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**THE CHRONICLES AND MEMOIRS
OF A GDAŃSK MERCHANT AND THE OFFICIAL
OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, EBERHARD BÖTTICHER
(1554–1617)¹**

Recently published a complete edition of comprehensive notes of Martin Gruneweg (1562 – ca. 1618),² a Gdańsk Lutheran and merchant who, after having converted to Catholicism, joined the Dominican order thus becoming of service in various Polish monasteries. The publication of this vast and recorded in German work, one of the most significant memoirs written in the period of the late 16th and early 17th century Republic of Poland is an occasion to evoke the written work of another Gdańsk dweller, Eberhard Bötticher.³ Bötticher who lived in the

¹ This paper is a part of a team editorial project realized since 2008 by: Christofer Herrmann from the Institute of Art History at the Gdańsk University who was also an originator of works on the critical edition of *Kirchen-Register*, Edmund Kizik from the PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences) Institute of History, and Jürgen Kloosterhuis, Head of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem.

² *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562 – ca. 1618) über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen*, hg. v. A. Bues, Bde. 1–4, Wiesbaden 2008 (Quellen und Studien des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau, 19,1–4).

³ J. Trzoska: *Bötticher Eberhard*, in: *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego* [The Biographical Dictionary of Pomerelia], Supplement II, ed. by Z. Nowak, Gdańsk 2002, p. 45; *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, bearb. v. A. Bertling, Bd. 1, Danzig 1892, pp. 630–631. The later notes by Michael Hancke (ca. 1606–1644), a scrivener for the Upland Office are of interest, too. Maria Bogucka presented their significance in: *W kręgu mentalności mieszczanina gdańskiego w XVII wieku. Notatnik Michała Hancke* [„The Mentality of a 17th Century Gdańsk Burgher. A Notebook of Michał Hancke”], in: *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski* [Ars Historica. Works on General and Polish History], Poznań 1976, pp. 617–633. The poems and satires from Hancke’s collection have been already published by Max Töppen (*Volkstümliche Dichtungen zume-*

years 1554–1617 and was nearly Gruneweg’s peer from a neighbouring street is well-known to historians mostly as the author of *Historisches Kirchen-Register* (hereinafter: *Kirchen-Register*),⁴ a vast chronicle of the St. Mary’s Church whose history, as covered by Bötticher, stretches from the moment of the origination of the church until 1616 and is presented against panorama of the town.⁵

Bötticher’s legacy of a chronicler has been generally outlined by Lech Mokrzecki who included it in his synthesis of the 17th century Gdańsk bourgeois historiography (1974).⁶ The most important work of the former writer, *Kirchen-Register*, having more than 516 pages in the autograph, owing to scribes and their 18th century continuators, comprises one of the most serious sources for the religious history of the modern Gdańsk. It was an inspiration both for such 17th century chroniclers as Gregorius Frisch,⁷ or the 19th century historians such as Gotthilf Löschin.⁸ Subsequent researchers of the history of Gdańsk used the autograph as a basic set of notes for studying the history of the church itself (Theodor Hirsch),⁹ conflicts concerning the arguments over the question of the patronage of the St. Mary’s Church (Paul Simson),¹⁰ even the research on the fluctuation of prices (Julian Pelc).¹¹ These notes are still in use, for example by Michael

ist aus Handschriften des 15., 16., und 17 Jahrhunderts gesammelt, von M. Töppen, “Altpreußische Monatsschrift,” 9, 1872, pp. 513–289, 544–549).

⁴ *Historisches Kirchen-Register der großen Pfarrkirchen in der Rechten Stadt Dantzig S. Marien*, 1615 [1616]. The manuscript is to be found in: Biblioteka Gdańska PAN [PAN Gdańsk Library – hereinafter: Bibl. Gd. PAN], Ms Uph., Fol. 18. Copies: *ibid.*, Ms Uph., Fol. 29; Ms Mar., F 336; Ms Mar., Q 145. In the Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [The Gdańsk State Archives – hereinafter: AP Gdańsk], 300, R/Pp, 25; 300, R/Pp, 26; 300, R/Pp, 27; 300, R/Pp, 28a; 300, R/Pp, 28b; 300, R/Pp, 28d; 300, R/Pp, 29a; 300, R/Pp, 48. K. Gruber, E. Keyser: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig*, Berlin 1929 (*Die Baudenkmäler der Freien Stadt Danzig*, I. Th.: *Die Kirchliche Bauwerke*, Bd. 1), p. 71, see Note 16.

⁵ J. Trzoska: *op. cit.*, p. 45; *Katalog ...*, pp. 630–631.

⁶ L. Mokrzecki: *W kręgu prac historyków gdańskich XVII wieku* [The Works of 17th Century Gdańsk Historians], Gdańsk 1974, pp. 111–120. The work in question constitutes the first synthetic attempt at discussing the Gdańsk historiography of this period.

⁷ G. Frisch: *Der Sankt Marien Pfarrkirche in Danzig inwendige Abriss*, ed. by K. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1999, p. 28.

⁸ G. Löschin: *Geschichte Danzigs*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1822, pp. 310, 386.

⁹ Th. Hirsch: *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien*, Bde. 1–2, Danzig 1843–1847. Hirsch had at least two copies of the chronicle of the St. Mary’s Church in his collection, both can now be found in the PAN Gdańsk Library, Ms. 946 and Ms 947 (a very faithful copy of Bötticher’s autograph from the mid-18th century).

¹⁰ P. Simson: *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 2 (1517–1626), Danzig 1918, pp. 429–434, 544, 551–552.

¹¹ J. Pelc: *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku* [Prices in Gdańsk in the 16th and 17th Century], Łwów 1937, p. 30 (An Introduction).

G. Müller, a scholar dealing with the studies on religious relations,¹² or Willi Drost, a historian of arts and architecture¹³ as well as Katarzyna Cieślak.¹⁴

Bötticher's works on the history of Prussia and Gdańsk: lost but relatively well known from copies or compilations of sets of commented documents (of the various titles such as: *Historische Declaration*, *Historische Erklärung*, or *Gründliche Erklärung*) from the period of religious conflicts in Gdańsk of the last quarter of the 16th and the first decade of the 17th century are less known.¹⁵ At this time a legal-political conflict occurred between King Sigismund III and Włocławek (Leslau) bishops on one hand and the Gdańsk Town Council on the other concerning St. Brigitte's cloister and the patronage of the St. Mary's Church. The account of the conflict between the Calvinist patriciate and Lutheran burghers whose witness and active participator was an orthodox Lutheran E. Bötticher is equally important. Learning about the life of the chronicler allows to better understand the reasons for which he took part in the public life. This is possible due to two vast and well-known volumes of his private notes made until 1595 in which the author depicted in a very extraordinary way the history of his family, his youth and beginning of the career as a merchant.¹⁶ The first volume of these notes ends in the year 1583 and is entitled *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch*.¹⁷ Vol-

¹² M. G. Müller: *Danzig, Elbing und Thorn in der Epoche der Konfessionalisierung 1557–1660*, Berlin 1997.

¹³ W. Drost: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschatze*, Stuttgart 1963.

¹⁴ K. Cieślak: *Między Rzymem, Wittenbergą a Genewą. Sztuka Gdańska jako miasta podzielnego wyznaniowo* [In Between Rome, Wittenberg, and Geneva. The Art of Gdańsk as a Town of Religious Divides], Wrocław 2000.

¹⁵ *Historische Declaration. Aus was Ursachen die Gemeinen der Augspurg. Confession verwandt in der Dritten Ordnung des Breiten-Raths der Stadt Danzig nebenst sämptlichen der Confession zugethanen Bürgern, Kauffleuten, Zunfften, Haupt-Wercken und Wercken mit etzlichen Personen im mittel E.E. Rahts daselbst, der Religion halben durch Antrieb des Calvinischen Hauffens in einen rechtlichen Proceß [...] beschrieben von Eberhard Böttichern [...]*, Bibl. Gd. PAN, Ms Mar. F 337 (the copy of 1694); *Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig*, bearb. v. O. Günther, Danzig 1921, pp. 443–444. In the Gdańsk State Archives other copies of this work have been preserved: AP Gdańsk, 300, R/Pp, 30, f. IV, 1376 pages (including attachments and documents – the copy of 1700); another: *ibid.*, 300, R/Pp, 31.

¹⁶ See E. Kizik: *Pamiętnik gdańszczanina Eberharda Böttichera z drugiej połowy XVI wieku* [The Memoir of Inhabitant of Gdańsk Eberhard Bötticher from the Second Half of the 16th Century], "Roczniki Historyczne" [The Historic Yearbooks], 76, 2010, pp. 141–164.

¹⁷ *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch durch mich Eberhard Bodcher für mich und die meynen zu langwrender gedechniß beschrieben Soli Deo Gloria [...]*, AP Gdańsk, 300, R/LI, q, 31, f. IX and 456. A copy was in the collection of Walentin Fabricius (1612–1667); an excerpt from the autograph: *Außzug auß Eberhard Bötchers Historischer Erklerung oder Preussischen historia von Ao 1516 biß 1583*, *ibid.*, 300, R/Vv, 219, f. 3–69.

ume Two of this autograph (quoted as *Bötchers Chronica 1584–1595*)¹⁸ describes the first years of Bötticher's marriage and beginning of his public activity. The memoir also contains numerous copies and fragments of various prints thus suggesting the author's interests.

At this point one cannot but evoke some information on the life of the chronicler. Eberhard Bötticher (in the sources also known as Bödcher, Bodcher, Böttcher) was born in Gdańsk on Friday, February 16, 1554¹⁹ as the fifth out of eight children of an affluent Gdańsk merchant Melchior Bötticher (1516–1577) and Brigitte Rogge (1523–1580), a daughter of a local patrician family.²⁰ Melchior came from the Pomeranian Gryfino (Greifenhagen) where his grandfather was a councilor. In his father's bio Eberhard writes that after the death of his parents and stay in Szczecin (Stettin) he became of service to the parish priest of the Gdańsk St. Peter's Church. Recommended to an unknown Polish nobleman, Eberhard became his servant in order to learn Polish and he left Gdańsk. After he had returned to the town, he got involved in trade and was industrious enough to become independent soon. As a thirty years old man he married Brigitte Rogge, a relative of the Warmia (Ermland) bishop Tiedemann Giese. It is owing to the support of the latter that the couple managed to cheaply (24 mark) lease a tenement house in Chlebnicka Street (Brotbäckengasse), until then in possession of the Oliva Cistercian abbey. Unfavourable, for the abbey, conditions caused conflicts with subsequent abbots, an information which, along with copies of the documents, frequently appears in the memoir.

In 1568 Melchior Bötticher purchased a house in Długa Street (Langgasse) for 3000 florins;²¹ we also know that he was an owner of a granary. In 1561 the then seven-years old Eberhard was sent to the lower grades of the Gymnasium established in the former Franciscan monastery. He wrote about this school that its level was that of a university: "zu dieser Zeytt stund deselbige Studium zum

¹⁸ *Der andere Theil des Eberhard Bötchers Chronica Ao 1584 biß 1595*, Bibl. Gd. PAN, Ms 1282 (hereinafter: *Bötchers Chronica 1584–1595*). A copy was in the collection of Walentin Schliff. See L. Mokrzecki: op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁹ Bötticher writes that he was born at 9.30 p.m.: "freytag nach mittage umb 9 Uhr 30 Minuten". *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch ...*, f. 117r. *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig in Stamm- und Namentafeln vom 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, [Bd.1], gesammelt von D. Weichbrodt geb. v. Tiedemann, Darmstadt s.a. [1986], p. 71.

²⁰ See J. Zdrenka: *Urządnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814. Biogramy* [Gdańsk Town Officials in the Years 1342–1792 and 1807–1814. Biographic Entries], Gdańsk 2008, pp. 256–258.

²¹ *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch...*, f. 157v.

Grawem Munchen noch in vollen flor, das fast eyner Universitett ehlich gewesen.”²² Still, following his praeceptor, Bötticher soon left the school; his basic education ended at the level of a parochial school completed with home lessons. Apart from his native tongue, he can speak Latin fluently, a fact which helped him later on emphasize the serious character of his works, for it enabled him to use macaronicisms where German words seems too ordinary.

In order to study Polish, Eberhard was sent to Poznań (Posen) to live with a befriended merchant family. Earlier (from 1562)²³ his older brother Caspar, known as a scrivener of the Wratzmann chronicle,²⁴ went to the Polish school. Sending children to the Crown to study Polish was a common practice among the then Gdańsk burghers.²⁵ Bötticher’s contemporary, Martin Gruneweg studies Polish in Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) in the years 1574–1575),²⁶ and Böttichers father spoke the language, too.²⁷ Katarina, the sister of the author of our notes learnt Polish in Toruń (Thorn). She returned home in August 1570 “nach dem sie fast in die 2 Jar [...] gewesen die polnische sprach zu lernen.”²⁸ At first Eberhard lived with a family of Poznań Germans who did not speak Polish at all. It was only after a few months that he came to live in the Polish home of Peter the Apothecary (“am Ring wohnende”) where he simply had to learn the basics of Polish: “den gar kein deutsch volck in dem selbigen hause war. Darumb ich mich noth halben muste zur polnischen sprach gewöhnen.” After a year spent in Poznań (1566–1567), Eberhard Bötticher returned home.²⁹ Bötticher’s Polish was so good that it enabled him to translate Polish documents later on in life.³⁰

²² Ibid., f. 137r.

²³ Ibid., f. 137r–139v.

²⁴ P. Gehrke: *Der Geschichtsschreiber Bartholomeus Wartzmann im Kreise seiner Abschreiber*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins”, 41, 1900, pp. 38–41; J. Dworzaczkowa: *Dziejopisarstwo gdańskie do połowy XVI wieku* [The Gdańsk History Writing Until the mid-16th Century], Gdańsk 1962, pp. 88 ff.

²⁵ E. Kizik: *Wstęp* [An Introduction], in: *Nicolausa Volckmara “Viertzig Dialogi” 1612. Źródło do badań nad życiem codziennym w dawnym Gdańsku* [The 1612 “Viertzig Dialogi” of Nicolaus Volckmar. A Source to the Research on Everyday Life in the Old Gdańsk], ed. by E. Kizik, Gdańsk 2005, pp. XXXVII–XLVIII.

²⁶ *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg ...*, Bd. 1, pp. 459–476.

²⁷ *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch ...*, f. 73.

²⁸ Ibid., f. 191r [190r].

²⁹ Ibid., f. 154v–156r.

³⁰ „[...] durch meine bösen dolmetschen aus dem polnischen ins deutsche”. Ibid., f. 166v–174r; Bötticher’s commentaries. Ibid., f. 175r–176v.

Soon after Eberhard came back home, his father began introducing him in the arcana of the profession of a merchant, particularly that his cousin Casper (the son of the late brother of Melchior Bötticher), a possible heir of the merchant tradition so vivid in the Bötticher house turned out to be an utmost prodigal son and spendthrift – his merchant voyages to Scotland, Portugal and the Netherlands ended in losses. The partial paralysis of Eberhard's father compelled the former to take over family interests. It is when his notes begin to include details of his merchant trips with herring to: Toruń and Królewiec (Königsberg) at the turn of 1570 and 1571, and Toruń and Wrocław (Breslau) as well as to Moravia and Austria in the winter of 1572. He encountered many an obstacle on his way to these places. For example, Bötticher nearly died in the course of the travel across Moravia since, having drunk a lot of the local sweet wine, he got lost in the blizzard.

The money inherited after his father's and mother's death (1577 and 1580 respectively) stabilized Bötticher's position. After he had married Gertrud Dilliger (Gerda Dilliger)³¹ on February 13, 1584,³² the 30 years old Eberhard came to live in his mother-in-law's house at first where for a year he could cherish free accommodation and food. After this time he paid 2 thalers a week for his maintenance. Several children had been born out of this wedlock. Born on January 30, 1585,³³ his daughter Brigitte survived in spite of the fact that as a few months old a baby she had been sick with both smallpox³⁴ and, later on, in 1588, with the plague.³⁵ On October 21, 1587 his firstborn, two days old, son was baptized,³⁶ whereas on July 28, 1591 his other son – Melchior was born³⁷ of whom in December 1596 his father proudly wrote that as a five year old, this boy had known all the letters and was commencing to read.³⁸ The baptism book of the St. Mary's Church includes the names of Bötticher's other children. In 1599 his daughter

³¹ Bötticher keeps recording the name of his fiancé and wife as Dilliger. Ibid., f. 445v, 446r, 446v.

³² This marriage was a topic of a short Latin epithalamion handwritten by an 18 year old student Johannes Keckerbart (1566–1635), the later syndic of the Gdańsk Town Council. Bötticher included this poem in the second part of his autobiography. *Bötkers Chronica 1584–1595*, f. 144r–147r.

³³ Baptised on February 1, AP Gdańsk, 354/310, p. 131.

³⁴ *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch ...*, f. 176r.

³⁵ *Bötkers Chronica 1584–1595*, Ms. 1282, f. 231r–231r. In 1593 r. the daughter was sent to school. Ibid, f. 295r. In the same year also Paul was sent to school.

³⁶ Ibid., f. 224r; AP Gdańsk, 354/310, p. 190.

³⁷ *Bötkers Chronica 1584–1595*, f. 276r.

³⁸ Ibid., f. 274r–274v. In 1589 this child survived the plague. Ibid., f. 251r.

Gerda was baptized,³⁹ whereas in 1602 – Catharina.⁴⁰ After the death of his wife (buried on September 1602⁴¹) and two children (October 1 and 3⁴²), all victims of the plague (16919 deaths altogether),⁴³ in 1607 Bötticher married again, this time Anna Duckaw.⁴⁴ This marriage remained childless.

As an active merchant Eberhard Bötticher was engaged in different trade enterprises. He was one of the authors of merchants and skippers' petition concerning economic contacts with Spain and Portugal. We also know that from 1603 Bötticher was a leaseholder of a hammer forge.⁴⁵ At the same time, as a 40 years old man, his public career moved on: in 1592 councilors appointed Bötticher member of the Third Order consisting of only a hundred people.⁴⁶ He was also a member of the benches of St. Reinhold and Lübeck at the Arthur Court (Artushof). In 1600 Bötticher was given the function of the supply manager of the High Quarter, whereas in 1602 the Town Council selected him from among several candidates to be a member (the youngest church official) of the Board of the St. Mary's Church consisting from four persons solely.⁴⁷ Bötticher was gradually promoted to become the oldest church official on February 24, 1611. The duties of such church managers comprised the financial and legal control over the church's assets. Bötticher drew his quarterly salary from the church's treasury; the one that he received for the Easter of 1614 amounted to 65 (or 200 annually) marks.⁴⁸ The last time such a drawing took place was in 1616 and the drawn sum amounted to 162 marks.⁴⁹ Bötticher functioned in the church in question as its official until his death on April 28, 1617. He was buried in his own family quarter (no. 17) where he was put to rest next to his first wife.⁵⁰

³⁹ AP Gdańsk, 345/311, f. 67v.

⁴⁰ Ibid, f. 108r.

⁴¹ Ibid., 354/1513, p. 324.

⁴² Ibid., p. 326.

⁴³ J. Baszanowski: *Sezonowość zgonów podczas wielkich epidemii dżumy w Gdańsku w XVII i początkach XVIII wieku* [The Seasonalness of Deaths During the Epidemy of the Plague in Gdańsk in the 17th and Early 18th Century], "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski" [Poland's Demographic Past], 17, 1986, pp. 68–69 (Table 3).

⁴⁴ G. Frisch: op. cit., p. 28, Note 1.

⁴⁵ J. Trzoska: op. cit., p. 45.

⁴⁶ *Bötkers Chronica 1584–1595*, f. 277v.

⁴⁷ E. Bötticher: *Historisch-Kirchen-Register*, Bibl. Gd. PAN, Ms Uph. fol. 18, pp. 388–389. It was the 39th election of officials of the St. Mary's Church.

⁴⁸ AP Gdańsk, 354/1513, p. 507.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 532.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 538; G. Frisch: op. cit., p. 37, Note 10.

The first volume of Eberhard Bötticher's memoirs was commenced at the turn of 1577 and 1578 (*Memorial oder Gedenckbuch*). It was divided into three basic parts. The first, genealogical part was devoted to the author's origin and his family relations. The second, historical (probably based on compilations of the mid-16th century Gdańsk chronicles)⁵¹ depicts the conflict with the Teutonic Master Albrecht Hohenzollern, the beginnings of Lutheranism in Gdańsk and Prussia, the royal and Sejm legislation concerning Royal Prussia and including many details from the history of the town itself and Bötticher's own family. The third part of the memoir connects the notes from the author's current personal life, his family, and undertaken trade enterprises to the political situation of the town, region, and northern Europe. It is interesting that Bötticher introduces to his memoirs both copies of handwritten irregular notes from the period of the negotiations on the approval of the regulations of the Karnkowski's Constitution,⁵² and precise statistics of the number of people dying weekly from the plague of 1564, on which is said to have consumed as many as 23,899 victims (in the weeks of the plague from 22nd to 53rd it was 19,369 people).⁵³ As a result of the well documented plague of 1602 "only" 16916 people died.⁵⁴

The memoir contains both the edicts of the Gdańsk Town Council such as the edict on the civilian guard from the time of the conflict with King Batory (1576–1577), and the news on the birth in Królewiec (Königsberg) of a deformed child (1585), or on fishing of a "wonder herring" with captions near Rostock (1587). Neither did Bötticher miss the accounts of the battle of Byczyna (Pitschen – 1588), of Mary Stuart's beheading (1587). He also includes in the memoir il-

⁵¹ They must have been copies of G. Mehlemann's or B. Wartzmann's chronicles (the latter having been copied by Kasper Bötticher). See J. Dworzaczkowa: op. cit., pp. 77–111, 119–120; U. Arnold: *Studien zur preußischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bonn 1967, pp. 167–193. A general view in: A. Mentzel-Reuters: *Stadt und Welt. Danziger Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlichen Anteils in der frühen Neuzeit*, hg v. S. Beckmann, K. Gerber Tübingen 2005 ("Frühe Neuzeit" 103), pp. 99–128.

⁵² *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch ...*, f. 164v–165v, 176v–180r.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, f. 151v–152v. See. H. Samsonowicz, *Późne średniowiecze miast nadbałtyckich* [The Late Middle Ages in the Baltic Towns], Warszawa 1968, p. 92. On the basis of a note from the PAN Gdańsk Library (Ms 1625, p. 35) Henryk Samsonowicz states that in this year 14,942 people died. See idem: *Zaraza w Gdańsku w 1564 roku* [The Plague in Gdańsk in 1564], in: *O rzeczach minionych* [Of the Bygone Things]. *Scripta rerum historicarum Annae Rutkowska-Plachcińska oblata*, ed. by M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, J. Kruppé, Warszawa 2006, pp. 305–310, here: p. 307.

⁵⁴ J. Baszanowski: *Przemiany demograficzne w Gdańsku w latach 1601–1846 w świetle tabel ruchu naturalnego* [Demographic Transformations in Gdańsk in the Years 1601–1846 in Light of the Tables of Natural Movement], Gdańsk 1995, p. 263, Table 3.14; See p. 132, Table 2.4, p. 142, Table 2.9.

lustrated and coloured fragments of irregular prints recording the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588), the actions of the Holy Inquisition in the Netherlands, or English brochures on the reasons of taking over the Hanse ships with the alleged deliveries for Spain (1589). Among the enumerated ships there are also accounts of the units being in the possession of Gdańsk dwellers.⁵⁵ Not only that; Bötticher's memoir is full of details concerning the town's everyday life so descriptions of witch lynching, crimes, catastrophes are also there. For the research on economy the materials on merchant practices are more significant though.

For example, the then 22 years old Bötticher writes in detail the year-long merchant trip to Portugal which was commenced on the Easter of 1576 – a source exceptional in the modern Gdańsk memoir writing. This trip fragment was isolated from the rest of the text by ascribing to it the following title: *Hernach folgett wie Ich Ebert Bodcher von Dantzig meyn Lissebonische Reyse vorgenommen und mitt Gottes Hulffe Volbracht habe*.⁵⁶ It is worth remembering that at that time the import of salt from the Iberian Peninsula was extremely profitable for Gdańsk burghers,⁵⁷ whereas the Portugal and Spanish trips were synonymous with the local trade success and became a part of, published in Gdańsk, accountancy books (1570).⁵⁸ An extended fragment on these trips could be found even in German-Polish language handbooks (1612).⁵⁹

Bötticher began his account of them from a detailed description of the fixtures of the three ships carrying corn cargo. The ships' fittings do not surprise us; those who traded with France, Spain, and Portugal were more than certain to

⁵⁵ *Bericht aus was Ursachen Kön. May. in Engelland Schiffobersten in jrem zug und Expedition in Portugal etliche Schiff mit Getreide [...] als sie in Lysibon schiffeten, und jetz und in der Anfart waren, auffgefangen habe [...]*, Lunden [1589]. On November 15, 1589 Gdańsk shipowners and merchants handed the Town Council a letter of protest against confiscating their possessions. See *Danziger Inventar 1531–1591 mit einem Akten Anhang*, Danzig 1913, no. 76, pp. 964–966. Cf. no. 72–80.

⁵⁶ *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch ...*, f. 216r–266r.

⁵⁷ The Iberian trade on the turn of the 16th and 17th century brought increment for 200% taught capital. See M. Bogucka, *Handel Gdańska z Półwyspem Iberyjskim w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* [The Early 17th Century Gdańsk Trade with the Iberian Peninsula], "Przegląd Historyczny" [The Historical Review], 60, 1969, pp. 1–23.

⁵⁸ The costs of a Gdańsk merchant's imagined trip to Spain as presented in the accountancy handbook. S. Gamersfelder: *Buchhalten durch zwei Bücher nach italianischer Art und Weise*, [Danzig] 1570, a copy from the PAN Gdańsk Library, Kd 11258. 4^o. The fragments translated into Polish in: *Z historii rachunkowości w Polsce i w Gdańsku w wieku XVI. Wybór tekstów* [On the History of Accountancy in Poland and Gdańsk in the 16th Century], ed. by A. Grodek, I. Surma, Warszawa 1959, p. 64.

⁵⁹ *Nicolausa Volckmara "Viertzig Dialogi" 1612 ...* [The 1612 "Viertzig Dialogi" of Nicolaus Volckmar ...], pp. 254–257.

come across pirates at some point on their journeys. It turned out that pirates was Bötticher's experience, too.⁶⁰ That is probably why in the course of the ship's Danish "bait" Bötticher suddenly remembered heads of 43 pirates impaled in front of the royal castle in Helsingør. While in Lisbon, he wrote extensively on church celebrations and, what seems to be the most important from his point of view, on the amount of customs duties to have been paid for particular products. He also wrote on the then current weight units, money exchange rates, and freight prices. He even wrote that the freight of 1 last of cargo carried along the Amsterdam–Lisbon route costs 2 ducats, whereas one carried along the route of Gdańsk–Lisbon – as many as 7–8 ducats.⁶¹

Yet, the young merchant was interested in not only political and economic affairs, for he also wrote of beautiful Portugal women. He described how eagerly they leaned out of windows and immediately added that they were of no avail to him: "sie haben aber nicht viel Trostes von mir bekommen." It seems that Lutheran visitors in Portugal did not understand, as Bötticher makes us believe, the meaning of the leaning out of windows and waving that the Portuguese women performed towards them: "Und wie wir so allein in der gassen gingen winckett uns das Weyb. Ich aber wuste nicht was solch wincken bedeutett."⁶² He was deeply impressed by a young lady who took off her ruff and showed her breasts to the onlookers, the breasts among which a crucifix was hanging on a golden chain: "hatte aber Iren Hals Kragen ausgetzogen und den Hals geblosset bis an Ihre Bruste, dazwischen eyn guldenes Cruzifix hatte gehangen und darzu auch die guldene Kette umb den Hals und neygett sich abermals gegen uns."⁶³

The exotic character of the Portugal trip gave fruit in the form of a text of an extraordinary effusion. Contrary to this, the descriptions of Bötticher's later trips such as the 26 days long journey via Königsberg and Kowno (Kaunas) to Vilnius with the cargo of herrings (in the winter of 1582), seem pragmatic and "dry".⁶⁴ The first volume of Bötticher's notes ends in a statement of his late sister's (May 18, 1583) inheritance having been eventually settled.⁶⁵ Volume Two

⁶⁰ E.g. *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch ...*, f. 221, 247v–248r.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, f. 242v, 243v. See the prices of freight as compared by M. Bogucka: *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [The Early 17th Century Gdańsk Foreign Trade], Wrocław 1970, pp. 112–116.

⁶² *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch ...*, f. 228v.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, f. 227v–228r.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 413r–415r.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 443r–447r.

covers numerous details from the author's family life, including questions of the mentioned inheritance. Bötticher wrote how many worries brought to him the mediation between his sister Birgitte and the children of her late husband from his first marriage ("viel Arbeit Verseumnüß und Schaden gebracht").⁶⁶ In this volume also the criminal stories such as the 1593 history of murdering of Christ-off Schultz and his wife Anna by their female servant are present.⁶⁷ Still different is the scandal which Bötticher widely described and which concerned the fact of a daughter of a befriended family having been made pregnant by her own servant. In order to keep things low, a man was found who, after having been offered an appropriate dowry, agreed to marry the "prodigal daughter".⁶⁸ This volume ends in a note on the flood the River Radunia caused in the early spring of 1595 and on the demand to pass over the St. Mary's Church which King Sigismund III addressed at the Gdańsk Town Council.⁶⁹ Nothing suggested in this part of his notes that their author intended to give up scribbling down his further life experiences. Unfortunately, we have no knowledge whatsoever about the subsequent parts of his memoir. It is a shame because at this time of life, Bötticher found himself virtually in the middle of the religious conflict which took place in Gdańsk. Our memoir writer summed up his political activity in the recorded in the last months of his life chronicle of the history of the St. Mary's Church (*Kirchen-Register*) as presented against the political-religious history of Gdańsk.⁷⁰

Owing to his family connections and the functions he performed in the Third Order and the board controlling the St. Mary's Church's assets, Bötticher was exceptionally well-informed a person. He compared the available materials in *Historische Declaration* only to use them afterwards in *Kirchen Register*. This latter work was addressed particularly to subsequent church managers who oftentimes attempted to continue Bötticher's work. White parchment-covered autograph of *Kirchen Register* which is kept in the PAN Gdańsk Library has, apart from the title page and the three-page long introduction, 571 paginated pages, of which number 547 constitutes the chronicle's basic text. According to its title, the chronicle was written in 1615, yet the last note in it is dated for March 4, 1616.

⁶⁶ *Bötchers Chronica 1584–1595*, f. 295r.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 293a–294. A post-mortem inventory of the murdered spouses has been preserved in AP Gdańsk, 300, R/Vv, 233, f. 28r–34v.

⁶⁸ *Bötchers Chronica 1584–1595*, f. 241v–244v (1588).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 299r.

⁷⁰ See L. Mokrzecki: *op. cit.*, pp. 117–120.

Earlier, in February 26, 1616 it was endowed with the introduction preceded with a dedication.

The 63-year-old Bötticher did not dedicate his work to town authorities which, earlier, supported Calvinistic faith. Instead, he dedicated the chronicle to his three colleagues from the church management: “meynen vielgeliebten getreu Collegen und günstigen Freunden.”⁷¹ It was also into their hands that Bötticher put the task of continuing his work. The aims of this work had been clearly explained in the introduction to the chronicle. Apart from the history of the St. Mary’s Church itself, the chronicle informs the reader of Prussian and Gdańsk rulers, the history of the war with King Stephen Batory as well as the circumstances in which “the Calvinist pest spread” in the town: „wie die Calvinische Geist alhie zu Dantzig fein gemachlich eingeschlichen, und da die Leute schlieffen, sein unkrautt geseet hatt.” He devotes much attention to the descriptions of the conflict of Lutherans with Calvin supporters.

The author explained which source materials he used to write *Kirchen-Register* as soon as its introduction and the introduction to the notes. In the title he informs us that he had obtained the materials “auß den alten und zerstreuten Kirchen Büchern und anderen nachrichtungen zusammen getragen.”⁷² When need be, Bötticher used the printed works of Casper Schütz,⁷³ whereas for the description of the 1577 conflict with the Polish king he also used published records on this conflict by his contemporaries.⁷⁴ The majority of the documents which he managed to browse through (e.g. bills) disappeared, or else are known from their later copies. With regard to some notions which Bötticher touches upon, his notes, oftentimes copied and continued, remain the only point of reference. For the sake of describing the events occurring in the last two decades, Bötticher also used the information sent to the Council, Bench, and the Third Order to approve. When a described document was too vast to be quoted, Bötticher refers the reader to *Historische Declaration*, that is, the already mentioned copies of the documents.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Kirchen-Register*, p. 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ K. Schütz: *Historia Rerum Prussicarum, das ist wahrhaft und eigentliche Beschreibung der Lande Preußen*, Zerbst 1592.

⁷⁴ See M. Ptaszyński: *Kto tu rządzi? Spór między Gdańskiem a Stefanem Batorym o charakter władzy w szesnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej* [Who Rules Here? The Conflict Between Gdańsk and King Stephen Batory of the Character of the Power in the 16th Century Republic of Poland], “Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce” [The Renaissance and Reformation in Poland], 47, 2003, pp. 89–104.

⁷⁵ See e.g. *Kirchen-Register*, pp. 300, 457.

The chronologically ordered material, completed with lettered references to *Kirchen-Register's* subject index, since 1457 was additionally systematized with the information on subsequent tenures of the church's secular board. In the research on the widely understood Gdańsk elites such indexes are of importance, particularly because the work as a member of the board of the St. Mary's Church was very often indirectly led to a public career and preceded the transfer from the populace to the strict officials elite of the Main Town (Rechtstadt).

Regardless of the significance of the chronicle for the knowledge on the church itself and its equipment, from the point of view of a historian of modern times, descriptions concerning the late 16th century and the turn of the 16th and 17th century, that is a period of Bötticher's active political activity, are of particular importance. First and foremost this is because of the knowledge we obtain on both Włocławek and Warmia bishops' repossession efforts and the role of Polish kings as regards the patronage over parish churches in Royal Prussia. Then, we can also learn from the chronicle of the severe struggle of Gdańsk's political-economic position in the structure of the Republic of Poland and of preserving the religious independence of the local autonomous Lutheran church. Also, Bötticher's work chronicles the period of culmination of the severe conflict within the Protestant circles between Calvinists and Lutherans. The conflict which ended in the royal intervention and King Sigismund's edict of 1612 and 1616 forbade appointing Calvinists for the main municipal posts.

Not only was Bötticher a witness of the above mentioned events but also their active participator who meets bishops and their special envoys and eagerly depicts and comments on reality. His is a very interesting testimony of the ways in which political decisions were made in Gdańsk, how information travelled and what sort of pressure was at the disposal of representatives of the Third Order in their oppositional activities towards the Town Council. It suggests that the reality of the then Gdańsk was closer to a pure political game in which cynicism and "settlements" played a bigger role than Bötticher's religious zest. Researchers of the church culture of the old Gdańsk find useful also Bötticher's works which originated within the frames of his official duties as a church board member. We owe to him, for example, a register of burials performed in the St. Mary's Church (*Register der Leichsteinene und Begrebnüssen*), a source excellent in assessing

the transformations in the ownership structure of tomb plots in the 16th century.⁷⁶ In the years 1606–1610 Bötticher kept books of the so-called bell office in the St. Mary's Church (*Glockenampt*).⁷⁷ Using Bötticher's notes, Georg Schroeder, another of the managers of the St. Mary's Church, depicted the chapels of this most important shrine of the protestant Gdańsk and he analysed the structure of their legal identity and foundations of their financing.⁷⁸

In his notes Eberhard Bötticher declares himself a great Gdańsk and Prussian patriot. As a zealous orthodox Lutheran, he keeps his distance towards Catholics and the Republic of Poland, he opposes all royal attempts to limit Gdańsk's religious and political-economic anatomy. He also hates Calvinists and does not hide his contemptuous distance towards the patricians who support them. At the same time, however, Bötticher does not restrain himself from making bitter comments to royal commissaries and justifies the reasons for opposing the king, a fact which played a role in the war with King Stephen Batory. Bötticher's attitude resembles in many ways his contemporaries – Casper Schütz and Martin Gruneweg. Even though the latter converted to Catholicism and became a polonophile, when it came to Polish-Gdańsk relations, he remained faithful to his town, thus constructing the myth of the Gdańsk exceptionality. Similarly to Gruneweg, Bötticher compliments the town on its burghers' invincibility which helped oppose the actions of the "unjust" king. At the same time, however, the chronicler shows that he knows where he belongs, a fact which allows him to respect and even admire Polish kings and crown dignitaries in the way he addresses them in his notes.

Undoubtedly the knowledge of Eberhard Bötticher's chronicle and memoir writings and their social context can become a significant step in the preparation of a synthesis of Gdańsk's religious and social history in the period from the late 16th to the early 17th century. Apart from the knowledge of the details of the recorded events, our chronicler's notes can also facilitate the understanding of the Lutheran mentality of Gdańsk dwellers.

Translated by Beata Zawadka

⁷⁶ *Register der Leichsteinen unnd Begrebnüssen in S. Marien Kirchen der Rechten Stadt Dantzig nach Nummern unnd Namen auff's neue mit fleis revidiret und untersucht durch Eberhart Böttichern Kirchen Vatern und Verwaltern der Leichensteinen daselbst, Anno 1604* (Bötticher's autograph), AP Gdańsk, 354/348; Bibl. Gd. PAN, Ms 487, adl. 7, f. 49r–138v.

⁷⁷ "Folget ferner was ich Eberhard Bötticher in diesem 1610 Jar wegen des Glockenamptes und Brautmessen in der Pfarrkirchen S. Marien empfangen und außgegeben hab." AP Gdańsk, 354/1513, p. 448.

⁷⁸ *Kapellen Register der Pfarrkirchen zu St. Marien*, Bibl. Gd. PAN, Ms 487, f. 24v–340r.

**KRONIKI I PAMIĘTNIKI GDAŃSKIEGO KUPCA
I WITRYKA KOŚCIOŁA MARIACKIEGO, EBERHARDA BÖTTICHERA
(1554–1617)**

Streszczenie

Eberhard Bötticher (1554–1617), gdański kupiec i witryk w farze miejskiej (kościół NMP), znany jest historykom przede wszystkim jako autor *Historisches Kirchen-Register*, obszernej kroniki kościoła Mariackiego na tle dziejów miasta – od założenia świątyni aż do 1616 roku. Obecnie autograf kroniki (w zbiorach Biblioteki Gdańskiej PAN), który był wielokrotnie kopiowany w XVII i XVIII wieku, przygotowany jest do krytycznej edycji przez zespół w składzie: Christofer Herrmann z Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, który był równocześnie pomysłodawcą prac nad krytycznym wydaniem *Kirchen-Register*; Edmund Kizik z Instytutu Historii PAN i Instytutu Historii Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego; oraz Jürgen Kloosterhuis, dyrektor Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz w Berlinie-Dahlem. Prace edytorskie stały się okazją do nieco bliższego przyjrzenia się samej postaci Böttichera oraz prezentacji jego spuścizny kronikarskiej i pamiętnikarskiej. W niniejszym artykule zebrano informacje na ten samego kronikarza oraz jego znaczącego dorobku.

Oprócz *Historisches Kirchen-Register* (ss. 547 + 24) należy wymienić związany z tym dziełem zbiór komentowanych dokumentów (*Historische Declaration, Historische Erklärung* – zachowane w nowszych odpisach). Materiały te mają bardzo dużą wartość dla poznania toczących się na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku sporów na tle wewnętrznego rozłamu w łonie gdańskiego protestantyzmu na zwolenników luteranizmu i kalwinizmu oraz między Radą Miejską Gdańska a biskupem wrocławskim i królem o prawa patronackie do kościoła farnego. Poza zapiskami publicznymi Bötticher pozostawił po sobie również dwa tomy obszernych zapisków pamiętnikarskich – autografy przechowywane są w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego w Gdańsku (t. 1: *Memorial oder Gedenckbuch*) oraz Biblioteki Gdańskiej PAN (t. 2: *Der andere Theil des Eberhard Bötchers Chronica*). Pierwszy tom, rozpoczęty na przełomie 1577 i 1578 roku, obejmuje lata 1516–1583 i stanowi kompilację historii Gdańska z zapiskami o pochodzeniu rodziny, dzieciństwie Böttichera, jego kawalerskiej młodości oraz początkach kupieckiej kariery zawodowej. W tomie drugim, doprowadzonym do marca 1595 roku, znajdujemy szczegółowy opis pierwszych lat małżeństwa, rozmaitych kłopotów rodzinnych (z reguły na tle toczącej się latami sprawy spadkowej siostry) oraz pierwszych kroków w działalności publicznej autora jako przedstawiciela pospólstwa, czyli Trzeciego Ordynku. Oba tomy liczą w sumie ok. 1200 stron, w tym liczne druki, odpisy innych źródeł.

Doprowadzony do 1595 roku pamiętnik Eberharda Böttichera stanowi bez wątpienia, obok zapisków kronikarskich, nietuzinkowe świadectwo życia i światopoglądu zamkniętego i ustosunkowanego obywatela Gdańska w burzliwej dla miasta drugiej połowie XVI wieku. Pamiętnik Böttichera doskonale uzupełnia zapiski Martina Grunewega, innego gdańszczanina żyjącego na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku. Dostarcza badaczom bezpośrednich informacji o źródłach oraz charakterze wiedzy mieszczanina, jego stosunku do bieżących wydarzeń religijnych i politycznych, i to w skali zarówno lokalnej, jak i ogólnoeuropejskiej. Sposób, w jaki autor opisał dzieje swojej rodziny, młodość, początki kariery kupieckiej oraz publicznej, z pewnością stanie się przedmiotem analitycznych studiów. Po zakończeniu prac nad edycją *Historisches Kirchen-Register* warto byłoby rozważyć choćby częściową edycję pamiętników Böttichera.