, continue blessing  
Our Fraternity  
So that it survives  
in unity for many years.  
For the time being, live long, everybody,  
In happiness till the end of your days.

This excerpt includes important information, namely that the person making the entry identifies himself with the fraternity and emphasizes the fact that he is a member of the wheat bread journeymen corporation. The question remains whether the illustrator was a member of the painters' or bakers' guild. The answer is very difficult because the entry suggests that he was a member of the bakers' corporation who painted this part of the book. Perhaps Nathanael Foß was so gifted in painting that he could do both. More likely, however, the entry and painting were done on his behalf by a painter, because both pages prove great artistry and experience of the illustrator. Furthermore, we find initials JMC, which can be considered as the signature of the painter at the bottom of the page. So the writers were not the same as the illustrators of *The Book*.

Importantly, we can conclude that baker writers made various short entries and additions in *The Book*. They even appended brief comments to emphasize the meaning of illustrations and allegories. They are also the authors of impromptu notes on corn and wheat prices in particular and soaring prices in general (illustration 3.13).

The typefaces used also provide some clues as to the literacy of its authors, for example cc. 53 and 56v. were each signed by the same people: two elder journeymen Johann David Öllich and Christian Heinrich Garcke, respectively.



Illustration 3.5. View of two cc. 40v. and 40.



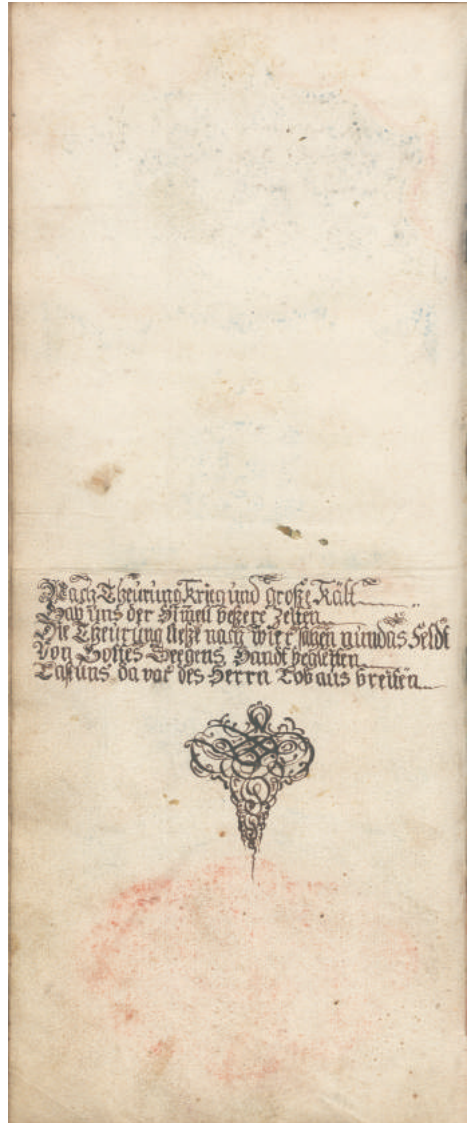
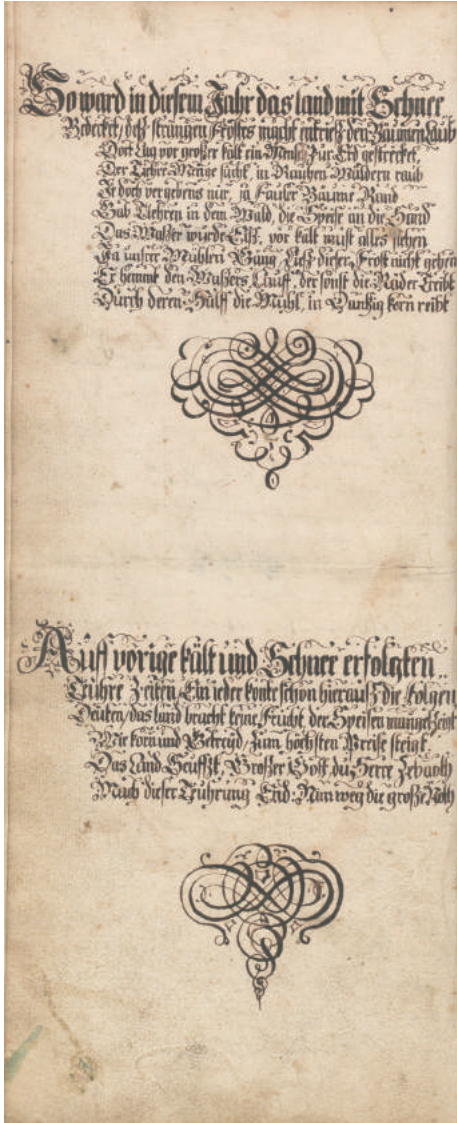


Illustration 3.6. View of cc. 33v. and 36v.



3. Guild Writers and Their Work



Illustration 3.7. View of c. 34.



Illustration 3.8. View of c. 37.

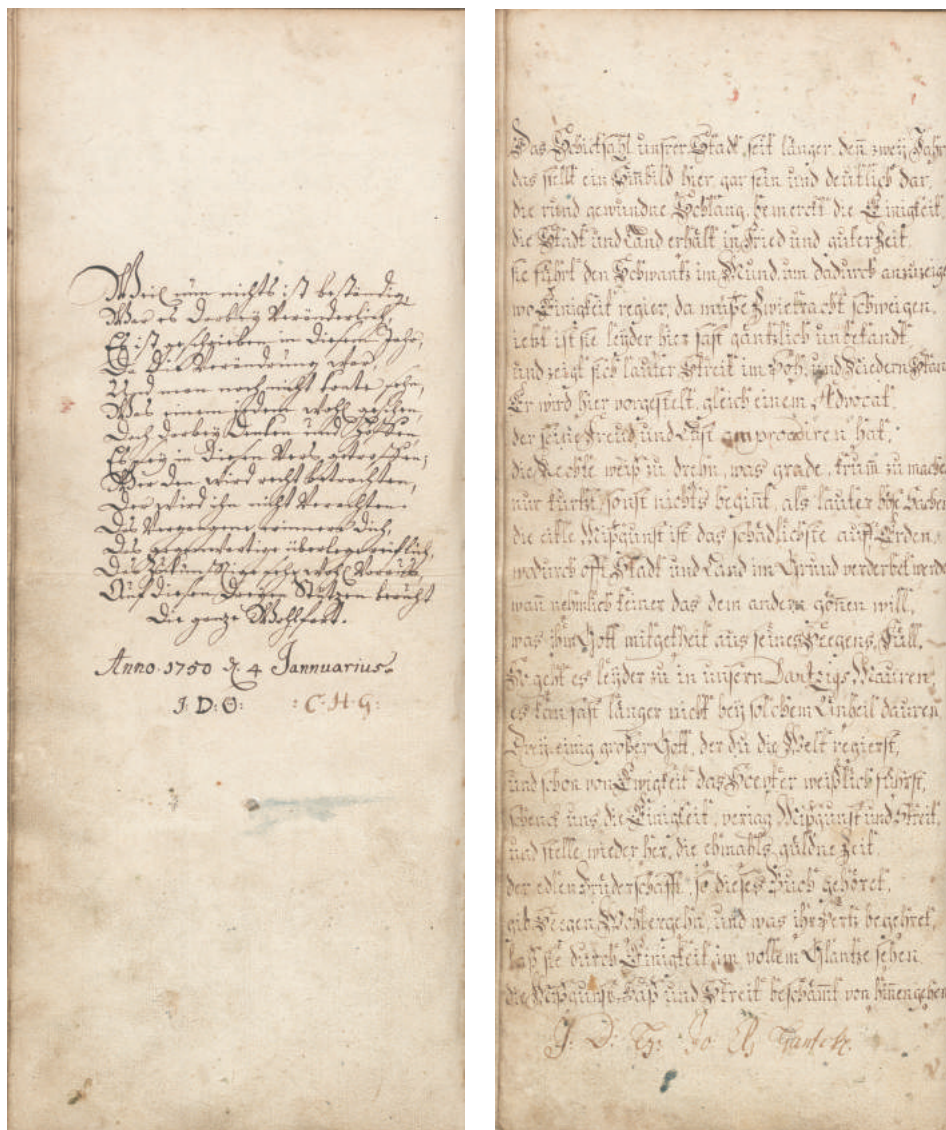


Illustration 3.9. View of cc. 53 and 56v.





3.2. Edition of *The Book*

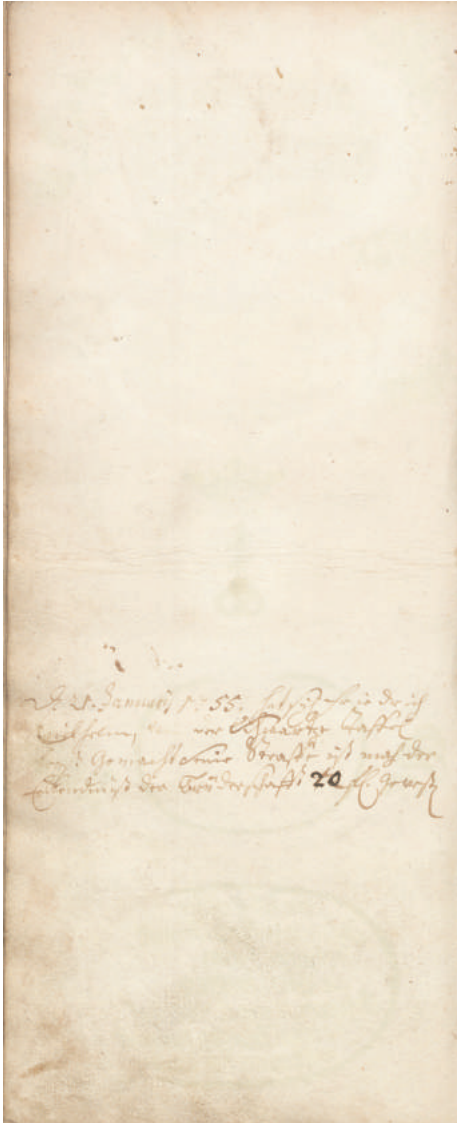


Illustration 3.12. View of c. 64v.

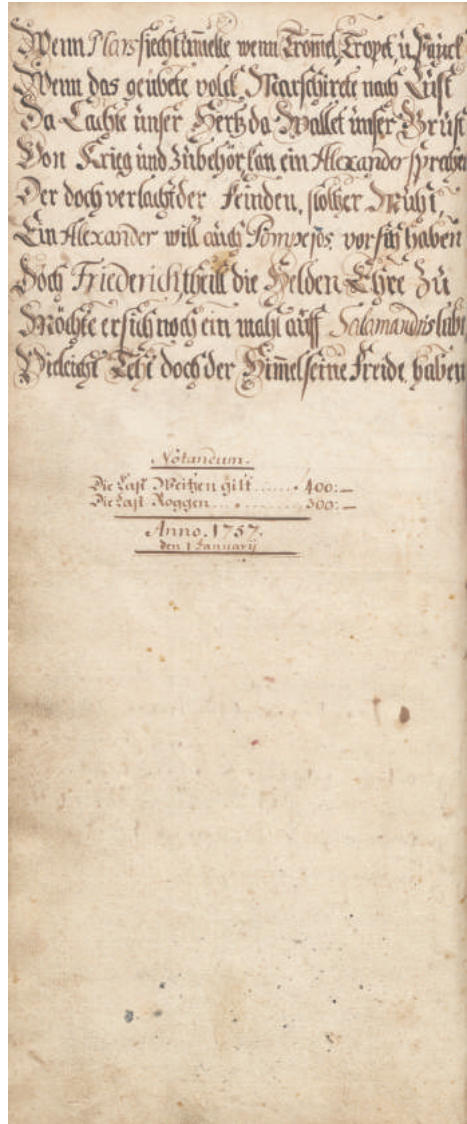


Illustration 3.13. View of c. 69v.



Under the text asking God’s blessing of the fraternity (c. 56v.) there is a signature of J.D.H.Jo.Ch. Gantcke, an elder journeyman, whose name was entered in the second place into the cartouche on the next page. Similarly, he signed c. 85v. but using only his initials. The initials of Johan Christoff Bahrt were inscribed in the first place.

Bakers allowed themselves the freedom of completing short sayings or placing remarks on paintings. The fraternity writer added the following words on c. 64: “Beautifully and sincerely”, pertaining to the first allegory. He added: “So they would not take

me by surprise” to the other with a pelican or a stork holding a stone in its claws.

We find various kinds of appended information; for instance, in 1755 there was an entry on release from punishment of a journeyman Friedrich Wilhelm, who, on January 21<sup>st</sup>, “was removed from the blackboard”, and “his punishment after considering his guilt by the fraternity was 20 fl.”. Note that the figure was corrected and thickened – originally a different amount was recorded.

It can be assumed that repeated information about grain prices in Gdańsk was also entered by the fraternity writer. It is evident that the information on c. 69v., under a poem of praise to the Prussian king Frederick the Great, who was assigned the role of a defender of Christianity against aggressive Muslims, dated 1<sup>st</sup> January 1757, was made with a different handwriting. In 1760, the prices of wheat – 330 florins and rye – 210 florins were given under a thanksgiving poem addressed to Providence, which protected the city from great calamities and asking for God’s blessing and peace for the new year 1760 (c. 73v.). On the illustration dated 1740 depicting high prices prevailing during the harsh winter, the fraternity writer (most likely) wrote that the herald proclaimed that “A laszt

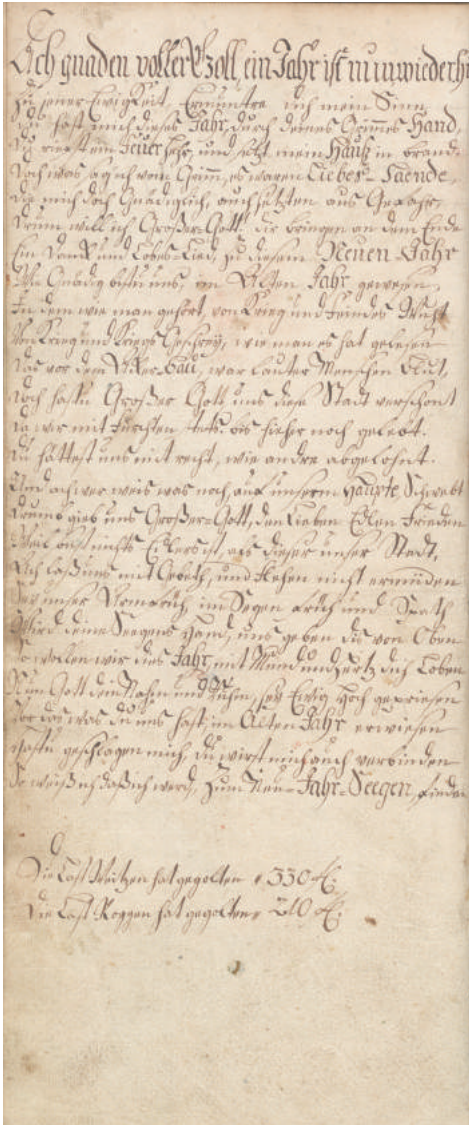


Illustration 3.14. View of c. 73v.



Illustration 3.15. View of details of c. 34.

(= 3000–4000 litres) of wheat [cost] 500 fl. A laszt of rye [...] fl.”, while the painter noted only a general remark: “Harsh winter” in the frame of the upper cartouche on a cold blue background, and in the same place of the central cartouche: “Costly times”.

Analyzing the role of writers we should note the entries dating back to 1759, when five journeymen were admitted to the guild and five entries were made. One of them is outstanding in that the person writing it made a mistake entering the name of the master; it is the only such case in the book. On February 18, two candidates: Laâcke and David Erdman Cöhrell asked for admission to the guild; both came from Gdańsk and were thus probably able to read and write yet they were entered into the book by the same person. Moreover, in the first note the author of the note confused the master, of the first journeyman David Laâcke and inscribed the name of George Rohdnacker, who was to be the master of the other journeyman. The name was then crossed out and the name of the relevant master Peter Christan was entered. It is hard to imagine that such an error might have been committed by either of those masters. It is also improbable that the mistake was made by one of the journeymen who would record his name and his companion’s. This error cannot be attributed to the fraternity writer; the entries of other journeymen of that year and in the coming years were

performed by various people so they cannot have been made by Nathanael Foß, the fraternity writer in the years 1737–1761.

Another example of inconsistency regards Christian Librecht Hase, former apprentice now nominated journeyman. On c. 65, under the date December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1754, his entry appears twice, one above the other. The reasons lying behind this fact remain unknown but it also proves that the entries were made *au courant* and not necessarily by the writer.

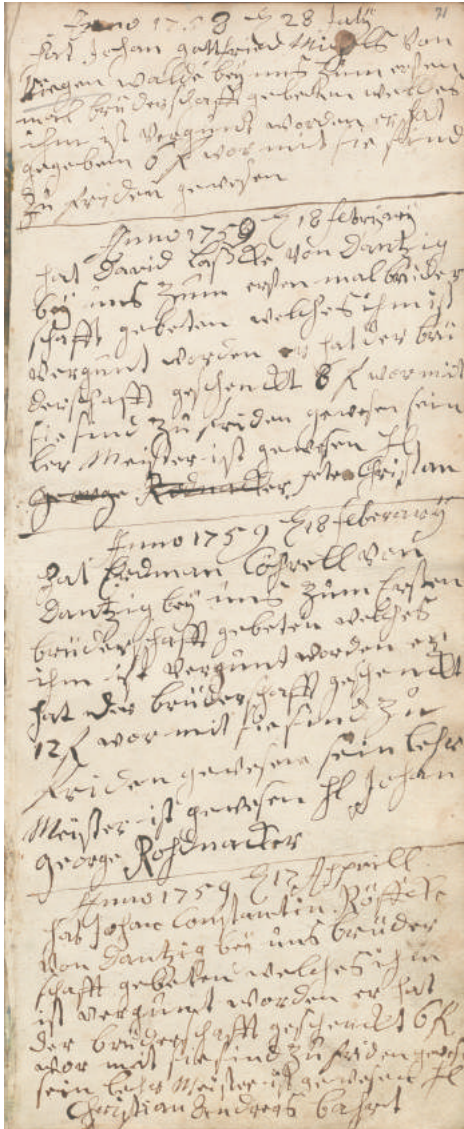


Illustration 3.16. View of c. 71.

There are two similar examples on cc. 89 and 97, where the admission of journeyman Gottlieb Buttammer from Slupsk to the fraternity was made twice.

It follows that no stringent rules were applied in keeping the book. The writers took care of the guild's office to which the book belonged. They cared for its safety and used it with pride; it was an expression of their legal status and prestige in the city. Its beautification in turn, contents of entries and iconographic program were probably the concern of the whole corporation, especially the elder journeymen. It is evident that the authorities of the guild did not demand rigorously that all candidates should actually make their entries themselves and in this way confirm their decision to join the fraternity. It is highly likely that there were people who wanted to boast of their advanced writing skills and those who wanted to avoid embarrassment and asked someone else to complete the task in their name.

The current record of candidates joining the fraternity was the primary task of the writers. But they probably fulfilled an important role in the formation of the literary and iconographic program of *The Book*. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Gdańsk the main focus of writers alluded to the



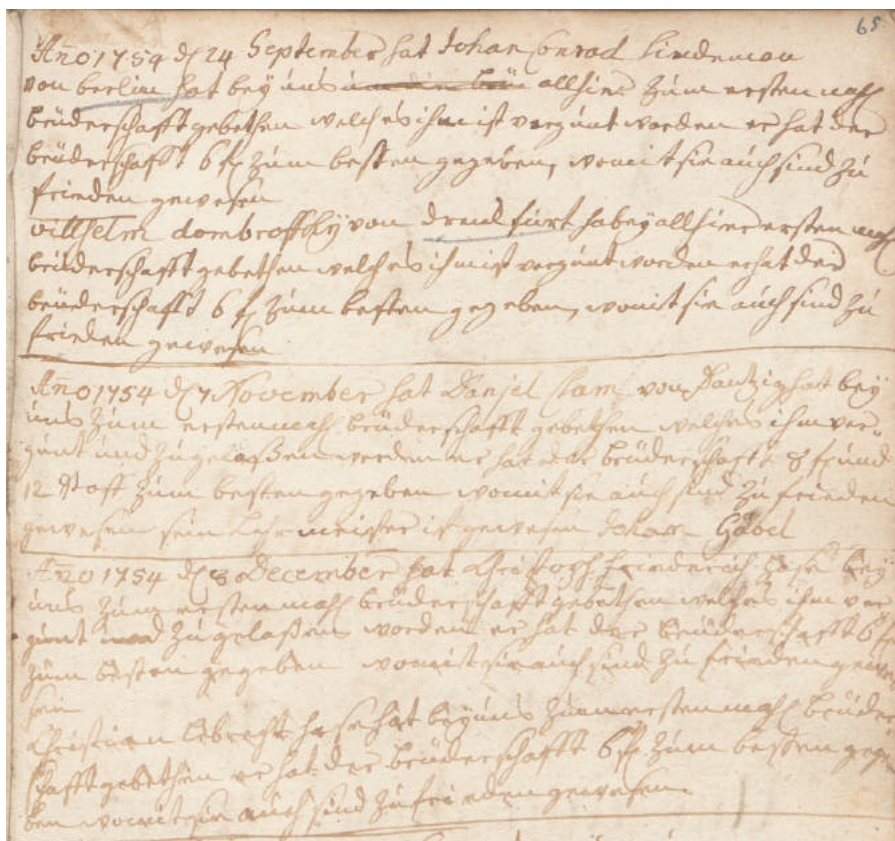


Illustration 3.17. View of c. 65.

rich tradition of historiography, legal and political texts rather than to occasional ones, which had been more popular in earlier times. The literature of that century was devoted to the thought on the organization of city life and the fate of a man linked to the fate of his corporation. Contemporary events and social processes were found to be the subject of frequent analysis while in the 17<sup>th</sup> century they cared to write when a birthday poem, epithalamium, epicedium or epitaph were required. History, politics and engagement into current or even up-to-the minute events took a privileged place in Gdańsk literature<sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately, this rich literature has been forgotten.

Therefore, it should be underlined again that the guild of wheat bread bakers aided by the guild of painters and portraitists of Gdańsk can be considered as collective author of *The Book*, and its literary and poetic content as well as iconographic program represented the worldview, political and social beliefs of the Gdańsk commonage.

<sup>2</sup> E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 5, 6 and 303.



3. Guild Writers and Their Work

83  
 Anno. 1758. den 5<sup>ten</sup> April hat Jakob  
 Buchhauer von Hohen bei uns zumeist  
 unsere meist Landtragschafft gegeben  
 so hat er uns

Illustration 3.18. View of c. 89.

95  
 Anno. 1760. den 8<sup>ten</sup> Febr. hat Joseph  
 Distler von Landtragschafft zumeist  
 bei uns Landtragschafft gegeben, so hat er  
 gegeben was er uns zu schreiben  
 geschickt

---

Die. hat Jacob Ludwig von Landtragschafft  
 bei uns Landtragschafft gegeben so hat  
 die Landtragschafft gegeben was er uns  
 zu schreiben geschickt, die Landtragschafft  
 ist geschickt, H. J. J. J. J.

---

Anno. 1760. den 5<sup>ten</sup> April hat Jakob  
 Buchhauer von Hohen bei uns zumeist  
 unsere meist Landtragschafft gegeben  
 so hat er uns gegeben, was er uns  
 zu schreiben geschickt

---

Anno. 1760. den 26. Sept. hat Nicolaus  
 Engel von Landtragschafft bei  
 uns zumeist Landtragschafft  
 gegeben so hat er gegeben was er  
 uns zu schreiben geschickt

Illustration 3.19. View of c. 97.

## 4. PAINTERS

### 4.1. The Role of Illustrations

High cultural value of this rediscovered book is evident when considering its paintings and illustrations accompanying the guild's writer's remarks on current political events and even their own patriotic attitudes – concern for the fate of the Republic, particularly Polish kings: Augustus III and Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. The book also contains social, economic and philosophical thoughts on the meaning of life and work, religious values and human relationships.

*The Book of Gdańsk Journeyman Bakers* is not only a historical source but also a testament to great advancement of written and cultural communication contained in various visual forms<sup>1</sup>, which included and resulted from the achievements of the urban elite. It comprised scholars, clergymen and representatives of the municipal government who had been highly educated in several academic centres of Europe where they emphasized the unity of aesthetics combining literature and poetry with the world of visual arts. The formulas of Simonides of Ceos: "Painting is silent poetry; poetry is speaking artwork"<sup>2</sup> and Horace: "Ut pictura poesis"<sup>3</sup>, often used and well-known in Baroque times, express closeness and similar functions played by both painting and poetry.

Assessing properly the cultural significance of *The Book* we may say that it far exceeds the so-called *Great Book of the Painters' Guild in Gdańsk*, which was also founded in the same year, namely 1724. One would expect that painters would maintain their office or commemorative book most beautifully ornamented. However, they distinguished only a few title pages and made a proper title not sooner than on p. 5 in neat Schwabacher. Only the initials of words were decorated by adding fashionable ribbons and other ornaments but the motifs used were much plainer than the

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<sup>1</sup> Z. Nowak, *Po starą księgę sięgam ze wzruszeniem...*, pp. 327–330.

<sup>2</sup> Cite as: W. Tatarkiewicz, *Historia estetyki*, Vol. 1, Wrocław 1960, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> L.W. Rensselaer, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, <http://www.collegeart.org/pdf/artbulletin/Art%20Bulletin%20Vol%2022%20No%204%20Lee.pdf>, p. 196 [access: 1.08.2017].

ones on the title page of *The Book*. The painters's book, even though it is bound in bright parchment, is more modestly adorned with just three delicate stars surrounding the digits of the year 1724. The book is typical size: 21x33 cm. The painters did not provide for other forms of embellishments of their most important book.

In contrast, the bakers' book illustrator – painter, member of the Gdańsk guild – was commissioned by bakers to use the richest version of lettering used in Gdańsk at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which was admired, among others, by Paul Pater, professor of mathematics at the Academic College, the founder of a school of professional printing and a printer himself<sup>4</sup>. In 1710 he issued the above mentioned tractate on the theory and practice of the art of printing *De typis literarum ... dissertatio*<sup>5</sup>. Between pp. 40 and 41 they imprinted a plaque with richly decorated winding twigs and leaves that smoothly surround the word *Dantzig* (illustration 4.1). We may assume that the patrons ordered a very ornate version of the book illustration on behalf of the fraternity. Pater's work was a textbook for high school students so was well known also among painters in Gdańsk. He emphasized the role of aesthetics in printing

and considered fraktur combined with Schwabacher decorated with flowery ornaments to be the most elegant typeface (used in the bakers' book)<sup>6</sup>.

Besides the richly decorated title page which constitutes the main cultural value of this book there are short poetic texts correlated with colourful drawings or watercolours. Together they express *mundus moralis* of the then Gdańsk population.

Alongside the texts we admire colourful paintings that depict various forms of the guild's coat of arms and those which illustrate descriptions of political events in the city and in Poland as well as social life of the guild's members presented on the



Illustration 4.1. Printing mark with the inscription *Dantzig* used as a decorative form in various occasional Gdańsk prints in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. From the work of Pater.

<sup>4</sup> S. Salmonowicz, *Pater Paweł* [in:] *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, Vol. 3, ed. Z. Nowak, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 393–394.

<sup>5</sup> P. Pater, *De Germaniae miraculo optimo, maximo, typis literarum, earumque differentiis, dissertatio, qua simul arti typographicae universam rationem explicat Paulus Pater*, Lipsiae, apud Jo. Frider. Gleditsch et filium. Anno M. DCC. X.

<sup>6</sup> P. Pater, *De Germaniae miraculo optimo...*, pp. 39–40.

preceding card. A few illustrations portray allegories which refer to poems, apothegms, warnings or prayers. We find them not only in this period when the Fraternity's writer was Nathanael Foß, but also before and afterwards. This book owes its unusual character not only to diligence of the fraternity's longtime writer and his artistic sensitivity but also to his successors and probably the whole guild community that, appreciating the value of his work, tried to pass certain social ideas popular in 18<sup>th</sup> century Gdańsk, in the spirit of the Baroque and Enlightenment to the next generations of Fraternity members.

A certain drama is depicted on the cards of this book, which is performed in *teatrum mundi* limited in two cases to Europe, a few to Poland and in most cases to Gdańsk but taking place within the guild and recorded on the pages of *The Book*. We see in it the keynote of the collective creator; it is gradually enlarged by applying new themes and presenting problems to be solved within the corporation, the city and the state. They are first realised by the writer-editor, next by the corporation and in the end by the community of the city, first within its elites and then taught to the young generation of journeymen. Some of them were the sons of masters and came from the city and its surroundings so they knew the tradition and the internal situation in Gdańsk as well as its unique role within the Polish state and on the Baltic Sea. Most of them, however, were newcomers. Therefore, according to the editors and senior corporate members, being educated within the fraternity they should attain proper knowledge and learn appropriate attitudes to be able to meet future challenges and acquire higher roles in the corporation and place themselves in the right positions "within the audience or on stage" of the social life in Gdańsk.

In accordance with the ancient and Baroque topos the city appears as a theatre. Reading *The Book* and browsing through its illustrations leads to an increase in tension created by written words and painted images similarly to the situation of a theatre spectator waiting for the moment of climax. It is the fulfillment of bakers' wishes who wanted to keep international peace, religious freedom in the country, respecting the rights of common people of Gdańsk, the harmony within the city and in its corporations, ensuring stable economic conditions, eradicating speculation in grain prices. The description aimed to make the reader believe that these were the conditions for peaceful work and deep meaning in life, which was achieved when a person could "happily die"; kings and the city authorities should ensure appropriate conditions for the realization of a peaceful life. Illustrations and paintings, poetry and prayers, sayings and allegories were involved in a dynamic performance. New scenes opened before our eyes while looking at consecutive cards; we saw a procession of kings, the army, death, virtues and vices. The artistic description used some decorative theatrical elements, especially the curtain and symbols of passing: death, skull, a worn book, candle stump, wilted flowers and soap bubbles.



All those elements were used in the spirit of the epoch and at the European level. In the times of Baroque the emblem was a multi-layered image, living through allusion, allegory and symbols. The symbolism of the Middle Ages probably was not unknown in Gdańsk but the culture of modern times was fascinated with the Renaissance. The illustrations in *The Book* were probably based on printed paper produced since the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in which ancient monuments were rediscovered. Venetian and Florentine humanists believed that the peculiar language of signs from distant past encrypts ancient wisdom of humanity to preserve it from profane curiosity. This period in the history of culture aroused unprecedented enthusiasm for secular symbolism. In 1872 Henry Green recorded more than 1300 authors of 3000 publications where the title related to emblems<sup>7</sup>.

In such a variety of publications containing multiplicity of combinations of symbolic statements it is difficult to trace direct inspirations for Gdańsk painters making illustrations for our book. One can only reveal trends and skills of those artisans.

A compendium of knowledge from the 5<sup>th</sup> century entitled *Hieroglyphica* and written by by Horapollo, which reached Italy in Greek translation around the year 1500, served as one of the sources of knowledge on symbolic and allegorical paintings. Another work, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Primer of images and characters)* by Francesco Colonna, consisting of Egyptian picture writing, Pythagorean symbolism and Kabbalistic mysticism of numbers, issued in Venice in 1499, was of great importance for the future development of books of emblems, themes in painting and poetry. Compilations of *Hieroglyphica* were also produced; the work of Ioan Pierio Valeriano (1556) was considered the greatest.

The most famous, however, and quickly distributed all over Europe was a collection of emblems entitled *Emblematum Liber* by Andrea Alciati; it was first translated into German (published in Augsburg in 1531) and later to other European languages. Other important books on emblems and symbols were: *Iconology* of Cesare Ripa (1593) and *Emblemata Nova de Secretis naturae chymica* (1593) called *Atlanta Fugiens*, published by Michael Maier in 1618. They were known in Gdańsk, kept in the Library of the Senate and in numerous private book collections. Guild painters got acquainted with the system of symbolic and allegorical representations also on request of the founders, who knew the then trends in art from their numerous travels, scientific and commercial disputes and their own reading and listening to Sunday sermons. Hence Gdańsk illustrators knew the “art of presentation of images” and the commonality of Gdańsk – the “art of visual thinking”. They also had the experience of personal contact with a work of art.

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<sup>7</sup> H. Green, *Andrea Alciati and His Books of Emblems*, London 1872, p. VII.

They probably saw them as presentations of great dramatic impact, both in artistic and moral sphere, promoting ethical principles, laws of nature and explanations of social conflicts that governed people's lives. Symbols used in a variety of shapes do not appear in isolation but seem to be linked together, forming a symbolic unity, developed either in time (e.g. during the Seven Years' War or after the election of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski), establishing a kind of account of social and political events in Gdańsk or on the artistic plane in the book.

It should also be noted that *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* used a lot of symbolic objects that were either presented separately, like a substantial sheaf of cereals or in arrays arranged and adapted to the spirit of the text or even to the lyrical keynote of the entire book or at least one of its parts. Painters used simultaneously a variety of symbols to give them a new meaning, creating a new symbolic order in which an allegory or personification were presented.

It is also easy to see that the symbols used in the book were always something of secondary importance to the object they symbolized; they led from the natural to social and supernatural order. The whole natural existence of a journeyman baker in Gdańsk obtained its real meaning only in correspondence and in connection with metaphysical and supernatural substance.

Allegory is one of the figures of artistic expression allowing a harmonious demonstration of complex abstract concepts. It was often used in the Baroque period in all types of art and craft works. Even guild chests were decorated with allegorical symbols; an example may be a counter of brewers from Toruń. It was made by Christian Kühnast in 1711; on the four walls and on the inside and outside of the lid the artist placed scenes bearing some Latin aphorisms, represented by four female characters; on the front a female figure of wisdom (knowledge) holding a book and another figure with a helmet on her head and scales and a sword in her hand representing justice. On the back a symbol of consent – a woman in a wreath on his head, with a palm leaf in her hand and a pair of doves; a symbol of power – a female figure with a wreath on her head, her right arm leaning against a column and left raised<sup>8</sup>.

A similar method was used in *The Book* which contains 45 illustrations with three or four elements presenting rich information content and artistic value. Almost all graphic representations are symbolic or allegorical: figures, objects, elements of cartouches and coats of arms, paintings of historical and military scenes, outfits and poses. All attributes, forms and various details are of profound character and include hidden meaning. They should be considered and understood in the historical, social or political context of the then city and the corporation.

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<sup>8</sup> E. Bimler-Mackiewicz, *Znaki cechowe i ich funkcje na ziemiach polskich. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Warszawa 2004, p. 216.

At the top of such a card in a decorative cartouche painters placed names of important guild members, namely two masters, as the two jurors. The coat of arms of the wheat bread bakers' guild was painted below, also in an ornamental cartouche, clearly stylistically and graphically referring to the coat of arms of the City of Gdańsk, which is supported by two lions with a shield placed over the crown. The sign of the fraternity was a pretzel and strudel in the shape of two and a half cross. The lower cartouche contained names of two senior journeymen and the name of the writer and two jurors of the brewers' guild. This pattern has been repeated 42 times in the book (three illustrations used a different order), but they always used new graphical elements in line with the trends of Baroque and Rococo art. It is not known why one of the names from the top cartouche on p. 78 and all the names from the bottom one were carefully erased in 1760. Today we can read only the name of the elder master Johann Gäbel.

Paintings of the guild's coats of arms were placed in decorative cartouches in the centre of the book. The first one presents a blue shield in its centre; at the bottom appears a pretzel and above it a strudel. The shield is supported by two lions with their heads facing each other; the shield is crowned with an open crown of the type used by the kings of the Piast dynasty, that is, with four larger and four smaller fleurons. The coat of arms is surrounded by a laurel wreath; above it there is a cartouche with names of the guild jurors: Abraham Petzel and Georg Joch; below another one with names of senior members: Christoph Zerrenbach and Joachim Stengrich and the guild's writer Simon Pakhauser. Beside them there are names of the brewers' jurors: Casper Pluhm and Michael Markau<sup>9</sup>.

We note great changes in the coats of arms painted on the following pages. They were adjusted to the illustrations they formed a part of and their colours changed so as to harmonize with the colours of the whole page. For instance, in 1753 the shield was painted in burgundy<sup>10</sup>, in 1755 the lions had their heads turned away from each other and the shield was not surrounded by laurel leaves but by waves<sup>11</sup>.

In 1758 the coat of arms was treated even more freely, subordinating its appearance to the style of the entire page; it does no longer include a shield and the white background is surrounded by aloe leaves that grow into the crown. The lions are supporting the plant with one paw while the other is holding an unsheathed sword. Their maws are turned at an angle to the reader<sup>12</sup>.

Illustrations containing emblems referring to the events of war, daily life, problems at work and allegories are often associated with coats of arms. An emblem consists of a *pictura*, image, *inscriptio*, mottoes, and *subscriptio*, an epigram in German or sometimes in Latin. An image or symbol makes use of any motif from everyday life,

<sup>9</sup> Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936, c. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 62.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 72.

animal or plant kingdom. The motto placed above the image is connected with the theme of the emblem shown in the picture. *Subscriptio* explains and interprets the meaning underlying the picture. It often conveys practical wisdom or moral advice.

The page relating to 1745 may serve as an example of such approach of the author and illuminator of the book. At the top, he painted a battle of a Swedish vessel Urloff against a Russian ship with the Gdańsk fortress in Wisłoujście in the background. Below is the guild's coat of arms with the lions, and in the middle of the card a Baroque still life drawing with two skulls, candle stumps, a closed book, some stationery items, an hourglass and other symbols of transience and death. It is supported by two angels with primitive crowns on their heads. A Baroque curtain is drawn back to reveal the whole image.

Those are the most popular elements of vanitative painting surrounded by Baroque symbols. Such compositions were very popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, especially in Dutch painting. All items combine to form a moralizing content and remind us of the impermanence of all earthly things. For example, the pursuit of donnishness, which is shown in the image of the book, various papers and writing materials, seems vain and prideful when confronted with the infinite wisdom of God. The book is highly worn and looks as if it is going to fall apart. In this way it shows that knowledge is futile in the face of transience. Learned men pointed to their own limits and exhorted themselves to maintain modesty in their approach to scientific research<sup>13</sup>.

To give an example of the fact that even historical painting had a symbolic meaning in *The Book*, we may use the illustration on p. 41. This is the only case where instead of writing down the names of master jurors in a cartouche designed for it, these were placed on a sash over it. This was because the cartouche presented an episode of the Swedish-Russian war in the years 1741–1743, when Russian ships tried to block the trade between Gdańsk and Sweden.

The city authorities had to tell which party they sympathised with because neither the Polish Republic nor Gdańsk possessed their own navy or even privateer ships. Although blocking trade with Sweden was against the interests of the city, they supported Russia<sup>14</sup> in view of its probable victory in that conflict. In this way they highlighted the fact that the city kept its promise given to Empress Anna Piotrowna in 1734 and could hopefully count on Russia as its guardian. It could also indicate that the Gdańsk authorities made the right choice by their commitment to the winner in this war and did not expose its residents to trade restrictions as was the case with France at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>13</sup> E. Kluckert, *Emblematyka* [in:] *Sztuka baroku. Architektura. Rzeźba. Malarstwo*, ed. R. Toman, trans. B. Drąg, K. Jachimczak, R. Wojnakowski, Köln 2000, pp. 469–470.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. J. Trzoska, *Wywóz zboża i towarów spożywczych z Gdańska do Szwecji podczas wojny rosyjsko-szwedzkiej 1741–1743*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 1984, Vol. 49, pp. 51–67.



At the very bottom of the card there is an oval cartouche with the following inscription:

A Russian caper's law  
ruled at our roadstead  
a Swedish (Russian?) ship started a hostile fight  
outside the roadstead; in spite of that it was given credence,  
it was able to withdraw in haste  
when the Swedish wanted to attack it,  
it was given shelter in Gdańsk  
and attacked Swedish Urloff  
and all this has just happened  
let heavens protect us against further  
wars<sup>15</sup>.

It follows that you cannot separate the works of writers and painters of this book. Word and image are combined to form one consistent message addressed to readers, i.e. to the future candidates joining the fraternity.

## 4.2. Illustrators of *The Book*

Even a quick look at the book may suggest that the authors of the illustrations were bakers' guild members. Only a meticulous analysis of records and highly illegible signatures of illustrations indicates that illustrators should be sought among members of the guild of Gdańsk painters and portraitists. They are the most common form of signature made in pencil (which makes them even less visible), giving the first and last name and the word "Fecit". Sometimes only initials were given or a full last name and initials of the first one. They are difficult to read because they have been situated in various discreet places on painted pages, often in the bottom left corner or in other places. One may notice them on cc: 9v., 14, 16, 22, 26, 28, 31, 38, 51, 54, 57, 60, 62, 64, 76, 80, and 85v.

Among discernible signatures we first find the name of Melchior Thun, who signed the drawings on c. 14 in 1731. Born in Gdańsk, he acquired his urban citizenship as a master painter in the Old Town on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1708. He had a son, Gabriel. He died on May 31<sup>st</sup>, 1737<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms. 936, c. 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Bürgerbuch 1637–1709*. APG, 300, 60/4, p. 355. His biography, based on sources saved in APG and Gd. Lib. PAN, was written by J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy*, Gdańsk 2009, pp. 755–757.

#### 4.2. Illustrators of *The Book*

Table 3. Signing illustrations and texts.

Card No.	Year	Signature	Type of work
c. 2	1724	-	-
c. 3	1725	-	-
c. 7	1728	-	-
c. 9v.	1729	CM. Fecit. Ao 1729	Illustration
c. 12	1730	-	-
c. 14	1731	Melchior Thun fecit	Illustration
c. 16	1732	C.A. Cappun fecit	Illustration
c. 18	1733	-	-
c. 20	1734	-	-
c. 22	1735	CM. Fecit. 1735	Illustration
c. 24	1736	-	-
c. 26	1737	C.A. Cappun fecit	Illustration
c. 28	1738	C.M. Fecit 1738	Illustration
c. 31	1739	C.A. Cappun fecit	Illustration
c. 33v.	-	-	-
c. 34	1740	-	-
c. 36v.	-	-	-
c. 37	1741	-	-
c. 38	1742	Jah[...] illegible	Illustration
c. 40v.	-	JMC	Under text and illustration
c. 41	1743	-	-
c. 43	1744	-	-
c. 45	1745	-	-
c. 47	1746	-	-
c. 49	1748	-	-
c. 51	-	J. Schni[...] illegible	Illustration
c. 53v.	1750	J D Ö C. H. G:	Occasional poem
c. 54	-	Jan Schn[...] fecit	Illustration
c. 56v.	-	J.D.H. Jo. Ch. Gantcke	Occasional poem
c. 57	1751	C.A. Cappun fecit	Illustration
c. 59v.	1753	J. L.L. J.G.	Poem praising unanimity
c. 60	-	C.A. Cappun fecit	Illustration
c. 62	1753	Fecit von Leijen (or Leyn etc.)	Illustration

#### 4. Painters

Card No.	Year	Signature	Type of work
c. 64	1754	Carl Aug. Capput fecit	Illustration
c. 66	-	-	-
c. 68	1755	-	-
c. 70	-	-	-
c. 72	1758	-	-
c. 74	1758	-	-
c. 76	1759	J. Carl Cappun fecit	Illustration
c. 78	1760	-	-
c. 80	1761	J.C.C.	Illustration
c. 83	-	-	-
c. 86	1763	-	-
c. 88	1765	-	-
c. 90	1765	-	-
c. 93	1766	-	-
c. 96	1767	-	-

Source: Z. Kropidłowski.

He was first mentioned in our source materials on 19 January 1705, when, after a period of apprenticeship in the guild of painters and portrait painters, in the workshop conducted at the time by the widow of Master Kaspar Younger Kringel, he decided to become master and promised to marry his daughter. The subject of his trial work was *Wedding Feast at Cana*, and not *Parable of the Wedding Feast*, as stated by Jan Pałubicki<sup>17</sup>.

He became master on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1705, after he presented his master work entitled *Roman Legate Pompeius Drawing A Circle at the Court of King Antiochus*, which was approved.

Since 1714 among the journeymen in his workshop was Georg Nordstaedt. Thun supervised his trial work for a master between 26<sup>th</sup> October 1722 and November 8<sup>th</sup>, 1723.

He served as guild senior companion in the following terms of office: 1717/1718, 1723/1724, 1735/1736 and as guild senior probably in the terms 1718/1719 and 1724/1725.

In the records of the guild general meeting of 8<sup>th</sup> November 1723 he was mentioned as the future guild senior companion, which probably referred to the term 1723/1724<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy...*, p. 755.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

It should be emphasized that in the guild sources Mr Thun's name was always recorded correctly and no abbreviations were used. In 1731, when he was already holding a honorable position in the guild he must have cared about his name. Since 1718 his name was written with a "Herrn", which was a sign of respect and an exponent of the positions he held<sup>19</sup>. This could also mean that he acquired a salesman's citizenship.

*The Book* contains one illustration (c. 14) made by him for the guild of bread roll and cake bakers. It refers to the year 1731 and is connected with the preceding paintings. It does not contain any typical Baroque decoration and is characterized by poor colour and ornamentation in comparison to works painted in the following years.

The coat of arms that was placed in the middle consisted of a crimson shield edged with a gold line, with a painted gold crescent roll and a pretzel over it. Green leaves sprout from the shield and there is a large golden crown with precious stones above them. The shield is supported by two lions facing each other. This item is crowned with a laurel wreath tied with red ribbons at the top and bottom. The ribbons look as if they were in motion, floating lightly, raised by the air in an irregular fashion.

One of the three angels floating over the wreath is putting his foot on its top. They also have red and gray scarves waving away from them. The painter made the most of their ruddy faces and skin colour. They are supporting a cartouche, also painted in gray tones, which bears the names of the jurors of journeyman fraternity, Christhilff Meinig and Ephraim Breil and the year 1731. This cartouche is decorated with delicate floral elements painted with a black line.

The bottom of the page is filled by a cartouche; a black line weaves into plant and geometric elements, with two small heads limiting it on the top and bottom. Inside it the author wrote down the names of elder jurors: Johann Andreas Steltzner, Heinrich Friedrich Burde and the fraternity writer Johann Gottfried Büttner as well as two jurors – brewers Christoph Wittdelband and Johann Andreas Gleichmann.

On that page we find two signatures: the first under the coat of arms in the cartouche, containing only the initials: "C. M. fesit Ao 1731" and the other at the bottom of the page in the left corner: "Melchior Thun fecit". The latter was written lightly in pencil, and should be considered the artist's signature. The initials, on the other hand, were painted with a brush so as to match the colours of the page and probably denote the founder, most likely juror Christhilff Meinig, who may have covered the costs of the painting<sup>20</sup>. Also c. 9v., painted in 1729, has the same initials placed under the coat of arms and similarly incorporated into the layout of the page. Christhilff Meinig was the guild's juror that year although his initials look slightly different<sup>21</sup>. There is no signature of the artist on that page but all the same it can be assumed that the painting

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 756.

<sup>20</sup> Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936, c. 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 9v.



#### 4. Painters

was made by the same hand, i.e. Melchior Thun's. This may be proved by a very similar layout of elements on the page, its composition, colour and also the mood that the painting evokes in the reader and viewer.

Another recognizable painter was Carl August Capuhn, who was born in Gdańsk and died in 1772. He declared his will to become a master of the Gdańsk guild of painters and portraitists on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1738. The subject of his trial work was *Christmas*, which



Illustration 4.2. View of c. 9v.



Illustration 4.3. View of c. 14.

he made under the supervision of the guild's elder, Christian Wilhelm Cromptusch. The fact that he himself chose the subject, namely *Prophet Elijah fed by ravens*, was an unusual event. It was probably made under the supervision of the same master. He was able to make this independent choice of subject during a visit to the then mayor Abraham Groddeck, which must have happened before his death on June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1739<sup>22</sup>. His name was entered into *The Book* of urban citizens of the Old Town on September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1739. We know that he was already engaged to be married at that time. On 6<sup>th</sup> February 1764 he paid 18 florins for himself and his wife to the guild funeral fund<sup>23</sup>.



Illustration 4.4. View of a page from the book of master painters with the entry of Carl August Capuhn, APG, 300, C/613, p. 425.

<sup>22</sup> J. Zdrenka, *Urzednicy miejscy Gdanska w latach 1342-1792 i 1807-1814. Biogramy*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 121.

<sup>23</sup> APG, 300, C/613, p. 388.

#### 4. Painters

In his description of the masters, Falckenberg mocks his age at the time of liberation and defines himself as an “old” man<sup>24</sup>.

Interestingly, the entry in the book of the master painters, containing a list of masters according to the dates of their liberation, contains a mistake as he became master exactly one year later<sup>25</sup>.



Illustration 4.5. View of c. 16 of 1732.



Illustration 4.6. View of c. 26 of 1737.



Illustration 4.7. View of c. 31 of 1739.

Carl August Capuhn painted whole series of illustrations in *The Book*. The first series of illustrations was made on pp. 16, 26 and 31 and signed in pencil at the bottom of the page.

As far as the page layout is concerned, the works of Carl A. Capuhn that were made in the years 1732, 1737 and 1739, refer to the earlier ones, although they are more varied. They contain more elements typical for Baroque ornamentation. In the

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215.

<sup>25</sup> J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy...*, p. 130–131.



centre of each illustration there is the guild's coat of arms supported by two lions. Open crowns are placed over them, which allude to the coat of arms of Gdańsk. The crests are surrounded by similar laurel wreaths.

Another series of illustrations was made on cc. 57, 60, 64 and 75v.–76 (most probably also on c. 80).



Illustration 4.8. View of. cc. 57, 60, 64.

Altogether he made seven or eight illustrations with very different themes, colours, graphic forms and atmosphere; he was the most frequently engaged painter of the bakers' brotherhood.

The third recognized painter was probably Jan (Johannes) Schmidt Junior, born in Gdańsk. His father was Johannes Schmidt Senior, a citizen of Gdańsk of unknown profession. He declared his willingness to become a master of the Gdańsk guild of painters and portraitists on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1731. His trial work entitled *The Resurrection of Jairus' Daughter* was made under the supervision of master Christian Friedrich Falckenberg. However, his master work entitled the *Suicide of Cleopatra* and *Samson*



and Delilah was painted under the supervision of master Johannes Benedict Elder Hoffmann and he was admitted to the guild on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1732<sup>26</sup>.



Illustration 4.9. View of. cc. 75v. and 76.

<sup>26</sup> J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy...*, pp. 654–655.

Although there was another guild master of the same surname but entered in the books with the double name of Johan-Peter Schmidt, he was known in the guild only under the name of Peter<sup>27</sup>, which excludes him as the author of the illustrations in the book of journeymen bread roll and cake bakers.

It may be assumed that John (Johannes) Schmidt Junior made illustrations on c. 38 in 1742, on c. 51 most likely in 1749 and on c. 54 in 1750. The last two pictures are the only ones that do not bear the date but our dating seems to be adequate.

Another distinct signature may be found under the illustration on c. 62; its subject refers directly to the text placed on the previous page containing a wise saying typical of Baroque, concerning death. Both were written and painted very carefully, with greater skill than other paintings. They were signed in ink: “Fecit von Lehen (Leiin)in 1753”.

He was probably Johan Georg Lenert Younger, the son of a Gdańsk citizen Johannes Georg Lenert Elder (of unknown profession). He became a citizen of Gdańsk Old Town on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1738 as a painter. He asked to join the Gdańsk guild of painters and portraitists on 17<sup>th</sup> December 1737. He apprenticed earlier with Wilhelm Christian Cronpusch, and did his pre-master year in the period between 17<sup>th</sup> December 1736 and 16<sup>th</sup> December 1737. The theme of his trial work was *The Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem*, and the master works were entitled *Poem of Armida’s from Jerusalem Love to Chief Reinhold* and *Sacrifice of Isaac*; they were approved on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1738 when he became master.



Illustration 4.10. View of c. 80, probably also made by Carl A. Capuhn.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 658–659.



#### 4. Painters



Illustration 4.11. View of p. 38. 1742. Signature: Jan or Jahh[...].



Illustration 4.12. View of p. 51. 1749. Signature: J. Schm[...] or J. Schni[...].



Illustration 4.13. View of p. 54. Year not given. Signature: Jan Schn[...] fecit.

His test run and two master works were done under the supervision of Christian Wilhelm Falckenberg, Georg Nordstedt, Wilhelm Cronpusch and Melchior Thun. He performed honorable functions of the senior in the guild in the following terms: 1750–1755, 1760–1761 and 1767–1768. He participated in the procedure of punishing masters who happened to breach decency rules in the guild: Gottfried Becker in February 1752 and Johannes Friedrich Laudin – probably in 1763–1764.

He was the father of painter Johannes Karl Lehnhard (Lenert), mentioned in 1792. The payment of 120 zlotys for his or his wife's funeral was recorded in the guild's burial fund in the period 1775–1776.

He apprenticed in the workshop of his master together with his guild companion, Carl Augustus Capuhn, mentioned above, who also performed illuminations in *The Book*<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy...*, pp. 470–475.



Illustration 4.14. Pages illustrated by Johan George Lenert Younger of Gdańsk, 1753, cc. 61v., 62.

His illustration in the bakers' book was made with great care. He applied a very clear writing style, namely fraktur, which was the dominant letter character in Gdańsk publishing houses and the lettering of German Reformation associated with the Lutheran denomination<sup>29</sup>. In the manuscript version this type of lettering was diversified. Several letters, especially capital ones, were enriched with curling lines; empty

<sup>29</sup> M. Juda, *Pismo drukowane w Polsce XV–XVIII wieku*, Lubin 2001, pp. 114–137.



spaces were filled. The painter retained harmonious arrangement of the text on the page.

The illustration on the next page contains typical features, two cartouches with records of the guild of bakers (top) and brewers' guild (bottom) and guild crest. In the central part of the composition he made a very beautiful miniature depicting the death of a baker during the plague; it is surrounded by *memento mori* symbols. There is



Illustration 4.15. View of cc. 40v., 41.

### 4.3. Works of Unrecognized Painters

a skull of death and the bones of the hand calling the baker, who is falling in agony. All the elements of the picture are enveloped by a black pall that emerges from behind the cartouche containing a miniature painting showing a bread oven and the baker taking out a board with a loaf of bread. As he falls down struck by the call of death, he drops the board, and the loaf falls onto the floor. The atmosphere of *memento mori* is strongly underlined by such attributes as an extinguished candle, withered flowers and falling rose petals. The image refers to sentences written on the sashes.

Such graphical combination with the text placed on the preceding page appears twice again on the cards of *The Book*. The text is written with embellishments and placed in a frame made of ornamental plant. These are cc. 41, 40v., 75v. and 76 (illustration 4.9).

A comparison of both illustrations shows that they were not made with the same hand. There are very large differences in the lettering of the text and especially in the themes and composition of the works of 1744 and 1759. The first one completely omitted issues of the fraternity, emphasizing military events connected with the Swedish-Russian war and the sense of Baroque life, which expressed itself in *memento mori*. The second praises creative work of God, who calls man to love and perfection, and avoiding His plans sees as foolishness. The painter of this scene and card is Capun (Capuhun); the first painter remains unknown.

### 4.3. Works of Unrecognized Painters

Despite careful research and analysis of the contents of *The Book* of Gdańsk Fraternity of Wheat Bread Bakers we failed to recognize authors of twenty paintings. There are no clues about who designed, painted and edited the title page and the illustrations on pp.: 2, 3, 7, 12, 18, 20, 24, 34, 37, 43, 45, 47, 49, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 78, 83, 86, 88, 90, 93, 96. However, we are able to point to those made with the same hand. For example, by comparing such elements of paintings like colours, painting forms, graphics and lettering, we may assume that the title page and pp. 2, 3 and 7 were made by the same painter.

Comparing further themes, colours and applied forms and shapes of cartouches, heraldic shields, lions and other elements, it can be concluded that pp. 20 and 24 were made by another painter. Pages 34 and 37 are also similar, which points to the next performer.

Analysing pictures in a similar way, we find that pp. 43 and 45 were painted by the same person.

The illustrations on p. 47, on the other hand, have a different character; similarly those on pp.: 49, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 78, 83, 86, 88, 90, 93, 96. We conclude that each was made by another painter.



#### 4. Painters

In the above three works we can see strokes of one hand of a painter who used very elaborate colours and created a similar mood induced by his works. He used various forms and presentations of typical Baroque illustrations, although some of them can already qualify as Rococo style.

Painting was a rich material for illustrating various texts, especially laudatory ones in *The Book*.



Illustration 4.16. Title page and pp. 2, 3 and 7.

#### 4.3. Works of Unrecognized Painters

Illustrations in *The Book* play a multiple role. They support the text, explain it, visualize it, represent a poetical, especially allusive, reference point, they are an element of a system referring to emblematic design. Obviously, painting retains some autonomy, but participates in the interpretation of the literary text, exposes the meaning



cont. Illustration 4.16. Title page and pp. 2, 3 and 7.



of certain components, laudations, prayers and hopes. Through such mutual correlation and association of texts and illustrations, the corporation, and especially its superiors, referred to the long tradition of occasional poetry born in Gdańsk, particularly that which was supposed to honour the rulers of Poland<sup>30</sup>.

Painters benefited from their own experience and knowledge passed from generation to generation, but also from the artistic output of many European centres. They may have also used publications that had been collected and made available in the Library of the City Council of Gdańsk and from other publications published or written in Gdańsk. We should mention here the work of Paulus Pater, a librarian, bibliophile, printer and publisher; also a professor of mathematics at the Gdańsk Academic College. He lived in Gdańsk from 1705 to 1724, ran his own printing house and a private school where he educated young people in the profession of typographer and bookbinder. He was a well-known and well-deserved person in shaping the city's intellectual environment. In 1710 he developed and published in Leipzig a tractate on the theory and practice of typography entitled *De Germaniae miraculo optimo, mximo, typis literatum earumque differentiis dissertatio*. This work was well known in Gdańsk because it was one of the first spins of monographic problems of printing art. As it became very popular, it was reprinted in 1740 by John Christian Wolf, on the occasion of the celebration of the jubilee of three hundred years of typography<sup>31</sup>. This anniversary was celebrated immensely; church services were held, occasional sermons and speeches were given. Public celebrations, concerts and shows were organized in public places. Printers published literary, occasional and scientific texts. The city authorities beat occasional medals. The achievements of typographic art were a symptom of technological and artistic advancement, and that is probably why they gained recognition among Gdańsk painters, who drew inspiration for their works<sup>32</sup>.

Between pp. 40 and 41, where he considers the beauty and usefulness of the fraktur typeface for the development of typography, Pater placed a copperplate containing the word "Dantzig", which has already been shown in illustration 4.1.

When composing their illustrations the painters of *The Book* not only culled from Gdańsk and European guild traditions; they probably also used literature containing allegorical presentations of virtue. It was known from textbooks such as those written by Jan Amos Comenius. The personification of "unanimity" and "discord" was painted twice. This subject was a consequence of war experiences, the course and outcome of the Thirty Years War (often dealt with in Baroque times), and especially the struggle of craftsmen and merchants' opposition for participation in the city authorities in the middle of the century.

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<sup>30</sup> E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 1993, p. 122.

<sup>31</sup> Z. Nowak, *Po starą księgę sięgam ze wzruszeniem...*, p. 363.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 372.

### 4.3. Works of Unrecognized Painters



Illustration 4.17. View of cc. 20 and 24.

Justice, hope, fortitude and prudence (*prudentia*), cardinal virtues – the basis of social life, were very clearly presented.

Paintings of still life, vanitative pictures and *memento mori* (remember about death) were considered important and fashionable. Those motifs appeared in four illustrations where typical symbols were used. The most important of these is the human skull surrounded by other objects: a burning candle, a blaze, withered and dying



Illustration 4.18. View of cc. 34 and 37.

flowers and fruit, a decayed book, worn out stationary supplies, overturned inkwell and spilled ink. In one example they used a unique motif consisting of comparing human life to soap bubbles; although beautiful, enjoyed by viewers, especially children, they easily puncture and vanish.



### 4.3. Works of Unrecognized Painters



Illustration 4.19. View of cc. 43 and 45.

Although there were numerous manuscripts in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Gdańsk, none of them contains such a rich, elaborate and advanced topical iconographic program like *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*.



4. Painters



Illustration 4.20. Cards illustrated by an unknown painter: 88, 90, 93 and 96.

4.3. Works of Unrecognized Painters



cont. Illustration 4.20. Cards illustrated by an unknown painter: 88, 90, 93 and 96.

## 5. POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE GDAŃSK COMMONALTY

### 5.1. Political Horizons of Gdańsk Inhabitants in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

Political views of the 18<sup>th</sup> century commonalty and plebs were shaped more by the spoken than by the written word. Sermons were preached, speeches and songs were sung and even dramatic and quasi-theatrical forms were staged during religious holidays, state ceremonies and visits of rulers and their representatives, during fairs and family celebrations (baptisms, weddings and funerals). Both music and visual art forms were combined at those occasions<sup>1</sup>. Only a certain part of those activities was recorded in writing and has survived till our times; even a smaller part was recorded in bibliographic descriptions. Kasprzyk stated that political literature constituted a major part of the publishing production of Gdańsk and Toruń, Frankfurt an der Oder, Dresden, Cologne and Lipsk<sup>2</sup>. For example, the scale of this mass phenomenon can be proved by the fact that in connection with the events of 1733–1734, i.e. the defense of King Stanislaus Leszczyński, the majority of the work done by two main city printing houses, namely those belonging to Thomas John Schreiber and John James Pruss, referred to politics and only a “small number of prints not related to contemporary political events were issued”<sup>3</sup>. By political literature we mean only journalistic and informative writing and poetry based on contemporary events that inspired the political writer and were only occasional.

Political views of the Enlightenment were associated with the concept of the state and nation. Both in 18<sup>th</sup> century Poland and throughout Europe they were only referred to as a political concept and not an ethnic, linguistic or cultural one. It appealed to the whole scope of “active citizens” without regard to ethnic or cultural differences.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Grześkowiak-Krawicz, *Gdańsk oświecony. Die Aufklärung in Danzig*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 40–42.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kasprzyk, *Z dziejów gdańskiej literatury politycznej pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu. Filologia Polska” 1966, Vol. 6, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 161.



The main opinion-forming factor of this concept was the idea of sovereignty of the people having their own ruler, a common state history and a legal system.

In the Republic of Poland the idea of unity of the “noble nation” conformed to this concept; it was established as a result of the across-the-board development policy and the acceptance of common political ideals by nobility of various origins and languages. It was similarly understood in Gdańsk and Prussia. “Being Polish” (being a Pole) meant not so much ethnic, but rather political affiliation, as clearly evidenced by the expression: *gente Rethentus, natione Polonus*. The defence of freedom of civil rights and privileges of the city and categorical rejection of *absolutum dominium* were the main factors in strengthening such awareness.

The view of a nation in political terms gathered in strength after the Union of Lublin (1569), which justified and reinforced the multi-ethnic and multi-denominational aspect of the concept of state<sup>4</sup>. In this process, the pioneering role was played by *The Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and the Whole Rus* published by Maciej Strykowski in 1582. It was reflected in Gdańsk by several authors of historical dissertations emphasizing links between Gdańsk and Poland<sup>5</sup>.

Meanwhile, since the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Poland became the subject of attacks and ridicule in West European political and legal literature, first without any special reasons and then inspired and funded by foreign regimes<sup>6</sup>.

At the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the works of Joachim Pastorius and John Schultz-Szulecki (professors of the Academic College in Gdańsk) were of particular importance; they glorified the “Sarmatian nation” and tried to prove that the German-speaking population of Pomerania was part of it and had nothing to do with the German Empire<sup>7</sup>. Gdańsk City Council supported those works and watched over the ideological side of other historical publications; it did not allow printing works which affected the interests of the city, its links with Poland or international contacts<sup>8</sup>.

Ten public disputes led by Schultz-Szulecki from February 1689 onwards preceded the edition of his work entitled *Tractatus historico-politicus de Polonia nunquam tributaria* in 1694. Apart from Salomon Hahn from Malbork, the professor’s respondents were patricians’ sons from Gdańsk. Schultz-Szulecki, however, was the author of particular sections of the work and his students were only pleased to be subjected to being examined in order to gain in splendour and esteem in town. In *Praefatio ad lectorem* he admits that he undertook the task of completing and publishing

<sup>4</sup> A. Walicki, *Idea narodu w polskiej myśli oświeceniowej*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 15–22.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 2: 1454–1655..., p. 721.

<sup>6</sup> S. Kot, *Rzeczpospolita Polska w literaturze politycznej Zachodu*, Kraków 1919, pp. 102–118.

<sup>7</sup> *Filozofia i myśl społeczna XVII wieku*, Vol. 1, ed. Z. Ogonowski, Warszawa 1979, pp. 33–35 and texts pp. 180–189 Pastorius; pp. 428–448 Schultz-Szulecki.

<sup>8</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 2: 1454–1655..., p. 721.



the book under the influence of his patrons (*fautorum et amicorum monitia*) and friends. Unfortunately, he did not state who they were but we may presume that they were Gdańsk citizens and members of the intellectual elite.

What we do know is that the respondents (usually graduates of the College) were relatives of citizens of high rank in municipal organisations, the Church or education system.

Dedicating his work to the Gdańsk Senate and the king's burgrave he wrote about Gdańsk: *In hac urbe orbis Polonus servatus est*; he also added a sentence about the Gdańsk Senate's and the people's of Gdańsk unshakeable fidelity to Poland: *Discat posteritas, aetatis vestrae subite arbitrum, non opes, non classes, non legiones, perinde firma esse Regni Sarmstici munimenta, quam fidem S.P.Q.G.*<sup>9</sup>

At the beginning of section II he indicated his reasons behind writing the book, namely: "the due love of the homeland and trust in the good cause" that induced him to prove that "Poland had never been subordinate or tributary to any foreign nation". *Tractatus* is an apologetic work in which Schulz-Szulecki undertakes a factual argumentation in a number of specific issues, especially in the field of Polish-German relations. Attacking the beliefs of Hermann Conring<sup>10</sup> and other authors, he proves that Poland is, and has always been, an entirely autonomous state, independent from the Empire and other countries throughout centuries until contemporary times. He presents an impressive knowledge of the rich source material and literature written by Poles and foreign authors, both chronicles and other works. He also makes reference to manuscript sources<sup>11</sup>.

Schulz-Szulecki also states that he was influenced by the works of Jan Sachs and Krzysztof Hartknoch; the latter's *Respublica Polonica duobus libris illustrata*<sup>12</sup> referred to the dispute between the Polish and German authors about whether Poland had ever been subordinate to emperors, and whether it was tributary (*vectigalis*). For this reason Schulz-Szulecki wrote a lengthy and detailed dissertation on the problem of dependence of Poland from other states<sup>13</sup>.

For our purposes it is important to know how Schulz-Szulecki defined himself. On the title page of an encomium in honour of King John III Sobieski he calls

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 721, note 28.

<sup>10</sup> Hermann Conring (1606–1681) was the last and greatest German polymath considered to be the first scholar teaching history of law in Germany. His disciple, John Sachs from Wschowa (1641–1671), who studied under Conring in Helmstedt, claimed that Conring received payment from King Carolus X Gustavus for aspersing the Polish state. H. Grajewski, *Jan Schultz-Szulecki i jego Tractatus historico-politicus de Polonia nunquam tributaria*, Łódź, pp. 21–22 and 49.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. Hartknoch, *Respublica Polonica duobus libris illustrata...*, Francofurtii et Lipsiae 1678, sec. ed. – 1687, third ed. – 1698.

<sup>13</sup> H. Grajewski, *Jan Schultz-Szulecki...*, pp. 22–23.

himself “Prussio-Polonus”<sup>14</sup> and thus claims to be a “Pole from Prussia”. Looking at it from a contemporary perspective of determining one’s nationality, we can conclude that he cared not about ethnic or linguistic identity but affiliation to the Polish state.

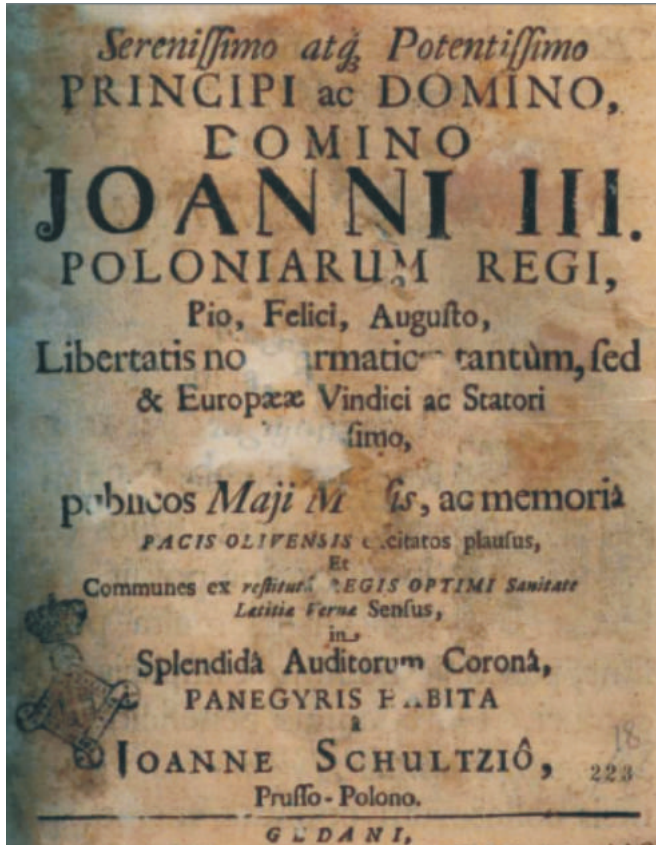


Illustration 5.1. Front page of Jan Schulz-Szulecki's work, where he refers to himself as “Prusso-Polono”.

Gdańsk citizens were people of wide horizons. Residents had everyday contacts with visitors from numerous countries. Foreign travels and taking on students or employing workers from several European countries broadened their knowledge of the world. Extensive contacts were fostered by lively correspondence maintained by the city authorities and by its inhabitants. Gdańsk was also a large and important book market. It was easy to purchase books in different languages and on all subjects. They were

<sup>14</sup> J. Schultzius, *Serenissimo atque potentissimo principia c domino Joanni III... Panegyris habita a Joanne Schulzio Prusso-Polono, Gedani 1694.*

available from retailers, street sellers<sup>15</sup>, the Academic College Library and in numerous private libraries. In 18<sup>th</sup>-century Gdańsk there were over 270 private collections ranging in size from a few to several thousand copies. Scanty information contained in guild books allow us to conclude that most of them were of utilitarian kind<sup>16</sup>.

The commonalty which emerged from the Middle Ages was mainly gathered around guilds and corporations; there was no room for individualism on a larger scale. This applied both to individuals and groups. Group solidarity in Gdańsk was developed to a great extent. Also, the Third Rank representing the interests of craftsmen and commonalty was characterised by highly developed awareness and a sense of solidarity. The greatest exponent of that solidarity was a sense of bond among all the inhabitants of the city; they boasted citizenship regardless of the language they spoke or their geographical origin. In this multilingual city no such differences were a valid issue. A variety of habits and customs resulted in creating a new lifestyle, new patriotism and culture. So when a resident of Gdańsk said *patria*, he first meant the city; Prussia or the whole of Poland only in the second place<sup>17</sup>.

In our contemporary times patriotism is usually understood as a moral virtue consisting in the love of the homeland, its cultural heritage and moral and social order shaped by civilizational and religious standards. It goes together with a willingness to bear any sacrifice for it. Patriotic habits refer to main spheres of public life: native land, products of material and spiritual creativity of its people, the nation, the political leader of the community shaping it into a state, moral and social order based on the principles of civilization which the community has adopted, in which it lives and is ready to defend. Patriotism is the most natural attitude consistent with human nature. Real patriotism is built around a concrete sensual experience, identification with a specific territory, attachment to home and family farm, which becomes a patrimony handed down from generation to generation. Only after identifying what is mine and ours it extends onto the neighborhood, relatives, corporation, municipality, province and region<sup>18</sup>.

The 18<sup>th</sup>-century Gdańsk patriotism was maintained at a high level. It was expressed mainly in Latin, German and Polish, a variety which made it rich and mature. It was a highly emotional expression of loyalty, particularly towards the Polish king and the Polish-Lithuanian state and less so towards Polish gentility, as it was gradually moving away from the ideal of religious freedom, an important factor of contemporary Polish identity. The formation of attitudes was primarily done by the Gdańsk

<sup>15</sup> M. Bogucka, *Życie codzienne w Gdańsku. Wiek XVI-XVII*, Warszawa 1967, p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> A.R. Chodyński, *Przekazy źródłowe o nauce i bibliotekach, mecenacie i kolekcjach osiemnastowiecznych w Gdańsku*, "Rocznik Gdański" 1992, Vol. 52, fasc. 1, 2, pp. 94-95.

<sup>17</sup> S. Herbst, *Świadomość narodowa na ziemiach pruskich w XV-XVII w.* "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" 1962, No. 1, pp. 3-10.

<sup>18</sup> J. Bartyzel, *Patriotyzm* [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, Vol. 15, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2011, col. 51.

elite: the city authorities, corporation executives, Protestant and Catholic Churches, parochial and private schools, teachers of the Academic College. The patriotic heritage of the city had a great impact on attitudes and beliefs; also the experience of hard reign of the Teutonic Order as compared to the privileges and freedoms granted to the city by the Polish king and economic ties with a huge Polish-Lithuanian hinterland, which was the source of income. In Poland and in Royal Prussia there was no equation mark between the nation and the Polish language even at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Such attitude changed no sooner than after the November Uprising (in 1830)<sup>19</sup>. Therefore, one cannot be astonished by pro-Polish patriotic attitudes expressed in the German language in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As early as on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1606, writing to his friends in Zurich during the Zebrzydowski's rebellion, Keckermann insisted that the city was in a quandary because it had outraged all our Poland (*commota nunc est Polonia nostra universes*)<sup>20</sup>. He understood patriotic education very deeply and taught how it should be viewed<sup>21</sup>.

The methods of promoting patriotism on the city scale expressed by the intellectual elite were imitated on a micro scale in the journeymen corporation of wheat bread bakers by its leaders. The main objective was assimilation of apprentices and journeymen who came to the city from other towns and especially those who came from abroad. Comparing the number of journeymen from Gdańsk (158 people) with a group of newcomers from other places (168 journeymen) it can be assumed that their assimilation was one of the most important tasks of the corporation. The guild system allowed accepting journeymen travelling to other places but high mortality rate caused a constant shortage of labour. However, masters were reluctant to send their sons (called "masełkowie") to study in other places as hiking meant exposing them to numerous hazards and even loss of their health or life.

Therefore, formation of patriotic attitudes is the main idea occurring in texts and images presented in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*, although they are occasionally raised in various situations caused by current political, military and social events. A reader paging through the cards of the book gradually realises that the elders of the guild tried, in a solemn and very aesthetic way, to convey their own political experience to their successors, determine their way of thinking and evaluating and inspire hope and willingness to make sacrifices for a good cause. The idea behind it all was to establish a bond with Polish kings, guardians of the city and with the evangelical religion.

This was in line with the trend prevailing in the city. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Gdańsk writers changed their interest from occasional writings to historiography, legal and

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<sup>19</sup> S. Gajda, *Prestiż a język*, "Nauka" 2010, No. 4, p. 151.

<sup>20</sup> B. Nadolski, *Życie i działalność naukowa...*, p. 26.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.



political subjects. The subject of their discussion was the organization of social life in a broader sense, that is, in the whole Republic, then the city and in the narrower sense, in the craft guild. They more often reached for a pen to analyze political events taking place than to write an occasional poem on a birthday, epithalamium, epicedium or epitaph; politics and history started to occupy a privileged place in the literature of Gdańsk<sup>22</sup>.

Similarly, in *The Book of Journeymen Bakers*: poetic texts, wisdom maxims, cautionary remarks and prayers correspond with colorful miniature paintings, depicting political events in the city, its surroundings and in Poland. They were made not only in the period when Nathanael Foß was the fraternity writer but also in later times.

Among the 45 illustrations made in the book there are five eminently political in character and four illustrations including military elements. They are all accompanied by critical comments and expressing hopes in the political sphere and even prayers addressed to God's Providence to support human action and bestow the art of wisdom and justice upon the rulers. These paintings correspond with a particular part of the text, usually appearing on the preceding cards or supplemented with short sentences or annotations made by one of the senior members of the confraternity. Perhaps they thought that allusions and symbols were too subtle or difficult to understand and required additional comments.

In *The Book* they are complemented by historical paintings. They were particularly appreciated since the times of Rembrandt's pupil Samuel van Hoogstraen who wrote in 1678 that they showed "the greatest deeds and endeavours of rationally thinking people" and therefore should have the highest position among various types of visual arts<sup>23</sup>. Historical painting did not dominate either Dutch or Gdańsk art, though it was concerned with ambitious narratives of historical and contemporary events and mythological and biblical stories. Baroque painters sought to update presented scenes and recognized it as the representation of their time and their own lives. Stories presented in parabolic symbolic painting presented moral role models. They were shown in such light as to enable its recipients to comprehend them. As for the fraternity of bakers, they were to serve their education and shape attitudes of successive generations of journeymen to have such moral values, which masters could require while teaching them and warn them against weaknesses of character, bad conduct and, eventually, betrayal of the corporation's aims<sup>24</sup>. Masters of European Baroque served as a source of inspiration for the illustrators of *The Book*, that is the painters of the Gdańsk guild.

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<sup>22</sup> E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVIII wieku...*, pp. 5, 6 and 303.

<sup>23</sup> Cite as: K. van Lil, *Malarstwo XVII wieku w Niderlandach, Niemczech i Anglii* [in:] *Sztuka baroku. Architektura. Rzeźba. Malarstwo*, ed. R. Toman, trans. B. Drąg, K. Jachimczak, R. Wojnakowski, Köln 2000, p. 444.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 448.

## 5.2. Defence of King Stanislaus Leszczyński

For the first time political consciousness of journeymen was a subject of concern in the book during the defence of King Stanislaus Leszczyński. The death of Augustus II the Strong on the night of January 31 to February 1, 1733, became a starting point of a power game between neighbouring empires and France on filling the Polish throne. Finally, Russia and Austria decided to support the son of Augustus II, Frederick Augustus II, the Duke of Saxony, who later adopted the name Augustus III, King of Poland. Louis XV gave support to his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leszczyński. Taking advantage of the reluctance of the nobility to the House of Wettin, through the efforts of French diplomacy and millions of French livres spent on gaining supporters, the elective Sejm (Parliament) put him to the throne as the Polish king on September 12, 1733.

Unfortunately, Stanislaus Leszczyński did not undertake independent action and did not oppose his competitor, thus allowing the choice of the Elector of Saxony on October 5 and did not react to the invasion of the Russian army under the command of gen. Peter Lacy, but with a group of his followers sought refuge within the massive fortifications of Gdańsk, where he arrived on October 2, 1733 to await French support<sup>25</sup>.

The city government followed the course of events and already on September 15, after receiving the message, declared themselves on Stanislaus Leszczyński's side. On 19<sup>th</sup> September they announced the news to the residents with great solemnity, to the sounds of bell ringing and trumpet blowing and on Sunday, September 20 the bells rang three times in all the town churches and in their premises. After the sermon an official announcement of the City Council was read and a special prayer said and everybody sang *Te Deum laudamus*. Outside the town hall they played the drums, trumpets, the crowd cheered, chimes and music sounded, two cannon volleys were given in Gdańsk, Wisłoujście and the West Bulwark (Szańec Zachodni).

A significant print, entitled *Die innigste Freude der Stadt Danzig und Deren Einwohner über die hohe Gegenwart des [...] Herrn Stanislai I Königs in Pohlen und Gross-Hertzogen zu Lithauen etc.*, was released in October 1733, almost simultaneously with the arrival of the king to Gdańsk. It was adorned with a beautiful typeface in red ink reminiscent of the royal purple which had been used since ancient times in texts addressed to monarchs. A column shaped like a pyramid placed on the front page symbolizing greatness and glory of rulers bore an inscription: *Toujour la meme*<sup>26</sup>.

This early recognition of Stanislaus Leszczyński resulted from the widespread support for him on the part of the nobility and relying on France. It seemed certain that the mighty France would support him. But France did not declare war with Russia,

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<sup>25</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., pp. 509–511.

<sup>26</sup> Gd. Lib. PAN, NI 34, adl. 16.

whose army secured the election of Augustus III Sass and started marching slowly for Toruń and Gdańsk<sup>27</sup>. The city was still counting on the military aid of France, but Louis XV took advantage of the situation in Poland for his own purposes. By defending Leszczyński Gdańsk bound the Russian army and, together with the nobility from among the confederates prevented Russia from assisting Austria in its campaign against France on the Rhine and in Italy. In those circumstances, despite various political attempts, Gdańsk and King Stanislaus did not receive any real assistance. The city authorities began preparations for the defence; Gdańsk citizens were also reminded about their responsibilities and defence procedures.



Illustration 5.2. Cover page of *Die innigste Freude der Stadt Danzig und deren Einwohner über die hohe Gegenwart des [...] Herrn Stanislai I Königs in Pohlen und Gross-Hertzen zu Lithauen etc.*

<sup>27</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 512.

To honour the king in Gdańsk numerous occasional poems were written in German and Polish. They were not of high literary value but served as a proof of sympathy of Gdańsk residents for King Stanislaus and the willingness to defend his position on the throne<sup>28</sup>. Kotarski's publications are the best evidence of a widespread conviction that the city's inhabitants were able to effectively resist the impact of enemies; the poems encouraged resistance in forthcoming months of siege<sup>29</sup>.

It could be assumed that the authors used the same content and form as their predecessors in previous centuries where they asked God to allow everyone to live safely and happily under the rule of the Polish king with God's blessing<sup>30</sup>. However, Kotarski believes that the very fact of election and coronation of Stanislaus Leszczyński and Augustus III were not commemorated well enough by occasional poems<sup>31</sup>.

The siege of the city lasted from February to July 7, 1734 when the act of capitulation was signed after the escape of King Stanislaus Leszczyński on the night of 27<sup>th</sup> on 28<sup>th</sup> June and the City Council submitted a declaration of recognition of Augustus III as the king of Poland. Among other things the act of capitulation included a paragraph about charging Gdańsk with considerable payments to Russia and King Augustus III. The city suffered significant losses due to perturbations in trade but also a significant number of buildings in the city centre were ruined: about 800 houses, including several most palatial tenement houses in Długa (Long Street), Św. Ducha and Piwna St. Some public buildings were also damaged, e.g. The Main Town Hall as well as numerous churches, including St. Mary's Church<sup>32</sup>.

The events of 1734 were also commemorated in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*. The illustration on c. 20 was ordered with the following inscription on the crimson sash under the cartouche:

The magnificence of Gdańsk has now been shuttered.  
Bombs, upheaval and fire wreaked havoc on the town.  
Let God, who sent this disaster upon us,  
Bless this town in the future.

Although it lacks a clear expression of political views, the author did not complain about the sacrifices that the city paid in the efforts of citizens to defend it or any economic losses, imposed contributions and exposure to the disfavour of Polish and Russian rulers. There is only a sentence to say that it will be rewarded in the future and returned to its former glory.

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 513.

<sup>29</sup> E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVIII wieku...*, pp. 57–66.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.

<sup>32</sup> E. Cieślak, C. Biernat, *Dzieje Gdańska*, Gdańsk 1975, p. 266.



## 5.2. Defence of King Stanislaus Leszczyński

In 1733 the conviction that Stanislaus Leszczyński should be supported was the prevalent one among the commonalty and the local government of Gdańsk. This attitude was greatly strengthened by the fact that he was the father-in-law of Louis XV, who declared support for the claims of Stanislaus to the Polish throne. According to mayor Gabriel Boemel and the party in support of the king, this was to ensure Gdańsk care and protection of external powers, and even pay for any damages. The French ambassador in Poland, Marquis Anthony Felix Monti assured them about it with great zeal. Gdańsk also counted on the support of marine states such as England, Holland, Denmark and Sweden, with regard to their own interests. It was believed that they would not allow artillery shelling of the town in case of siege<sup>33</sup>. Gdańsk citizens remembered it very well what difficulties and losses they had suffered in 1697 when their support for Augustus II to the Polish throne resulted in falling into disfavour



Illustration 5.3. King Stanislaus Leszczyński behind the walls of Gdańsk. Reprinted from *Schreiben des in seiner Einbildung Königs Stanislai an einem seiner Freunde*, 1734.

<sup>33</sup> S. Leszczyński, *Opis ucieczki z Gdańska do Kwidzyna*, ed. and intro. E. Cieślak, trans. K. Wakar, Olsztyn 1988, p. XXV.

of King Louis XIV. A delegation of Gdańsk inhabitants had to apologize at Versailles and some restrictions in shipping and trade were imposed on merchants<sup>34</sup>. The guild authorities ordered and financed the first illustration of a political nature, joining a chorus of sympathy for King Stanislaus, expressed, among others, in numerous poems written in German and Polish in honour of the King<sup>35</sup>.



Illustration 5.4. The siege of Gdańsk. From *Kurzer, jedoch Gründlicher Bericht dessen was bey der Belagerung der Stadt Dantzig...*, Anno 1734.

It shows the skyline of the city hidden behind mighty ramparts, against the background of hills. We may notice flying incendiary projectiles fired from several directions, mainly from Biskupia Góra (the Bishop's Mountain). View of the town from that direction was the most often one depicted by painters and engravers. An example of such an approach is Peter Willer's etching, published in the work of Reinhold Curicke in 1687<sup>36</sup>. In *The Book* there are figures personifying Pax and Athens in the standing position; they are placed in the foreground, on both sides of the panorama.

Athena, the goddess of war, is holding a spear in her hand; it is standing firm even though the incendiary projectiles are flying towards her, which may symbolize the steadfast defensive attitude of the townspeople. To prevent fires they placed piles of sand, wet horse manure; they stored grain in the attics of houses and other buildings

<sup>34</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., pp. 192–195.

<sup>35</sup> J. Kasprzyk, *Z dziejów gdańskiej literatury politycznej pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku...*, pp. 168 and n.

<sup>36</sup> R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische beschreibung*, Amsterdam and Dantzig 1687.



Illustration 5.5. View of c. 20.

and were able to extinguish missiles with beef skins and thus protect themselves from fire<sup>37</sup>. Athena may also hold a lantern, which symbolizes the souls and hearts that are sincere and despise pretense and the duality of the soul<sup>38</sup>.

There is a personification of peace standing on the left side with an olive twig in her left hand and holding a bag of abundance in her raised right hand. There are incendiary bullets flying towards her as well.

Assessing the quality and artistry of the miniature, we should compare it with the etching of an unknown author depicting the siege and defence of the city on May 9, 1734. It was pasted between pp. 32 and 33 as a separate card in the copy issued in the form of a reprint by Danziger Verlagsgesellschaft Paul Rosenberg in Hamburg in 1979.

The experience of isolation of the city during the siege of Gdańsk in 1734 and the



Illustration 5.6. Detail of c. 20.

<sup>37</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 522.

<sup>38</sup> C. Ripa, *Ikonologia*, trans. I. Kania, Kraków 2002, p. 261.



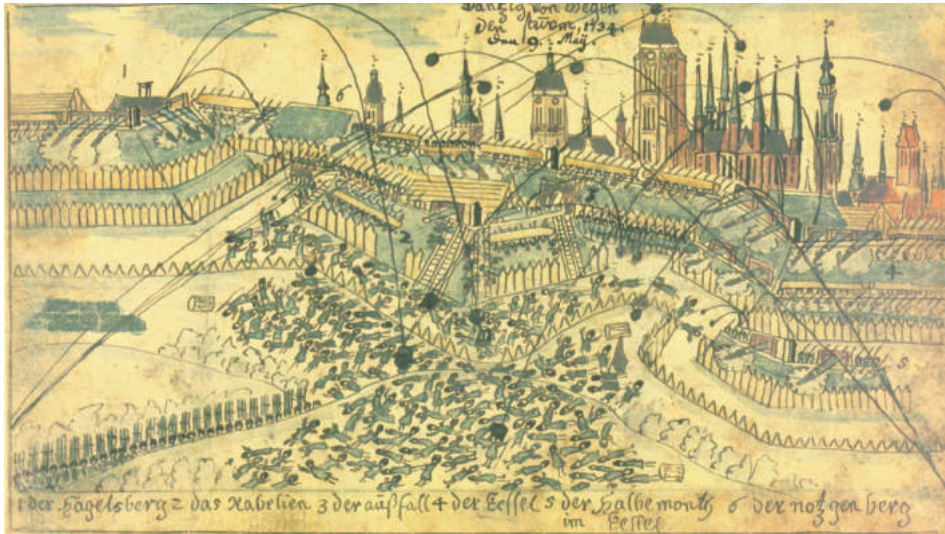


Illustration 5.7. Figure pasted into the work by Curicke published in 1799.

helplessness of the Republic during the king's election drew the attention of city authorities to the growing power of Russia. Besides obtaining forgiveness from Augustus III (which took place after long legal and financial negotiations and payment of war reparations in 1736), the terms of surrender in July 1734 included substantial payments to Russia. Gdańsk was obliged to pay 1 000 000 crowns to Empress Anna Ivanovna as compensation for the incurred costs of war, 30 000 ducats for ringing "the bells during the siege" to Russian generals and officer corps, and to send a delegation of city representatives of all ranks to St. Petersburg to apologize to the Empress. She was to designate the composition of the delegation herself. They succeeded in obtaining exemption from the obligation to pay the fine of another million for taking part in the escape of Stanislaus Leszczyński from Gdańsk and getting a guarantee for maintaining the city privileges<sup>39</sup>. In total, in the years 1734–1736 expenses related to the siege amounted to a huge sum of more than 6 000 000 florens<sup>40</sup>. After deducting the help of the French the city authorities had to take out a loan of approximately 4.5 million florins at 5–6% and repay it within the next twenty years<sup>41</sup>.

There was also an important obligation of a political nature. The Gdańsk authorities promised to maintain good relations with Russia and not to accept any political enemies at home<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 538.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 539.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 540–541.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 534–535.



### 5.3. The Reign of King Augustus III

Due to the impoverishment of the city the fraternity could also expect greater expenses; therefore cards dated 1735 and 1738 were far more modest, painted in sad black-and-white colours. They were not linked with occasional entries.

### 5.3. The Reign of King Augustus III

With time, after the political situation had calmed down and the effects of the disastrous crop failure and two severe winters had been overcome in 1740, joy and satisfaction returned. The following words accompanied an illustration which has not survived till the present time:

After years of high prices, wars and freezing temperatures  
Heavens sent us a better time.  
Prices dropped and we felt  
God's blessing came upon us.  
Let us proclaim the glory to the Lord [God] (c. 36v.).

In the next year they added that the city was hiding stocks that would satisfy their needs but could also serve others. Prosperity is symbolised by an abundant sheaf of grain set on a hill; behind it there are three ships sailing in from different directions



Illustration 5.8. Detail of c. 38.

(cc. 37v. and 38). Two fancy figures with octopus tentacles instead of legs are welcoming them; the female figure looking like a mermaid is holding a blue sash and the male a red one.

Peace in the country led to an increase in well-being and this provoked enthusiastic political opinions. They were expressed by a poetic text in the book, with a carefully distinguished typeface and garland. Gdańsk citizens seemed to forget that in 1734 they had recognized Augustus III as the Polish king under duress, paying high price for it and at the beginning of the next line they seem to have clearly changed their minds. Now they granted themselves free choice and wrote: “After our vote” and estimated that “Frederick Augustus II (or III as the King of Poland) is ruling the country effectively” because “Peace and unity reign. There are no disputes under his rule”. This keeps the “glory of Gdańsk” and prosperity favours the middle class and leads to “general good” (c. 40v.).

The experience of 1734 and the commitments made to Russia not to accept its enemies, was probably taken into account in 1745; at the time of a little-known incident of war within the port of Gdańsk. It was presented by the illuminator of the book on c. 41, executed in 1745. In the upper cartouche he painted a sea battle between the Swedish ship *Urloff* against a Russian one nearby the Gdańsk fortress in *Weichselmünde*.



Illustration 5.9. Detail of c. 41.

### 5.3. The Reign of King Augustus III

The lower oval cartouche, in turn, which was usually used to record names of government members of the brewers' corporation, the following statement was placed this time:

Russian privateer law  
ruled on our roadstead  
a Swedish ship started a hostile fight  
outside the roadstead; in spite of that she was given credence,  
she was able to withdraw in haste  
when the Swedish wanted to attack her,  
she was given shelter in Gdańsk  
and attacked Swedish Urloff  
and all this has just happened  
may Heavens protect us against further wars (c. 41).

It referred to an episode of the Swedish-Russian war, from the years 1741–1743, when Russian ships tried to block the trade between Gdańsk and Sweden. The city authorities had to decide which side to take. It was a difficult decision because neither the Republic nor Gdańsk had their own navy, even a privateer one. At the end of the year, in spite of the fact that the blocking of Russia's trade with Sweden was against the interests of the city, they supported ships under the flag of the two-headed black eagle<sup>43</sup>.

Some concerns about political developments emerged in Gdańsk in 1750. A certain poem appeared which can be interpreted in several ways. First of all, it is a call for constant vigilance on political situation, both external and internal. The latter refers to social attitudes and will be considered in the next chapter. Here we should emphasize that even bakers observed changes in political relations in the Baltic Sea region. Since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Russia had been expanding its navy and attempted some military activities in more and more distant waters. It also appeared at the mouth of the Vistula River and created a threat to freedom of trade in Gdańsk.

A lot has changed  
As nothing is eternal.  
It was written down that year,  
When changes were already taking place,  
But one could not yet see  
That what had really happened (c. 53).

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<sup>43</sup> J. Trzoska, *Wywóz zboża i towarów spożywczych...*

## 5. Political Consciousness of the Gdańsk Commonalty

It is hard to say what the author of these verses had in mind. However, he drew attention to the importance of vigilance and reflecting on the changing political conditions he added:

But to think and to hope,  
This is what has been written down in those lines.  
He who reads them carefully,  
Will not despise them.  
Remember the past,  
Consider the present prudently,  
Foresee the future.  
All prosperity rests  
Upon these three pillars (c. 53).



Illustration 5.10. Detail of c. 54.

For the second time Russian military fleet was painted in *The Book*; it was placed in a cartouche below the coat of arms. There is an inscription along the border line: “This is how the Russian fleet is called” (“Dieses wird also genandt eine Flotte auß Rußlandt”). In this way a new threat to the commercial city of Gdańsk was pointed out. The flags of the ships bear clearly painted black double-headed imperial eagles. It may be assumed that the authors, i.e. the author of the poem, the painter and the elders of the guild wished to draw attention of young people to new political dangers that appeared in the Baltic Sea, namely the imperial activities of Russia.



## 5.4. The Warning of the Seven Years' War

In mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the situation of the city on the international scene deteriorated. This resulted in increased interest in international politics and aroused concern for freedom of trade. Soon Poland and the city were faced with the Seven Years' War. The prosperity of the city depended on efficient trade, i.e. free supply routes and export of goods. From the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Russia joined the political scene of Europe as a new political and economic player in the basin of the Baltic Sea. As early as on the eve of the Seven Years' War, since 1753, it again showed interest in the affairs of the city<sup>44</sup>.

This coincided with the disclosure of the political will of King Frederick II of Prussia. In 1752, he decided that Royal Prussia should be conquered in a peaceful manner, like an artichoke, a leaf after a leaf. He considered that the Polish electoral monarchy would provide an opportunity for such a procedure. He counted on the fact that fueling unrest in Poland would allow Prussia to demand remuneration for neutrality with one city or district after another until they finally received Gdańsk<sup>45</sup>.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) is considered by many to be the first war of world range. One of its causes was the pursuit of hegemony in the world and the unexpected "reversal of the alliance"; the transition of Russia to the camp of opponents of Frederick II created a direct threat to Ducal Prussia and indirectly to Royal Prussia. The assault on Saxony without a declaration of war resulted in the consolidation of a mighty coalition fighting against Prussia and England, which, besides neutral Poland, engaged all neighbouring states. Pomerania was occupied by the Russian army that defeated Prussia and occupied the area from Königsberg to Berlin in 1758–1762<sup>46</sup>. For Gdańsk this period must have been an important experience; "helpless neutrality" of the Polish state<sup>47</sup> during the Seven Years' War caused the feeling of being left on its own. The city was seriously threatened, it could be won by one of the fighting parties<sup>48</sup>.

Around Gdańsk, Cossack and Kalmuck troops, followers of the Islamic religion appeared. Their barbaric behaviour was well characterized by the prior of the Kaszubian Community, Jerzy Gotfryd Schwengel, who wrote in the annals of a monastery near Gdańsk: "Ab initio Autum usque ad finem anni multa et gravia mala and Milite Mosco sustinuimus. Donet Deus nobis pacem"<sup>49</sup>.

On the other hand, hopes, fears and political anxiety of the inhabitants of Gdańsk were shown in several texts and in three illustrations on cc. 70, 72 and 74. Generally,

<sup>44</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 576.

<sup>45</sup> G. Küntzel, M. Hass, *Die Politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern*, Vol. 2, Leipzig and Berlin 1920, pp. 59 and n.

<sup>46</sup> *Historia Pomorza*, Vol. 2: *Do roku 1815*, pt 2: *Pomorze Wschodnie w latach 1657–1815*, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1984, pp. 507–509.

<sup>47</sup> *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Vol. 2: *1572–1795*, ed. Z. Wójcik, Warszawa 1982, p. 387.

<sup>48</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 602.

<sup>49</sup> J.G. Schwengel, *Apparatus ad Annales Cartusiae Paradisi B. M. V. prope Dantiscum*, Vol. 5, p. 172.

they show greater or lesser awareness of changes on the international arena that were difficult to predict and could be unfavourable for the city. There is some kind of sympathy for Prussia and its king, who participated in the war since its outburst and once defeated started fighting again several times.

The first message about this war, containing a poem and illustration, was probably made at the end of 1756 on the news of the Prussian invasion of Saxony and the Prussian blockade of Saxon troops under Pirna. The illustration 5.11 shows approximations to the actual positions of both armies, terrain, and city location. Two armies were set up opposite each other in battle formation under the city's ramparts, with riders in Prussian dragoon uniforms, who controlled the support area. In the background we see a powerful explosion that blows fragments of the walls out into the air. The area is mountainous. Unfortunately, no text was written that would help to accurately interpret this painting but it must have been obvious for Gdańsk citizens of that time. It was probably through oral accounts and information about the course of events. Perhaps they were already familiar with the copperplate by the chronicler of the Seven Years' War, Ben Jochai.

The attributes painted are the black Prussian eagle, which rises to flight from the cartouche, and on its sides there are banners – Prussian to the left and to the right – Saxon and Austrian. It is worth noting that the sun appears from the upper cartouche, where the names of the guild authorities were always placed; its rays illuminate the page.

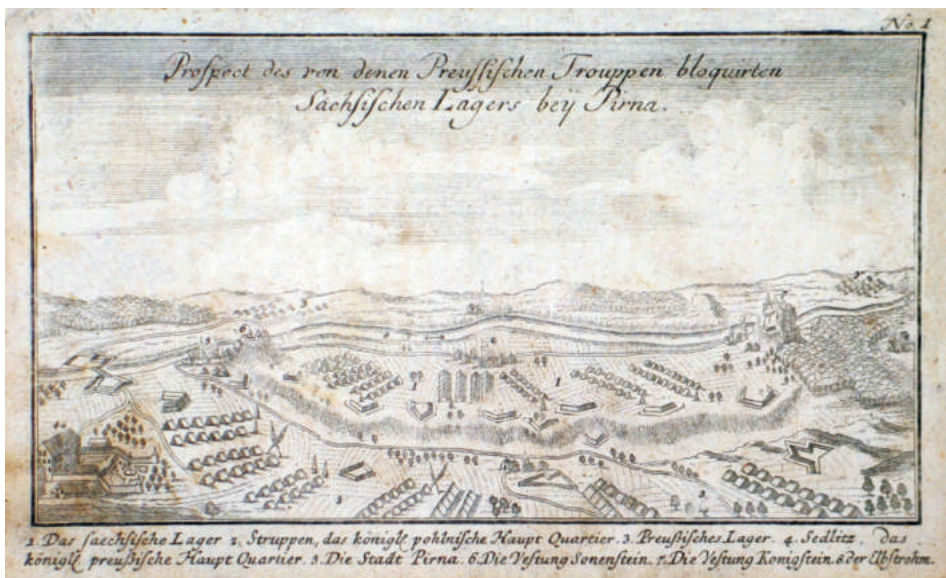


Illustration 5.11. A copper engraving made by Simeon ben Jochai, who reported on the Seven Years' War in this way.

#### 5.4. The Warning of the Seven Years' War



Illustration 5.12. Detail of c. 70.

An allegorical poem written on the back of the preceding card is difficult to interpret. One can only suppose that the author wanted to compare the fate of Frederick II of Prussia to Pompeii and a lizard. Probably the text and the painting were made later than the entries of journeymen's liberations, so after the first military failures of the Prussian king and after the loss of the territories of East Prussia (former Ducal Prussia) to Russia. The text includes a cautious evaluation of the war as well as the craftsmanship and failures of the Prussian king Frederick II.

But each Alexander also wants to have his own Pompeia  
Yet Frederick will share in the heroes' achievements,  
If he is reinforced like Salamandris,  
Then perhaps he will rejoyce again, heaven allows (c. 69v.).

It is difficult to say why the hopes pertaining to Frederick's actions were compared to the fate of distant Pompeii. The reason may be that although they were destroyed by the volcanic eruption in 79, since 1748 excavations were undertaken and enjoyed great public interest. It may have given the impression that the city came to life

because it attracted great interest from Europeans. One may better understand this comparison when it is combined with the consideration of lizard-salamander symbols.

Already in ancient times people believed that it was an animal that liked fire and was resistant to it. “Fire of War” was started by Frederick II, the beginning of which brought him success, but the coalition of mighty states of the Continent, such as Austria, France, and Russia tried to surround him; on the old Continent they did not win. The lizard – according to *The Book of Proverbs* – “cannot be caught” (Proverbs 30:28). Therefore, it was a symbol of survival, renewal, regeneration and rebirth. The French king Francis I chose it for his emblem<sup>50</sup>. In Gdańsk, its sculpture was placed on the fireplace in the Winter Hall of the City Hall, which was understood to prevent the spread of fire from the fireplace.

The “miracle of the Brandemburian house” (1757–1761) became history; it referred to the activity of Frederick II, who at that time showed extraordinary activity and perseverance despite the defeats suffered (after the battle of Kunersdorf [Kunowice] on 12 August, 1759, where he came with 50 000 soldiers but the next day there were only 3000 of them left) he was constantly reviving. He was also compared to a hydra with regenerating heads<sup>51</sup>.

Similarly, it is difficult to interpret the illustration on c. 72, referring to the year 1758, which could have been painted before 17 April 1759 because the entries made on that day by journeymen are on the preceding and following pages. Probably on that day the empty space on c. 71 was used to enroll Johann Constantin Röffcke to the Gdańsk Fraternity; his master was Christian Andreas Bahrt.

The painting is preceded by two lines telling of “our Frederick’s weapon”, which is used against the bold and brash Muslim. The first line emphasizes the importance of the skull with the tibia, which is a sign of death, and was placed on the capes of Prussian grenadiers. It is supposed to raise alarm and announce defeat to every opponent.

On the other hand, the second stanza may refer to the king and to death which is the ruler of every human life. The author, an inhabitant of Gdańsk, says that “he wants to face a king who values gold and money. They warm his heart”. That’s why he puts away his thoughts about death and sorrows, and “words of death do not frighten me”. The last verse contains a call addressed to every citizen of Gdańsk and to the whole city, to whoever wants to face the king of Prussia:

Everybody knows that I do not fear anything,  
So I want to square up to you (c. 71v.).

<sup>50</sup> A. Roob, *Das hermetische Museum Alchemie & Mystik*, Köln 1996, p. 488; M. Maier, *Atlanta fugiens*, Oppenheim 1618, Emblema XXIX, pp. 85–86; *Salamnder* [in:] *Paulus Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1920, Vol. 12, pt 2, pp. 1821–1822.

<sup>51</sup> E. Rostworowski, *Historia powszechna. Wiek XVIII*, Warszawa 1980, p. 516.



#### 5.4. The Warning of the Seven Years' War



Illustration 5.13. Detail of c. 72.

An image of these considerations is an oval picture supported by a Prussian grenadier and a timidly emerging Cossack or a member of the Citizen Guard. A black eagle in a closed crown, holding a purple cloth in its talons is looking down at the panorama of a battle from the top of the frame. The miniature depicts a battlefield where Prussian cavalry is trampling the opposing forces, probably Cossack riders. In the distance you can see a city and mountains. A Prussian soldier is standing in the foreground, while another, an ununiformed one is peeping from behind him. On the sides you can see two trees; the left with yellowed autumn leaves and the right is still green. Below the bottom cartouche there are roses and fresh vegetation placed in a basket. The colour scheme of this depiction is joyful in character. The attributes may suggest that the painter attempted to present an unresolved battle that took place at Sarbinow (*Zorndorf*) on August 25, 1758.

The third illustration referring to the time of the Seven Years' War shows a view of the city of Gdańsk surrounded by a moat and walls. On the left you can see the bridge

leading to the Upland Gate. Under the embankments, from Biskupia Góra, where the panorama of the city is most beautiful and was often shown in illustrations, there are marching or standing infantry troops with commanders and three unattended cannons. A fire broke out in one place; there is no evidence of it in the sources to be found.

This illustration is preceded by a poetic prayer directed to Divine Providence, written on the occasion of the passing year 1759. It contains several threads: in the first one the author draws the reader's attention to the events of the past, goes back to the previous year, in which the city reached the wrath of God: "You threw fire and my house stood in flames". But the fire was sent by a hand full of love, which protected them from even greater danger. Perhaps because of the content of this work, the flames and fire that are visible in the centre of Gdańsk were added to the painting. It can be interpreted as the fire of war that touches the heart of the city. The author continues:

Therefore at the end of this year I sing you, good God,  
a thanksgiving song and a song of praise for the newcoming year.  
How kind you were to us last year,  
You protected our town, oh good Lord,  
Against the war and enemy that stories had been told about,  
Against the war and the moans of the wounded that had been written about,  
Against the battlefields that were bathed in blood.  
So far we have lived in constant fear  
That you might pay us back justly like you did to others.  
Oh, who knows what else may befall on us,  
So give us a lasting peace, good God,  
As there is nothing more splendid than this town.

Further prayers were written for the blessing of God in the new year of 1760. After three years of war, bakers in Gdańsk turned their hopes away from human institutions, states and monarchs, and turned to God, in whose hands was the fate of war and decisions of the warring parties.

So give us lasting peace, good God,  
As there is nothing more splendid than this town.  
Let us never become tired of praying and appealing.  
Be our strength in the morning, bless us day and night.  
And when your hand sends this upon us  
We will continue to praise you with our lips and hearts.  
God, let your name and glory be worshipped forever,  
For all we lived through last year.  
If I fall down, you will raise me.  
I know I will be granted your blessing.

5.4. The Warning of the Seven Years' War



Illustration 5.14. View of the battle of Zorndorf (Sarbinow). Copperplate made by Simeon ben Jochai in 1758<sup>51</sup>.



Illustration 5.15. Detail of c. 74.

<sup>51</sup> *Die Historie des Kriegs zwischen den Preussen und ihren Bundsgenossen, und den Oesterreichern und ihren Bundsgenossen ... wie solche beschrieben hat R. Simeon Ben Jochai auf eine redliche Weise* (1758).



Perhaps that is why, for the following year, the fraternity authorities ordered an illustration of a paradise in which humans and animals live in harmony. “And so all the living creatures follow their creator’s summons until the destiny of the creation will be fulfilled”.

The lack of military and political solutions resulted in the creation of the allegory of justice and hope for the next two years: 1760 and 1761.



Illustration 5.16. View of two cc. 75v. and 76.



The year 1762, in turn, was highlighted by two illustrations referring to peace between Prussia and Russia, after the death of Empress Elisabeth Piotrowna and the accession to the throne of Peter III, and then of Catherine II. First, the painter immortalized peace by a picture of a handshake between Frederick II, the Great Prussian King and Peter III, the Tsar of Russia, and then Catherine II, who extended her hand to the Prussian king<sup>53</sup>. The sudden and unexpected reversal of the political situation, then the military one, were immortalized on c. 83. Two scenes were painted and two complementary sentences were recorded on the preceding page.

The first one:

Two kings shake hands

As a sign of friendship and

Reconcilliation,

The terrible war is coming to an end, its effects are dying out.

And they are united by a relationship of noble

Friendship.

The commentator distinguished the peace concluded between Russia and Prussia, which directly concerned Gdańsk, from the problems of German and other European states with which the city had been trading and maintaining economic relationships and from which many members of the baker's corporation came. Therefore, looking more broadly, he also asks Empress Catherine to keep peace throughout Europe, which he understood as a place with which Gdańsk inhabitants identified:

Oh, if only the most powerful of women rulers

And the grand prince of Prussia

Wanted to act similarly,

Then the blissful peace would fall upon Germany

And the whole of Europe would live in harmony (c. 82v.).

The restauration of political peace on the continent was disturbed by the news of the death of the Polish king, which might lead to the struggle of political parties connected with the election of the successor to the throne, or perhaps to the war for the Polish throne. The city, which had been very much experienced during the previous election, only hoped for a non-violent course of events and the election of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. For this reason, Russia's protection seemed desirable for a peaceful takeover of power.

These events were illustrated by the laudation addressed to Divine Providence expressing gratitude for the peace during the reign of Augustus III Sas, who referred to

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<sup>53</sup> Comp. *Historia Pomorza...*, pp. 514–515.



Illustration 5.17. Detail of c. 83.

Both illustrations were commented on the preceding page; they expressed joy at putting an end to The Seven Years' War:

Europe enjoys peace and harmony.  
 One country calls for others to maintain the peace.  
 Gdańsk is not mute, either, it sings joyful songs.

the postulates of the Gdańsk commoners with kindness and deserved their gratitude for letting them govern the city through their representatives.

Two symbolic drawings were painted on this occasion. The first depicts an allegory of consensus (*concordia*) and peace. A woman in a knight's helmet is holding a laurel wreath in one hand, looking at it (ancient theme), and in the other a green palm leaf, a symbol of joy and triumph for Christians. It is probably connected with a positive evaluation of the reign of Augustus III by Gdańsk residents.

The second cartouche contains symbols of passing, which remind us that even the most glorious reign is coming to an end, and the ruler must also die. Equality in confrontation with death calls for everyone to remember the coming of death – *memento mori* (c. 86). Apart from the attributes of passing already portrayed in the book: a skull on a black book (perhaps the Bible), withered flowers in a vase from which their petals drop, a candle flushed in the candlestick with a smoke rising from the taper, a sheet of paper with musical notes and some musical instruments put aside, there is another very important element incorporated into the picture, also known from Dutch paintings, namely soap bubbles (more on this in chapter 7).

But the joy of ending the war was linked with fears about Poland's future fate due to the death of King Augustus III, which was a source of anxiety about succession to the throne in the country where kings were elected. The battle for the Polish throne in 1733 and 1734 had already been recorded in *The Book of the fraternity* and had a serious impact on the city. The history of the reign of Augustus III (1733–1763) was seen by historians as a period of struggle of magnate coteries, growing dependence on the neighbours and the peak of political and state disorganization. But what was the assessment of the king's rule among average burghers of Gdańsk? The Gdańsk community felt that Poland was helpless during the Seven Years' War. This was reflected on the pages of *The Book*; they may have been concerned about the fate of the state at the time of the inter reign. Therefore, the editors of the book commissioned to add the following remark:

Among these signs of appreciation Augustus  
Leaves.  
Augustus becomes stiff and dies after thirty  
Years of his reign.  
He used to point his sceptre towards Gdańsk.

The authors of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* probably meant to add one more ruthless player to the deliberations about actions of political people, that is the time, which inexorably brings about changes. It can fulfill two roles: a positive one supporting the humanity or, on the contrary, playing a tragic role. At the *theatre mundi* the curtain falls from time to time and behind it there comes a change of situation and decoration in the play of life, which is still to go on until it is finished and passed through death to eternity.



Illustration 5.18. View of c. 86.

### 5.5. Gdańsk Attitude to the Reform of the State and to King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski

It seems that the election and the crowning of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was celebrated in Gdańsk more modestly than the election of the previous rulers. In Gdańsk there was a tradition that people were informed about events related to the beginnings of the reign of the newly elected king. In literary tradition of urban elites it was informing the townspeople through a kind of leaflets about such an event. For example, at the beginning of the reign of Augustus II, a kind of proclamation was published after it had been read out in churches. It recalled the events of the previous months, i.e. the death of John III Sobieski and the election of Augustus II and his coronation. The public was then informed of the internal situation of the state, the changes taking place, the candidates to the throne and the course of election. This was done by means of preaching sermons in churches and publishing sermons and songs of praise in honour of the new Polish king.

On the election of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski sermons of Andrzej Kühn, Konstanty Schütz and Samuel Schelwig were used as a model of occasional publications. On the election and coronation of Augustus II, a song of praise was also issued, in which Kühn welcomed the new king as successor of John III and introduced him as the embodiment of wisdom, justice, courage and good counsel. He directed his words of hope to the king as the lord and father of the state and Gdańsk.

As far as the election of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski is concerned, it has been assumed so far that the most important piece of information was the display of two stage plays by the highly regarded European theatre group of Francis Schuch the Elder. The author of both panegyrics was Jan Krystian Brandes (1735–1799), playwright and actor of this theatrical group<sup>54</sup>. Sermons were probably preached and published. The speech of Fryderyk Bobrik (1734–1807), evangelical preacher in Nowy Staw since 1757, delivered on the day of the coronation, has been preserved. It was published in Gdańsk<sup>55</sup>. The printed edition started with a panegyric dedication addressed to the king, the commendation of the day of the coronation, and he essentially referred to many passages of the Scriptures just to appeal to the public to give the new ruler the right to expect obedience, fidelity and love from his subjects. And because his people were Christians, he might demand exemplary service to God and prayer for his intentions. Bobrik's sermon is a laudation (*genus demonstrativum*) and a persuasive-reflexive statement (*genus deliberativum*)<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVIII wieku...*, pp. 51–54.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 55–56.



*The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* includes a poem in two colours written after the news of the election of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. The first part was done in purple – the royal colour of deep symbolism and the other in green – emphasizing the hopes placed on the new ruler. The value of this occasional poem is underlined by the fact that there are no similar songs on the subject. It expresses the people's gratitude to God for taking care of their homeland and the city in the turbulent time, especially because the period of election of the new ruler ended without unrest, war and territorial, political and economic losses. At the same time, they were reminded of their duties towards the new ruler.

The use of colours belongs to the most eloquent means of expression. They define people, nations, communities and families. In this text they were used as a manifestation of political attitudes, expressions of homage and joy.

As the words of the first part are addressed directly to the ruler, they are written in red-purple, which from ancient times was the colour of power, empire and of supreme priesthood<sup>57</sup>. In the Bible it is a sign of strength and youth, the colour of warriors as a sign of their blood being shed, their lives exposed to great haphazard and fiery courage. Crimson indicates self-awareness, strength and creativity<sup>58</sup>. In the Middle Ages it envisaged those who, enduring torments for God's sake, exuded a flame of love from their hearts<sup>59</sup>. The people of Gdańsk prayed for the king's successful reign and love for the city which they understood as his care and defending its privileges.

The author wrote the following words in purple:

Enjoy the happiness that is sent from heaven,  
You who love so dearly the success of Gdańsk and Poland!  
Consider with what great kindness you have been treated  
By him who has given you the king of your dreams!  
Say, who would think and even hope  
That this happy time time would come!  
United in peace, living in harmony and luxury,  
We gratefully thank our good fortune  
Which gave us our King, father and hero,  
Great Stanislaus, Poland's real treasure!

The name Stanislaus was highlighted and the prayer full of hope in which the King was entrusted to the grace of Divine Providence was written in green, which, from the time of Dionysius the Areopagite, has been seen as a positive symbol and associated with the Garden of Paradise and the hope of eternal happiness and blessing of God.

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<sup>57</sup> M. Rzepińska, *Historia koloru w dziejach malarstwa europejskiego*, Kraków 1983, p. 126.

<sup>58</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, pp. 118–120.

<sup>59</sup> G. Haupt, *Die Farbensymbolik in der sakralen Kunst des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Dresden 1941, pp. 93 and 137.

Green announces a renewal of life which will last forever. In secular symbolism, since the Enlightenment, there is an earthly hope for love and happiness in it linked to spring and the awakening of nature<sup>60</sup>. In his colour references Pope Innocent III described it as *color medius* because it is achieved as a result of mixing blue and yellow. It symbolizes hope, gentleness and reconciliation<sup>61</sup>.

They wrote the following text in green:

Let Eternal God, who loves you and us,  
Protect you, the anointed king and hero!  
Let him become your beaver and shield,  
so that you remain surrounded by love and fame  
both in times of war and peace,  
For the next few generations,  
And engrave in our hearts as follows:  
Divine Providence has made me your father, just for your own good.  
Respect this gift. Accept your fate!

The authorities of the corporation commissioned the painter to illustrate this with two paintings on p. 88. The first shows the king sitting on a step, in front of his own throne, clothed in a purple-robed armour with an ermine lining. The hand of Divine Providence, emerging from a cloud, is putting a royal crown on his head; it is in the shape similar to that appearing on the Gdańsk coat of arms. Rays of God's grace are beaming from the clouds. The painter referred to Christian tradition, which from the very beginning of its creation recognized that all authority belongs to God and comes from Him. God grants power to the king, and then he gets lower and lower to those whom the king handed over a small part of his power. Although the Polish nobility was empowered to choose their ruler, it was God who granted him the power<sup>62</sup>. Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was a Christian king by the will of God, which was expressed by the nobles during the free election. The topos emphasized that the heavens sent the "gift" of the new king to Gdańsk and Poland, which was received "in peace and oneness, in accord and luxury". There is also a call for the city community to praise "the gracious fate that gave us the King and the hero, Grand Stanislaus, happiness for Poland!"

The second image placed on the same page, under the coat of arms of the corporation, represents a hen that is defending its chicks against an attacking black dog<sup>63</sup>. It is a beautiful allegory showing the role of the king, who shields the defenseless herd with his person, care and efforts. It is also an allegorical representation of the dog. Its black

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<sup>60</sup> M. Rzepińska, *Historia koloru...*, p. 130.

<sup>61</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, pp. 122–123.

<sup>62</sup> J.P. Roux, *Król. Mity i symbole*, trans. K. Marczevska, Warszawa 1998, pp. 226–227.

<sup>63</sup> Gd. Lib. PAN, Ms 936, c. 88.

colour and growling expresses its expectation of some error on the part of the hen which would allow him to reach its offspring protected by its outstretched wings. It all leads to a supposition that it refers to the Prussian king, who, after the successful end of the Seven Years' War, directed his desires to the Royal Prussia.

With the election of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski a new political situation in Poland arose, connected with the new period of state reform, aiming at modernisation. These efforts were noted in the edition of an ode on the King's birthday, printed in Gdańsk. This forgotten text precedes another one by Jan Daniel Glummert, who praised Stanislaus Augustus in thirteen ornate style decasyllable stanzas. He called the King "the happiness and adornment of the earth" and the awe-inspiring sovereign of Europe, for his activities are focused on the state and its reform. He also lists a number of the King's merits pertaining to the state, art and science<sup>64</sup>. As early as 17<sup>th</sup> January 1766, the author revealed the existence of a Gdańsk party interested in restoration of the country, or directed his text to the public to call their attention to the positive actions of the court for the reform of the state<sup>65</sup>.

This entailed the need to open new institutions, structures of government and state funding and to limit or even abolish certain particular privileges and powers of several regions in Poland. This caused a conflict between the state interests and the particular laws of Gdańsk and the whole of Royal Prussia. It was not until Frederick II established a customs chamber in Kwidzyn and started the official collection of 10% tax of all goods transported there by the Vistula River (and in fact, even up to 33%), from March 15, 1765<sup>66</sup> which could have been the cause of an allegorical presentation of the Prussian king as "the black dog" and led to pinning their hopes upon the Polish King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski.

These thoughts were emphasized in another poem written on a similar subject in the following year (1765). This time the joy of choosing the king was combined with a reminder of the oath of allegiance made by the city delegation to the king. Again, thanksgiving was sent to God for the election of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski and his virtues were praised. First of all, his prudence was emphasized, which made him cover the city with his paternal care and recognition of its privileges.

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<sup>64</sup> E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVIII wieku...*, pp. 76–77.

<sup>65</sup> [...] sey Sarmatens Heyl,  
Sey groà, sey König, herrsch, regiere.  
Der Purpur sey Dein Lohn, Dein Theil,  
Der Deine seltne Tugend ziere.  
Sey Titus, sey Trojanen gleich,  
Sey mächtig, angeschen, reich,  
Bring Polens Glück zur gröäten Höhe [...].

Cite as: E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVIII wieku...*, p. 77.

<sup>66</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 605.

fruchtlos, erstickt das Gluck, das Fug des Spinnal Gewalt,  
für die für Dargind flost, um schlen Mosefart liabt!  
für weigt, wie waberlig, der auf für Mosefart darrt,  
das Fug, wie für gewirkt, den Dufan König giabt!  
Wagt, was man nie gadaist, nur aus Lammleuten lassen,  
das ist für unferm Gluck, das mit sich angatrasen!  
du bist und Frucht, in find me überleut,  
warstam wie gewirkt, der Vorfiß milden Dillig,  
der auf den König gab, den Natur und den Galt  
den Grafen Stanislaw, das Gluck der Selaffen Ralt!

Der Fuga der die liabt, und die und lebend giabt,  
der ganze über die; der Altbare, König, Galt!  
der Fug der Galt und Dillig, daß die von me galeabt,  
der Gaganforn der Kump in freidan, und in Galt,  
das auf die Kaganforn bleibt,  
um in gute Gaganforn freibt,  
der Vorfiß gab wie Fug zum Natur und zum Gluck,  
warstam die Gaganforn! Galtat die Gaganforn!





Illustration 5.19.  
View of cc. 87v. and 88.

Your Highness, King Stanislaus,  
Mighty Augustus,  
The whole of Gdańsk worships  
You with all their hearts,  
They vow loyalty  
That will last till  
Our death  
Within the walls of this city.  
Deeply moved, we praise our God  
Who remembered about us  
When appointing the wisest man  
Our king!  
The defender of our town,  
The best of fathers,  
The dearest advisor  
In times of trouble.  
Therefore we all  
Call out:  
Let Augustus live! Let Stanislaus  
Live! (c. 89v.)

An illustration of this beautiful poem expressing tribute and surrender to the city's ruler is a drawing depicting King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski sitting on the throne and receiving a delegation of Gdańsk citizens, dressed in bourgeois style in black jackets with white ruffs, according to the provisions of the Evangelical creed. They were presented with raised right hands and fingers folded in a gesture indicating an oath (c. 90v.). Since this drawing was made in 1765, it probably referred to an audience given to the town's assignee, Krzysztof Ernest Leuschner, who donated 20 000 ducats and introduced arguments against the introduction of general customs duties. It may also refer to the approval of the privileges of the city and the city law by the King in 1764<sup>67</sup>.

The beginning of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski's reign was a period of attempts to reform the state and transform Poland into a modern state. This led to the necessity of limiting, among others, the privileges of Royal Prussia and particularly Gdańsk. As early as at the convocation Sejm in 1764, an introduction of general duty was postulated. Royal Prussia, especially Gdańsk, strongly opposed this, which caused some unfriendly reactions among members of the nobility. Negotiations with Gdańsk representatives continued during the electoral and coronation Sejm. The general duty rates were set as follows: 10% of exported goods, but only 2 zloty for one last of cereal (in 1764 in Gdańsk one last of wheat cost 220–330 florins, ie the tax was less than 1%

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<sup>67</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 605.

and the rye was 125–170 florins, which was just over 1%), while in imports 4% on goods necessary for life, 8% on goods needed, and 12% on luxury goods.

Customs duties adversely affected the conditions of trade carried out by large Prussian cities, so the representatives of Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg met in Gdańsk for a special consultation and petitioned the Russian ambassador to Warsaw, Hermann Karol Kayserling. They added legal arguments to the economic ones, recalling the promise of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, who had obliged the future kings of Poland not to impose any new duties in his incorporation act in 1454. It was also attempted to use the thesis about the city's exclusive dependence on the Polish king rather than on the Sejm.

These were traditional ways to fight for the approval of their rights and privileges in Gdańsk, although seeking support from a foreign power that had already broken the sovereignty of Poland was a form of betrayal. Added to them was a delegation of the town's assignee to the king, who gave the king a gift of 20 000 ducats, and at the same time presented arguments against the introduction of a general customs duty at an audience with the monarch. King Stanislaus Augustus spoke in favour of introducing Sejm resolutions

and the proposals of the court to cover Royal Prussia with a lump sum tax were not accepted. That year Gdańsk was granted the approval of its privileges by the King, but, interestingly, in the same year Empress Catherine II confirmed the rights and privileges of the city granted by Empress Anna in 1736 as an expression of gratitude for joining the general confederation backed by Russia.

The situation was very dynamic however, because in April 1764 Frederick II concluded a treaty with Russia; one of its aims was to keep Poland weak. A joint resistance



Illustration 5.20. View of c. 90.



against the introduction of general duty in Poland was therefore a consequence of this fact. That is why the Prussian Member of Parliament in Warsaw also made reservations about the reform. There was an exchange of diplomatic notes and a polemic on the compatibility of internal reforms of the Republic with international law and treaties.

The authorities of the Polish Republic published a tariff on 25 February 1765 and started to introduce it. Large Prussian cities responded with a protest manifesto that provoked an outrage of the royal court. Frederick II issued an order to set up a Prussian customs house in Kwidzyn on March 13 and began collecting the already mentioned duty (from March 15)<sup>68</sup>.

Gdańsk inhabitants found themselves in a difficult situation. On the one hand, they protested against the general duty in Poland, but even more distressing was the Prussian duty and the intervention of Frederick II in internal affairs of the Polish state, which was why they sought help from the Polish king. In the end Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski turned to Catherine II for assistance and through this intervention Frederick II suspended activities of the customs chamber in Kwidzyn in mid-June 1765; negotiations started in Warsaw between Poland and Prussia lasted until October. Empress Catherine II took on the role of a mediator and obliged Frederick II to close down the customs chamber in Kwidzyn by the end of March 1766. She also obliged Stanislaus Augustus to put forward a proposal to abolish the general duty at the next session of Parliament. The Sejm passed the bill in October 1766<sup>69</sup> but, despite the pressure from Russian and Prussian diplomacy, it firmly opposed any attempt to enlarge the rights and freedom of the non-Catholic population. By the end of 1766 it turned out that the attempt at obtaining full freedom of religion and saving the autonomy of the Prussian Province legally was unsuccessful<sup>70</sup>.

Therefore, the next verse was written with concern about their own particular interests and even the call to fight for them. Gdańsk adopted a negative attitude at that time; it supported the dismissal of the modern state tax reform which would significantly strengthen Polish economy.

It follows that the political views in the city were influenced not only by economic considerations but also by religious denominations. Since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century anti-dissident propaganda intensified; freedom and political powers of dissidents were reduced. Considerable numbers of the nobility changed their faith to Roman Catholicism. Therefore, Protestants, most of them burghers, sought to protect and guarantee their rights with the king, but also (disregarding possible grave consequences and perhaps not even being aware of them) in neighbouring countries – Russia

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<sup>68</sup> *Histoira Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 605.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 606.

<sup>70</sup> J. Dydała, *Życie polityczne Prus Królewskich u schyłku ich związku z Rzeczpospolitą w XVIII wieku: tendencje unifikacyjne a partykularyzm*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 188–194.



and Prussia, England and Denmark. The first two countries, under the pretext of defending the dissenters' rights, practiced a policy of meddling in the Republic's internal affairs and hindered the progress of state reform.

Under the inspiration and the protectorate of Russia and Prussia a confederation of dissidents for the Royal Prussia, Wielkopolska and Małopolska was established in Toruń on March 20, 1767. The City Council of Gdańsk decided in favour of joining it as early as in March 23; it was not a spontaneous decision, but a deliberate one. It had already been discussed how to respond to the growing dissident opposition movement in Royal Prussia, aimed at defending their religious and political rights. At the request of the Council, the municipal receiver Gotfryd Lengnich made a historical and legal argument for accession but on the other hand, advising against participation in the confederation. They probably discussed and weighed down all arguments but finally decided to hastily join the Confederacy. Empress Catherine II was considered to be a righteous protector who would allow restitution of old privileges of the town and the province. In this situation the authors of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* called the Polish king Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski a "tyrant" persecuting his people. It is important to note that the city authorities were engaged in the confederacy only to a limited extent as it was common knowledge that the city could be charged with treason<sup>71</sup>.

It is worth asking whether the question of religious freedom became the most important issue for the Gdańsk commonage during the Confederacy times. The Gdańsk authorities cared above all for the economic interests of the city and abstained from extreme religious and political demands<sup>72</sup>. Yet the next verse in *The Book* states:

Suddenly the tyrant starts to persecute  
His own people, till the very death.

And a further call:

Arrange to siege his throne! [...]  
The rulers of two countries  
Shake hands amicably,  
To discuss prudently  
Their difficult position.

These are words of appreciation for the actions of Russia and Prussia supporting the Toruń Confederacy, but the confederacy itself was negatively assessed as a form of

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<sup>71</sup> J. Dygdała, *Udział Gotfryda Lengnicha w toruńskiej konfederacji dysyentycznej w 1767 roku*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 1977, Vol. 42, fasc. 4, pp. 12 and n.

<sup>72</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 613.

civil war, and therefore very burdensome. After all, they stated that “Polish dissidents seem to lean heavily towards Baal”.

That is why the author further prays that God should direct the work of King Stanislaus Augustus in such a way as to soften the hearts of the deputies, to change their attitude, which was described as hateful against dissidents. Finally, he urges the ruler to spread peace everywhere and in return God would bless the royal house! It is evident that the author of the poem knew King Stanislaus Augustus’ feeling for religious tolerance and appreciated his efforts to find a compromise in this difficult situation. Propagating tolerance was one of his aims<sup>73</sup>. However, the author of the poem did not understand the true intentions of Empress Catherine and the Prussian king Frederick II, who sought to interfere with the internal affairs of the state under the postulate of full equality of heretics. At first, the Empress needed only freedom of worship for them and the king was all for it, but later she unexpectedly and dramatically increased her demands for equal rights for dissidents in political life in order to be able to interfere further with the affairs of the state. The king saw the danger and supported the Polish reason of state<sup>74</sup>. Unfortunately, this was beyond the understanding of people in Gdańsk at that time, who cared for no more than their own benefit or that of the Royal Prussia and reformed denominations.

The author’s statement is clearly devoid of determination and support of one position. His opinions and attitudes vary and sometimes contradict one another. Maintaining freedom of evangelical religion seems to be priority. Meanwhile, in the summer, before the 1766 Sejm session, it was stressed that the independence of the Polish state required the inviolability of the prevailing Catholic religion. Deputies, mainly Catholic bishops, claimed they would not allow any concessions to dissidents<sup>75</sup>. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize the date of the poem – October 7<sup>th</sup>, i.e. on the second day of the Sejm of 1766. Gdańsk population could not have been aware of this event at that time. The king then suddenly supported the defenders of the Catholic religion, rejecting the cooperation with Repin.

The words of the poem express expectations of the Gdańsk community and hopes placed in the Sejm. For the first time, the king of Poland is called a tyrant who begins to persecute his people and Catherine and King Frederick II, who intervened in defense of the dissidents, are praised. The appreciation of such an attitude is linked to the words of a prayer directed to Divine Providence offering protection to Protestants in Gdańsk and Royal Prussia by the intervention of foreign courts demanding the preservation of old customs in Poland without any fiscal, military or religious reform.

<sup>73</sup> *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Vol. 2: 1572–1795..., p. 505.

<sup>74</sup> *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, Vol. 2, pt 1, eds. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, Poznań–Warszawa 1979, pp. 42–43.

<sup>75</sup> A. Kraushar, *Książę Repnin i Polska w pierwszym czteroleciu panowania Stanisława Augusta (1764–1768)*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1900, <http://fbc.pionier.net.pl/id/oai:kpbk.umk.pl:41430> [access: 1.08.2017].

Yahweh is still guarding us,  
He is still protecting us mercifully,  
He is still mocking the enemy,  
He is still supporting the poor,  
When suddenly the tyrant starts to persecute  
His own people, till the very death.

All the great gods of this country,  
arrange to siege his throne! In vain!  
That is God's Son!  
One cannot pull down his kingdom.  
Use torture, your power or all your tricks,  
But remember that God is also a king.

Polish dissenters seem to  
Lean towards Baal.  
Easy! God is keeping watch in the temple,  
He breaks hard hearts,  
At his wave sovereigns rise  
And slow down their pace.

The rulers of two countries  
Shake hands amicably,  
To discuss prudently  
Their difficult position.  
Not only the empress of Russia,  
But also Prussia send their envoys.

Overcome with fierce compassion  
Approaches the prince's throne,  
Beggs to prevent the disaster,  
That thousands of her enemies wish for.  
Yet envy has won,  
And caused havoc around.

Oh, God! Lead honourable Augustus,  
Soften the hearts of the mighty  
Let all hatred that now rules in  
Many hearts disappear  
Spread peace everywhere around  
And bless the royal seat!  
Written by another hand is the following verse:  
The long-awaited convention

## 5. Political Consciousness of the Gdańsk Commonalty

Of disuniats and dissenters,  
That took place in Warsaw  
7<sup>th</sup> October, 1766 AD

It was illustrated by an image of the king sitting on the throne and receiving two delegates dressed in French attire. The first one has a green outfit (which suggests a Russian representative, perhaps Mikołaj W. Replin, the ambassador), who is holding a letter, probably written by Catherine II, pointing his finger to the king, demanding execution of her orders. Behind him there is another figure, dressed in navy blue, who may be the Prussian representative Gedeon de Benoit, giving support to those demands. All this is likely to refer to a private audience given to both deputies by the king on November 11, 1766. What is symbolic here are the efforts of Russia and Prussia to defend the rights of Polish dissidents. In his speech Repin solemnly emphasized that “the eminent empress [...] is interested in the prerogatives of national freedom, but also in true patriots, objecting to these dangerous new trends”.

That the purpose of the book is to shape pro-Polish patriotism, considered to be right, is mentioned explicitly in the last verse of the book. The author states in a straightforward manner:

Never before have the dissenters' dreams  
Met with a more favourable response.

He adds that the power of truth will overcome all difficulties and abolish all persecution of the weaker brother. Those brothers in the national family are dissidents who call for assistance.

Perhaps they would never be so lucky,  
Unless in a distant future,  
And live to gain full rights  
For their own people,  
If it weren't for the great spirit of Catherine  
Who was kind enough to listen to their pleas.  
That is her wish and her joy,  
That the craving for power dies out (c. 95v.).

This poem allows us to believe that the inhabitants of Gdańsk no longer identified themselves with Poland so unconditionally. Although the Catholic nobility that opposed the previous dissidents' rights, was criticized, yet very gently – it was them who traded with Gdańsk. They are said to desire to limit the “power of truth”, but the nobility, however, is not as fortunate as the burghers, because they cannot boast such a great caretaker as Catherine II, who forced the Polish parliament to respect the





Illustration 5.21. View of c. 93.



Illustration 5.22. View of c. 96.

equality of Lutherans, Calvinists and Orthodox believers. Repin led to the initial signing of the Polish-Russian treaty of 1 December 1767, which solved the situation of dissidents in Poland reestablishing their political and religious powers, but to a lesser degree than the Toruń confederation had demanded. The Sejm resolution was included in the treaty between Poland and Russia, which was finally concluded on February 24,

1768 and ratified by the Sejm on March 5, 1768<sup>76</sup>. This treaty violated Poland's sovereignty and overturned most reforms of 1764–1767<sup>77</sup>. So the following statement should be treated as an exaggeration:

Poland, enthusiastic with gratitude  
And enjoyment sends its emissaries  
To the great empress' throne,  
Whose kindness has been known to them.  
A peace treaty has been signed,  
And all the fundamental rights with it.  
It was not long ago that the persecuted  
Begged for them to be enacted with tears in their eyes.  
Now the wish of their eagle has been satisfied,  
Yes, Poland's dream has been fulfilled (c. 95v.).

These events were illustrated by an image of Catherine II receiving diplomatic mission of the General Confederacy formed in Radom on 23 June 1767 and the Lithuanian General Confederacy formed three weeks earlier. The first delegate is kneeling before the throne of the empress, who is holding a sceptre in her hand, and the other is standing behind him. They are both dressed in French costumes.

Political views of the population of Gdańsk were shaped by intellectual elites of the bourgeoisie who governed the city as well as by prominent Protestant thinkers and clergy. That is why they represented the interests of those groups that cared mainly for their own economic benefits. However, we may notice some positive values, such as the call to sacrifice for the common good, which was understood in a very conservative way, though. In spite of the calls for reflection on the future, Gdańsk people thought that they had used to live better and wished to maintain their privileges.

They acted as if they wanted to stop the time. They perceived the development of social and political systems in their neighbouring states but regardless of their assessment they tried to prevent political changes in their own country, which would require the city to adapt to new conditions. In their conservative attitude they assigned an important role to the Lutheran confession; the City Council was a collegiate superintendent and exercised religious supervision over the urban community. Lutherans in the city accounted for about 85% of the population while Calvinists only about 2%. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Gdańsk there was a decrease in tension between religious denominations, although the number of Protestants was decreasing and the number of Catholics was increasing steadily, from 9.9% at the beginning of the

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<sup>76</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 613.

<sup>77</sup> *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Vol. 2: 1572–1795..., pp. 510–512.

18<sup>th</sup> century to 21.2% at the end<sup>78</sup>. This tendency was noticeable mainly among the nobles and peasants not only in Poland and in Royal Prussia but also in Gdańsk.

These texts are also a testimony of Gdańsk's high trust in the role of Russia and its representatives operating in Warsaw as well as supporters scattered all over Poland.

The main message of the book points to some naivete and poor level of political awareness of the Gdańsk commonage at the time. Bakers reduced their patriotism to a relationship with the Polish king, who was to provide them with social peace – the unanimity in the city and favorable conditions for doing business and freedom of Evangelical religion in the state.

The book ends with that sad accent; what the dissident and disunited part of Polish society considered to be a success in fact marked the beginning of the fall of the state. Foreign powers did not care about the fate of other religions. They aimed at their own political interests and not to help or show concern for any part of Gdańsk community or Polish society.

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<sup>78</sup> J. Baszanowski, *Statystyka wyznań a zagadnienie etniczne Gdańska w XVII–XVIII wieku*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 1989, Vol. 54, fasc. 1, pp. 59 and n.





## 6. SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

### 6.1. Interests of the Commonalty and Corporations

The commonalty of Gdańsk engaged in craft and trade underwent unfavourable changes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The positive balance of trade in the city shrank, the number of ships in the port decreased significantly and the crafts which supplied almost all of Poland with their products and provided for export to foreign markets in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries fell into decline. The population, which exceeded 70 000 in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, fell to 50 000. The city revenues from taxes and other extra incomes also decreased from average 119 000 guldens per year in 1719–1728 to 56 000 in 1733–1740, 40 000 between 1742–1751 and in the years 1753–1756 only 39 000 guldens per year<sup>1</sup>.

Despite this, Gdańsk still prospered thanks to the riches accumulated in the previous period. Building industry was still doing well in the city. Although the Gdańsk Academic College also fell into decline the educational lower levels was supported and developed by the city authorities, which resulted in its popularisation. Thanks to the deliberate policy of *litterati* they successfully developed a network of elementary schools and numerous private institutions. Classes for poor students where education was free were opened and the city and private people generously funded scholarships, books and educational aids for talented young people<sup>2</sup>.

Educated common people demanded some participation in city management. The old alliance of the city authorities, merchants and guild masters in the common front against the poor and in the fight against the protests of journeymen was broken. The escalation of political conflicts occurred between 1748 and 1752<sup>3</sup>, although many of the issues raised in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century had already been the subject of disputes and tenders and had a rather long history. The surge of these political and social struggles touched the entire bourgeoisie of Gdańsk. The alliance of merchants' opposition and

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<sup>1</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte der Stad Danzig...*, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bogucka, *Człowiek i świat...*, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> G. Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs von der ältesten bis zur neusten Zeit*, Vol. 2, Danzig 1823, pp. 161–174.

the Third Rank supported by the Gdańsk commonalty succeeded; the Royal Decree of 20 July 1750 regulated the whole scope of relations within the city although there were quite large discrepancies between the letter of law and its implementation.

The most appropriate picture of events is given by Edmund Cieślak in his work based on an analysis of numerous sources coming from the main participants in these events: the City Council, the Third Rank, the guilds, journeymen and the royal court<sup>4</sup>. A copy of the complaint of the commonage that was addressed to King Augustus III has also been preserved in the library of the guild of bakers<sup>5</sup>. They belonged to one of the four major guilds, actively participated in the events and treated all the successes of that period as their own.

It should be emphasized that all the parties involved in the conflict, appreciating the importance of the printed word as an important tool for shaping public opinion, went for circulars. This was possible due to high level of printing in the city and relatively widespread coverage of education. Each of the parties – the Council, the commonalty and the royal court – used articles and occasional poetry to publicize important decisions, to lay out their arguments and win supporters, or to take up controversy with the opponents<sup>6</sup>.

An important informational event was the publication of the royal declaration of 10<sup>th</sup> February 1750 in German, not in Latin, so that it would be understandable to the general public in Gdańsk. In its 66 points it gave insight into the gravamina (complaints), postulates and demands formulated by the Third Rank, and at the same time informed about the king's position towards them and towards five other matters.

Providing the public with the content of the Third Rank program allowed for its closer identification with the urban community, encouraged people to familiarize with it and compare its demands with their expectations and with the views and needs of craftsmen. The publications also exposed the emerging difficulties and contained evidence of the King's favour for the Gdańsk commonage and its demands.

On the other hand, issuing the Royal Decree of July 20, 1750, as the binding law, was probably blocked in Gdańsk by the censorship of the Council. The ban was, however, broken by the Gdańsk-based commonalty leader Gothilf Wernick, who printed its copies in Dresden and sent them to Gdańsk, first to the members of the Third Rank to acquaint themselves with the new law in Latin and German and later to the wider circles of townsmen. One of these copies survived in the library of the bakers' guild<sup>7</sup>. In this way the tradition of the Gdańsk Council not to publish the most important legal documents concerning the city system was broken with.

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<sup>4</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*

<sup>5</sup> APG, 300, C/1460.

<sup>6</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, pp. 278–279.

<sup>7</sup> APG, 300, C/1495.

The common people went even further; on 16 May 1749 they published a thank-you letter to King Augustus III for the appointment of Gotfrid Lengnich as adviser to the Gdańsk community in disputes between the King and the Council. Not only had the townspeople been informed of the favourable decision, but also a list of members of the Third Rank who had voted for or against sending the letter was also made available to the public. Of the thirteen voters against the letter of gratitude there were as many as six craft masters out of a total of sixteen. It placed those who broke the rule of solidarity of the Third Rank under the pillory of public opinion and was a warning not to be tempted to take up a fraudulent cooperation with the Council in the future.

At the same time, in their efforts to publicize the backstage of the dispute the Third Rank members stressed that they themselves were behind the King's decision, which was so favourable for the population.

There was also a polemic in print, in which the Council and the Third Rank sought to persuade the townspeople of the rightness of their demands on excise, menonites, Jews, and journeymen's movements<sup>8</sup>.

Equally meaningful is the publication, in Polish and German, of the speech delivered by the royal secretary, named Czwordowicz, during the opening of the session of the Assessor's Court. It was about emphasizing the favourable attitude of the royal representative on the recognition of the legal validity of the royal law. The court even added a few more favourable changes and solutions for the burghers. The final settlement of the disputes by the court of law was also printed at the explicit request of the Third Rank, who wished the bourgeois community to know the content of the document concluding the dispute over the validity of the royal ordinance of July 20, 1750, and the commencement of a new phase – namely, its implementation.

Occasional poetry was also published in the form of prints or manuscripts. It was a novelty that, as a rule, the interest of anonymous poets was not only various political events of that period but also – and perhaps even more – a matter of shaping the public opinion by expressing a particular desired attitude and clearly influencing public opinion. The poems were intended to form the views of the reader or the listener. They came from both parties of the dispute.

For example, at the arrival of the royal commissioners, a piece was written and publicised in Gdańsk in 1749, a work unfavorable to the royal commissioners, to the royal court and to the leaders of the common people. The author warned against the opposition's actions, which could lead to greedy financial demands of the royal court, which would affect the city's finances<sup>9</sup>.

Another author undermined beneficial effects of tax reform and, above all, the abolition of excise, which also affected bakers as the main guild leading the opposition.

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<sup>8</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, pp. 283–285.

<sup>9</sup> *Sprawy wewnętrzne miasta*, APG, 300, R/Bb 5, p. 259.

He even stated that reforms had contributed to the deterioration in the quality of bread and beer.

Was hilfft uns das wir kein Accis  
Doch doppelt Schaarwerk geben.  
An Brodt ist gar ein schlecht Gewinnst  
Von Kleister soll man leben,  
Das Bier ist noch schlechter gar  
Als es bey der Accis erst wahr,  
Den Todt wird man sich trinken<sup>10</sup>.

That poem was certainly inspired by the Council as it strongly defended its standpoint and attacked its political opponents.

Of course, it did not remain unanswered; in response the Council and its supporters were criticized and especially its eleven supporters in the Third Rank, who broke its solidarity in April 1750<sup>11</sup>. In another verse, of undoubtedly much higher artistic value, the author issued an appeal to the citizens to firmly defend their freedom, homeland and the well-being of the townspeople. He urges them to take arms, those who love the king, and defeat opponents identified as “Judas’ brothers”.

Wer seine Freyheit liebt, u. Hertz im Leibe hat,  
Der zeige sich behertzt, vors Wohl der Vaterstadt.  
Wohlan ihr Brüder, auf! Nehmt alles wohl in Acht.  
Wer seinen König liebt, der suche frisch zu wagen,  
Wir wollen unverzagt durch gantz vereinte Macht,  
Durch Treu u. Tapfferkeit die Judas Brüder schlagen<sup>12</sup>.

A copy of the manuscript was found on the floor of the Momers’ Cafe<sup>13</sup>.

The poor, in turn, not only criticized the attitude of the Council but also the bakers’. For another poem, composed of cut-out printed letters, was fixed to the town hall door and next to a large guardhouse. The author may have been afraid of the consequences of his attack on the seven mayors and councillors mentioned in it for their support of the city’s tax policy and protection of the “baker traitors”<sup>14</sup>.

From the point of view of the town’s poor, a piece of prose was written and pinned to the door of the Junkers’ Court, where the author attacked merchants, villagers and Kashubians, bakers, brewers and butchers for robbing and cheating people. The Third

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<sup>10</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, p. 261.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 289.

<sup>12</sup> APG, 300, R/Bb 5, p. 583.

<sup>13</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, p. 291.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*.



Rank and the merchants were alleged to have spent eight barrels of gold in order to get to the Bench and the Council, that is to say, power, and that the money could be used to pay the city's debts and pay the workers ("Denn wer dem Arbeiter seinen Lohn nicht giebt, Das sind Bluth-Hunde")<sup>15</sup>.

The author probably meant that in the years 1749–1752 Gdańsk paid off a large loan to the Dutch with delay and great effort<sup>16</sup>.

Privileges of the guilds were secured in the royal ordinance but at the time of the dispute threats from the third social group, the plebs, also appeared. This is evident not only in preserved occasional prints but also manuscript works; they illustrate the use of poetry and illustrations in political fight through various techniques, in which the most important were the visualization of ideas and attitudes, social, religious and political views. It was important for masters to maintain control over journeymen as professional labour force carrying out major work in craftsmen's workshops. Masters' concern was to achieve harmonious interaction, amicable, consistent relationships in their workshops and between the organizations of masters and journeymen and probably between all of them and the inhabitants of the city. The consensus was to protect the outdated medieval guild organization and prevent new improved techniques of production, capital and trade.

As an expression of gratitude to King Augustus III the commonage of Gdańsk ordered his statue with Jan Henryk Meissner, the most eminent Gdańsk sculptor of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In appreciation for the king's protection of their rights, a marble statue was erected in Artus Court on the King's birthday, October 7, 1755.<sup>17</sup>



Illustration 6.1. Statue of Augustus III. Drawing of Curicke's work published in Hamburg in 1799.

<sup>15</sup> Cite as: *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 626.

<sup>17</sup> M. Bogucka, *Człowiek i świat...*, p. 167.

The ceremony was celebrated in numerous artistic forms. Frederick Gottlieb Remmerson, a member of the Third Rank and one of the leaders of the Gdańsk community, made a speech in honour of the King. An occasional song was composed by Jan Baltazar Breislich, the kapellmeister. An occasional poem was also presented and a theatre play by the well-known poet John Adam Tritt was played with expressions of gratitude of Gdańsk bourgeoisie to King Augustus III<sup>18</sup>.

Despite special provisions, legal and political stipulations of their autonomy, Gdańsk residents saw not only external but also internal threats. One of the internal social causes was the disintegration of guild life in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. There was a significant increase in the wealth discrepancy; it led to the rise of an elite of wealthy and influential masters gathering in closed circles of seniors, and on the other hand, it strengthened the pauperization process of other members of the guild. Moreover, some richer and more enterprising masters undertook such commercial activities which resulted in even greater property disparities and made the impoverished members of the guild even more dependent on them<sup>19</sup>. These differences were sanctioned by the official division of all members into so-called tables or quarters.

Only those masters who were able to assume responsibility for the operations of the corporation and in times of financial need were able to allocate their own, sometimes considerable, sums of money, could apply for senior positions. Some held senior positions several times in turn. Jacob Heinrich was elected for the position four times in 1741, 1743, 1748 and 1753. They exercised a great influence on the external and internal policy of the guild and on the conduct and views of the members of the incorporated guilds.

In the eighties of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in bakers' guilds, their seniors limited access to their group only to the people they selected after the death of one of their peers. The lower quarters, however, demanded, among others, some kind of control of financial activities, quarterly settlements and the closedown of the secret fund. The problem of abuse of the youngest masters by seniors was also raised. Opponents mostly came from outside the city and were weakly bound by family ties with incumbent masters<sup>20</sup>. Therefore, one of the aims of the journeyman fraternity's book was to assimilate immigrants; the task started with the education and training of journeymen enrolled to the corporation.

In *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* there are clear signs of attention to social unrest in the city and in corporations that grew in mid-century, and some of them even took a violent course. During the struggle of the merchant and craft opposition with the Council in 1748–1752, it was to draw attention to problems of trade and

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<sup>18</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., pp. 577–578.

<sup>19</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*, pp. 259–260.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 234–239.

manufacturing in Gdańsk in the changing political and economic conditions in Europe. The opposition thought that it would be most important for their postulates to introduce Third Rank candidates to the Council and the Bench, who would defend the interests of the commonalty<sup>21</sup>.

Merchants came up with the idea of asking the royal court for assistance in the fulfillment of this postulate but soon the Third Rank took over the control of the matter. A group of “learned” people (*litterati, Gelehrten*) was formed, who took control of the city and replaced merchant patricians in this regard<sup>22</sup>. The group consisted of eminent people who had graduated from foreign universities and married into families of councillors and jurors. However, they were people of genuine scientific and cultural interests, undertook their own scientific research, often of high rank, and accumulated considerable and valuable library collections. They considered themselves to be the kind of people who devoted their youth and fortune to travelling and university studies on law and forms of government in order to learn how to govern the city well. However, they treated citizens of Gdańsk like their subjects and ignorants. Merchants and artisans’ objection was that having no experience in business or trade, shipping or production they were not acquainted with the problems and procedures in the economic life of the city and its surroundings. Therefore, in their view, this group did not represent the interests of the urban centre and only dealt with the administration of the city drawing considerable income from this activity. The opposition pointed to family links and other affinities of the “learned”. This view was shared by royal commissioners<sup>23</sup>.

The King’s intervention appeared to be necessary; King Augustus III appointed two royal commissioners: the Bishop of Warmia Adam Stanisław Grabowski and the councillor of the court of Antoni von Leubnitz. A strong opposition was formed against the Council dominated by a group of the “learned” with a very broad social base consisting of merchants and craftsmen who, in support of their demands, offered the king a considerable gift of money, namely 400 000 florins; also 4000 ducats for bishop Grabowski and 2000 ducats for von Leubnitz. This was followed by the king’s decision in 1750 to hold an election for the vacant seats in the Council and the Bench from among the fourteen candidates proposed by the Third Rank. This was opposed by the Council, and that, in turn, led to protests of the Third Rank. Finally, the king forced his decisions<sup>24</sup> but the Council’s resistance and the process of incorporating them into

<sup>21</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., pp. 545–552.

<sup>22</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, p. 24.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 25–29.

<sup>24</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., pp. 550–552; Z. Kropidłowski, *Księga gdańskiej korporacji czeładniczej piekarzy bułek i ciastkarzy z lat 1724–1768. Zarys problematyki*, “Universitas Gedanensis” 2007, Vol. 33–34, pp. 78–79.

political life of the city lasted two more years. The costs of these activities were also incurred by members of Gdańsk guilds.

Accusations against the authorities were also raised by city guilds. Their members submitted their remarks jointly to the royal commissioners; beside economic matters there were complaints about various forms of limiting guilds' autonomy by the Council and jeopardising their appeals to the king at that time<sup>25</sup>. To carry out reforms it was necessary to obtain the king's approval and the support of the royal court on one hand and, on the other, cooperation, or at least understanding from the plebs and the city's poor. So far the Council had used the lowest social strata to hold the commonalty, who feared social unrest, in check. However, organizing social support, the Council prevented economic or social claims from the poor whereas the legal system within the guilds averted possible unrest and strikes among journeymen. Consequently, at this point in the conflict, both sides sought purposeful support from journeymen, who were a significant demographic force. They obtained approval for their own limited self-government, sickness funds, support for widows and burying deceased people and had some financial means that they could use for their livelihood during protests, strikes or leaving the city.

Bakers who were interested in excise and fight against out-of-guild competition also participated in the ongoing struggle. The baker master Jakub Heinrich was member of the delegation of the Third Rank to the royal court in February 1750. On November 4, 1750, the elder bakers together with other delegates of the Third Rank submitted a notarial protest against the position of the Council, which treated Augustus III's ordinance of July 20, 1750, not as a binding law, but merely as subject to discussion. They also organized collection of money among incorporated guilds in support of the main corporation. The wheat bread guild decided to contribute the sum of 200 florens for this purpose<sup>26</sup>.

In the actions of the two bakers' guilds, however, we see signs of instability and lack of consistency. Already in December 1749, the elders of rye bread bakers voted in the High Quarter against sending a delegation to the king with a list of gravamina. They also signed their letter in defence of the Council, issued to the king in August 1751 by a group of fifty people and eighteen guilds. Outraged commonalty demanded punishment not only for the elders but for the whole guilds of bakers and shoemakers who also signed the letter. They proposed to exclude them from the main guilds or at least shift them down in the hierarchy of guilds. It was therefore proposed to give the first place to butchers instead of shoemakers, and the second place to wheat bread bakers who would then replace the bakers of rye bread<sup>27</sup>. Such a move would add

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<sup>25</sup> E. Cieślak, *Spoleczne podstawy ścisłego zespolenia Gdańska z Polską...*, pp. 204–205.

<sup>26</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*, p. 253.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 254.



a new cause to the disputes that for a long time used to be about the delimitation of production and the influence on the market.

The king supported a number of guild demands. The abolition of grain excise duty was a move of great significance. This should lead to a decrease in prices of basic foodstuffs and stop high prices in the city. A consequence of this fact would be greater purchasing power of the majority of the urban population, and this in turn should provide greater revenues for food producers, but could also lead to a reduction in their net income if the surcharges on the bakery prices were set a percentage. Hence the lack of determination of bakers to support reforms.

The other important postulate of the guilds concerned resolutely dealing with the production of craftsmen who were not members of the guild, ie. botchers. The king ordered municipal authorities to respect the norms contained in the statutes of Gdańsk guilds<sup>28</sup>. In general, the attitude of the king can be assessed as favorable for the postulates of the Gdańsk guilds because he supported the renewal of guild standards. From the historical perspective, however, it must be acknowledged that they were backward with regard to the development of productive and economic forces in Europe. Participation of guild members in city administration did not contribute to their development, but, on the contrary, the characteristic feature of their actions was the defence of their own narrow interests and the desire to restore a fossilized system that was no longer competitive and jeopardised the city's economic development<sup>29</sup>. "Concord" as the preferred and praised virtue that builds a prosperous future (though objectively so), was used to preserve the former state of social life, deprived of competition and ultimately detrimental to the city's development.

With the general criticism of the tax system passed by the Council for many years, the merchant-craft opposition pointed out that it was unfair because it was mostly on the middle and low classes and favouring the rich. The reason was a system of extensive excise duty on products of universal consumption.

"Because excise duty was gradually increased people with large households paid the largest contributions and the poor man had to donate his sweat and blood to the rich to maintain their riches"<sup>30</sup>.

Moreover, the Third Rank argued that excise tax increased the price of foodstuffs, the expenses which constituted the largest part of poor people's and large families' budgets. They paid more to the city funds than rich people, who usually had few or no children. In addition, the charging of foodstuffs in Gdańsk with excise tax made them less competitive than those coming from suburban settlements. This was the reason of smuggling cheaper goods, in which even the richest people participated, because their

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<sup>28</sup> Art. 70 of an ordinance of 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1750 – APG, 300, C/1495.

<sup>29</sup> J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo...*, p. 254.

<sup>30</sup> APG, 300, 10/81, c. 230.

carriages entering the city through the gates were not controlled by city controllers<sup>31</sup>. The Third Rank proposed the introduction of a tax on property of 0.25% and the payment of special fees to competitors – Mennonites and Jews – and some peasants in the country around Gdańsk. In this way masters advertised themselves as defenders and advocates of the interests of the lowest social strata in the city.

The Council, on the other hand, pointed to excessive membership costs and exorbitant benefits for guilds and high standard of living of bakers and brewers in Gdańsk. Prolonged discussions and disputes lasting for months failed. The dispute had to be settled by King Augustus III, who, in his rescript published on August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1749, ordered to abolish the excise tax on malt, house beer, also excise duty paid by bakers, and reduce the excise tax on wine, vodka distilled by people, cheese and meat (here the excise was reduced by half). At the same time he pointed to other sources of income for the city<sup>32</sup>. These resolutions aroused a hope for change among the plebs who turned their backs on the Council and supported craftsmen and merchants' opposition seeking to make further changes in the city.

During these struggles journeymen as an independent social group grew in importance. When in the years 1751–1752 craftsmen and merchants' opposition sought to force the Council to implement royal orders of 1750, some of the achievements of the opposition aroused similar demands of Gdańsk journeymen addressed at their masters. Undoubtedly, journeymen as well as the whole community of the poor accepted the reduction and even the abolition of some excise, so far burdening everyday products. Journeymen stood at the helm of the poor, including beggars and vagabonds, porters, day-people, smugglers, domestic servants. They were the only force organized in fraternities, played an important role in production, had some financial security and organizational experience and as such were a qualified work force, without which most establishments and industries were not able to function.

At the beginning of 1751, due to an increase in housing prices in the city which were not compensated by wage increases, shoemakers asked for pay rise. The dispute lasted until the turn of April and May 1751, when there was an outbreak of apparent conflict between journeymen and shoemakers. The journeymen wanted to take over the fraternity chest containing documents, trophies belonging to the fraternity, money, etc. They were planning to remove the chest from the city, which would mean suspension of the fraternity from the shoemakers' guild. That's why the masters got assistance from the Council, which sent some city soldiers and allowed the chest to be fastened with iron tapes and chains to prevent it from being shipped. The journeymen considered this to be a violation of their fraternity rights and went on strike. When they had gathered in an inn twice and broke the ties, the Council put five grenadiers to

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, cc. 264, 267, 271.

<sup>32</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 560.

guard it and eventually a group of twenty–thirty soldiers took the chest to the town hall between 3.00 and 4.00 in the morning<sup>33</sup>.

This stirred up not only the shoemakers' but also the whole community of Gdańsk journeymen, who gave them financial support of 9 groszy (cents) a day and declared their readiness to defend their rights even to the point of shedding blood; they also threatened a solidarity strike against their own masters. The coucillors responsible for taking the chest away were also warned of an oncoming revenge. In response, the Council doubled the guards throughout the city and appointed a three-person committee (Reyger, Ehler and Jantzen) to investigate the feud<sup>34</sup>.

The strife was further aggravated because masters wanted to break the stalemate in order to keep the work going and employed partisans who would then play the role of strike-breakers. Outraged shoemaker journeymen appealed again to other fraternities, who put joint pressure on the Council. As a retort, the Council appointed another commission of two members (Jantzen and Rösler) to investigate the conflict but it did not manage to settle the feud, so on May 21, 1751, journeymen fraternities went on general strike. They abandoned their work, demonstrated in front of the town hall blocking all exits during the ongoing negotiations with the elder journeymen representatives and gathered in their inns.

This massy and mighty uproar scared townspeople. According to the account written by secretary Leonhardi to Henry Brühl on May 26, 1751 the Council was ready to order the shooting of demonstrators; merchants closed



Illustration 6.2. Chest of Gdańsk bricklayers' guild from about 1604. © National Museum of Gdańsk, MNG/SD/213/mb.

<sup>33</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, pp. 228–229.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*.

their shops and expected the worst. However, after a whole day of negotiations at 9.00 pm members of the second commission, Jantzen and Rösler, promised the journeymen on behalf of the Council that the masters would not hire partisans and the chest taken to the town hall would now be placed in the journeymen's inn and would not be tied with iron tapes. They also promised that masters would pay them 1500 florins. The symbol of changes was that the senior shoemaker who, when leaving the town hall, called them names, was to become punished for abusive words directed at journeymen<sup>35</sup>.

After an hour the shoemaker's chest was handed over to journeymen who carried it in a triumphant march, bearing bare sabres, supported by thousands of other journeymen and spectators. Antoni von Leubnitz, writing his report to Brühl the following day, stressed that a great revolt might have occurred<sup>36</sup>.

Equally soon, on May 24, 1751, masters paid 1500 florins to their journeymen, and the above-mentioned senior shoemaker was sentenced to public apology and fine. On June 11, the Council fulfilled further requests of shoemaker journeymen and ordered nine journeymen-strikebreakers to leave the city; masters were forbidden to hire partisans. It also obliged them to provide journeymen with food during holidays or to pay them the equivalent in cash and finally burdened masters with costs of court proceedings<sup>37</sup>.

As Leonhardi wrote to Brühl on May 29, 1751, people in the city were saying that the whole Third Rank did not manage to achieve as much for the Council's recognition of the royal ordinance as the one journeymen fraternity or common people undertaking a concerted action for the restoration of justice<sup>38</sup>.

These events show a far-reaching sense of community and solidarity among journeymen. The revolt of one shoemaker fraternity resulted in joint support by journeymen of other branches of industry, who accepted the demands made and provided material help to free themselves from the mercy of masters and strike effectively. This, in turn, was a threat to masters, and even to the broadest circles of bourgeoisie, merchants and all the wealthy citizens. Journeymen proved to be a well-organized social force amounting to thousands of people and capable of articulating their demands and imposing their will on masters and city authorities.

This probably was an incentive to search for new ways to control journeymen's organizations and influence their views and attitudes. Outside of the city's legal system and guild system, an additional path was considered to be in upbringing and school and guild education. This may have been the reason why so much attention was devoted to "concord" and "discord" in *The Book*.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 230.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 230–231.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 231.



The victorious action of shoemaking journeymen had an impact on the attitude of other fraternities, including bakers. Carpenter journeyman followed shoemakers in asserting their rights and demanded the return of their chest that had been held in the town hall for several years. In early June 1751, potter journeymen rioted. Their demands, however, were rejected by the councillor-protector of the guild but the Council fulfilled them. At the beginning of July journeymen carpenters, bricklayers and weavers went on strike.

The Council's actions eased their conflicts with masters but at the same time hoopers and journeymen of other occupations threatened to strike and demanded an improvement of their living conditions. Shoemakers and carpenters began to rebel again and the strike began on 20<sup>th</sup> July. Some time later carpenters and draggers of silver and gold wires started their protests for economic reasons.

In total, seven guild organizations took part in the revolts; among them riots of sawyer and carpenter journeymen took on the most severe form. Apart from their economic postulates, sawyers put forward a number of organizational and even legal demands. First of all, they demanded that their organization be granted the same rights as other journeymen fraternities<sup>39</sup>. These aggravating actions created a sense of threat in the masters, the more so as the city authorities could not provide effective protection<sup>40</sup>.

Perhaps for this reason the Polish king Augustus III issued a rescript on August 29, 1751, which was announced on October 19, prohibiting any disturbance of public peace in Gdańsk under severe sanctions<sup>41</sup>. The royal support was used by the sawyers' guild authorities to limit the arrangements with their journeymen; they attempted to appoint a new master to lead the woodwork for the merchant Jan Frederick Dingen. This caused an outburst of major discontent of the journeymen; they sent their representatives to the burgrave who protested against the masters. The journeymen also abandoned their work, invaded the masters' inn and again sent their representatives to the mayor, surrounded by a crowd of other journeymen. The masters, on the other hand, asked for a city varlet to be sent to the inn to intervene; in consequence the journeymen trashed their inn.

These events prompted the Council to stop further commotion, deal with the journeyman movement and deter other organizations from making similar attempts to fight for their rights. Their aim might have also been to restore their undermined authority. Therefore, two days after the sawyers' revolt the Council ordered to seek initiators and leaders of the protests in order to arrest them and made investigations. The verdict was read on November 22<sup>nd</sup> and made public. The first of the journeymen

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 233.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 234.

<sup>41</sup> APG, 300, 10/82, cc. 759 and n.

was sentenced to ten years in prison and hard labour, the second to six years' imprisonment. Moreover, they were forbidden to stay in the city after they had served their time. Then the third was sentenced to six years in prison and labour, the fourth to five years, the fifth to four years, and the next two to six months' arrest in the town hall. All the journeymen were obliged to pay the cost of repairing the damage done during the riots in the masters' inn. However, at the request of their wives they were all released in mid-March 1752. Nevertheless, the Council decided to keep the fraternity chest; they handed it over to the mayor, who was to examine its content and decide whether to hand it back to the journeymen for a one-year probation period<sup>42</sup>.

The Council's reason for passing such judgement was to emphasize that the journeymen were guilty of acting against the royal authority by opposing the King's rescript, and what they said denied the respect of the authorities and endangered peace and public security<sup>43</sup>.

Baker journeymen were closely associated with cabinetmaker journeymen protests, who first went on strike on July 20, 1751, that is, at the same time as the sawyer journeymen. After the first agreement between the masters and the journeymen, however, they put forward new demands – including pay rise. The masters response was to sack all the journeymen. In spite of the mayor's attempts to mediate, the journeymen did not break the strike, and gained the support of 23 journeymen fraternities, also those from the four main guilds, including baker journeymen. They supported shoemakers appealing to the acting mayor. In the end, however, the cabinetmaker journeymen decided to suspend their union and remove their sign, pass the chest to the carpenters for keeping and leave the city, going beyond its jurisdiction. There was a formal agreement between them and the fraternities of the four principal and incorporated guilds in which they decided to hand over their affairs to the care of these fraternities. Now they were supposed to say when the strikers could resort to using force, deny masters to employ strikebreakers and not recognize the newly liberated apprentices. Carpenter journeymen, on their side, pledged not to take up work with any other masters or partisans of Gdańsk and not to enter into any deal with masters without the consent of the fraternities of the four principal guilds.

It was a very innovative and dangerous move for masters because the fraternities of the four main guilds took on the role of the Third Rank in relation to the masters, fighting for their rights against the City Council. The ideas of the merchant-craft opposition were adapted to the situation and social position of journeymen.

The cabinetmaker journeymen left the city in a powerful rally, marching with music, banners and accompanied by members of 23 other fraternities. According to Mathy,

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<sup>42</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, p. 235.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*.

there might have been 10 000 people<sup>44</sup>. Senior fraternity members were the only ones who remained in the town in order to continue their negotiations with masters. Twenty journeymen left the city, borrowing 2000 florins from carpenters; they promised to return the money when the masters would satisfy their financial claims which amounted to just this sum.

The Council decided to punish the strikers by calling and asking 24 councils from cities in the neighbourhood or those from cabinetmaker journeymen to apply sanctions to them and not tolerate them in their own jurisdictions. This resulted in two solidary demonstrations of representatives of other journeymen fraternities remaining in town. They brought their protests to the mayor in office and in mid-October about 25 fraternities were ready to defend the cabinetmakers.

The Third Rank, i.e. masters concerned about the outcome of events, requested a prompt response from the Council. All the more so because some of the carpenter journeymen who did not find work in the neighbouring cities returned to Gdańsk as a result of the Council's intervention. This was because they had to look for better conditions of life.

Also in this case the Council hoped that the journeymen would succumb when the royal rescript mentioned above would be published and when the great royal chancellor Jan Malachowski, who was then staying in Gdańsk, would address the matter. He chaired a session dedicated to the introduction of the royal decree at the Assessor's Court and on this occasion he intervened in the problem of growing tension between the city authorities and the journeymen.

At first he accepted a tough stance against the poor and called on the Council to take more firm steps and, if necessary, to use force, and appoint civilians under arms if the city garrison proved too weak. He himself urged journeymen to hand out the cabinetmaker journeymen's chest to the city authorities. And when they did not listen to him, he used a trick. He accepted a delegation of forty journeymen and while having a conversation with them, he instructed the Council to send a squad of soldiers who forcefully took the chest and ordered it to be handed over to the masters. He advised to strengthen the garrison and imprison the leaders of the journeymen, because he considered their protests dangerous for Europe. The chancellor's actions were approved by the King and Minister Brühl.

The chancellor's move did not cause any major riots, but rather directed the claims of the carpenters "and bricklayers" fraternities to the recovery of 2000 florins that had been lent to the cabinetmaker journeymen. As many as thirty fraternities including bakers supported them and signed an agreement about co-operation. The Third Rank, concerned about this turn of events, sent a request to the Chancellor not to leave

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 236.

the city until the problem was settled. This request was supported by the masters of all Gdańsk guilds; they even demanded the calling of several civil companies to arms.

The Chancellor and the Council were opposed to such a solution at that moment. The Chancellor decided to persuade the Council to satisfy financial claims of the journeymen and when the Council refused he himself paid them 300 ducats out of his own resources. He promised them further concessions in exchange for surrendering him the journeymen's letters, disbanding and returning to work with their masters.

To strengthen its position, the Council issued an edict on February 8, 1752. It was later used by the Chancellor. It forbade any secret gatherings, conspiracies, uproar or riots. In response nine elder journeymen from various fraternities, including cabinet-makers, signed the edict, proving their subordination to its regulations on February 9, 1752. There were some skirmishes between masters and cabinetmaker journeymen, referring to the functioning of the new journeymen's inn but the Council decided to withdraw the wanted notices sent after the cabinetmaker journeymen<sup>45</sup>.

It seemed that the disputes had been resolved positively but the Third Rank believed that new riots could occur within the next fortnight and up to eighteen civil cavalry units (banners) should be put under arms and that the Ranks should actively participate in the negotiations and be informed about them. They clearly exaggerated the matter, did not want to disband or consider the case to be completed. It needed the Chancellor's warning that he would send a courier to the king to inform him about the unjustified conduct of the Third Rank, which prompted them to go home.

It is evident from these facts that masters were in a difficult situation. On the one hand, they fought against the Council for the implementation of the royal ordinance; they demanded to increase their powers and changes in government and in this way they were a source of tension in the city, and on the other they fought for *status quo* in guild organizations, pressed by journeymen demanding to improve their fate. They even sought help from the burgrave, the Council, and the Chancellor of the crown to restore peace and preserve consent, which provided them with favorable conditions for hiring and rewarding journeymen.

A similarly complex game was led by the Council, who wanted to drag a part of the opposition, or craftsmen, to their side, and avoided the use of force against journeymen. They did no more than use the smallest possible squadrons of soldiers for the sneaky removal of the fraternity chest and even that was done at the request of the Chancellor of the crown. It was probably about drawing attention to the need for the masters to cooperate with it, as a force with military power, guaranteeing protection, peace and security in the city and in craft workshops.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 240–241.



## 6.2. Idea of Concord in the City and Corporation

This scene of unrest, political struggles and uproar reveals the fact that one of the ways to influence journeymen was an educational program that aimed to influence their attitudes and social beliefs through the visualization and content of the texts contained in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*.

The most comprehensive of these is the text carefully written on the back of c. 56. It contains a reflection on internal relations in the city at that time.

For over two years now the history of our town  
May have been deduced from the following allegory:  
The coiled snake represents unity,  
Which guarantees peace and prosperity to the town and the country.  
The snake keeps its tail in its maw, which means,  
That wherever harmony rules, disagreement must cease.  
Unfortunately, concord is difficult to attain these days,  
Continuous disagreements occur among the upper and lower classes.  
The solicitor is a symbol of these arguments,  
He gains enjoyment and pleasure from his trials.  
He knows how to overturn the law, to make a simple thing shifty.  
We are surrounded by nothing but evil things happening.  
Sheer envy is the most harmful of all,  
It may destroy a town or even a country,  
If we do not wish our neighbours  
What God sends upon us.  
This is exactly what is going on within the city walls of Gdańsk,  
Such evil cannot be continued.  
The Only God in the Holy Trinity, you who rule the world,  
And who has always kept reins of power as a warning to us,  
Give us concord, put away envy and trouble,  
Bring the golden age back.  
Give our distinguished guild, which is the owner of the Book,  
your blessing, prosperity and anything our hearts desire.  
Let agreement add to its splendour,  
And let envy, hate and disagreement perish in disgrace.

The text is signed J: D: H: and Jo: Ch: Gantcke, i.e. elder journeymen Johann Daniel Hinrichs and Johann Christoph Gantcke (c. 56v.). Therefore, the question arises whether they assigned the full authorship of the text to themselves, which is rather doubtful. It could be more about the decision to put this piece in *The Book* because of its content. Hence, it had to be known to the Gdańsk community and treated as

important, containing a message corresponding to the mission of *The Book* and the educational views of the guild elders.

It follows that elder journeymen in the corporation identified themselves and treated as important striving for concord in the city and corporation. They showed solidarity with the masters who, as employers, wanted to preserve their old customs and did not intend to make changes. General consent and, above all, abandoning their riots was to secure a peaceful life and good conditions for doing their business.

These words are illustrated by a miniature depicting two personifications (illustration 6.3). The woman to the left may be a representation of controversy and envy as she has snakes in her hair. However, the two attributes she is holding in her hands indicate a more complex symbolic message; she is looking at her right hand in which she is holding a torch, which is often associated with the light of wisdom. The message is made even more complex by the fact that she is holding a book and three flowers in her left hand. For this reason, she could be associated with wisdom (*sapientia*) or even with the morning star (*eos*). However, in the text correlated with the illustration, the subject is clearly the discord. Although the author added that thanks to the prudence of the authorities the confusion in the fraternity and the city had been defused in time, this personification of disagreement was derived from the work of Cesare Ripa. The personification made in *The Book* refers to a woman presented in *Ikonologia*, whose hair is interwoven with serpents; she is holding a scroll with quotes, judgments and recommendations<sup>46</sup> in her left hand. The woman in the illustration in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* is looking crossly down to the side.

The woman on the right symbolizes concord. A bird is sitting on her head while on the side of the discord there is a snake swallowing its own tail. The serpent, painted between the two women, devouring its own tail, symbolizes infinity, eternity, material and spiritual unity of all things. Next to him, on the side of concord, lies a skull, the symbol of the fall of man. In Christian iconography it was most often placed under the cross of Christ to symbolize the sin of Adam, who was redeemed by the martyrdom of Jesus of Nazareth. In portrayals referring to a later period it was a symbol of asceticism and repentance for sin<sup>47</sup>. Here it is probably placed as a sign of grief due to the disagreement in the city and the fraternity. The poet emphasizes that bad instincts are the cause of misfortune.

An inscription on the sash hanging from the frame of the cartouche follows: "Only disagreements. Vain envy" ("Lauter Srteidt. Eitel Miägunst"). Under the snake in the painting they added: "unanimity" ("einigkit"). The skull always evokes fear of death, which puts an end to any arguments. Therefore, it is a warning for litigious men

<sup>46</sup> C. Ripa, *Ikonologia*, trans. I. Kania, Kraków 2002, p. 114.

<sup>47</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, p. 350.

## 6.2. Idea of Concord in the City and Corporation

that all their actions will be judged after death, which no one can escape or be safeguarded against, so everyone is liable to judgement and, consequently, reward or punishment.



Illustration 6.3. Detail of c. 57.

A little further, on c. 59v. card under the initials L: /: W., we find a poetic description of political struggles and social unrest and the longing for a harmonious life. There is also a caution for the city and its inhabitants and especially for members of the fraternity: first the author shows an ideal country where peace and harmony reign and adds that “it all concerned Gdańsk once, now the city only suffers from shortcomings and plagues”. Among the positive effects of concord first of all there is God’s care, blessing and care that embraces the whole country; next art, science and development of trade with distant countries flourish.

In the following part the author compares past good times with current events that cause anxiety so great that “even food supplies are going bad”. A diagnosis of such a state is also given: “The reason behind those misfortunes is evil instincts”. However, the text ends in a positive mood; the author admits that there were “riots and revolts” and that “what awaits us this year” is unknown, but “the King’s favour is a hope for a better time”. There is praise for the honest and hardworking life of journeymen who had been doing so for a long time and should therefore be judged favourably by the

judge and God. The latter should be sympathetic although for a moment “brotherly love, harmony and order are no longer obeyed”.

Lucky is a country where harmony and peace reign,  
And unity rules among its citizens,  
No one violates the poor people’s rights,  
And the judge takes into account not only the most recent deeds.  
God, who knows all, supports and protects the pious,  
He sends generous blessings and happiness.  
The arts are in full bloom, science is flourishing,  
Trade with faraway countries is booming.  
All this could be said about Gdańsk,  
But now the town has been suffering from privation and plagues.  
Brotherly love, harmony and order  
Are no longer obeyed, and even food supplies are going bad.  
Life in our distinguished guild had been going on harmoniously,  
Until disturbances started here and there,  
They upset the guild members as well,  
But were prudently waived off by some.  
The reason behind those misfortunes is evil instincts,  
Which have been harmful to this poor city.  
We have already experienced riots and rebellions,  
Who knows what fortune will bring us this year,  
The King’s favour is a hope for a better time.

In the second part of the text reference was made to the activities of the Assessor’s Court, which aimed at implementing the royal decree of July 20, 1750 into the social life of the city. It was called because although the Council had initially informed the Ranks of the content of the royal decree, it later decided that the decree should be suspended and discussed point by point within the Ranks. Only some of the royal provisions should be fully accepted, others postponed for later consideration, and yet others re-discussed and even rejected. So it treated the decree not as binding law but as a proposition and, in their view, it was necessary to reject all points where the content was contrary to the existing rights and privileges of Gdańsk. Obviously, the Third Rank agreed that the decree was binding, not subject to discussion and therefore it should be implemented<sup>48</sup>.

In mid-1751, an attempt to discuss the royal decree in the Ranks’ Committee failed. This was again caused by the attitude of the Council, which put forward a clause stating that it could be considered only subject to the rights and privileges of the city. In reaction to that, the Third Rank made a notarial protest and asked on what grounds

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<sup>48</sup> E. Cieślak, *Konflikty polityczne i społeczne w Gdańsku...*, pp. 153 and n.



the Council wanted to deprive the resolutions of the royal legislator the right of the binding law<sup>49</sup>. The royal court decided to call the Council delegation to Dresden to clarify its conduct. Since it did not want to recognize and accept the decree as the law in force in the city, the royal court decided to call a session of the Assessors' Court in Gdańsk on August 29, 1751 to deal with the issue of the royal decree and all the complaints of Gdańsk citizens.

Political struggle in Gdańsk intensified and sharpened. Both sides used printed texts or handwritten copies of political poetry. These poems were often hung up in public places or dropped at people's houses. The authors criticised prominent personalities, such as Gotthard Lengnich, the official receiver, for radical change of his views and attitude after being elected; other people attacked were the eleven members of the Third Rank who broke with the solidarity of representing common people. In *The Book of bakers' fraternity*, however, there is a poem in which the commoners hope for the final successful conclusion of the dispute.

Not long ago the supreme state court  
Pointed to what is just and right,  
And reminded all the classes of their responsibilities.  
God bless its efforts and industriousness,  
So one day it returns happily to Poland.  
Lord, bring the past glory back to Gdańsk,  
And the saying that only united we stand  
Will turn out to be true (c. 59v.).

An illustration contained in two cartouches was made for this rather long text.

There are several symbols in the upper cartouche over the coat of arms of the corporation. The most significant seems to be the eye of Divine Providence, which, like the sun, reaches all the most remote places on earth. It is a symbol of God's universal power, fatherly vigilance and concern for people. The ear in the Bible encompasses the omniscience of God (Wis 1:10, Ps 94:9) and also clemency in listening to the pleas and prayers of men (Ps 17:6, 34:16, Iz 59:1); The ear, as a symbol, signifies spiritual disposition that opens man to what can be heard and listening to what the higher will calls for. The ear played a particularly important role in the intuitive contemplation of Sumerians. It acted as a "spiritual ear" and "spiritual eye" and was supposed to show that what was heard produced an inner image. Here, the "distant ear" is an image of sense and reason. The authors of the Bible often mentioned the "ears of God" that envisioned His omniscience (cf. Wis 1:10, Ps 94:9) or His graciousness in giving a hearing to people's prayers (Ps 17:6, Ps 34:16, Iz 59:1). Psalmists asked the Lord

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<sup>49</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 565.

to “lend their ear” to people’s requests (e.g. Ps 86:1, Ps 130:2)<sup>50</sup>. The ear in this context may symbolize the attitude of obedience to divine and human laws expressed in the city order.



Illustration 6.4. Detail of c. 60.

There is also a hand holding a sceptre on the other side of the cartouche. The hand is man’s most perfect organ and an expression of his activity in various forms. In many places in the Bible, the hand, arm, or the right hand of God is an anthropomorphism that signifies His “power” that creates, helps, leads, protects, rescues, conquers, or punishes. In the illustration the hand of God is emerging from the clouds and is holding a sceptre. Both are symbols of power of the reigning God<sup>51</sup>.

The stork in the middle of the picture is pecking and devouring a snake. The stork is a symbol of caring love. The Romans imagined the personification of *pietas* (child-like love and attachment) as a stork. This symbolism penetrated into Christianity. Church Fathers encouraged children to imitate storks and care for their ageing parents<sup>52</sup>. Here, however, the stork is eating a snake, which is a symbol of defects and bad instincts<sup>53</sup>. It was assigned to Mary – the victorious figure defeating Satan tempting mankind. The ancient *Fiziologus* (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) refers the black and white plumage of the bird to the earthly and celestial figure of Christ<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, p. 350.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 347 and 351–354.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 226.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 271.

<sup>54</sup> Comp. C.J. Solinus, *Collectanae rerum memorabilium (Polyhistor)*, 1665, pp. 173–174.

## 6.2. Idea of Concord in the City and Corporation

There are several symbols in this cartouche and the one painted below, which should be treated and interpreted jointly and with the text of the poem. They even create a series of thoughts that convey the message of this miniature. Justice demands that laws protect the interests of all social groups to the same extent. For the law to be good it demands prudence that recalls old habits, privileges and rights, and corrects them for the common good, looking ahead and taking the present circumstances into account. They are not autonomous and depend on God's judgments and God's care over the whole city, its inhabitants and all social groups. God makes use of men, the king, and his officials expecting them to be judges and carers of the wronged people. Bad social relationships can be healed and then reconciliation will rule, which is the foundation of all prosperity.

In the poem the Council is called to obey the king's will; masters to preserve the guild's law and care for journeymen, who, in turn, are obliged to obey the elder in the fraternity and the whole guild; in other words, to control bad instincts that cause feuds and disagreements in the guild and city. This was emphasized by the following sentences written on the ribbon: "He [God] protects and heals" ("er schuetzt und erholt") on the left, and on the right: "God, the Protector of the pious" ("Gott ein beschuetzer der Fromen").



Illustration 6.5. Detail of c. 60.

There are two figures in the lower cartouche – personifications of justice and prudence – which were interpreted in writing for proper understanding, however wrongly. The explanation is not incorporated into the miniature but appears on the framing. This can be interpreted in two ways: that the inscription was added not by the painter but a baker, perhaps a corporate writer or one of senior members. The sentence on the left side says: "united we stand" ("friedernert") and on the right: "divided we fall" ("unfried verzert").

After all, the first person is a personification equipped with the attributes of justice: she is holding the scales in her right hand and a sword in her left hand. On the other side there is a personification of prudence (*prudentia*), holding a mirror in her right hand, and in the left – a lookstick. According to the second hypothesis the painter who composed the illustrations did it in a complicated sequence of thoughts. Maybe he had to explain it to the elders in the fraternity and later inscribed the meaning.

The presentation of prudence refers to the view taken from the work of John Amos Komeński (Comenius) of 1659, which describes it as a woman who vigilantly watches a serpent. Everything she does, says or considers is deliberate. She has two faces and therefore can look both in the mirror, towards the past, and in the telescope, that is, to the future, to vigilantly anticipate future events, and especially their outcome. She therefore closely considers her current activities and whatever else remains to be done. She decides upon her honest, useful and, possibly, pleasant goal. She chooses adequate means and certain and easy ways to realise the goal and takes care that nothing is bothering its implementation. In Comenius work there is an additional depiction of the way to act in the form of a winged creature, hairy and bald, who hastily escapes, but prudence watches and catches her. In addition, she looks after her and does not let her stumble or go astray<sup>55</sup>.



Illustration 6.6. J.A. Comenius, *Prudentia* [in:] *Orbis sensualium pictus*, Nürnberg 1658, p. 224.

<sup>55</sup> J.A. Comenius, *Orbis sensualium pictus*, Nürnberg 1658, pp. 224–225.



## 6.2. Idea of Concord in the City and Corporation

*Prudentia* understood in this way was regarded one of the most important virtues. This is why this presentation was used for many pedagogical and artistic purposes in the corporation and the city. Therefore, it should have been known to the management of the corporation, that is why it is a surprising act to add inscriptions to pictures written with another hand. As they were not corrected and survived with the remainder of the book, they must have been considered necessary. A personification of concord – *concordia*, was presented in the proper way as early as the following year of keeping the book. It was equally important for guild pedagogy. The guild elders sought to preserve their privileges, which they had gained over the years of economic and legal advantage over their apprentices and journeymen. Only the lack of workforce resulting from a spate of natural disasters, plagues or wars led the elders to lower their requirements and share income or corporate privileges with journeymen.



Illustration 6.7. Drawing by Johann Emmanuel Christman in: J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 1: *Środowisko artystyczne w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Gdańsk 2009, il. 92.

The figure of concord was placed on the Golden Gate (as we call it today). The drawing of consent illustrated in illustration 6.7 was an exam work painted by Johann Emanuel Christman in 1777. At the same time it is a presentation of a plate made by Jeremias Falck (1609/1610–1671/1677). He was the author of drawings of figures placed on the Golden Gate in Gdańsk. Apprentices of the painters and portraitists' guild were often asked to perform drawings of these figures during their final exams, so they were widely known among painters<sup>56</sup>.

In Ripa's *Iconographia* concord was portrayed more like harmony. It is presented as a comely woman holding a pomegranate fruit in her right hand and a bunch of blueberries in her left hand. According to Piero Valerino referring to Democritus, it is painted in this way because blueberries and pomegranates love each other so much that even if the roots of these plants are distant from each other they eventually come closer and intertwine. In contrast, in *Iconographia*, consent is depicted as a serious woman who is holding a pomegranate in her right hand and a sceptre crowned with various flowers and fruits in the other; her head is adorned with a garland of pomegranates, leaves and fruits<sup>57</sup>.

Encouragement and praise of consent was made in 1755. Perhaps it is connected with the already mentioned fact of erecting a statue of King Augustus III in Arthur Court<sup>58</sup>.

On this occasion an anonymous poem was written in *The Book of Gdańsk Journey-men Bakers* on the back of c. 65, inscribed with large, decorative lettering:

Satisfied is this heart  
 With itself and its position,  
 Which knows God's plans  
 And trusts his decisions,  
 It always strikes up a great and  
 Lasting relationship:  
 Living in harmony.

Harmony builds up everything.  
 Envy is against it.  
 It ruins everything,  
 And is a sign of the greatest  
 discontent.  
 Let envy die out! (c. 65v.)

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<sup>56</sup> J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy...*, pp. 212–213.

<sup>57</sup> C. Ripa, *Ikologia...* pp. 212–213.

<sup>58</sup> *Historia Gdańska*, Vol. 3, pt 1..., p. 577.

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Illustration 6.8. Detail of c. 66.



Illustration 6.9. Detail of c. 66.

This time there are two drawings illustrating this statement. The first is an allegory of unanimity in the shape of a woman resting comfortably in the shadow of a sprawling tree. An idyllic landscape can be seen in the background and the colouring is soft. She is holding a lamp that illuminates the light of wisdom. In the distance there is a city with the outline of the church of Virgin Mary in Gdańsk.

The personification of envy (jealousy, hatred) in the other picture is in the form of an old, thin, woman blue in the face and with squinting eyes. She is dressed in a rust-coloured robe, her hair is untidy with snakes in it; she is looking somewhere to the side. According to Ripa she should have Hydra accompanying her; Hydra was a mean and emulous dog that wanted to seize everything<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> C. Ripa, *Ikonomia...*, p. 210.

## 6. Social Consciousness

On the cartouche, however, the dog's head was placed at the top, in the surround where artists usually placed putti. Envy is standing on the shore of a stormy sea. The illustration is unfortunately in a bad condition and it is difficult to clearly see what she is holding in her right hand; she probably has two snakes. Her left hand is raised to her lips; she may be holding a heart in it as, according to many personifications, she should be eating. In the distance you can see high waves and dark clouds. The sea is so rough that it is even crumbling rocks. Ripa did not put any image of envy in his work but it was performed by other authors who emphasized her ugliness. Although there are no inscriptions in the book of the bakers, their personifications are extremely suggestive (c. 66)<sup>60</sup>.

For the commonalty and plebs concord was conditioned by access to forms of government in the city; in contrast, on the part of patricians it depended on abandonment of the desire to change and criticize the City Council. These attitudes were typical for thinking in terms of one's own business. Similarly, consensus within the corporation



Illustration 6.10. *Concord and discord*. A picture by Hans Vredmann de Vries (1527–1604) in the Red Hall of the City Hall of Gdańsk.

<sup>60</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, *Księga gdańskiej korporacji czeladniczej...*, p. 82.



was conditioned by sticking to the statute and guild customs, which meant no journeymen's protests against guild officials. The attitude of consent was the one most emphasized in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*. It mentioned its benefits for the state, city and corporation. It was the fundament of respectable professional and social life and the basis of further advice and thoughts outlined in this book. This was how Baroque ideology was structured.

The symbols of consent and discord in *The Book* fit into a popular Baroque painting theme. Palaces of rulers and nobles, city halls, libraries and bourgeois houses were decorated with such themes. In Gdańsk, the allegory was placed in the Red Hall of the City Hall. It was painted by Hans Vredmann de Vries (1527–1604), who lived in Gdańsk in the years 1592–1595 (illustration 6.10). He made a series of paintings showing positive and negative features of urban councillors. Usually, positive features were placed on the left side and negative ones on the right. And so, in his painting entitled *Justice*, de Vries depicted righteous judgment on the left side and a scene of giving a bribe on the right. In the picture called *Concord*, he placed the symbols of peace and care on the left and an image of fight and dogs barking or even biting on the right side<sup>61</sup>. The journeymen's fraternity referred to this program by presenting the above illustrations and poems.

### 6.3. Moral Education of Journeymen

Among the 45 illustrations in *The Book* as many as nine represent allegories of virtues accompanied by appropriate texts of variable quality, which explain and complement them, or underline their importance and how they should be understood. We may also add four illustrations that contain allegories with short wisdom sentences, which form inscriptions placed and edited in such a way as to deepen their meaning and the reader's imagination. Apart from social virtues, those personal ones which had influence, however indirect, on social virtues were also taught. They were mainly emphasized during the times of peace. Then journeymen were presented with the following for consideration and acceptance: prudence, hope, justice and concord. Concord, as a virtue shaping social relationships, had already been presented. It was particularly emphasized and highlighted not only in city pedagogy but also in the entire Baroque culture.

As far as the other virtues described and painted in *The Book* are concerned we can say that they were chosen deliberately. This is evidenced by the entry on c. 53 (discussed in chapter 2), which speaks of constant change and dynamic development

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<sup>61</sup> T. Domagała, *Ratusz Głównego Miasta w Gdańsku*, Warszawa 1980, p. 9.

of external and internal situation in the city. They must be understood and responded to with appropriate attitudes and actions to ensure peace and happy future for the city and members of the fraternity. The author calls for contemplation of events and hopes that they will be successful thanks to the concern of Gdańsk citizens about their own interests and owing to the assistance of Divine Providence (c. 53).

A lot has changed  
 As nothing is eternal.  
 It was written down that year,  
 When changes were already taking place,  
 But one could not yet see  
 That what had really happened.  
 But to think and to hope,  
 This is what has been written down in those lines.  
 He who reads them carefully,  
 Will not spurn it.

The selection of virtues in *The Book* refers to the iconographic program used by the authorities and elites of the city. It was expressed, among others, by placing figures, sculptures, paintings and inscriptions on public buildings and their facades. It is still clearly visible on the Golden Gate. Before entering the city incomers saw the following inscription above the columns on the frieze of the main and most representative gate: ES MÜSSE WOHL GEHEN DENEN, DIE DICH LIEBEN, ES MÜSSE FRIEDE SEIN INWENDIG IN DEINEN MAUREN UND GLUCK IN DEINEN PALLÄSTEN<sup>62</sup>.

For town residents and their guests staying there was an inscription on the internal side, i.e. the Royal Route (Długa Street). It was placed on the same height, symmetrically to the previous one. It is a paraphrase of a motto of the Roman historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus: CONCORDIA RESPUBLICAE PARVAE CRESCUNT DISCORDIA MAGNAE CONCIDUNT<sup>63</sup>.

The inscriptions were correlated with figures representing the allegories, which were set at the top of the balustrade in 1647–1648. They were made by Peter Ringering and possibly by Hans Caspar Gockheller<sup>64</sup>. Sculpture designs in the form of drawings were later copied by students of Gdańsk painters and were subject to examination. They were well known in the guild of painters and engravers. Some of them have been

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<sup>62</sup> It is a paraphrase of Psalm 122: “May they be secure who love you! Peace be within your walls and security within your towers!”

<sup>63</sup> Small states grow in harmony; in disagreement they fall.

<sup>64</sup> *Encyklopedia Gdańska*, ed. B. Śliwiński et al., Gdańsk 2012, pp. 124–125.

preserved in the State Archive in Gdańsk and were compiled by Pałubicki in the monograph and source work discussing the history of this guild<sup>65</sup>.

The following personifications were placed on the city side from left to right: Prudence, Piety, Justice and Concord. Of them, the virtue of concord held the greatest social significance but the personification of prudence was often presented in Gdańsk.

Its name was mainly used in Latin – *Prudencia*, which is one of the four cardinal virtues, beside fortitude, justice and temperance. It was the most frequently highlighted one, as it represented the ability to choose the right path of life. The motto of Gdańsk calls for prudent actions: *Nec temere nec timide*. It was often placed on the sash at the base of the city coat of arms. Its importance and its absolute necessity for human life stemmed from the fact that it was considered the basis for the functioning of the other virtues. It consisted of a harmonious combination of theoretical knowledge with the practical one; it was also the source of information about one's appetitive faculties. This results in the right course of the decision-making process: considering the means leading to the goal, judging, planning and directing it. It particularly concerns reflection as the centerpiece of practical cognition, the choice of the right means leading to the goal<sup>66</sup>. Hence its attribute was a snake. In addition, prudence consists in matching the action to the individual situation and circumstances, but also in the self-knowledge of the subject and matching the action to his individuality. Hence the attribute of prudence is the mirror in which it is looking at herself<sup>67</sup>.

Prudence was appreciated by educators who referred to Plato's and Aristotle's thought. In his *Ethics* Aristotle stated that prudence is the habit of using reason in possible tasks in order to achieve good end and avoid evil; all for the purpose of ensuring a happy life<sup>68</sup>. Its allegorical representations in painting and sculpture decorating Gdańsk city buildings usually contain the attributes of a snake and a mirror. The serpent denotes man's unhurried, gentle actions governed by reason while the mirror means that man can properly manage his actions, as long as he knows himself and corrects his own faults<sup>69</sup>.

A great number of personifications of prudence were made in Gdańsk. Perhaps the oldest one is the first of the seven figures representing virtues surrounding the baptismal font in St. Mary's church. The statue on the Golden House by Mayor Jan Speiman, carved in the years 1616–1618 and put together with the other cardinal

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<sup>65</sup> J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy...*, p. 212–213. Eight drawings of these figures were made by Jeremy Falck, the engraver.

<sup>66</sup> Arystoteles, *Ethica nicomachea*, 1140 a 25.

<sup>67</sup> Z. Pańpuch, *Cnoty i wady* [in:] *Powszechna encyklopedia filozofii*, Vol. 2, ed. A. Maryniarczyk *et al.*, Lublin 2001, p. 222.

<sup>68</sup> Arystoteles, *Ethica nicomachea...*, 1140 a 25.

<sup>69</sup> A. Januszajtis, *W ratuszowych izbach*, Gdańsk 2013, p. 89.

virtues (justice, fortitude and temperance), is an important one but perhaps the most prominent and well-known is the statue on the Golden Gate, the work of Peter Ringering; instead of a snake or mirror she is holding a telescope and clock<sup>70</sup>.

In both these architectural orders prudence is at the forefront, emphasizing the importance of virtue and its fundamental significance for the proper development of man and his conduct and also for the process of education. Traditionally, three components were distinguished and emphasized in upbringing, i.e. integral or necessary, subjective and potential ones. The necessary parts for the preparation of human activity were: a) memory (*memoria*); b) understanding (*intellectus*), sometimes called the sense of recognizing the first obvious yet specific rules of action; c) ability to accept instruction (*docilitas*), consisting of trusting the elderly, the authorities, teachers, or, in other words, the ability to make use of experience and wisdom of other people; d) perspicacity, sharpness of mind (*solertia*) – correct guessing of missing or not explicitly defined elements of action; ability to determine what is appropriate; e) common reason (*ratio*) – correct reasoning on practical issues<sup>71</sup>.

Integral parts of prudent actions are: anticipation, that is, the domination and influence on the future things in human power; reticency (looking around) that is the ability to take the conditions in which the action takes place into account; foresightedness, that is, seeing what can impede performance, recognizing evil and avoiding it<sup>72</sup>.

The subjective parts were equally important in city social life. For politicians and city authorities, prudence was seen as ruling the governance, political action, economy in the city and in general; for soldiers military prudence was considered appropriate. Potentially, prudence meant a good idea, proper judgment in practical matters according to the general principles of action. Any will against prudence arises primarily from its absence and the lack of efforts to obtain it or its denial. Lack of prudence also involves the execution of activities devoid of one of its essential components, from reckless, impulsive or unstable actions. Negligence, which involves slow thinking and, on the other hand, rash in execution of one's goals is a flaw resulting from imprudence<sup>73</sup>.

The characteristics of the virtue of prudence were emphasized in educational ideas in Gdańsk and highlighted in the book of the fraternity. As far as the text of c. 53 is concerned, no unequivocal personification of prudence was made, but some of its constituent features were highlighted. In 1749 a symbolic field of corn was painted, which in part was mown and the blades were already tied in sheaves. The inscription on the sash says: "Everything has its time" ("Alles hat seine bestimte Zeit"). It means

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 90.

<sup>71</sup> Tomasz z Akwinu, *Summa theologiae*, II-II, q. 49–50.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, q. 49.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, q. 53.



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that different actions should be taken at the right time, which must be recognized; decision should be taken without fear and performance must not be delayed and must have its proper order and logic. The illustration on p. 49, painted a year earlier, may also refer to *prudentia*; a view of a wayfarer walking through life, perhaps a journeyman during a career hike, may be explained by the inscription: “God has helped so far” (“Bis Hier hat der Herr geholfen”).

The image of hope (*spes*) was set on the Golden Gate as the second figure. The virtue of hope, comprehended as a state of human existence, allows us to expect that the presently obtained good will not change; it fitted very well into corporate pedagogy.



Illustration 6.11. Detail of c. 51.



Illustration 6.12. Detail of c. 49.

It served to help maintain order in corporations and guild customs formed as early as the Middle Ages. It also helped demand obedience to the elders and direct the ambitions and requests of journeymen to the future. Hope is not only a human attitude in a singular dimension but also a social relationship, expressed in the tension of the community aiming at achieving the common good, so difficult to obtain. In the anthropology of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, man was a contingent, potential being and therefore he was to be directed at the pursuit of such social relationships that protected the existence of the individual in the community. The loose man was treated suspiciously. The adequately shaped hope enabled proper functioning of the intellect and will in socially designated roles. Human life in a port city was seen as a road or sailing across oceans; through achieving various direct, partial goals it led to the ultimate goal – happiness in a safe harbour. The ultimate hope was fulfilled when a man reached the port of salvation. However, the ultimate fulfillment of man is made at a particular time in which many means are used, various efforts are undertaken and a lot of time is required to obtain it. Breaking up with evil requires an appropriate attitude of will toward the expected good and managing one's emotions. The presence of hope is necessary condition for good action.

Highlighting the impersonation of hope in the book is probably also due to its connection with prudence, which, as previously indicated, consists in recognizing the object of activity and cherishing the distant goal, which, though still only expected and desirable, still distant, is already known and, as such, is present in the intellect. Hope brings about the originally designated good, which then enables further progress and understanding of the ways of obtaining it. In the corporation they paid attention to common actions, the common good and community of interests, which requires acceptance of all members and mutual benevolence<sup>74</sup>.

Hope was different in antiquity and in Christian times, when they began to use anchors as its most important attribute, particularly imaginative in places related to sailing. This is how it was portrayed in the book of bakers: the personification of hope is standing against the background of the sea, but on her sides extreme situations are depicted. On the right side there is an anchored, stable ship and to her left a ship tossed by waves, tilting dangerously towards the rocky shore.

Hope (*spes, hoffnung*) also evokes constancy and steadiness (*constantia*). Human life proceeds in the context of various goods and consists in the achievement of those that help improve man. Man is a contingent being and therefore he must constantly seek for such things as will protect his existence and enable proper actions of the intellect and will. Human life, especially during the Baroque period, appeared as a role played on a particular way of life. Man is often seen as a traveller, or better as a pilgrim

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<sup>74</sup> Z. Pańpuch, *Nadzieja* [in:] *Powszechna encyklopedia filozofii*, Vol. 7, ed. A. Maryniarczyk et al., Lublin 2006, pp. 472–474.

not only heading for some place but even more so for achieving spiritual values through his personal powers<sup>75</sup>.



Illustration 6.13. Detail of c. 80.

Hope raises hearts!  
Our dreams may come true,  
Unless it is against God's will!  
We have entrusted our souls, bodies  
and lives to divine grace,  
We trust him in everything.

When such an anchor  
Is provided in peril  
We fear nothing.  
And when life and death keep us company,  
When they lead us,  
We cannot do without an anchor.

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 472.

He knows how to comply our dreams  
 With his own will.  
 There is a right time for everything,  
 We cannot impose anything on him,  
 Yet let the anchor stay with us,  
 And when God calls us, we will be ready.

This text combines the feeling of stability and satisfaction resulting from social peace with preparation for death, as will be discussed later. The poem and the illustration were placed in the book in 1760 or 1761. It was a time of peace in the city, and there were no new threats on the international scene. In a certain measure, Gdańsk learnt from Poland's neutrality in the Seven Years' War. Experience had taught them that the war lasted long, the parties to the conflict were exhausted and its final settling was approaching. However, the idleness of the Polish Republic could also mean abandoning the city, so, left alone, it turns all its hope to God and His Providence. This virtue is an anchor that saves the city torn by the waves of history just as a ship is tossed by turbulent sea waves.

In pagan antiquity the anchor was an attribute of Neptune, the god of the sea. In seaside towns it was placed on fishermen and sailors' graves as a sign of their condition. In Christianity the anchor replaced the sign of the cross and became a symbol of the hope of salvation. It appears in the oldest catacombs as a Christian symbol. The anchor represents spiritual attitudes of the first Christians, who firmly persisted in their faith among storms of persecution. The author of the Letter to the Hebrews recommends (6:19 and n.) hope as an anchor. Saint Ambrose comments on this by explaining that as the anchor firmly holds the ship so that it is not blown by waves, so faith strengthened by hope leads to salvation. The anchor, as the oldest sign of Christians, first appears on its own, but since the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, fish, palm, dove, or even the Good Shepherd were added to it<sup>76</sup>. In this way they form whole symbolic chains of thought.

In the above mentioned illustration, the basic symbol of hope was enriched only with a picture of a white dove sitting on the right hand of the female figure. In ancient pagan and biblical symbolism the white dove carried special significance.

In the East it was considered a holy bird. The following features were emphasized: simplicity, love, innocence and gentleness; the gentle throbbing of a turtledove denoted longing and seeking help. Ancient Israelites saw the pigeon as God's favourite bird. The dove is an image of the Holy Spirit. In the writings of Church Fathers the dove is a symbol of inspiration of the Scriptures<sup>77</sup>. The dove is associated with many biblical figures and saints; doves arrived and sat on their shoulders or spoke to their

<sup>76</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, pp. 426–428.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 228–232.



ears. Then they symbolize the inspiration of the Holy Spirit<sup>78</sup>. And this is the message of this personification: by God's inspiration hope is the most appropriate attitude indicated to the people of Gdańsk at the end of the Seven Years' War.

The authors of the book used the symbol of hope to shape in young bakers the attitude of strengthening their volition; its object was good difficult to obtain. Anger was an emotion that could have arisen in Gdańsk as a result of powerlessness of this rather wealthy city belonging to a weak state. Hope could also give some encouragement to gain the difficult good. Hope understood as a religious virtue is about sustaining effort and strengthening of will in order to attain the highest good, i.e. salvation. This in turn is about gaining happiness from knowing and loving God in eternity. Here religious experience is connected with experiencing temporality.

The educational aim of the book is visible in a beautiful poem on justice and providing a proper illustration. The author of the poem describes its essence, the conditions of use, and emphasizes its significance for social life. He also describes various kinds of justice. Finally, he prays for it being maintained in the fraternity. The intentional relationship of the poem and painting are attested by the attributes of justice: a double edged sword and scales. The sword is pointed in two directions: against the evils of vice and hatred, and to support virtue and the oppressed. The scales serve to evaluate deeds; they weigh them on two pans to reveal secret deeds and to reward the pious and honest.

Justice points its sword  
Towards evil and goodness.  
It curbs the wilfulness  
Of misdeeds, which insolently  
Ruin peace, oppress innocence,  
Greedily peep towards someone else's goods!  
Just as a sword of justice  
Strikes sparks at evil in a just revenge,  
So it protects the virtue  
And helps the oppressed.  
It rewards and praises the pious.  
It unfolds mysteries.  
It judges our deeds,  
And assesses them fairly.  
It never says: that is what they say,  
Or: rumour has it.  
No, justice itself estimates the deed  
And pays back according to merits!

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<sup>78</sup> M. Feuillet, *Leksykon symboli chrześcijańskich*, trans. M. Paleń, Poznań 2006, p. 40.

It can be assumed that the illustration was composed to be a visualization of the content of the poem. Justice in the illustration does not make any special gestures. It is a reflection of a statue placed on the Golden Gate, although it was depicted with different symbolic representations in iconography. The virtue of justice (*iustitia*) consists in the inclination of the will to take into consideration the rights of other people, whether they are individuals or a community, and in performing righteous deeds. It is generally acknowledged that it consists in giving each one what he deserves. It does not aim at what a man wants for himself but what he is due to others. In other words, it is related to the obligation stemming from the law or from the fact that we all have the same human nature. If the law is arranged for the good and happiness of the community and because it regulates all matters and contains obligatory regulations respecting virtues, obedience to such law and conformity with it is a perfect virtue because it contains all the others<sup>79</sup>.

Aristotle treated justice as a social virtue as it relates to life within society and deals with attitudes towards other people. In a narrower sense, he pointed to particular areas of contracting, conducting business, sharing benefits and losses, balancing accounts. He also pointed out that moral evil such as cowardice, greed, lack of composure, indulgence in lust, leads to the injustice of another man, and becomes lawlessness and anarchy. Perhaps that is why the form of the poem changes into a prayer for the maintenance of justice and the law in the fraternity.

Oh, Lord, you who love justice,  
Do not allow the travesty of justice to win,  
Support the oppressed Christian world!  
Never let your people be defeated.  
Guard our fraternity, so that its members  
Observe order and justice.

The illustration in the book refers to Johann Friederich Ehrmann's exam drawing of 1745. It is a reproduction of Jeremias Falck's *Iustitia*<sup>80</sup>. Justice is depicted as a beautiful virgin wearing a blue robe. She appears to be good but strict; she has a beady look. She is holding not only a sword but also two sprigs, probably from an olive tree, in her right hand, which symbolizes the promise of a young, new life. The fresh sprig of an olive tree that a dove brought in the beak was a message for Noah that the waters of the flood, i.e. the punishment of God, had begun to recede, giving rise again to the vegetation of the earth (Genesis 8:11).

<sup>79</sup> Z. Pańpuch, *Cnoty i wady* [in:] *Powszechna encyklopedia filozofii*, Vol. 2..., pp. 224–225.

<sup>80</sup> J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 1: *Środowisko artystyczne w gdańskich materiałach...*, il. 47.

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Illustration 6.14. Detail of c. 78.



Illustration 6.15. Drawing by Johan Friederich Ehrmann in: J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, Vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy...*, il. 14.

The two twigs in the hand of Justice can symbolize Christ and Mary as the greatest fruits of the genealogy of salvation beginning with Jesse. They also refer to an ancient ritual according to which if a person is greeted with olive twigs it is a symbol of her separation from the earth and she now appertains to heaven<sup>81</sup>. However, the twigs were omitted from the illustration in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers*.

According to Ripa, Justice sees everything and this is how the ancient people saw it<sup>82</sup>. On the other hand, Comenius described it as a comely woman sitting on a solid stone, as she should be unmoved. Her eyes are blindfolded and her left ear is covered with her left hand to avoid being influenced by the sight of people or biased suggestions. In her right hand she is holding the scales with a sword and a snuffler to punish bad people. Both virtues and vices are weighed on the scales. Explaining the figure of Justice, Comenius states that sincere actions are indispensable in concluding agreements; contracts and promises should be kept, things borrowed should be returned, no one may be robbed or insulted, everyone should be given what he deserves. These



Illustration 6.16. J.A. Comenius, *Justice* [in:] *Orbis sensualium pictus...*, p. 236.

<sup>81</sup> M. Feuillet, *Leksykon symboli chrześcijańskich...*, p. 38.

<sup>82</sup> C. Ripa, *Ikonomia...*, pp. 169–170.



indications are listed in the fifth (thou shall not kill) and the seventh commandment (thou shall not steal)<sup>83</sup>. These explanations were related to commercial and political life in the city; they were not used in the book, though.

The painter did not apply Comenius views but the image of Justice was adapted to the content of the poem recorded on the previous page in the book.

In *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* attention was also paid to the role of Divine Providence coming to the aid of those who call upon it it unanimously after the end of the Seven Years' War. Providence (*providentia*) as a virtue in the social sense is the ability to anticipate the right, effective and morally decent means to achieve the goal of common good and the ability to govern as the basis for implementation of political solutions<sup>84</sup>. The personification of Providence does not appear on the Golden Gate; the last figure there is concordance. Nevertheless, the role of Divine Providence was emphasized in religious education of Baroque times. It was also painted in the guild of Gdańsk painters; there is a painting by Adolf Boy pasted into *Das Grosse Meisterbuch [...] der Mahler, und Conterfaeyer [...] 1612–1776*, dedicated to the journeyman Jakob Pusch in 1644. It was pasted by Falckenberg, stating that it came from Pusch's<sup>85</sup>.

We see attacking Mars, the god of war, who has already knocked down a personification of virtue, and an allegory of trusting prayer; they are divided by a shield placed



Illustration 6.17. Drawing by Adolf Boy, APG 300, C/613, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup> J.A. Comenius, *Orbis sensualium pictus...*, pp. 236–237.

<sup>84</sup> P.S. Mazur, *Opatrzność [in:] Powszechna encyklopedia filozofii*, Vol. 7..., p. 826.

<sup>85</sup> APG, 300, C/613.

between them. The protective buckler is supporting a cloud floating down from God; the cloud is marked with a triangle and the sign of Yahweh. In the distance we see the panorama of Gdańsk from the presentable southern side.

As it was placed on the back of the pre-title page of the book of painters (APG, 300, C/613), every painter reaching for the book of his guild saw this illustration. It was



Illustration 6.18. Page from *Das Grosse Meisterbuch [...] der Mahler, und Conterfayer [...] 1612–1776*, APG, 300, C/613, p. 2.

probably of religious and social significance; it also had an educational goal that aroused religious hope for the successful future of the city and guild.



Illustration 6.19. J.A. Comenius, *Fortitude* [in:] *Orbis sensualium pictus...*, p. 230.

According to Comenius, fortitude is daring in adversity and bold as a lion, not superior in happiness, supported on a pole of constancy, bearing happiness and unhappiness alike, patience is its shield in times of misfortune and the sword serves it to drive away enemies of mind, that is, lust and greed.

Plato's providence was connected with the care that Demiurg brings to human reality, bringing order to the chaos of matter. In Aristotle's system providence is attributed the role of predicting events in the object sense, in the system of logic, and in the subjective aspect, which results from acquired experience or use of knowledge acquired through observation or ultimate intervention of the supernatural. The stress, however, was laid upon reason, which can foresee future events using data derived from practical cognition and connection with the virtues of wisdom and reason<sup>86</sup>.

Therefore, this was probably why *The Book* draws the attention of young people to Divine Providence. The guild pedagogy emphasized that God's doings should be

<sup>86</sup> P.S. Mazur, *Opatrzność...*, p. 827.

supported by the work of man done with the aid of reason and will. This is the idea behind verse:

Old wishes have  
 Been fulfilled,  
 Ravages of war have ceased, flames have died down,  
 The field that used to be bathed in blood  
 is now cultivated by a farmer.  
 Providence appealed: Enough! And the war was over.  
 And everybody offered their hands in reconciliation.  
 Where clanging of arms used to be heard,  
 Now you can sleep in peace.  
 Europe enjoys peace and harmony.  
 One country calls for others to maintain the peace.  
 Gdańsk is not silent, either, it sings joyful songs (c. 85v.).

These words refer to agreement among nations and their consideration could be included in the chapter on concord and discord. However, the words of the prayer in the form of a poem were illustrated by a personification that is holding a laurel wreath symbolizing victory; yet because she is holding a palm leave symbolizing peace in her other hand, it is necessary to link the symbols and understand them as an indication of internal peace that affects external conduct – living in agreement with other people. Peace is a result of man’s ability to establish unity. Divine Providence and human providence treated as virtue call for historical experience to be used, that is, past periods of struggle with times of cooperation and anticipation of future events, to properly prepare and secure peace in the city. The response of man to the recognition of the existence and action of Divine Providence is the concern for another person in the context of social life. God’s Providence is not always realized directly. It largely uses contingent beings – other people, forces of nature, time and space. Man should therefore also become involved in acts of Divine Providence through self-care, through his own cognition and desire of the mind. Such providential human activity reveals man’s dignity and responsibility<sup>87</sup>. This ability was also depicted symbolically and even further developed by placing a helmet on the head of its personification, which is a symbol of power and resistance to injury. It protects man in the fight for keeping peace against human fervour and protects the mind from suspicion and distrust<sup>88</sup>.

The personification of providence, which appears here on its own, i.e. without any relation to other virtues is depicted in accordance with Cicero’s idea; he understood

<sup>87</sup> P.S. Mazur, *Opatrzność...*, pp. 832–833.

<sup>88</sup> M. Feuillet, *Leksykon symboli chrześcijańskich...*, p. 45.





Illustration 6.20. Detail of c. 86.

human providence as a rejection of soothsaying for the sake of rational prediction, which results from human knowledge and experience and is guided by prudence. Memory and intelligence prepare us for an act of prudence but providence complements it<sup>89</sup>. Therefore this personification is holding a palm leaf in her right hand. In ancient times a palm leaf, and later even the whole palm tree, was a symbol of victory. The palm tree makes the act which it celebrates immortal. First, soldiers celebrating victory triumphantly waved palm leaves and later winners of sports competitions were honoured in a similar way in stadiums. In Christian tradition, which has frequently made use of this symbol, a palm tree denotes victory over death. That is why people greeted Christ with palm leaves on his entrance to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. The palm tree is also an attribute of martyrs who sacrificed their lives for Christ<sup>90</sup>.

The personification painted in *The Book* is holding a laurel wreath in her left hand. It was believed in ancient times that fresh twigs woven in the shape of a wreath would lend their fresh powers to humans and other beings, provide blessings and prosperous growth or protect them from misfortune, effects of witchcraft and evil spirits. Generally speaking, they bring happiness and that is why champions of competitions and soldiers returning from victorious battles were adorned with laurel

<sup>89</sup> P.S. Mazur, *Opatrzność...*, p. 827.

<sup>90</sup> M. Feuillet, *Leksykon symboli chrześcijańskich...*, pp. 31–32.

wreaths. They were also a form of blessing drawn from nature, and they were to purge soldiers from blood shed in battle. With time, however, only the idea of victory, honour and distinction were associated with laurel wreaths. Since the time of Christian persecution the wreath referred to martyrs and Christian struggle against evil. Since the fourth century wedding wreaths were mentioned as popular and sanctified symbols. They were a sign of chastity and a symbol of victory over lust and the wish that the bride and groom were like a tree whose trunk produces numerous branches<sup>91</sup>.

The author of the text also referred to the social thought of St. Augustine, who emphasized that human power comes from God and the man anointed by God, who exercises it, is responsible for creating a proper, i.e. congruent with Divine Providence, social order. Its fulfillment on earth is the state of God (*civitas Dei*), distinguished from the earthly state (*civitas terrena*). However, God cares for his creation, so he governs both nature and socio-political events for the proper harmony of the world and for the salvation of mankind. For Boethius providence is the divine mind that governs the world. The Absolute lays down the rules according to which matters and affairs are to happen<sup>92</sup>.

This text probably refers also to Psalm 121, where the psalmist asks: "Where will help come from?". And he answers: "The Lord will save you from all evil: He watches over your life" (Ps 121, 1 and 7).

The poem in the journeyman's book is, however, short and it is impossible to say unequivocally what philosophical and theological traditions it refers to. We cannot confirm that providence is understood here in the manner of predestination in the stoic and Protestant spirit, as a necessary fulfillment of the will of the Absolute leading one to good and salvation, and others to evil and condemnation<sup>93</sup>.

We do not find any incentive for the development of religiosity in it; the poem does not change into words of prayer. Similarly, it does not draw the reader's attention only to human providential action; anticipation of the future is connected with a natural concern for the good of man and the community in which he functions. It seems that the author was merely concerned with the expiry of the time when the Seven Years' War had to end, and which was a certain instrument of God's providence flinging death over most powerful men, making all people equal. On earth everything has its end and, therefore, it also means the end of all evil. If evil touches a person, community or city, it must end one day.

Divine Providence also cared about the fate of King Augustus III, who favoured the postulates of Gdańsk commonalty, but who was a failed king of Poland, not able to defend Poland's interests during the war. The people of Gdańsk may have feared but

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<sup>91</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, pp. 435–440.

<sup>92</sup> P.S. Mazur, *Opatrzność...*, p. 827.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 830–831.

also looked forward to his death and changes on the throne. His fate was described in the following words:

Among these signs of appreciation Augustus  
Leaves.  
Augustus becomes stiff and dies after thirty  
Years of his reign.  
He used to point his sceptre towards Gdańsk.  
Providence will answer our prayers again  
And soon delight will replace  
Our pain.



Illustration 6.21. Detail of c. 86.

The second thought of the poem was illustrated with a vanity painting containing a clearly written Baroque memento placed in the centre: *memento mori*. There are several symbols in the cartouche; the most interesting is a comparison of human life to a soap bubble. It did not appear in the other three illustrations. Even the king's life is dependent on Divine Providence, though it may not be as elusive as a soap bubble. It is held up to be lifted and to delight, but suddenly, for many reasons admitted or sent by the same Providence, it vanishes like a bursting soap bubble. The other symbols will be discussed later in this work.

Vanity considerations were already used earlier in the book. In the period after social battles of 1754 in Gdańsk, two allegories and two related texts were added, forming a certain sequence of thought.

On c. 63v. they wrote:

Who seeks the greatest pleasures? He finds them  
with me,  
I make despondency and anxiety  
Go away.  
Who knows where to rest on roses  
and lilies,  
peace will fall on his heart (c. 63v.).



Illustration 6.22. Detail of c. 64.

The cartouche shows a heart and two flowers, a rose and lily. The work of the painter was supplemented by a note: “Beautiful, sweet and good” (“Schön lieblich und aufrichtig”) (c. 64). The lily had long been a symbol of nobleness and perfection, innocence, virginity, hope and repentance<sup>94</sup>. The rose, in turn, a sign of glamour, symbolizes love and memory. In Christian symbolism it ment God’s love, charity, forgiveness, virtuous beauty and martyrdom. It also reminded of imperishability, virtue and mystery<sup>95</sup>.

The heart is the most central organ and the seat of human life power. It also denotes the inner man together with his conscience. The “heart” is the essence of courage, bravery, determination, inner conviction, plans, intentions and moral decisions of the entire indivisible man. Without a stir of heart, neither artwork nor other accomplishments, especially those derived from human love, would arise<sup>96</sup>. Here the heart is attributed goodness, sweetness to the lily and beauty to the rose.

<sup>94</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, pp. 188–189.

<sup>95</sup> W. Kopaliński, *Słownik mitów i tradycji kultury*, Warszawa 1985, p. 1002.



They would not matter much themselves if they were not related to the second part of the message. The following was written below:

Just as a crane stands by its  
cluster,  
watching them, so they can sleep  
soundly,  
a wise man has to be  
on guard,  
so the peace does not blunt  
his senses.  
A true friendship is a reflection  
of heaven,  
there is no room for inconstancy or  
falsehood,  
it is surrounded by the radiance of immaculate light,  
But be on guard, do not trust anybody (c. 63v.).



Illustration 6.23. Detail of c. 64.

An illustration for this statement is a cartouche depicting a crane and outstretched arm with an eye in the hand.

The hand with the eye shows openness, sincerity, kindness. It indicates that human activity is enclosed in God's hand, and that man's fate is dependent on God, who protects him from evil. The image of a watchful crane holding a stone in its claws to defend his life and others', was probably copied from the work of Ripa. He presented

<sup>96</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, pp. 359–361.

vigilance as a woman with a book in her right hand and a lit lamp in her left. She is accompanied by a crane with a stone in its paw. It shows two types of vigilance – bodily and spiritual. Man studying science and contemplating its results learns vigilance and sobriety towards any turnover of fortune, that is probably why the woman with the book and lamp was omitted, and only the symbol of a crane was used; it teaches us that journeymen should always guard themselves and their lives. Cranes help each other so that one of them keeps vigil and holds a pebble while others are confident that they are well guarded by the watchers as long as the stone does not fall down. When it comes out of its clutches the noise wakes them up and they take flight. According to Ripa, this allegory refers to *The Song of Songs* 5,2: “I am asleep but my heart is watching”<sup>97</sup>.

Such image of vigilance has long been rooted in European culture. The symbol was placed, among others, above the door leading to the Library of the Senate of Gdańsk. In ancient Egypt it was understood as a sign of constant vigilance. Cranes were sometimes considered sacred birds of wisdom capable of predicting the future. Their contemplative attitude made people attribute thinking ability to them<sup>98</sup>.

The order of the book appealed to Gdańsk people and recalled their collective wisdom which must be guarded and carefully looked after as a virtue in social life.

Referring to virtues as social skills is very characteristic of this book. It seems that the authors did not try to use Protestant, Lutheran or Calvinist theology to edit the book. They did not deal with religious problems, except for treating general religious freedom of protestants as superior value, above all other views expressed in the book. They did not draw attention to the teachings of Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, or John Calvin, who emphasized that faithful men should give glory to God by their chaste life every day, that is, work for the sake of the common good, care for their neighbours more than for their own sake, show self-denying attitude and sanctify their lives. In the formulation of their ethics each of the above mentioned authors emphasised different aspects, depending on the context. There is no mention of the idea of sanctification, self-denial, bending our own human will to God's requirements – all the ideas so frequently used during fighting and social dissention<sup>99</sup>. The authors referred to ethics and natural theology. In this respect, *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* is an exceptional work.

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<sup>97</sup> C. Ripa, *Ikonologia...*, p. 242.

<sup>98</sup> Z. Nowak, *Po starą księgę sięgam ze wzruszeniem...*, p. 224; S. Schelwig, *Zaproszenie do odwiedzania biblioteki*, trans. from Latin Z.L. Pszczółkowska, Gdańsk 1986, p. 16.

<sup>99</sup> J. Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis*, Liber Tertius, Capita 7, *Summa vitae Christianae: ubi de abnegationae nostrae*, 5, Genevae 1559.

## 7. THE CAUTION OF *MEMENTO MORI* IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

### 7.1. *Memento Mori* in Social Consciousness

In Flanders, paintings containing a new theme – still life – became popular around 1600. This genre developed after they appeared in historical portrayals. A prime example may be a painting by the Flemish painter Pieter Aertsen, dedicated to the story of Christ's visit at the house of Mary and Martha. However, this scene is depicted in the background, while the foreground is occupied by still life with a big ham. The image represents a contrast between two ways of life: *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. It shows the tension between an inclination to earthly things and devotion to reflecting on the word of God. Although this new genre depicts still lifes, it symbolizes above all the mystery and richness of human senses<sup>1</sup>.

In pure still life – as in genre and historical paintings – objects represent various senses: musical instruments represent hearing, flowers – smell, comestibles – tastes. In Antwerp artists developed an aesthetic canon of still life in the form of “laid tables” which flourished later in many variations. Willem Claesz Heda and Pieter Claesz applied the setting of objects on the long diagonal of the table from bottom left to top right in a system that animates the static setting. Items seem to be arranged by accident but in reality everything is carefully selected and arranged. The choice of objects is combined to form a moralizing content. It was particularly evident in vanitative still-lifes that generally recalled the futility and impermanence of all earthly things; human tendencies appeared inane and paughty over the infinite wisdom of God.

These ideas of Baroque art were also expressed in urban art and in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* to reinforce the impact of propaganda. We find a reminder of death – *memento mori* in four illustrations associated with shorter and longer vanitative texts. Their inspiration comes from Baroque mentality, which introduced death

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<sup>1</sup> K. van Lil, *Malarstwo XVII wieku w Niderlandach, Niemczech i Anglii* [in:] *Sztuka baroku. Architektura. Rzeźba. Malarstwo*, ed. R. Toman, trans. B. Drąg, K. Jachimczak, R. Wojnakowski, Köln 2000, p. 468.

to life and broke with fear of death. The Middle Ages prepared man to death and Baroque enriched life with the inclusion of death into *theatrum mundi*. Baroque postulated watching, considering, evaluating and engaging in the affairs of this world in the light of the inevitable death<sup>2</sup>. Such a way of considering social issues was also continued by Gdańsk bakers.

Still lifes tempted with luxuries and earthly joys but their composition helped remind of the passing of time. For example, flowers were considered the epitome of beauty but at the same time, being very impermanent, they demonstrated the transitoriness of earthly pleasures<sup>3</sup>. Baroque painters were playing the *imitatio*, trying to reproduce nature as accurately as possible but also composing their paintings according to the *inventio*, that included a moral, instruction and reflection. Townspeople continually relativised their earthly aspirations and exhorted each other in the name of a morally virtuous life.

*The Book* presents paintings where we find the following vanity items: flowers, leaves and twigs, which symbolize vitality and strength of life, which, however, changes quickly, passes and fades, withers and dies. The skull symbolizes mostly death and passing away. Burning candles are an image of matter and spirit. The flame illustrates the human soul, its extinction and death. Music, musical notes and instruments are symbols of passing; music flows, it cannot be fixed, it sounds and ceases.

Each day bakers experienced the symbolism of baked bread, an effect of the unification of many grains, which were ground, watered and enriched with sourdough to become bread owing to the power of fire. The acid caused fermentation and spoilt the leaven and it was only the baking that changed the dough into bread that was suitable for eating. The elders of the fraternity set the goal and used *The Book* with its literary and iconographic program to create a corporate community just like a baker uses leaven in bread. In Baroque ideology it was not just a corporation or guild or city that mattered; they were concerned about the humanity; it was all to be infiltrated and renewed by this sacred science<sup>4</sup>.

According to Baroque ideas death was the most important moment in life and good death was the ultimate goal of all human activity and concern. Therefore, memory of death was a social concern because it was connected with everyday life. It was supposed to affect daily behaviour and show that every act is counted by God, the giver of life and every human act will influence man's end. For death to be joyous one must cooperate with God in his daily relationships with others and the environment.

This truth was most explicitly expressed in the text and illustration that are on c. 61v.; they are related to each other and belong to the most beautiful cards of *The Book*.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 474.

<sup>4</sup> D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej...*, pp. 455–459.



The lettering in the Schwabacher typeface was very carefully made and the layout on the page is very precise.

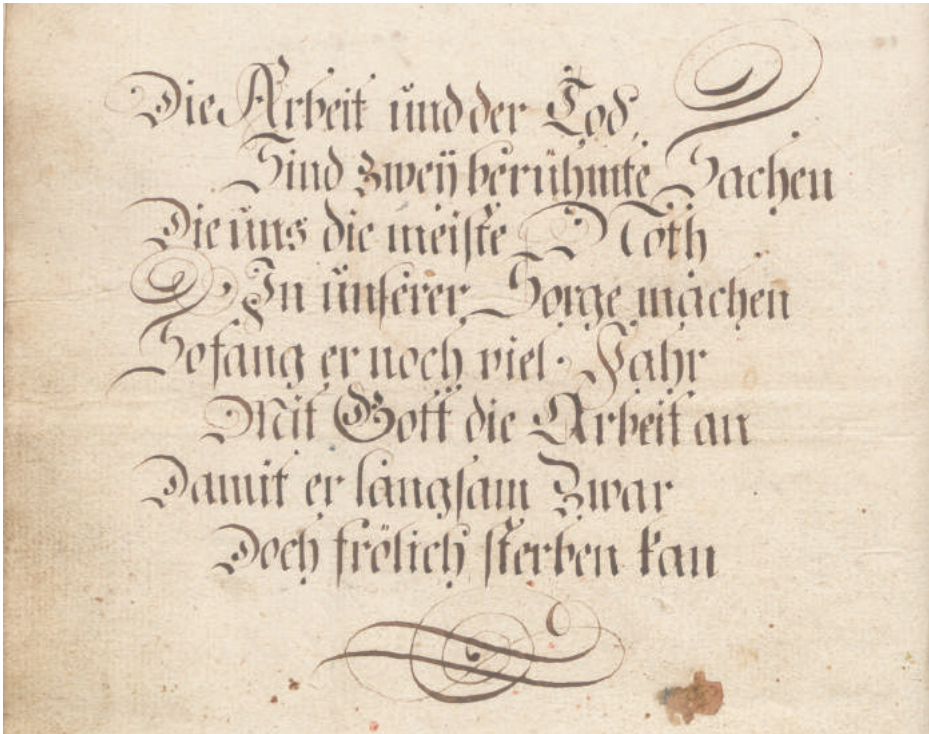


Illustration 7.1. Detail of c. 61v.

Work and death  
Are the two familiar issues  
Which cause us  
Most worries.  
He started his work in the name of God  
Ages ago,  
So he could  
Die joyful.

This verse expresses the principle of combining temporal affairs with eternal salvation in Baroque pedagogy. “Work” – the most social action, is linked to “death” and especially to the preparation for death in a religious and even theological sense, followed by a judgement. It results in waiting for a reward or penalty. “Death” is always experienced individually; another man may only accompany the dying one and participate in his funeral. Although funerals in Gdańsk were celebrated very communally,

there is no mention of the community of journeymen fraternity here. Funerals of outstanding and rich people were celebrated sumptuously and with grandeur even though the city authorities did not agree to it<sup>5</sup>. Here, however, the influence of well-done work on peaceful and devoid of remorse death was underlined. Solid work and satisfaction from all human life had a positive impact on good death. The poem and the painting combine with each other causing fear of death; it is to influence journeymen to better perform their professional duties.



Illustration 7.2. View of section of c. 62.

The inscription on the sash goes: “O man, remember about death” (“O Mensch Bedenck das Ende”), and within the medallion: “In your profession” (“In seinen Beruff”). The painting depicts a baker who is taking freshly baked bread out of the oven and is falling down hit by death, dropping the board; the loaves are falling on the floor. The beautifully made framing was composed of wilted flowers of plants with thorns, perhaps thistles, with flowers, seeds and fruit falling out due to wilting and a freshly blown out candle with a fume lifting towards Death. It summons the journeyman but also the reader looking through *The Book* with its pointing finger. Its skull is wrapped in black and gray pall.

<sup>5</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, *Samopomoc...*, p. 164; M. Bogucka, *Śmierć niezamożnego mieszkańca miasta u progu ery nowożytnej* [in:] *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnych miastach*, eds. A. Wyrobisz, M. Tymowski, Warszawa 1991, p. 288.



Illustration 7.3. A view of Donet's print pasted between pp. 270 and 271 into a copy of Curick's work published in Hamburg in 1799, supplemented with handwritten annotations until 1734, which did not mention the plagues of 1709–1734.



Apart from Baroque ideology, there is probably a reference to the experience of high mortality in the city resulting from frequent epidemics. In Gdańsk, the memory of the largest plague, which hit the city in 1709 and killed half the inhabitants within a few summer months was still alive<sup>6</sup>.

The horror of this event is depicted in illustrations and engravings. It was meant to be a warning to all who trusted too much in their success and did not care about keeping the sanitary order and principles of the city. Another major epidemic occurred in 1717, when 900 babies and 1736–17371 died<sup>7</sup>.

## 7.2. *Memento Mori* in Political Consciousness

The theme of passing was also used to refer to political activity; it was first used during the Swedish-Russian war, 1741–1743, when Russian ships attempted to block trade between Gdańsk and Sweden. The authorities tried to protect commercial interests of the city by using only their own political and commercial contacts. It was a difficult task, because neither the Polish Republic nor Gdańsk had their own naval or even privateer fleet. Although Russia's blocking of trade with Sweden was in its interests, support was granted to ships under the flag of the two-headed black eagle<sup>8</sup>.

Here *memento mori* refers to the mismanagement of imperial policy; the predatory war violated the existing political order and *status quo*. After the Treaty of Oliva in 1660 Poland did not officially participate in wars against Sweden. Gdańsk was satisfied with the role of a go-between in trade between Polish gentry and overseas countries, including Sweden. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the authorities did not support the risky business of commercial merchants as a widespread opinion in Gdańsk was that the restriction of activity to the city and its Polish base, although less profitable, was connected with lesser commercial risk.

The city shaped its economic stance and was satisfied with its commercial results, bankers' turnover, cultural and scientific advancement. The following ending of a five-line poem expresses this attitude:

For the time being, live long, everybody,  
In happiness till the end of your days.

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<sup>6</sup> Z. Kropidłowski, *Formy opieki nad ubogimi w Gdańsku od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1992, p. 143; E. Sieńkowski, *Dżuma w Gdańsku w roku 1709. Studium z dziejów epidemiologii*, Warszawa 1970, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> G. Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit*, Vol. 2, Danzig 1823, p. 215.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. J. Trzoska, *Wywóz zboża i towarów spożywczych...*



Below is an illustration of the fraternity coat of arms with lions, and in the middle of the card – a Baroque drawing of still life with two skulls, candle stumps, a closed book, stationery, hourglass and other symbols of passing and meditating on death, all supported by two angels with primitive crowns on their heads. A Baroque theatre curtain drawn to the side reveals the painting.

These are the most typical elements of *memento mori*; the composition draws on Dutch painting. Various objects, taken together give moralizing content and each one separately reminds of the impermanence of earthly things. For example, the pursuit of learning that is represented by the image of the book, various papers and stationery items seem vain and futile confronted with the infinite wisdom of God. The book is largely damaged, worn and obviously falling apart. In this way they showed that knowledge is futile in the face of passing. Scholars set out boundaries of scientific inquiry and encouraged themselves to remain modest in the face of mysteries of the universe<sup>9</sup>.

The use of *memento mori* symbols on this page is also significant. On the piece of furniture – a table or desk, or even a catafalque, covered with a crumpled cloth, lie worn out books, two skulls, a vessel, maybe an open inkstand or a watch, an hourglass and two candlesticks with burned candles. The cartouche is supported by two angelic figures resembling older women.

Perhaps this composition relates to the end of the poem in which the writer of the fraternity prays:

One more wish  
Before I put the quill away.  
God, keep blessing  
Our Fraternity  
So that it survives many years  
in integrity.  
For the time being, live long, everybody,  
In happiness till the end of your days.

Similar observations on the relationship of life on earth with death are found on pp. 53 and 54. The first is a reflection on the elapsed time in which everything changes. These changes require constant activity and vigilance to keep them in memory and to analyze the past, present and future, to anticipate or prepare for different versions of events.

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<sup>9</sup> E. Kluckert, *Emblematyka* [in:] *Sztuka baroku. Architektura. Rzeźba. Malarstwo*, ed. R. Toman, Köln 2000, p. 469–470.



Illustration 7.4. Detail of c. 41.

A lot has changed  
As nothing is eternal.  
It was written down that year,  
When changes were already taking place,  
And one could not yet see  
What had really happened.  
But to think and to hope,  
This is why these lines have been written down.  
He who reads them carefully,  
Will not scorn them.

The illustration on c. 54 probably refers to these lines. In the cartouche pictured at the top of the page the author placed typical vanitative symbols under the theatre curtain, which is drawn back to reveal names of the fraternity executives.

On the sash over the cartouche there is an inscription: “Nothing is permanent” (“Nichts ist Beständig”), and inside it – Baroque symbols of passing: autumn weather and dying nature, and on the table – withered flowers, worn and disintegrating book with pages falling out, a skull, in a candlestick – a blown out candle with smoke rising from it. Behind the skull there are books, an hourglass and some objects carelessly scattered around. The atmosphere is sad and the colours funereal.



Illustration 7.5. Detail of c. 54.

Finally, a clearer incentive was added:

Remember the past,  
Consider the present prudently,  
Foresee the future.  
All prosperity rests  
Upon these three pillars.  
Anno 1750, 4 Januarius J.D.O.C.H.G. (c. 53)

The death of King August III marked a return to vanitative ideas. In 1763, the author using the initials J.C.B. and C.H.G. wrote a text relating to the king's death; it was also a warning against placing too much hope on the joys of earthly life, even if they were only the joys of journeymen.

For comparison, illustration 120 shows an image of still-life by a Baroque painter Simon Renard De Saint-André, who painted, among others, portraits and still lifes of the *vanitas* type. He was a member of the prestigious Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture since 1663. The painting comes from the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon.

Although only the skull evokes associations with death at first glimpse, each element of the composition carries rich symbolism pertaining to the idea of *vanitas*. The most expressive symbol of death – the skull – is adorned with with laurel leaves, the crown of the victors, to emphasize the insignificance of human efforts and accomplishments in the face of death. The letter is a record of human feelings, experiences, plans; yet when a man dies, only a piece of paper with ink marks is left and soon it also fades. The same applies to the music sheet, flute and all musical instruments; music is

7. The Caution of *Memento Mori* in Social and Political Consciousness



Illustration 7.6. Detail of c. 86.



Illustration 7.7. Simon Renard De Saint-André (1613–1677), *Vanité* (circa 1650), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.



the most impermanent of all arts. The sound of music is already a thing of the past in the course of hearing and the notes themselves are not music.

The glass objects that are so expressively portrayed with a jagged edge also help us realize that even though they are so precious, they can get broken in an instant. The fragility of glass refers to the frailty of human life. Likewise, soap bubbles, associated with joy and childhood, are a symbol of the elusiveness of life. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there was a popular theme of *homo bulla* depicting an infant or a putto leaning against a skull and blowing bubbles from a straw which it had in its hand.

The seashell next to the skull plays a double role: it not only complements the story of the bubbles but the seashell itself is a symbol of death – because the shellfish that once lived in it is now only an empty crust. The twine for binding makes it very clear that we will not be able to attach ourselves to life; neither can we keep anything we possess on earth. On top of this, the cord fuse is burning, which means that time is limited.

These four vanity pictures in *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* do not display any religious traits; they rather point to social references. They were placed as a supplementation on the pages connected with war, royal authority, disputes between journeymen and masters. Attributes used in still lifes call for self-control, self-education and self-restraint in the pursuit of lust that destroys all that is recognized as the foundation of happiness on earth. The authors convey the message that harmony, prudence, hope and justice in daily life are elusive. They still require constant vigilance and self-control of the individual and the community over material and spiritual good achieved. It must be emphasized that the authors of *The Book of wheat bread journeymen bakers* refer only to the ethical formation of the Gdańsk community; they do not go beyond the level of rationalism nor do they introduce theology or religious instruction.

## CONCLUSION

*The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* is a unique work. It is composed of written text and specific illustrations. Its editorial staff was probably the writers of the fraternity but it was not a product of any particular personality or a few individuals; it was created through the supervision of the guild, that is several ambitious members of the elders of wheat bread bakers. It is a representative source document expressing views and convictions of a large part of the Gdańsk community. It may be viewed as a record of collective wisdom of a particular social group that had boasted a well-established position in the city for several centuries. The book also served as a means of conveying to future masters the views and attitudes that seemed appropriate and desirable, beneficial to the community, resulting from long experience and even political struggles in the city and judicial proceedings in the corporation.

*The Book* is a multilayered cultural event: not only the word and the picture work together, creating two layers, a “speaking image”, but also various literary and pictorial forms appear in them. In addition to chronicle notes, we may find examples of occasional literature, political journalism, philosophical considerations, epigraphs, laudations, wisdom sententiae and prayers. They are directed at the reader of texts and the viewer of miniature painting forms such as cityscapes, battle and maritime scenes, genre scenes, and especially deep allusions, allegories and symbols.

The words and images of this book constitute an astonishing account of the relationship of the Gdańsk plebs to material and spiritual reality, to ideas and values, political and social events. They are a message about the *mundus moralis* of everyday life of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Gdańsk. They show a profound and responsible way of treating their existence, which consisted not only of their work but also high values. However, it must be stated that while we recognize the capacity for broader metaphysical thinking, the condition of consensus among all social strata was to fulfill the demands of one’s own social group, to a greater or lesser extent. In other words, the common good was perceived through one’s own corporate interests.

The city appears here as a theatre according to the ancient and Baroque topos. When *The Book* is being read words and images create tension similar to that encountered by a theatre viewer waiting for the moment of culmination, that is, fulfilling

the hopes of bakers who want to preserve international peace, freedom of religion in the state, obeying the laws of the Gdańsk plebs, harmonious life in the city and the corporation, stable economic conditions, preventing food speculation in the city. The ultimate goal is the correct formation of a candidate for a master in the guild of wheat bread bakers who would have such moral qualities (especially the virtue of prudence) that would make his life happy and peaceful.

The main purpose of keeping the book was to record all cases of journeymen's liberations. At the time of entry they registered the name of the liberated apprentice, his origin, the amount of the registration fee for the fraternity and the name of the master he had terminated with. In a dozen or so cases the information about the fee was omitted but it was stated that he "donated the fraternity so that they were satisfied". The entry was made mostly by candidates themselves, in silence that reached the entire inn. Within the period of 42 years they noted admission of 340 journeymen to the guild; 158 of them came from Gdańsk and 181 from beyond the city, mostly from German-speaking countries. About seventy pages of *The Book* were devoted to recording all entries; 67 pages were not used. Moreover, it took 23 pages to write various poetic texts; they were made with great care; two of them were coloured and more ornate. Illustrations consisting of four cartouches occupied sixteen pages and those painted in three cartouches took thirteen pages.

The names of eight writers of the fraternity were listed in *The Book*. Nathanael Foß held the position for the longest period: from 1737 to 1761, that is 24 years. Therefore, he should be attributed the greatest influence on the shape of the program and the character of *The Book*.

*The Book* also mentions the authorities of the fraternity, i.e. names of councillors of wheat bread bakers, the elders of the corporation and the name of the writer who had statutory responsibility for the book. They should be treated as patron-donours of *The Book*. They also added names of two councillors of the brewers' corporation, who were probably only a supervisory group to control the bakers' journeymen on behalf of the City Council. That is why the most distinguished element in composing a page with ordered illustrations were always two cartouches and the coat of arms. It was not presented in the form of house mark; its form referred to the coat of arms of the City of Gdańsk according to the composition placed in the work of Curicke.

The most important cultural value of this book are short poetic texts referring to the rich tradition of Gdańsk historiography and also to legal and political writings are the most important cultural value of this book. The focus in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was on analysing political and military events of the Seven Years' War, reforms of the state and turbulent social processes in Gdańsk in the middle of the century. Their subject matter was related to Europe in two cases, a few to Poland, and most often to Gdańsk. The events that took place within the corporation were less frequently mentioned.

According to the author of this work what we can see is a certain thought of a collective artist. It is gradually enlarged by introduction of new topics and presenting problems for consideration and resolution. They are first discovered by the writer-editor, then by the corporation, finally by the city public, headed by its elites, and then introduced to the young generation of journeymen. The city appears as a small theatre in which members of the corporation are expected to play their parts appropriately.

The descriptions are aimed at getting the user of *The Book* to become acquainted with the conditions of peaceful work and sell the city's philosophy of life to him. The most beautiful statement of *The Book* can be found in the entry of 1753; its subject is the meaning of life, which is fulfilled when the journeyman or baker master lives honestly so he can "joyfully die". It was also believed that the king of Poland and the city authorities should be able to provide adequate measures for this purpose. All illustrations and paintings, poetry and prayers, sententiae and allegories take part in a dynamic performance. New political and social scenes are revealed during reading and viewing of consecutive cards. To emphasize the purport of an illustration or allegory, the writers of *The Book* placed some additional entries, additions and even brief comments. For example, they responded spontaneously to a rise in grain and food prices in the city by making notes in unused spaces on some pages.

Bakers consistently implemented the ideological program of the book for 42 years; they chose from poetic texts known to Gdańsk commoners to emphasize their views. They also commissioned highly artistic illustrations from the guild of painters and portraitists of Gdańsk, which acted on the imagination and senses in accordance with Baroque ideology. What purpose did they serve? After all, these were not individual, original, unknown or unique works.

*The Book* was most probably edited and embellished for practical reasons. In addition to the records of journeymen, after it had been enriched with texts and illustrations it served as a visual aid during the liberation of apprentices or the reception of newcomers to the fraternity, when an elder or master accepting the journeyman gave him instruction called a "sermon" with regard to its persuasive character. Then the speaker probably reached for the book and, according to political, social or moral circumstances, he chose texts and pointed to illustrations to stimulate the candidate's imagination and enkindle his desire to engage in science, work and service to the corporation and the country. The images had their narration, they spoke and underlined words; those, in turn, explained images and broadened horizons. The elder members of the fraternity had an opportunity to listen again to admonitions and deepened their knowledge of *The Book*. This was probably done with a deep conviction that a visual message was able to speak more deeply and interact more strongly than a word spoken or even written.



The paintings in the book are varied on subsequent pages, each with its own separate colours and different forms. Also, each page includes three or four elements: distinguishing names of the fraternity's leaders, especially the coat of arms of the corporation by placing it in separate cartouches; historical, allegorical and emblematic paintings, which are ancillary to the literary texts. The paintings preserve some autonomy but their themes participate in the interpretation of texts and expose their selected components. The illustrations support the text, explain it, visualize it and constitute a point of reference for poetic speech, especially allusions. They are an important element of the transmission of content referring to the emblematic construction of *The Book*. In places, paintings speak stronger than the text.

Painters used knowledge transferred from generation to generation, but complemented it with artistic achievements of many of the European centres they came from. They drew inspirations from thousands of publications that were collected and made available in the Library of the City Council of Gdańsk, in dozens of larger and hundreds of smaller private libraries, and from publications issued in Gdańsk or written by local people. In a word, they drew from European Baroque cultural heritage; that is why the book of the fraternity of the wheat bread journeymen may be recognised as a testimony of spiritual and material culture of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Central Europe.

Painters wrote occasional and poetic texts with an ornamental fraktur combined with Swabacher, sometimes adorned with floral ornamentation. They also made 45 illustrations of rich informational, artistic and aesthetic content. The names of the leaders were normally written in gold paint at the top of a card in an ornamental cartouche. Below were the armorial bearings of the guild of wheat bread bakers in a decorative cartouche that boldly and clearly referred to the style and graphics of the coat of arms of the City of Gdańsk. The latter is supported by two lions, and over the shield there is a crown. The emblem of the fraternity was the pretzel and strudel in the shape of two and a half parts of the cross. The names of two senior journeymen, a writer and two councillors from the guild of brewers were written in the bottom cartouche. This scheme was repeated 42 times with the exception of three illustrations with a different order. Each illustration contains new graphic elements in accordance with Baroque art trends (rococo at the end of *The Book*). Sixteen illustrations contain four cartridges each, while they painted only three cartridges on the remaining thirteen. The most interesting paintings, however, are placed in the centre of some pages. These are miniatures of historical painting (eight depictions of a political and military character) and vanitative (four pictures). They also contain three allegories.

This material serves several functions simultaneously. The illustrations support the text, explain it, visualize it, represent an essential reference point for poetic speech, especially allusive, an element of a system referring to the emblematic construction. Obviously, painting retains some autonomy but it participates in the interpretation

of the literary text, exposes the meaning of certain components, laudations, prayers and hopes. Through such integration of texts into painting and painting into texts, an inseparable bond is created between them; together they constitute the whole, composed by the orderers of *The Book*.

The author was able to recognize painters of seventeen illustrations; they are usually signed with a pencil, contain the term *fecit* and a full name or its abbreviation. They were: Melchior Thun, who died in 1737, Carl August Capuhn, d. 1772, John (Johannes) Schmidt the Younger, d. 1772, Johan Georg the Younger Lenert, d. 1775–1776. The painters also expressed their own political and social views.

Gdańsk inhabitants were people of broad political horizons. They used to go on business trips and undertook scientific journeys, welcomed newcomers from many countries, conducted political, economic, scientific and cultural correspondence. Gdańsk was also a major market for art and books. Multiple works and news on political topics were available in the Academic College Library and in over 270 large private libraries the resources of which were available to the public. However, the subject matter contained in *The Book* was propelled by current important political events, wars, elections of kings (Stanislaus Leszczyński, Augustus III and Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski) and attempts to reform the Polish state.

These views seem to have been shaped somewhat independently from the policy of the City Council. Commoners were largely influenced by the academic environment during lectures and seminars, public debates and occasional and circular publications by professors of the Academic College. Some of them were also preachers in churches and often printed sermons and occasional speeches. Printed content reached the audience's consciousness deeper and longer.

The political attitude towards Polish kings expressed in *The Book* coincided with the official views of the city authorities. The people of Gdańsk pinned their hopes on their Polish rulers who could defend the burghers' interests against Polish nobility and supported their activities formally and materially. It was important for them that kings could be elected during free elections carried out in accordance with the Polish law. In spite of their adverse feelings towards the gentry wishing to limit the privileges of the city they respected its decision in royal elections. During the Seven Years' War, common people looked for better guardians than King Augustus III, but he did not meet with words of criticism in *The Book*. On the other hand, their attitude towards Catherine II was very naive; they saw her as a honest, benevolent and disinterested guardian of the city's commercial interests, warrantor of the privileges in the city, who was able to come to aid even when it was impossible for the Polish king to do so.

The authors of *The Book* expressed their negative attitude towards the Prussian king very strongly. In the miniature depicting the symbolic coronation of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the Polish king, there is an allegory of the Prussian king as a black

dog attacking chicks protected by the king of Poland (c. 88). In the laudation in his honour they wrote on the side:

Enjoy the happiness that is sent from heaven,  
You who love so dearly the success of Gdańsk and Poland!  
Consider, with what great kindness you have been treated  
By him who has given you the king of your dreams!  
Say, who would think and even hope  
That this happy time would come!  
United in peace, living in harmony and luxury,  
We gratefully thank our good fortune  
Which gave us our King, father and hero,  
Great Stanislaus, Poland's real treasure! (c. 87v.)

Nor was there any criticism of the Polish state, which provided the city with political, economic and religious autonomy. In defense of its own interests, the city behaved like the Polish gentry. All changes were treated as designs at the rule of law and favourability of the state system.

Today it seems difficult to understand that the Polish affiliation of the community could be expressed in German. It seems to be deprived of all opportunism, counting on special considerations of the state or municipal authorities. It is a testament to the profound rooting in folk tradition and beliefs of the leaders of the lowest strata of society.

It also proves great effectiveness of corporate propaganda and educational activities towards new artisans arriving from various parts of Europe and adopting Gdańsk citizenship. It also indicates a different understanding of the nation and state than the one we have today.

An analysis of *The Book of Gdańsk Journeymen Bakers* clearly shows that the authorities of both corporations – bakers and painters – looking for topics to edit and illustrate it, drew first and foremost on the knowledge and development of the then science. It should be stressed that religious references to problems arising in social and political life were never used. The processes that took place around them were explained within the autonomy of the world surrounding bakers and painters.

The patrons of *The Book*, i.e., the authorities of the corporation, benefited from the teaching of the Gdańsk academic community and achievements of the artistic community to a greater extent than from the propaganda of the city governors. Any literature, even the basic one, was created with the assistance of science, philosophical and political knowledge gained in parish schools in Gdańsk, which boasted a good level of instruction. School education was constantly supplemented through activities popularizing knowledge in the education system at the Gdańsk Academic College and

by theatrical performances that took place in sacral space, i.e., the church and also within the educational system and ludic culture.

Political and especially social statements recorded in *The Book* reveal longing for the golden age of Gdańsk, which lasted from the Peace of Toruń in 1460 to the beginning of the “Swedish Deluge” in 1655. The city benefited from the development of trade to the borders of Europe, the riches of Poland and Lithuania and achievements of Gdańsk craftsmen who produced goods for export and for the 100-thousand internal market. The urban community took part in cultural and scientific life of the European continent. There is also a note of resentment, posing the question why that time of prosperity expired and what needs to be done to bring it back.

Corporate pedagogics also made use of four vanitative presentations. Their message is not religious but ethical and social. They were placed on pages related to war, royal authority, disputes between the Council and the populace in the city and between masters and journeymen in the guild. The attributes that were used in them call for self-control, self-education and self-restraint in the pursuit of lust that destroys all that is recognized as the foundation of happiness on earth and at the moment of death. The authors convey the message that positive faculties such as harmony, prudence, hope and justice in daily life are elusive. They still require constant vigilance and self-control of the individual and the community.

*The Book* also includes historical experience of 18<sup>th</sup> century populace of Gdańsk. It demonstrates the lively reaction of the lower classes of society to the events of the last minute. It documents poetry addressed to a narrow circle of guild companions, friends and acquaintances, revealing their deep convictions, which should be taken into account in the historiography of the end of Baroque and the beginnings of the Enlightenment in Gdańsk.

In the light of this book the commonalty appears to be a serious and responsible political force. We can compare it to contemporary middle class, which is the basis of success of largest economies and has an impact on the fate of the world. It deserves our attention not only because of their craftsmanship but also because of the level of commitment and knowledge expressed in folk language. Owing to *The Book* we become acquainted with the horizons of the common people, their way of thinking and arguing, values they embark upon in political struggle and their social testament which they pass on to next generations through the texts and illustrations. The commonalty uses its own available modest resources, ie, folk poetry and miniature illustrations in *The Book*. Their arguments are balanced, adapted to the abilities of commonalty and appropriate for their own comprehension of their small homeland, which is Gdańsk and their support area – Royal Prussia, or “Polish Prussia”.





# ŚWIADOMOŚĆ POLITYCZNA I SPOŁECZNA POSPÓLSTWA GDAŃSKIEGO W XVIII WIEKU

Na podstawie księgi gdańskiego bractwa czeladników  
piekarzy pieczywa pszennego z lat 1724–1768

## Streszczenie

Gdańsk był do połowy XVII wieku jedynym miastem polskim o charakterze metropolii europejskiej. Natomiast od drugiej wojny polsko-szwedzkiej (1655–1660) stopniowo tracił swoje znaczenie, ale jeszcze w XVIII wieku był jednym z największych i najbogatszych miast Polski. Ten okres jego dziejów jest stosunkowo dobrze znany, napisano wiele dzieł, zwracając w nich uwagę głównie na jego osiągnięcia i elity miejskie; pomijano badania nad świadomością i mentalnością szerszych warstw mieszkańców z pospólstwa i plebsu, które wytworzyły znacznie mniej dokumentów źródłowych. A jeśli one powstały, były mniej cenione, szanowane, przechowywane, a być może traktowano je nawet z lekceważeniem.

Tymczasem ich walor dokumentacyjny jest duży. Prace przedstawicieli niższych warstw społecznych zapewne nie wyrażają ich własnych poglądów, raczej umysłowość swojego środowiska. Nieśmiało notowali poglądy swojej grupy społecznej, cechu, sąsiadów, opowieści zasłyszane w kazaniu lub podczas publicznej dysputy w Gimnazjum Akademickim, dopisując nieco od siebie. Przyjmowali za swoje popularne komentarze do wydarzeń militarnych, politycznych i społecznych kursujące w środowisku, wyrażane syntetycznie w popularnych wierszykach, anegdotach, sentencjach, piosenkach przekazywanych z ust do ust.

Dlatego za bardzo cenne źródło dla badań w tym zakresie należy uważać rękopiśmienną księgę: *Einer loeblichen Brüderschafft derer Loof- und Kuchen-Becker-Gesellen der Königlischen Stadt Dantzig, Nahmens-Buch, Worinnen die, nach überstandenen Lehr-Jahren, neu gewordene Gesellen eingeschrieben werden, angefangen im Jahr Christi 1724* (Księga prześwietnego bractwa bułkarzy i ciastkarzy królewskiego miasta Gdańska

zapoczątkowana w Roku Pańskim 1724, w której zapisano nazwiska nowych czeladników po latach terminowania), która jest przechowywana w Bibliotece Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Gdańsku pod sygnaturą Ms 936. Zawiera ona ewidencję czeladników, którzy po okresie terminowania zostali przyjęci do bractwa czeladniczego. Na siedemdziesięciu stronach znajdujemy zapisy do korporacji, które zostały wzbogacone na 21 stronach ważnymi dla poznania świadomości politycznej i społecznej, różnymi tekstami. Z nimi łączą się malowidła, których celem najczęściej jest ich ilustrowanie i wizualizacja, oddziaływanie na wyobraźnię czytelnika. Na szesnastu stronach namalowano ilustracje zawierające po cztery kartusze. W górnym wpisywano nazwiska władz korporacji piekarzy, na dolnym nazwiska dwóch piwowarów. W centrum malowano najpierw gmerk cechu piekarzy pieczywa pszennego (precelek i strucla) w formie herbu Miasta Gdańska oraz kartusz z alegoriami lub przedstawieniami symbolicznymi o charakterze moralizatorskim. Na innych trzynastu ilustracjach namalowano po trzy kartusze zawierające nazwiska władz bractwa, na dolnym nazwiska piwowarów, a w centrum tylko gmerk cechu. Na następnych ośmiu stronicach namalowano po cztery kartusze, w których poza typowymi przedstawieniami umieszczono kartusz z ilustracjami militarnymi i politycznymi. Na trzech stronicach umieszczono obok stałych elementów dodatkowo kartusz z symbolami mądrościowymi. Na następnych trzech ilustracjach umieszczono poza wpisami cechowymi po dwa kartusze o charakterze politycznym oraz na czterech przedstawienia wanitatywne. W sumie wykonano 47 ilustracji. Nie wykorzystano 67 stron. Wakaty są rozłożone równomiernie na całej objętości księgi i nie można ustalić ich przyczyny.

Tak więc *Księga* jest źródłem rękopiśmiennym, malarskim, a nawet szerzej wizualizacyjnym; słowo i obraz zostały świadomie wykorzystywane przez jej autorów i redaktorów.

Jest ona reprezentatywnym źródłem poglądów pospólstwa gdańskiego, ponieważ w ciągu 42 lat wstąpiło do bractwa 340 młodzieńców, z których 158 pochodziło z Gdańska (25 było synami mistrzów), a 181 przybyło z różnych miejsc Europy. Dla 147 podano miejsce pochodzenia. Najczęściej przybywali oni z terenów Prus, Polski, krajów niemieckich, jeden przybył z Anglii. Księgę prowadziło i się nią opiekowało, tworząc program literacki i przekaz edukacyjny, ośmiu pisarzy. Najdłużej był nim Nathanael Foß, bo aż 24 lata, od 1737 do 1761 roku. Natomiast charakter artystyczny zawdzięcza ona malarzom gdańskim, członkom cechu malarzy i portrecistów, którzy należeli do średniozamożnych cechów. Tak więc powstała ona i wyraża świadomość polityczną i społeczną cechu głównego, jednego z najliczniejszych i bogatszych oraz cechu średniego.

Dla świeżowyzwolonych czeladników wpis do księgi, który winni dokonać własną ręką, był zetknięciem się nie tylko z tradycją korporacyjną piekarzy, ale bardziej z *mundus moralis* pospólstwa gdańskiego. Poza ewidencyjnymi notatkami na młodego

czeladnika oddziaływały formy literackie i malarskie. W sposób uroczysty, jak na warunki cechowe, spotykał się z kronikarskimi notatkami, literaturą okolicznościową, publicystyką polityczną, rozważaniami filozoficznymi, epigrafami, laudacjami, sentencjami mądrościowymi, wianatywnymi i modlitwami. Czytelnik zmienia się w widza, gdy ogląda formy malarskie, panoramy miast, sceny batalistyczne i marynistyczne, sceny rodzajowe, a szczególnie głębokie aluzje, alegorie i symbole. Słowo i obraz *Księgi* tworzą zadziwiającą relację o stosunku pospółstwa i plebsu gdańskiego do rzeczywistości materialnej i duchowej, do idei i wartości, wydarzeń politycznych i społecznych osiemnastowiecznego Gdańska.

Największą wartością tej *Księgi* są krótkie teksty o charakterze poetyckim nawiązujące do bogatej tradycji historiografii i piśmiennictwa prawnopolitycznego Gdańska i twórczości okolicznościowej. Zastanawiano się w niej, jakie winny być właściwe relacje życia w mieście i wskazywano, że pomyślność korporacji jest od nich ściśle zależna, a z kolei z nią związany jest los człowieka indywidualnego. Ówczesne wydarzenia polityczne i militarne głównie analizowano w czasie wojny siedmioletniej i prób reformowania państwa polskiego oraz procesy społeczne burzliwie przebiegające w Gdańsku w połowie XVIII wieku.

Tematyka rozważań politycznych i społecznych odnosiła się w dwóch przypadkach do Europy, w kilku do Polski, ale najczęściej do Gdańska. Rzadziej poruszano wydarzenia rozgrywające się w korporacji. Autor niniejszego opracowania dostrzega w tej twórczości pewną myśl twórcy zbiorowego, która narasta przez nakładanie się nowych tematów wynikających ze zmian historycznych i przedstawianie nowych problemów czytelnikowi i widzowi do rozważania i przyjęcia ich za swoje. W duchu baroku świat, państwo i miasto jawią się tu jako jeden wielki teatr, w którym piekarze odgrywają ważną rolę, ale najważniejszą ma do odegrania król Polski, który jest gwarantem pokoju, nabytych praw i przywilejów Gdańska i pomyślności ekonomicznej wszystkich jego mieszkańców.

Horyzonty polityczne gdańszczyzan były szerokie. Pospółstwo miasta wykazywało pewną niezależność od polityki Rady Miasta. Ulegało bardziej wpływom środowiska akademickiego i kościoła luterańskiego, które przez mowy okolicznościowe i kazania głębiej docierały do świadomości odbiorców.

Gdańszczyzanie pokładali nadzieję we władcach polskich, którzy mogli bronić interesów mieszczaństwa wobec szlachty polskiej, dlatego popierali ich działalność formalnie i materialnie. Ważny był dla nich zgodny z prawem Polski wybór króla w procesie wolnej elekcji. Niechęć do szlachty pragnącej ograniczenia przywilejów miasta łączyła się z szacunkiem do jej decyzji przy wyborze króla. W czasie wojny siedmioletniej pospółstwo oglądało się za lepszym opiekunem niż król August III, który jednak nie spotkał się w *Księdze* ze słowami krytyki. Natomiast naiwnie wypada pozytywny stosunek do carycy Katarzyny II, którą przedstawia się jako sprawiedliwą, łaskawą



i bezinteresowną opiekunkę, interesów handlowych miasta, gwarantkę przywilejów miasta, która udziela pomocy nawet wtedy, gdy nie jest tego w stanie uczynić król polski. Stanowczo wyrażano negatywny stosunek do króla pruskiego. Na miniaturze wyobrażającej symboliczną koronację Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego na króla Polski alegorycznie przedstawiono też króla pruskiego jako czarnego psa, który atakuje pisklęta chronione przez kwokę-króla polskiego (k. 88). W laudacji na jego cześć odnotowano obok:

Cieszcie się szczęściem, które zsyłają wam niebiosy,  
wy, którzy tak miłujecie pomyślność Gdańska i Polski!  
Zważcie, jak po ojcowsku życzliwy jest ten,  
który wedle życzenia dał wam najlepszego króla!  
Powiedzcie! Któż by pomyślał i miał nadzieję,  
że nadejdzie ten szczęśliwy czas!  
W pokoju i jedności, w zgodzie i zbytku,  
ze wzruszeniem wychwalamy łaskawy los,  
który dał nam króla, ojca i bohatera,  
Wielkiego Stanisława, szczęście dla Polski! (k. 87v.).

Nie krytykowano również ustroju państwa polskiego, który zapewniał miastu autonomię polityczną, gospodarczą i religijną. W obronie własnych interesów miasto postępowało podobnie jak szlachta polska. Wszelkie zmiany były traktowane jako zakusy na praworządność i wygodę ustroju państwa.

Dzisiaj trudno zrozumieć to, że polskość społeczeństwa gdańskiego była wyrażana w języku niemieckim. W *Księdze* jest ona pozbawiona wszelkiego koniunkturalizmu. Jest świadectwem głębokiej tradycji ludowej pospólstwa i przekonania przywódców niższych warstw społeczeństwa. Ukazuje również skuteczność działań propagandowych i edukacyjnych w korporacji wobec nowych rzemieślników przybywających z różnych stron Europy i „różnych języków” przyjmujących obywatelstwo miejskie, a następnie świadomość polityczną i społeczną w dawnym rozumieniu narodu i państwa.

Z analizy *Księgi gdańskiego bractwa czeladników piekarzy pieczywa pszennego* wynika, że władze obu korporacji – piekarzy i malarzy – szukając tematów do jej redagowania i ilustrowania, czerpali inspirację przede wszystkim z wiedzy i z rozwoju ówczesnej wiedzy humanistycznej, że nie stosowano religijnych odniesień do problemów pojawiających się w życiu społecznym i politycznym. Zachodzące procesy wyjaśniano w ramach autonomii świata otaczającego piekarzy i malarzy.

Mecenas *Księgi* w wypowiedziach politycznych, a szczególnie społecznych, wyrażają też tęsknotę za gdańskim złotym wiekiem, który trwał od pokoju toruńskiego w 1466 roku do rozpoczęcia potopu szwedzkiego w 1655 roku. Wtedy miasto korzystało z rozwoju swojego handlu sięgającego granic Europy, z bogactwa Polski i Litwy

oraz z osiągnięć rzemiosła gdańskiego, które produkowało na eksport i na stutysięczny rynek wewnętrzny, a wspólnota miejska uczestniczyła żywo w życiu kulturalnym i naukowym kontynentu. Pojawia się też nutka resentmentu, autorzy książki kilka razy stawiają pytanie, dlaczego tamten czas dobrobytu i rozwoju minął i co należy zrobić, aby powrócił.

W pedagogice korporacyjnej wykorzystano również cztery przedstawienia wani-tatywne. Ich przesłanie nie ma cech religijnych, a jedynie etyczne i społeczne. Umieszczano je na stronach związanych z wojną, władzą królewską, sporami między Radą a pospólstwem w mieście i między mistrzami a czeladnikami w korporacji. Atrybuty w nich wykorzystane wzywają do samokontroli, samowychowania i samoograniczenia się, do opanowania żądz, które niszczą wszystko co uznane jest przez ludzi za fundament szczęścia na ziemi i w momencie śmierci. Uczą, że ulotne są takie sprawności jak zgoda, roztropność, nadzieja, sprawiedliwość, wobec czego domagają się czuwania i samokontroli, nie tylko jednostki, ale i wspólnoty.

*Księga gdańskiego bractwa czeladników piekarzy pieczywa pszennego* zawiera też doświadczenia historyczne pospólstwa gdańskiego z okresu XVIII wieku. Świadczy o żywej reakcji niższych warstw społeczeństwa na wydarzenia wręcz z ostatniej chwili. Dokumentuje poezję ulotną skierowaną do wąskiego grona towarzyszy cechowych, przyjaciół i znajomych, odsłaniającą ich głębokie przekonania, które należy uwzględnić w historiografii końca baroku i początków oświecenia w Gdańsku.

Pospólstwo w świetle tej książki jawi się jako poważna i odpowiedzialna siła polityczna. Możemy ją porównać do dzisiejszej warstwy średniej, która jest podstawą sukcesów największych gospodarek świata i wpływa na jego losy.

Tak więc *Księga* ta zasługuje na nasze zainteresowanie nie tylko z powodu kunsztu wykonania, ale również z powodu poziomu zaangażowania i wiedzy wyrażanej w języku ludu. Dzięki *Księdze* poznajemy horyzonty pospólstwa, sposób myślenia i argumentowania, wartości, dla których się porywało na walkę polityczną. Poznajemy też jego testament społeczny, który przekazuje za pośrednictwem wpisów i ilustracji następnym pokoleniom. Pospólstwo używa, dostępnych mu, skromnych środków, czyli poezji ludowej i miniaturowych ilustracji zamieszczonych w swojej *Księdze*, ale argumenty są poważne i wyważone, dostosowane do możliwości pospólstwa troszczącego się o swoją małą Ojczyznę, Gdańsk i jego zaplecze – Prusy Królewskie, czyli Polskie.



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