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REMUNERATION FOR WORKS DEDICATED OR DONATED TO THE CITY COUNCIL OF GDAŃSK IN THE 17TH CENTURY

In the ledger of the municipal treasury (Kammerei - *kamlaria*) of Gdańsk for the financial year 1669/1670, a bookkeeping note caught my attention on the *Verehrungen und Geschenke*¹ account – where disbursements of presents and rewards of all kinds were recorded – as it recorded a sum of 30 ducats (270 marks) paid to Stanisław Lubieniecki for the work *Theatrum Cometicum*² donated to the city councillors. The sum received by the eminent Polish scholar – who after leaving Poland lived in Hamburg until his death in 1675 – was a significant one; we ought to note that it exceeded the quarterly remuneration of pastors of the most important church in Gdańsk, the Supreme Parish Church of St. Mary's, which amounted to 145 florins (214.5 marks)³ back then. A review of the account records reveals that Lubieniecki was not the only scholar, preacher or artist to be honoured with a pecuniary reward for works sent or dedicated to the Council that year. For instance, the mathematician Friedrich Büthner (1622-1701), a professor at the Gdańsk Gymnasium and author of a congratulatory epigram attached to Lubieniecki's work mentioned above, received 12 thalers (54 marks) for a calen-

1 Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (the State Archives in Gdańsk – hereinafter SAG), 300, 12/109, p. 48.

2 S. Lubienietzki, *Theatrum cometicum, duabus partibus constans...*, Amstelodami 1668, copy at the Biblioteka Gdańska PAN (Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences – hereinafter GL PAS), shelf mark Uph. f. 1708.

3 For more information on the revenues of the clergy see E. Kizik, "Struktura administracyjna i finansowanie gdańskiego kościoła luterańskiego w XVII wieku" ["Administrative Structure and Financing of the Lutheran Church in Gdańsk in the 17th Century"], in *Gdańsk w epoce Bartholomäusa Milwitza* [Gdańsk in the Times of Bartholomäus Milwitz], Proceedings of a session held by the Historical Museum of the City of Gdańsk and the Monastery of the Carmelite Fathers in Gdańsk on 15 May 2008, E. Kizik (ed.), Gdańsk, 2010, p. 48; E. Kizik, "Finanse gdańskich kościołów luterańskich w XVII-XVIII wieku" ["Finance of the Lutheran Churches in Gdańsk in the 17th and 18th Centuries"], *Barok. Historia – literatura – sztuka* [Baroque. History – Literature – Arts] 16, 2009, pp. 156-157 (tab.1).

dar dedicated to the Council in 1670; another professor at the local Gymnasium, Joachim Pastorius (1611-1681),⁴ a historian linked to the court of King John II Casimir, was granted 5 ducats (45 marks) for an unspecified work (“*seine Carminum wegen*”),⁵ while Johann Peter Titius (1619-1689), professor of rhetoric, was awarded 10 ducats (90 marks) *pro carminae*.⁶ The list from that financial year also mentions that the pastor Nathanael Dilger (1604-1679) from St. Mary’s Church in Gdańsk was granted 100 florins for a sermon expressing congratulations for the election of King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki “*vor gehaltene und presentirte Gratulation Predigt auf Königliche Wahl*,”⁷ and that a little known artist called Johann Jacob Bartsch received 12 thalers (54 marks)⁸ for his picture or perhaps copper-plate engraving (“*vor seine offerirte Taffel Aurea Pax genannt*”).

Consulting ledgers from other years, where on separate accounts of goods⁹ (apart from diplomatic gifts and expenses for feasts with important figures) payments are recorded in favour of various artists and flatterers (students, lawyers, historians and preachers),¹⁰ confirms that it was a widespread habit. Undoubtedly, we are approaching a matter which is not only worth noting in a superficial way, but also deserves profound analytical research.

4 On the role Pastorius played in Gdańsk culture: K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius Gdański pedagog XVII wieku* [Joachim Pastorius. A 17th-century Pedagogue from Gdańsk], Gdańsk, 1970.

5 This is one of several works Pastorius wrote in connection with the election, coronation and marriage of king Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, see a summary and bibliographic descriptions in: E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* [Occasional Poetry of Gdańsk in the 17th Century], Gdańsk, 1993, pp. 97-102, 328-330.

6 Probably J. P. Titius, *In electionem auspiciatissimam Serenissimi Potentissimique Poloniarum Regi* etc., (1669), see E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* [Occasional Poetry of Gdańsk in the 17th Century], Gdańsk, 1993, pp. 97, 327.

7 N. Dilger, *Glückwünschungs-Predigt...*, Dantzig, 1669, see: E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* [Occasional Poetry of Gdańsk in the 17th Century], Gdańsk, 1993, pp. 100, 328.

8 SAG, 300, 12/109, pp. 47-48. A note recorded by J. Pałubicki without specific information on the donor, see J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych* [Painters of Gdańsk. Painters, Glaziers, Graphic Artists and Engravers of the Early Modern Period in the Gdańsk Archives], vol. 2, *Słownik*, Gdańsk, 2009, p. 25.

9 E. Cieślak was the first one to point out this source in “Udział Gdańska w życiu politycznym” [“How Gdańsk Participated in Political Life”] *Historia Gdańska* [History of Gdańsk], vol. 3/1, 1655-1793, E. Cieślak (ed.), Gdańsk, 1993, pp. 209-210.

10 The records within appropriate accounts were kept as a ledger from April to March the following year, therefore, within the financial year. A bookkeeping note indicated the title of an expense (person, work), the amount of payment in currency money (such as thalers or ducats) or accounting money (florins or zlotys along with marks – grzywna and groschen). The record was accompanied by the number of the respective cash receipt (usually lost). All currency money (gold, silver) or donations in precious metals were ultimately converted into the accounting money in which the books were kept. In 16th–17th century Gdańsk, these were Prussian marks (or grzywna, equal to 20 groschen), or less frequently guldens (florins or zlotys, equal to 30 groschen). A book of 1658 included the following note in an account title: “*Verehrungen, ordinar und extraordinar an Gelde, Victualien und sonst, seyn dießes Jahr als folget ergangen*,” SAG. 300, 12/94, p. 53.

All artists and scientists, either ingenious or ignorant, want their works to reach the largest possible number of readers who admire their originality, hard work, erudition or, less frequently, genius. Less renowned artists try to catch people's attention by dedicating their works to suitably powerful and influential figures or institutions, like mayors or the Gdańsk City Council in the cases discussed here. This is a mutual relationship, as the authorities, aside from receiving expressions of praise and respect, are advised to surround themselves with scholars and artists. These remarks are commonplace, but the tradition of preceding literary works with more and more elaborate dedications became a standard in the scholarly and artistic culture as early as the 16th century.¹¹ When referring to Gdańsk, we ought to emphasise that no exhaustive study exists regarding this issue, a phenomenon which additionally points to the importance of this city for Polish-German cultural relations¹² and the role of the local community in the social history of 16th–18th century literature within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Baltic region in general.¹³ The few researchers¹⁴ of the literary side of 16th–

- 11 T. Bieńkowski, "Panegiryk a życie literackie w Polsce XVI i XVII w." ["The Panegyric and Literary Life in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries"], *Z dziejów życia literackiego w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku* [On the History of Literary Life in Poland of the 16th and 17th Centuries], Wrocław, 1980, pp. 183-196.
- 12 In his important works on the occasional poetry of Gdańsk, Edmund Kotarski did not discuss this issue, see: E. Kotarski *Gdańska poezja okazjonalna XVII wieku* [Occasional Poetry of Gdańsk in the 17th Century], and: *Gdańska poezja okazjonalna XVIII wieku* [Occasional Poetry of Gdańsk in the 18th Century], Gdańsk, 1997. J. Puchalski presented some interesting remarks despite leaving out the publishing centres of Royal Prussia, and noted the importance of dedications: J. Puchalski, *Polonika z obszaru niemieckojęzycznego – poza granicami Rzeczypospolitej w XVI wieku* [Polonica from the German-speaking Territory – outside the Borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th Century], Warszawa, 1997, pp. 113-141.
- 13 Burkhard Moennighoff emphasised that "Angesicht der Augenscheinlichkeit und der Selbstverständlichkeit des barocken Widmungswesens verwundert es, daß eine umfassende germanistische Erschließung des Gegenstandes fehlte," B. Moennighoff, "Die Kunst des literarischen Schenkens. Über einige Widmungsregeln im barocken Buch", in: *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit, Theorie, Formen, Funktionen*, hg. von F. von Ammon, H. Vögel, Münster 2008, p. 338. This research gap was partly addressed in the work by Gabriele Schramm, *Widmung, Leser und Drama. Untersuchungen zu Form- und Funktionswandel der Buchwidmung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg, 2003.
- 14 Newer Polish works include the collection of articles *Dedykacje w książce dawnej i współczesnej* [Dedications in Early and Modern Books], R. Ociecek and A. Sitkova (eds.), Katowice, 2006, and R. Ociecek, *Sławorodne wizerunki. O wierszowanych listach dedykacyjnych* [Fame-generating Images. On Poetic Dedication Letters], Katowice, 1982, pp. 22-36 (review of earlier research), also: "Między literaturą i życiem. Dedykacje książkowe dla Heleny Tekli Lubomirskiej" ["Between Literature and Life. Book Dedications for Helena Tekla Lubomirska"], *Barokowe przypomnienia i inne szkice historycznoliterackie* [Baroque Reminders and other Sketches on the History of Literature], R. Ociecek and M. Piechota (eds.), Katowice, 1994, pp. 99-114; and P. Tafilewicz, "Dedykacje w drukach krakowskich 1503-1531" [„Dedications in Prints from Cracow 1503-1531”], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, vol. 35, 2003, pp. 235-252. On calendar dedications, see: B. Rok, "Panegiryczne dedykacje z kalendarzy S. Duńczewskiego. (Szlachecki ideał sarmaty z czasów saskich)" ["Panegyric Dedications in the Calendars by S. Duńczewski (The Aristocratic Sarmatist Ideal during the Reign of the Saxon Dynasty)"], *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, year 30, 1975, no. 2, pp. 343-351; M. Janik, *Polskie kalendarze astrologiczne epoki saskiej* [Polish Astrological Calendars of the Saxon Era], Warsaw, 2010. The respective German works include the newest study by M. Philipp, "Politica und Patronage. Zur Funktion von Widmungadressen bei politischen Dissertationen des 17. Jahrhunderts", in: *Disputatio 1200 – 1800, Disputatio 1200–1800 Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenskultur*, hg.

18th century dedications – which were sometimes expanded to become large, independent works – seek their origin in acts of devotional sacrifice.¹⁵ Without questioning the legitimacy of this hypothesis, while discussing the above examples, we shall note that, apart from literary or social psychological issues (vanity and desire for fame), dedicating a work to a particular recipient was not a completely disinterested sacrifice. It often concealed the mundane intention to obtain a specific material benefit such as reimbursement for the expenses incurred or the money and time invested. Renarda Ociecek rightly noted that “even in the Renaissance, dedications were a highly conventional genre of writing. Their functions varied: they promoted and adorned the book, constituted a symbol of the relationship between the author and the sponsor, or expressed specific literary customs.”¹⁶ Specifically, the honoured party – apart from gratefully receiving the gift and expressing praise – owed the author a measurable act of gratitude proportional to their own and the receiver’s social position.¹⁷ The question of pecuniary or other material rewards granted by authorities to their flatterers is frequently overlooked or hard to document sufficiently.¹⁸ The books of the municipal treasury (Kammerei - *kamlaria*) of Gdańsk often provide very interesting information on this rather peculiar form of urban arts sponsorship from the second half of the 16th until the 18th century, which – as will be demonstrated below – was not limited to this local community.¹⁹

von M. Gindhart, U. Kundert, Berlin-New York, 2010, pp. 231-268; the question of dedications starting from Martin Opitz was investigated by Gabriele Schramm, *Widmung, Leser und Drama*; B. Moennighoff, *Die Kunst des literarischen Schenkens*, pp. 337-352; H. Böning, “Bücher als Instrumente der Selbstpräsentation und -empfehlung. Was Widmungen in Büchern verraten”, *Vom Autor zum Publikum. Kommunikation und Ideenzirkulation um 1800*, hg. von W. Greiling, Bremen, 2010, pp. 367-388.

- 15 B. Moennighoff, *Die Kunst des literarischen Schenkens*, p. 337.
- 16 R. Ociecek, “O dedykacjach Jana Kochanowskiego” [“On the Dedications by Jan Kochanowski”] *Jan Kochanowski. Twórczość i recepcja* [Jan Kochanowski. Work and Reception], vol. 1, Z. J. Nowak (ed.), Katowice, 1985, 7-19, p. 13.
- 17 E. Kizik, “Prezenty w polityce Gdańska w XVII –XVIII wieku” [“Gifts in the Politics of Gdańsk in the 17th –18th Century”], *Prusy i Inflanty między średniowieczem a nowożytnością. Państwo – społeczeństwo – kultura* [Prussia and Livonia between the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. State – Society – Culture], B. Dybaś and D. Makiła (eds.), Toruń, 2003, pp. 105-116. On diplomatic gifts, see: J. Falcke, *Studien zum diplomatischen Geschenkwesen am brandenburgisch-preußischen Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte, Bd. 31)*, Berlin, 2006; compare with my review of this greatly inspiring work: *Zapiski Historyczne*, 73, 2008, 2-3, pp. 219-225.
- 18 Excellent remarks on the fair remuneration due to Erasmus of Rotterdam can be found in P. Tafiłowski, “Erasm z Rotterdamu a Jan Łaski” [“Erasmus of Rotterdam and Jan Łaski”], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 37-38, 2006, pp. 91-94; I thank professor Radosław Grześkowiak from the Institute of Polish Studies of the University of Gdańsk for referring me to this article.
- 19 Unfortunately, bookkeeping records have been used only sporadically in research on the scientific and artistic culture of that period, although recent studies on arts sponsorship and ceremonial expenses in Gdańsk demonstrate the usefulness of these sources, see J. Kriegseisen, “Sztuka w polityce miasta. Zamówienia artystyczne Gdańska w czasach Bartholomäusa Milwitza” [“Arts in City Politics. Artistic Commissions of the City of Gdańsk in the Times of Bartholomäus Milwitz”], *Gdańsk w epoce Bartholomäusa Milwitza. Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej przez Muzeum History-*

The present contribution is the result of preliminary inquiry into a dozen municipal accounting book volumes,²⁰ without pretending to be an in-depth study of the phenomenon. First and foremost, my observations aim to determine the amount of remuneration paid to artists for panegyric dedications (i.e. proper rewards for the intellectuals of the time), as well as to capture the scale or possibly also the dynamics of this custom, which at the same time shall be seen as one of the strategies available to the 17th-century artists (and others) enabling them to obtain funds for their scientific or artistic activity. Indeed, the city councillors considered a dedication gesture to be a significant element of the representation of the city and made efforts to properly reward any work dedicated to Gdańsk.

The dedications were written not only by the authors themselves, but also by publishers, translators and even printers. The records from Gdańsk provide us with some clues as far as certain regularities are concerned. Every year, authors of the Gdańsk calendars dedicated to the City Council – professors of mathematics of the Academic Gymnasium or city geometricians – could count on decent recompense. For example, Peter Krüger (1580-1639), teacher of Johannes Hevelius, was paid 20 thalers for a calendar for the year 1609²¹ and 150 marks in 1635,²² while Laurentius Eichstadt (1596-1660) received 100 florins (150 marks)²³ in 1645 and in 1655.²⁴ Upon his death on December 18, 1660, the widow of the deceased was granted an honorarium (150 marks) “zum letzten mahl”;²⁵ in 1658, another local author of calendars, Friedrich Büthner, was remunerated with 100 florins (150 marks)²⁶ etc. As we can see, the nominal value did not change and upon con-

czne Miasta Gdańska i Klasztor OO. Karmelitów w Gdańsku dnia 15 maja 2008 roku [Gdańsk in the Times of Bartholomäus Milwitz. Proceedings of a session held by the Historical Museum of the City of Gdańsk and the Monastery of the Carmelite Fathers in Gdańsk on 15 May 2008], E. Kizik (ed.), Gdańsk, 2010, pp. 56-65; E. Kizik, *Prezenty w polityce Gdańska w XVII–XVIII wieku* [Gifts in the Policy of Gdańsk in the 17th–18th Century], pp. 105-116; E. Kizik, “Koszty pobytu królów polskich w Gdańsku w XVII w. Rekonesans badawczy” [“Costs of the Visits of Polish Kings to Gdańsk in the 17th Century. Preliminary Research”], *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 114, 2007, 4, pp. 61-77; E. Kotarski, “Fundacje stypendialne w dawnym Gdańsku” [“Scholarship Foundations in Early Gdańsk”], in: *Fundacje i fundatorzy w średniowieczu w epoce nowożytnej* [Foundations and Founders in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period], E. Opaliński and T. Wiślicz (eds.), Warsaw, 2000, pp. 141-106, 123-125.

- 20 The following volumes of the SAG were particularly useful: 300, 12/28 (1600/1601); 49 (1619); 67 (1633/1635), 71 (1637/1638); 72 (1638/1639); 74 (1640/1641), 76 (1642/1643), 81 (1645/1646), 87 (1651/1652), 92 (1655/1656), 93 (1657/1658), 94 (1658/1659), 108 (1668/1669), 109 (1669/1670), 110 (1670/1671). Materials from the last decade of the 16th century also constituted a valuable source. Ledgers from the 18th century have been conserved without major gaps too.
- 21 Krüger published calendars from 1609–1639, compare K. Kubik, “Kalendarze gdańskie w XVI-XVII wieku” [“Calendars from 16th–17th Century Gdańsk”], *Rocznik Gdański*, 32, 1972, p. 141 et seq.
- 22 SAG 300, 12/67, p. 249.
- 23 SAG 300, 12/81, p. 58.
- 24 SAG 300, 12/92, p. 57.
- 25 SAG 300, 12/97, p. 53.
- 26 SAG 300, 12/94, p. 54.

version into Prussian accounting the money amounted to 150 marks; however, the actual value of the disbursements decreased, as with each subsequent emission, especially during times of war, the value of the money declined.²⁷ Among those who were honoured, foreign calendar authors can be found too, as they dedicated their works to the Gdańsk councillors together with publishers, for example David Herlicius (1557–1636) of Stargard in Pomerania was paid 30 ducats (150 marks)²⁸ *pro dedicatione Calendarii anni 35*²⁹ in 1635, and Friedrich Möller, doctor of medicine residing in Old Stettin, was awarded 100 florins for a calendar published in Rostock in 1645³⁰ (150 marks),³¹ while calendar printer Andreas Hünefeldt had to content himself with a smaller amount (1642 r.).³² Not all authors put their names in the calendar dedications: in 1640, an unknown person was paid an equivalent of 30 florins (45 marks): “*an den Autoren des Calenders, welcher seinen nahmen darin nicht exprimiret, fl. 30 gezahlet.*”³³ Dedications formed part of a marketing strategy, for example, for a calendar entitled *Neuer und alter auch Römischer Schreib-Calendar*,³⁴ printed in a publishing house in Rostock, Stephan Fuhrmann, a preacher from Lippstadt, received 67 marks and 10³⁵ groschen from the Gdańsk councillors in 1640: However, it turns out that in the following years he also donated calendars with suitable dedications to the City Council of Elbląg (e.g. for the years 1644 and 1648)³⁶ and King John Casimir (for 1650).³⁷

27 The value of one florin (1.5 mark = 30 gr), accounting money measured in ore, fell in the first half of the 17th century from 19.86 g of silver in 1601 to 8.1 g in 1630 and stayed at this level until 1663, when it declined again to 8.01 g of silver, according to J. Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku* [Prices in Gdańsk in the 16th–17th Century], Lwów, 1937, tab. 1, pp. 2–6.

28 SAG 300, 12/67, p. 249.

29 D. Herlicius, *New und Alt Schreib-Calendar auff's Jahr Christi 1635*, Danzig, 1634, copy of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, shelf mark 24172 8° et seq. *Zu Ehren und insonders günstigen Wolgefallen gestellet: Denen Edlen, Hochachtbaren, Hochweisen, Fürsichtigen, Hoch- und Wollgelarten Herren Herren Burgermeistern unnd Rath der Königlichen hochberühmten Stadt Dantzick, meinen hochgünstigen, vielgeehrten lieben Herren und mächtigen Patronis. Durch D. Davidem Herlicium, Medicum zu Stargard in Pommern*, Ibid., f. 2r. The calendar was accompanied by forecasts prepared by the eminent mathematician entitled *Prognosticon astrologicum, oder Grosse Practica auff das Jahr... 1635*, Danzig, 1634. The calendars by Herlicius came out in Gdańsk as of 1626, see P. Paluchowski, “Kompozycja graficzna kart tytułowych gdańskich kalendarzy XVI–XVII wiek” [“Graphic Layout of the Title Pages of Gdańsk Calendars in the 16th–17th Centuries”], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 44, 2013, pp. 91–112.

30 I had access to a calendar for 1646: *Newer und Alter Schreib-Calendar*, Rostock, 1645, GL PAS, shelf mark 24193, 8° et seq. (1646). The dedication can be found on the verso of the title page.

31 SAG 300, 300.12/81, p. 59.

32 SAG 300, 12/76, p. 60.

33 SAG 300, 12/74, p. 58.

34 Copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark 24190 8° et seq. (1640).

35 SAG 300, 12/74, p. 59.

36 Prints: Rostock [1643], Lüneburg [1647]; copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark 24190 8° et seq. (1644, 1648).

37 Print: Lüneburg [1649], GL PAS, shelf mark 24190 8° et seq. (1650).

Professors of the Academic Gymnasium also appear as authors of occasional speeches. In March 1654, the above-mentioned J. P. Titius received 50 thalers from the municipal treasury³⁸ for a published oration “*in memoriam incorporationis dieser Lande,*” to commemorate the bicentenary of the incorporation of Prussia into the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland,³⁹ and 30 thalers “*pro dedicatione Tractatus de Excerptendo.*”⁴⁰ Many professors dedicated the results of their scientific research to the city authorities, like Peter Krüger, mentioned already as an author of calendars but better known as an astronomer. On 9 October 1635, he was granted 100 ducats (450 marks) – a truly significant amount⁴¹ – *pro dedicatione libri Doctrina Astronomiae Sphaerica inscribitur.*⁴² Against the background of average prices in Gdańsk, this was the equivalent of at least 10 cows or three-year’s basic wages of an organist.⁴³ Krüger’s work came out of Andreas Hünefeld’s publishing house in Gdańsk. Johann Nixdorff (1625-1697), a renowned local lawyer, was paid 20 thalers for a non-specified legal treatise dedicated to the Council “*wegen sein Tractätlin de judiciis tribunalitiis*” (28 May 1655).⁴⁴ Remuneration lists often featured the name of Joachim Pastorius, honorary professor of the Academic Gymnasium: in 1652, he received 20 thalers for a treatise of unknown nature; in 1655, 270 marks for a certain oration;⁴⁵ in 1660, a gift in gold and silver worth 94.5 marks for a “chant;”⁴⁶ and in 1670 he received 5 ducats (calculated at 6 florins each), or 45 florins (67.5 marks),⁴⁷ for an occasional lyric on the tribute paid by the Gdańsk citizens to King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (“*carmen auf die solenitet dieses Tages*”).⁴⁸ There is no doubt that Pastorius sent his panegyric works to several recipients at a time, expecting a decent reward from each of them.

In 1640, Erasmus Schmidt, unknown to me from other sources, received 90 marks for a eulogy of the city,⁴⁹ while the lawyer and poet Gottfried Peschwitz

38 J. P. Titius, *Oratio secularias de Prussia liberata a Crucifeorum tyrannide*, Gedanie, 1654; see E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja...* [Poetry of Gdańsk...]

39 SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 485 (excerpts from the proceedings of the Gdańsk municipal departments).

40 I was not able to establish the title, probably connected with the Peace of Oliwa of 1660, see SAG 300, 12/97, p. 53.

41 P. Krüger, *Doctrina astronomiae sphaerica...*, Dantisci, 1635, copy in the GL PAS, Ta 1506, 8°, dedication, *Ibidem*, f. 2^r-3^v. In 1619, Krüger also received 50 marks in remuneration from the Council for his work on comets, see SAG 300, 12/49, p. 23.

42 SAG 300, 12/67, p. 250.

43 J. Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI-XVII wieku* [Prices in Gdańsk in the 16th-17th Century], Lwów, 1937, pp. 143, 154.

44 SAG 300, 12/92, p. 55. SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 486.

45 SAG 300, 12/92, p. 56.

46 SAG 300, 12/97, p. 53.

47 SAG 300, 12/110, p. 67.

48 J. Pastorius, *Plausus castalius...*, Gedani 1670, see E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* [Occasional Poetry of Gdańsk in the 17th Century], Gdańsk, 1993, pp. 102, 330.

49 SAG 300, 12/74, p. 59.

(1631–1696) was granted as much as 100 florins in 1651 for a certain legal dissertation (“*pro dedictione disput[atione] Juridicae*”).⁵⁰ In turn, the same year, pastor Samuel Gerlach from the village of Ostrowite in the Vistula Delta received 225 marks, or 150 florins, for a work dedicated to the Gdańsk mayors and councillors entitled *Bellum intestinum*,⁵¹ while Oswald von Canitz was awarded an already modest sum of 15 thalers (67 marks and 10 groschen)⁵² for a dedicated epitaph (*pro dedicatio Epitaphio*).⁵³ Pastors of the Gdańsk churches formed a significant group, for instance on 7 July 1651, doctor Johannes Botsack (1600–1674) received silver tableware worth about 70 thalers⁵⁴ for a sizeable religious work *pro dedicate moralis Theologiae Gedanensis*,⁵⁵ and on September 20, 15 ducats for an oration,⁵⁶ while on August 26, 1666, it was agreed to honour him with 20–30 ducats for a booklet entitled *Edles Geld*.⁵⁷

Famous names appear among the authors. For example, Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664), then a 19-year old student of the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk, dedicated a lyric to the Council against 10 ducats (45 marks) of compensation *pro dedicatione Carminum* (24 May 1635).⁵⁸ He later became one of the more prominent figures of the German Baroque. The work, entitled *Dei Vindicis impetus et Herodis interitus*, Danzig [1635],⁵⁹ was published at Georg Rethé’s print shop. The sum he was granted probably reimbursed the costs of printing, and exceeded the monthly wages of a mason or carpenter journeyman back then in Gdańsk.⁶⁰ Acclaimed contemporary authors of popular works such as Eberhard (Everward/

50 SAG 300, 12/87, p. 58.

51 S. Gerlach, *Bellum intestinum, sive: discordia concors calvinistarum...*, Riga, 1651, copy in the GL PAS, Hf 67555, adl. 1. The work was dedicated as follows: “An die Wohl- Edle, Gestrenge, Ehrenveste, Großsachtbare, Hoochgeleerte, Nahmhaffte, Hooch- und Wohlweise Herren Königlichen Burggraffen, Bürgermeistere, Kämmer, Rahts-Herren und Syndicum der Königlichen Stadt Gdańsk,” full text of the dedication panegyric, Ibidem, f. A_{2r}-A_{3r}. L. Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation in der evangelischen Kirchen in Westpreußen angestellten Predigern*, Königsberg, 1834, p. 106.

52 Probably a composition in honour of Michael Tönig, commander of the Wisloujście fortress (died in 1651), more information in E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja...* [Poetry of Gdańsk...], p. 169.

53 SAG 300, 12/87, p. 58.

54 J. Botsack, *Moralium Gedanensium Libri XX*, Francoforti 1655, dedication: ff. A_{2r} - A_{3v}. See bio of the author in: Z. L. Pszczółkowska, “Botsack Jan”, in: *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego* [Biographic Dictionary of Pomerania on the Vistula], Supplement 2, Gdańsk, 2002, ed. Z. Nowak, pp. 43–45.

55 See SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 486. The remuneration was determined on 7 July, and its disbursement amounting to 630 marks was posted on 10 July, SAG 300, 12/92, p. 56.

56 SAG 300, 12/ 87, p. 59.

57 SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 475.

58 SAG 300, 12/67, p. 248.

59 Copy in the collection of the GL PAS, shelf mark Na 5348 8°, adl. 19.

60 J. Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku*. [Prices in Gdańsk in the 16th –17th Century], p. 154.

Everhard) Wassenberg, whose *Florus Germanicus*⁶¹ was reissued by many publishers (naturally, dedicated each time to a different contemporary tycoon) and became one of the primary sources of information on the beginnings of the Thirty Years' War. Since 1642, Wassenberg's work was also published at Andreas Hünefeld's publishing house (1643),⁶² and pursuant to a Council decision (*vermöge E.E. Rathschluß*), the author was awarded a sum of 60 thalers (270 marks).⁶³ Wassenberg, who enjoyed the privileges of a royal historiographer, followed a well-beaten path, since as early as in 1641 he received 450 marks⁶⁴ from the municipal treasury of Gdańsk for a panegyric written about and dedicated to King Władysław IV; it is also worth noting that he had previously written panegyrics for Polish and Prussian aristocrats as well as for the abbots of the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa, who I would guess appropriately acknowledged these efforts.⁶⁵ As accounting records demonstrate, various scholars looked for support for their work in Gdańsk: Hermann Rahtmann (1585-1628), professor of the university in Wittenberg, received 100 florins⁶⁶ for a work of 1619 "*vor seine dedicirte Theosophiam*,"⁶⁷ and on June 19, 1654, the councillors decided to pay Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1603-1666), a well-known professor of theology from Strasbourg, 100 thalers for his book *Hodomoria spiritus calviniani*.⁶⁸ It is symptomatic that the Council, a few decades previously largely supporting the reformed confession, honoured such a fierce opponent of Calvinism and syncretism as Dannhauer. Naturally, the lists also include names of such local celebrities as Johannes Hevelius, who on July 15, 1647,

- 61 Latin version of 1647 is available online at: http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenahist/autoren/wassenberg_hist.html (10.06.2011). See J. Serczyk, "Ewerard Wassenberg historiograf Władysława IV (1610-1672) i jego pochwała Gdańska" ["Eberhard Wassenberg, Historiographer of Władysław IV (1610-1672), and his Eulogy of Gdańsk"], *Rocznik Gdański*, 24, 1965, pp. 125-153.
- 62 E. Wassenberg, *Der Teutsche Florus* [author's translation from Latin], Dantzig, 1643, copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Md 5974 8° (similarly to the Latin edition of 1642, GL PAS, shelf mark 5970 8°, it was dedicated to Queen Cecilia Renata).
- 63 SAG 300, 12/76, p. 62.
- 64 SAG 300, 12/74, p. 60. For a work praising the wartime feats of the king: E. Wassenberg, *Gestorum gloriosissimi ac invictissimi Vladislai IV Poloniae et Sveciae Regis*, Gedanie, 1643, copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Nl 7043,8° adl. 1.
- 65 For examples see panegyrics for the death of Jan Grabowski, abbot of Oliwa (1639), copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Nl 63 4° adl. 74, 75; for the installation of Bishop Kasper Działyński (1639), copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Nl 63 4° adl. 77, or short congratulations for Gerhard Denhoff for his taking the office of the Malbork voivode: *Congratulatio brevis illustrissimo Domino D. Gerharo Comiti a Dönhoff, capitaneo Marienburgensis... 28 Julij, sollenniter ingredienti, ab Everhardo Wassenbergio... oblata*, Gedani 1642, copy in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, shelf mark Nl 63 4° adl. 40; for more information on these occasional documents see: J. Serczyk, *Ewerard Wassenberg*, pp. 129-130.
- 66 H. Rathmann, *Priscorum patrum Theosophia*, Wittebergae, 1619, copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Hb 5797 8°, dedication preceding the introduction, *Ibidem*, f. 2; "*Magnificis, amplissimis et predestinatis viris, dominis Consulibus, Senatoribus, et Scabinis Inclutae Reip. Gedanensis dominis meis observandissimis.*"
- 67 SAG 300, 12/49, p. 121.
- 68 SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 486.

was awarded a gift of 1000 florins for his work *Selenographia* donated to the City Council.⁶⁹ Hevelius was famous enough to solicit royal sponsorship on his own behalf; few could resist the vanity of being immortalized in the celestial firmament.⁷⁰

Sometimes, the accounts help us complete certain information. For instance, according to a record of the municipal treasury book of January 10, 1646, the renowned engraver Wilhelm Hodius received 10 ducats (“wegen seiner *dedicirten Kupferstücke*”).⁷¹ He was compensated for a veduta of Gdańsk accompanied by a panegyric poem composed by an otherwise famous writer from Hamburg, Georg Greflinger (Greblinger),⁷² “*dem Greblingen wegen deren darüber gemachten Carminam*.”⁷³ Greflinger, who was granted 6 thalers for this small work, also wrote an unpublished panegyric praising the city entitled *Das blühende Dantzig*;⁷⁴ as well, he had earned money in this way previously, as his name may also be found on a payment list of the municipal treasury book of 1640.⁷⁵ Writing panegyrics dedicated to Gdańsk was apparently no trouble for Greflinger, as he was also the author of a popular handbook on giving compliments featuring ready-made models published in 1646 in Hamburg, reissued on numerous occasions in the second half of the century, entitled *Complementier-Büchlein*.

Sensational topics were not rare among distinguished works. Certainly, a story⁷⁶ by Georg Rehte Jr. about a peasant who swallowed a knife, published in 1635, was nothing short of a sensation.⁷⁷ The unfortunate had the knife excised, which incited curiosity: Rehte got 6 ducats for this opuscle, and the knife, once cut out

69 SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, pp. 483-484. Accordingly, the scholar was awarded 3000 florins on 6 November 1648 for the printing of his works (Ibidem).

70 See K. Targosz, “Jana Heweliusza zabieg o pozyskanie królewskich mecenasów” [“Johannes Hevelius’ Efforts to Obtain Royal Sponsorship”], *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, Series E, vol. 6, 1977, pp. 121-164.

71 SAG 300, 12/81, p. 60.

72 G. Greblinger, *Ist irgend noch ein Ort...*, Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, shelf mark Ms. 796, f. 2-12; a summary of this work may be found in E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* [Occasional Poetry of Gdańsk in the 17th Century], Gdańsk, 1993, pp. 292-293, 297-299.

73 SAG 300, 12/81, p. 60.

74 E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja...* [Poetry of Gdańsk...], p. 409, footnote 41.

75 “an George Greblinger *pro dedicatione Carminis germanici* verehret” – 13 marks and 10 gr, SAG 300, 300,12/74, p. 58.

76 G. Loth, *Kurtze Relation von einem den 29. maii stylo novo, abgeschluckten un den 9 Julii allhie zu Königsbergk ausgezogenem Messer. Nebenst dessen Coonterfeyt und vorgenommenen operation und curation*, Gdańsk, 1635; copy available online: <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN669149284> (15/03/2014).

77 “*Dem buchtrücker George Rehte ist vor sein offerites tractätlein wegen eines Meßer so ein Pawr zu Königsbergk aufgeschluckt, und ihm wiederumb auß dem Leibe geschnitten worden, verehret ung. [fl.] 6 – 24 Mk.*”, SAG 300, 12/67, p. 249. An account of the knife’s history has been given by M. Vorbeck Lettow, *Skarbnica pamięci. Pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV* [Treasures of the Memory. Memoir of King Władysław IV’s Physician], E. Galos and F. Mincer (eds.), Wrocław, 1968, pp. 206-210.

of the ill-fated peasant's stomach, became part of the collection of Janusz, and later Bogusław Radziwiłł. The latter left it in his last will to the Prussian Prince and Elector of Brandenburg ("miraculous knife cut out of a stomach of a live peasant").⁷⁸

It is worth noting that the Gdańsk citizens, soliciting a good reputation, did not hesitate to support Catholic artists with donations: for example, in 1600 Krzysztof Warszawicki was paid 295 marks⁷⁹ so that he could finance the print of an unknown *History*. That was probably *Reges, Sancti, Bellatores, Scriptores Poloni*, published in Rome in 1601. However, over time, it turned out that the number of works dedicated to the Council started to grow uncontrollably, so that on March 13, 1657, the Council ultimately resolved to stop paying compensation for panegyrics or other works dedicated or donated to them.⁸⁰ This resolution was connected with the austerity laws enacted during the wars with Sweden and the generally worsening financial standing of the city, which was coping with the burden of enormous wartime expenses. The municipal departments announced wedding and funeral ordinances urging for moderation and ordering a limit on particular titles to three folios, as the indignant councillors wrote that their size entailed excessive costs.⁸¹ These restrictions, repeated on a couple of occasions, successfully eliminated certain literary activities.⁸² Works dedicated to children became rare, as did printed ones.

The power of tradition was, however, exceptionally strong, and although pecuniary rewards got replaced with gold and silver medals, they were no less costly. For instance, on August 29, 1662, Johann Hecker was honoured with a gold medal ("*Denckpfennig*") minted in 1659 to celebrate the capture of the Gdańsk Head fortress and a silver medal commemorating the Peace of Oliwa "*pro dedicatione Ephemeridum*," for a work on astronomy.⁸³ The considerable value of the gold medal

78 U. Augustyniak, *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim* [Testaments of Members of the Reformed Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], Warszawa, 1992, p. 205.

79 SAG 300,12/28, p. 137 (note of 22 June 1600).

80 "Anno 1657. d. 13 Martii: hat E. Raht geschlossen, daß hinführo keine *Dedicationes* angenommen, noch denjenigen, so E. Raht entweder von *Carminibus* oder andere Sachen etwas offeriren, einiger Entgeld oder *Recompens* dafür ertheilet werden soll", SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 486. No trace of debate on this issue has been found in the records of the Council proceedings of that year, see SAG 300, 10/30.

81 E. Kizik, *Śmierć w mieście hanzeatyckim w XVI -XVIII wieku* [Death in a Hanseatic City in the 16th-18th Centuries], Gdańsk, 1998, p. 175; The restrictions were repeated in an ordinance on printing of 1685: *Ordinantz E. E. Rahts, Der Stadt Dantzig, Dero Buch-Druckereyen belangend* [Gdańsk] 1685, GL PAS, shelf mark 5717 8° adl. 12 et seq.

82 E. Kizik, "Sumptuary Laws in Royal Prussia in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century", *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 102, 2010, pp. 127-159; E. Kizik, "Übertretungen der Hochzeits-, Tauf- und Begräbnisordnungen vor dem Gdańsker Wettegericht im XVII. und XVIII. Jh.", *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 85, 2002, pp. 129-166.

83 J. Hecker, *Motuum caelestium ephemerides ab. a. 1666 ad a. 1680...*, Gedani, 1662, copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Ta 1953 8°; dedication preceded by the title leaf: "*Regiae civitas Gedano*,

(weighing about 140 g of ore) amounted to 40 ducats, while the silver one was appropriately less expensive and cost 19 florins.⁸⁴ Both were produced by two local medallists, Johann Höhn Jr. and Johann Höhn Sr.⁸⁵ In 1663, a piece of gold worth 30 thalers was granted in honour to Johannes Buno, editor of the work by Filip Clüver, geographer, *Epitome Cluveri de antiqua Germania*.⁸⁶ In 1668, captain Ernst Braun – commander of the municipal artillery and renowned firework designer – was awarded 200 florins for a dedication in the second edition of his book *Novissimum fundamentum et praxis artilleriae*.⁸⁷ This probably covered the printing costs of this abundantly illustrated book which he published at his own expense. Ultimately, the prohibitions caused such expenses to slowly decline, as during the 18th century payments for dedicated works (excluding calendars) became less frequent.

The materials of the Gdańsk municipal treasury from the late 16th century up to the second partition of Poland (1793) have survived without major gaps. Based on the correlation of dozens of payment notes with the respective works and their authors, we might envision an extensive analytical study within the history of literature regarding the works dedicated to the City Council of Gdańsk. For comparative purposes, it would also be necessary to consult the treasury records of other urban centres in Royal Prussia such as Elbląg (in Toruń, unfortunately, only a few remnants of such materials have been conserved) and possibly also the accounts of particular aristocrats. I hope these accountancy notes help to shed light on the non-literary dimension of the tradition of dedications to a fuller extent.

SUMMARY

In the 16th century the custom of putting dedications in printed books spread widely. They quickly became a conventional form of writing, serving as an advertisement and decoration, and often stressing the bond between the author and his patron. Apart from literary aspects and gestures of gratitude, dedications normally were not selfless. Their aim was often to elicit a particular profit - for

pacis artibus, literarumque studiis, florentissimo has, motuum caelestium tabulas cum omnium prosperitatum et incrementorum veto debito affecte et cultu O.D.C. Johannes Hecker."

- 84 SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 475.
- 85 M. Stahr, *Medale Wazów w Polsce 1587-1668* [Medals of the House of Vasa in Poland 1587–1668], Wrocław, 1990, pp. 175-188; 238-240, no. 69, 71-74, fig. 115, 117, 118, 120, 121. See S. Rühle, "Die historische Medaillen der Stadt Gdańsk", *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*, 68, 1928, pp. 282-283.
- 86 *Philippi Cluveri Germania antiqua; cum Vindelicis et Norico; auctoris methodo, verbis & tabulis geographicis retentis contracta opera Johannis Bunonis*, Guelferbyti, 1663, SAG. 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 486.
- 87 SAG 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 478; E. Braun, *Novissimum Fundamentum et praxis artilleriae...*, Dantzig, 1687, copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Vc 2921 4^o, dedication to the City Council: ff. A_{2r}, A_{2v}. The first edition came out in Gdańsk in 1682, copy in the GL PAS, shelf mark Vc 2920 4^o.

example compensation for incurred costs or time - as a token of the addressee's appreciation. The problem lies in determining the actual amount of this appreciation. The account book of Gdańsk, the biggest Polish city of the 16th and 17th centuries, comes to our aid. In books of the city's budget expenses, we can find notes on funds spent on dedications written for the city council, the mayor, or the whole city. Despite the brevity of entries, we can easily make a correlation between tenths of dated notes on the amount of payments, and particular publications and their authors. In the lists of those awarded we can find the names of famous as well as completely unknown people from Gdańsk, Poland, and abroad. This publication is the result of an introductory query into several volumes of the city's accountancy. Materials from Gdańsk's municipal treasury, without any major deficiency, are well preserved from the end of the 17th century to the Second Partition of Poland, when Gdańsk was seized by Prussia. It is a fact that more detailed studies of accountancy mentions would result in a deeper understanding of extra-literary aspects of the custom of dedications in Gdańsk itself, and in the Poland of that era.