



SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT AMONG PATRICIAN FAMILIES IN GDAŃSK IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES AND THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE FERBER FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

The core of Gdańsk patricians consisted of a limited number of families. Some of them managed to build up and maintain their power for as long as 300 years. There were different ways of establishing patrician families and of emphasising their social status. The story of the rise and accession to the nobility of the Ferber family reveals the practical side of the strategy and tactics of the implementation of such goals. Due to purposeful actions and the exploitation of favourable circumstances, the sons of Johann Ferber attained the highest posts in the region, with Maurice becoming the Bishop of Warmia, and Eberhardt the most distinguished Burgo-master of Gdańsk. In 1515, the family were accepted into the nobility by the King of Poland Sigismund I and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. This was made possible not only by the family belonging to the economic elite of the country, but also by the strong and supportive environment. This paper seeks to highlight the environment by analysing the kinship, social, and official relationships of the Ferbers in the 15th to the 16th centuries before and after their accession to the nobility.

KEY WORDS: Gdańsk, Ferber family, patricians, noble clans, social advancement.

ANOTACIJA

Gdansko patriciato branduolį sudarė ribotas giminių skaičius. Kai kurios jų sugebėjo sukaupti ir išlaikyti savo galią net tris šimtus metų. Būta įvairių patricijų giminių įsitvirtinimo ir statuso pabrėžimo visuomenėje būdų. Ferberių giminės iškilimo bei nobilitacijos istorija atskleidžia praktinę šių tikslų įgyvendinimo strategijos ir taktikos pusę. Kryptingai veikdami ir sėkmingai išnaudoję susiklosčiusias aplinkybes, Johanno Ferberio sūnūs pasiekė aukščiausių pareigybių regione: Maurice'as tapo Varmijos vyskupu, o Eberhardas – labiausiai pasižymėjusiu Gdansko burmistru. 1515 m. giminė buvo nobilituota Lenkijos karaliaus Žygimanto I ir Šv. Romos imperatoriaus Maximiliano I. Tai tapo įmanoma ne tik dėl priklausymo ekonominiam krašto elitui, bet ir subūrus stiprią palaikančią aplinką. Straipsnyje siekiama išryškinti šią aplinką nagrinėjant Ferberių giminystės, socialinius, tarnybos ryšius XV–XVI a. prieš nobilitaciją ir po jos.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Gdanskas, Ferberių giminė, patricijai, kilmingųjų giminės, socialinis iškilimas.

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By the first half of the 14th century, the lands by the Baltic Sea played an important role in the world's economy. People from all the lands of the Hanseatic League, such as North Rhine-Westphalia, Lübeck, Livonia, and the Dutch provinces (Kalkar), were coming to Gdańsk in search of wealth and a career.¹ They had an enormous influence on the composition of the ruling class of Gdańsk, and on the whole community of the city. There was a group of wealthy burghers among the Gdańsk patricians who came from well-known and respected noble families, such as Bischoff, von der Beke, Zimmermann and Ferber, who performed functions for the municipal authorities. The Ferber family was one of the most famous patrician families in Gdańsk. From the mid-15th century to the end of the 18th century, members of the Ferber family could be found in all the municipal authorities: they performed the functions of mayor and burgrave.² The history of this family, which has been studied many times and described by historians,³ is an example of the social advancement and the rise in power of wealthy Gdańsk patricians at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The oldest information regarding the Ferbers is from the end of the 12th century, from German culture, first of all from Greisswald and Lübeck. In the 14th century, the name was also widespread in Gdańsk, Giessen, Greiswald, Lübeck, Rostock, Hamburg, Mecklenburg, Weissenfels and Wittenberg.⁴ The two most powerful branches of the family settled in Weissenfels and Gdańsk.⁵ The progenitor of the Gdańsk line was Johann Verver from Kalkar in the Duchy of Cleves in the Rhineland.⁶ The information that we have about him is very scarce. From his first marriage with Alheit/

¹ ZDRENKA, J. *Główne, Stare i Młode Miasto Gdańsk i ich patrycjat w latach 1342-1525*. Gdańsk, 1992, s. 83-90; SAMSONOWICZ, H. Geografia powiązań rodzinnych patrycjatu gdańskiego w średniowieczu. In *Venerabiles, Nobiles et Honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej*. Red. A. RADZIMIŃSKI, A. SUPRUNIUK, J. WRONISZEWSKI. Toruń, 1997, s. 319-325.

² ZDRENKA, J. *Urzędnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342-1792 i 1807-1814*. T. II: *Biogramy*. Gdańsk, 2008, s. 85-95.

³ The Ferber family is mentioned by: LÖSCHIN, G. *Beiträge zur Geschichte Danzigs und seiner Umgebungen*. Hf. 3. Danzig, 1837, S. 22-34; HIRSCH, Th. *Ferber*. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1877, Bd. 6, S. 622-628; KESTNER, E. Eberhard Ferber, Bürgermeister von Danzig. *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1880, Hf. 2, S. 19-93, 1881, Hf. 3, S. 3-50; PAWLOWSKI, J. N. *Populäre Geschichte Danzig's*. Danzig, 1880, S. 49-82; FISCHER, R. Konstantin Ferber der Ältere, Bürgermeister von Danzig. Ein Culturbild aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1889, Hf. 26, S. 51-82; FERBER, A. *Fünfhundert Jahre zu Weißenfels und Nachkommen*. Gera, 1939, S. 259-260; ZINS, H. *Ród Ferberów i jego rola w dziejach Gdańska w XV i XVI w.* Lublin, 1951; BOGUĆKA, M. Eberhard Ferber (1463-1529), burmistrz gdański, dyplomata. *Pomorze Gdańskie*, 1977, Nr. 10, s. 27-33; BOGUĆKA, M. Człowiek przełomu epok: Eberhard Ferber 1463-1529. In *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów*. Red. T. JASIŃSKI, T. JUREK, J. M. PISKORSKI. Poznań, 1997, s. 205-212.

⁴ FERBER, A. Op. cit., S. 258-264.

⁵ ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 2.

⁶ *State Archives in Gdańsk* (hereinafter *AP Gdańsk*), sygn. 300 R/LI nr 28, s. 13-14; *Gdańsk Library, Polish Academy of Sciences* (hereinafter *PAN BG*), sygn. Ms 602, p. 66; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 806, p. 47; FERBER, A. Op. cit., S. 259; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 2; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig in Stamm- und Namentafeln von 14.-18. Jahrhundert*. Bd. 4. Klausdorf, 1991, S. 168.

Adelheit, he most likely had two sons, Johann (d. 1433) and Eberhard (d. 1451), and a daughter, Dirck (d. 1421).⁷ His second wife gave him a son, Govel (d. 1462).⁸

In 1415, Eberhard and his younger brother Govel settled in the Old Town in Gdańsk, and after obtaining citizenship, he moved to the Main City.⁹ At the beginning, he worked as a skipper; later, however, he engaged in the timber trade and usury, thus building up considerable wealth quite quickly.¹⁰ In the middle of the 15th century, Eberhard Ferber founded a family chapel in St Mary's Church in Gdańsk (called Capella Trinitatis Ferberorum, or St Balthazar's or St Casper's), a clear sign of a well-established family position in the city (Fig. 1).¹¹ He married Dorothy (d. 1433), the daughter of the city juror Tiedemann Eppenschede,¹² by whom he had four children: Nale (1428–1495), Dorothy (Ortke) (d. 1483), Ottilia and Johann (1430–1501).¹³ By his second marriage in 1433 to Margaret, the daughter of the Gdańsk juror Herman Rogge, he had nine children; however, only six lived to reach adulthood: Eberhard (d. 1458), Govel (d. 1473), Christiana, Elisabeth, Lubert and Behrendt (d. 1507).¹⁴ The oldest daughter Nale was married from 1444 to the city councillor Tiedeman Langenbecke (1412–1465), by whom she had one daughter, Elisabeth.¹⁵ Their portraits are shown on a painting showing the scene *Ecce Homo* (about 1500).¹⁶ The epitaph is part of the furnishings of the Ferber family chapel in St Mary's Church in Gdańsk (Fig. 2). After the death of her first husband in 1469, Nale married a widower, Martin Bock (1428–1484), from 1483 mayor of Gdańsk Main City.¹⁷ Another daughter of Ferber's, Dorothea (Ortke), married Peter Behem (1418–1460) in 1448, and the Gdańsk councillor Rüdiger Mandt (1427–1464) in 1461.¹⁸ Christina was married to Heinrich von Osten, and from 1468 to Arnold Fickinghausen, and Elisabeth's husband was Hildebrand Holdhusen.¹⁹ Eberhard's son Lubert, who was engaged in trade, married

⁷ AP Gdańsk, sygn. 300 R/LI nr 28, s. 13; PAN BG, sygn. Ms 602, p. 66; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 2; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168.

⁸ AP Gdańsk, sygn. 300 R/LI nr 28, p. 13; PAN BG, sygn. Ms 602, p. 66; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 2.

⁹ AP Gdańsk, sygn. 300 R/LI nr 28, p. 13; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 3.

¹⁰ ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 4; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168.

¹¹ HIRSCH, Th. *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzig*. Bd. 1. Danzig, 1843, S. 397–405.

¹² ZDRENKA, J. *Urzednicy...*, s. 86.

¹³ AP Gdańsk, sygn. 300 R/LI nr 28, s. 13; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 4–11; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168.

¹⁴ ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 11; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168.

¹⁵ ZDRENKA, J. *Urzednicy...*, s. 191–192.

¹⁶ HIRSCH, Th. *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche...*, S. 397; KUSSIN, W. *Spätgotische Tafelmalerie in Danzig*. Erlangen 1937, S. 101–104, Nr. 15; DROST, W. *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig*. Bd. 4: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschatze*. Stuttgart, 1963, S. 125; LABUDA, A. S. *Malarstwo tablicowe w Gdańsku w 2 poł. XV wieku*. Warszawa, 1979, s. 216; CIEŚLAK, K. *Kościół – cmentarzem. Sztuka nagrobna w Gdańsku (XV–XVIII w.)*. „Długie trwanie” *epitafium*. Gdańsk, 1992, s. 16; CIEŚLAK, K. *Epitafia obrazowe w Gdańsku (XV–XVII wiek)*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, 1993, s. 11.

¹⁷ WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168; ZDRENKA, J. *Urzednicy...*, s. 41.

¹⁸ WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168; ZDRENKA, J. *Urzednicy...*, s. 23–24.

¹⁹ WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168.

Margareth Bock in 1475, and Eberhard's second son Behrendt was married from 1483 to Katharina Schnellenberg.²⁰

Eberhard Ferber died on 21 March 1451, and was buried next to the chapel built by him in St Mary's Church in Gdańsk. The inscription on the stone slab of his tombstone reads 'Evert Verwer'.²¹ Eberhard's eldest son Johann Ferber, who was born on 20 January 1430, was to continue the splendour of the family.²² As the first member of the Gdansk branch of the family, he held a position in the city government, successively occupying from 1463 the office of juror, then councillor (1474), judge (1478), mayor (1479), and royal burgrave (1495).²³ The period of his public activity (the years 1463 to 1501) coincided with the time of the signing of the Second Peace of Toruń, the treaty that finally ended the Thirteen Years War (1454 to 1466) between Poland and the Teutonic Order. Gdańsk, together with all of Royal Prussia and Warmia, became part of the Kingdom of Poland. As part of the financial elite, and occupying the highest offices in the city, Johann Ferber took an active part in the political life of Gdańsk. He participated in numerous diplomatic missions, especially in the gathering of the estates of Royal Prussia, where he defended the economic interests of Gdańsk, and its broad autonomy in administrative, judicial and financial matters that the city had had since 1457, thanks to the privileges given by Casimir IV Jagiellon. In 1492, he represented the people of Gdańsk in a deputation from the Prussian estates to the court of Kraków, where he participated in the election and coronation of John I Albert as King of Poland.²⁴ He also participated in gatherings of the Hanseatic cities of Lübeck and Bremen as a representative of Gdansk.²⁵

During the Thirteen Years' War, Johann Ferber was engaged in maritime trade with Livonia, Stockholm, Skåne and Lübeck.²⁶ He began the large-scale export of timber, salt, hops, wheat and copper, and he imported colonial goods from Western Europe (wine, figs, raisins, cheese, olive oil and cloth).²⁷ He derived a significant income from lending money. His participation in trading in city property, and also his collection of high rents from properties, provided him with growing wealth.²⁸ He completed the building of the ancestral chapel founded by his father in St Mary's Church in Gdańsk,

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ *Danzigs Mittelalterliche Grabsteine*. Hrsg. von B. ENGEL, R. von HANSTEIN. Danzig, 1893, S. 25–26.

²² PAN BG, sygn. Ms 72, p. 4; SCHWARZ, [F.] Ferber Johann. *Altpreussische Biographie* (hereinafter AB), 1936, Bd. 1, S. 180; CZAPLEWSKI, P. Ferber Jan. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter: PSB). T. VI. Kraków, 1948, s. 417; SZCZUCZKO, W. Ferber (Ferver, Fervere, Ferwer) Jan. *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego* (hereinafter SBPN). T. 1. Gdańsk, 1992, s. 412.

²³ ZDRENKA, J. *Urzędnicy...*, s. 86–87.

²⁴ CZAPLEWSKI, P. Op. cit., s. 417; SZCZUCZKO, W. Ferber Jan..., s. 412.

²⁵ SZCZUCZKO, W. Ferber Jan..., s. 412.

²⁶ SAMSONOWICZ, H. *Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w II połowie XV w.* Warszawa, 1960, s. 111.

²⁷ Ibid., s. 111–112.

²⁸ Ibid., s. 112.

and in the years 1481 to 1484 he funded its furnishing.²⁹ The portraits of family members on the moving wings of the altarpiece called Ferber's Great Altar were created at that time (about 1480 to 1484), and Ferber's Small Altar was placed on the south wall of the chapel (around 1484 to 1490) (Fig. 3).³⁰

Johann Ferber was married twice. In 1454, he married Barbara (d. 1484), the daughter of the city councillor Hildebrand Tannenberg (1385–1441/43), and in 1485 he married Barbara, the daughter of the councillor Meinhard von Stein, a widow of the city juror Jacob Lüning (1435–1480).³¹ He left many descendants. From his first marriage he had ten sons and a daughter.³² His only daughter Dorothea (1459–1511) married the mayor of Gdańsk, Matthias Zimmermann (1445–1513),³³ and on 18 May 1505, at the parliament in Radom, she was granted a document of ennoblement and accepted into the Godziemba coat of arms (Fig. 4).³⁴ She died in 1511, and was buried in St Mary's Church in Gdansk, where today there is still a tombstone with an image of her coat of arms.

Of Ferber's sons, five died in childhood: Eberhard (1455–1462), Johann (1456–1464), Govel (1461–1484), Georg (1466–1484) and Lubert (1468–1487).³⁵ Johann (1464–1493), canon of Cologne and Chełm, who by consent of the city council was appointed priest of St Mary's Church in Gdansk by the King of Poland, died at the age of 29; while Adrian (1469–1504) died at the age of 35.³⁶ Hildebrand (1457–1530) attended the parish school at St Mary's Church in Gdansk, and studied in Włocławek. He lived in Gdańsk until 1522, later he moved to Tczew, and after 1525 he settled in Lidzbark Warmiński with his brother Maurice.³⁷ He lived the life of a scholar. He died in 1530, and was buried in his parish church, St Peter and Paul's in Lidzbark Warmiński, where his epitaph can be seen.³⁸ Another of Johann Ferber's sons, Maurice (1471–1537), tried to marry a rich Gdańsk citizen, Anna Pilemann, in 1498, and after the rejection of his proposal, which led to tension between the Ferbers and influential wealthy

²⁹ HIRSCH, Th. *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche...*, S. 398–399.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 404; KUSSIN, W. *Op. cit.*, s. 68, 84–86; DROST, W. *Op. cit.*, S. 124–125; DOBRZENIECKI, T. *Malarstwo tablicowe. Katalog zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*. Warszawa, 1972, s. 141, 145; LABUDA, A. S. *Op. cit.*, s. 71, 79, 192; WOZIŃSKI, A. *Duży Ołtarz Ferberów*. In *Aurea Porta Rzeczypospolitej. Sztuka Gdańska od poł. XV do końca XVIII wieku. Katalog Muzeum Narodowego w Gdańsku maj – sierpień 1997*. Gdańsk, 1997, s. 49–50; WOZIŃSKI, A. *Mały Ołtarz Ferberów*. In *Ibid.*, s. 49.

³¹ SAMSONOWICZ, H. *Badania...*, s. 111; ZDRENKA, J. *Urzędnicy...*, s. 86.

³² *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 72, p. 4; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. *Op. cit.*, S. 168.

³³ *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 602, k. 66; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms. 604, k.55, 92; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 806, k. 47; SAMSONOWICZ, H. *Badania...*, s. 111; ZDRENKA, J. *Urzędnicy...*, s. 388.

³⁴ *Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw*, MK 21, k. 196; *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 616, s. 19–20; *AP Kraków*, Oddział I, 1571/F.79, s. 35; *Czartoryski Library in Kraków*, Rkps. 964, k. 61.

³⁵ *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 72, p. 4; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 806, s. 47; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 602, s. 66; HIRSCH, Th. *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche...*, S. 405; ZINS, H. *Op. cit.*, s. 12.

³⁶ *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 806, s. 47; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 602, s. 66; ZINS, H. *Op. cit.*, s. 12; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. *Op. cit.*, S. 168.

³⁷ *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 806, s. 47; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 602, s. 66; ZINS, H. *Op. cit.*, s. 13–16.

³⁸ ZINS, H. *Op. cit.*, s. 15–16.

patrician families in Gdańsk, the Suchten, Angermünd and Feldstete, he joined the clergy.³⁹ He became canon of Warmia, Lübeck, Trier and Tartu.⁴⁰ He also took on the Gdańsk Church of St Peter and Paul, and St Mary's Church, and also the parish of St Nicholas in Elbląg. In 1517, he rebuilt the presbytery at St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, and over its door he put the richly decorated family coat of arms (preserved until today) (Fig. 5).⁴¹ In October 1523 he became Bishop of Warmia.⁴² He died in Lidzbark Warmiński, and was buried in the cathedral in Frombork. There is a portrait of Bishop Maurice in the National Museum in Gdańsk, made in 1590 by the famous Gdańsk painter Anton Möller (Fig. 6).⁴³ Of the male descendents of Johann Ferber, the most famous mayor in the history of Gdańsk deserves a special attention. Eberhard (1463–1529) was born in 1463.⁴⁴ Thirty years later, he started his political career in Gdańsk. He reached the position of city juror, and then councillor (1506), judge (1508), mayor (1510), and royal burgrave (1512).⁴⁵ In the years 1496 to 1498, he travelled to the Holy Land with the Prince of West Pomerania Bogusław X, and other members of middle-class Gdańsk families, visiting Germany and Italy along the way.⁴⁶ During his stay in Jerusalem (1497), he was made a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. He again attained an accolade in 1504 in Gdańsk, while staying in the city of Alexander Jagiellon, the King of Poland.⁴⁷ Eberhard Ferber also participated in the meeting of the Polish King Sigismund I the Old and his brother Vladislaus II, the King of Bohemia and Hungary, with the Emperor Maximilian I Habsburg in Pożoń (Pressburg/Bratislava) and Vienna. On 18 May 1515, together with his children, Barbara, Johann, Eberhard, Tiedemann and Georg, and yet unborn offspring, the mayor of Gdańsk received from the Polish King Sigismund I the Old a certificate of nobility and approval

³⁹ KESTNER, E. Op. cit., S. 24–25; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 17–24; BOGUĆKA, M. *Życie codzienne w Gdańsku wiek XVI–XVII*. Warszawa, 1967, s. 15–18; MOŻEJKO, B. *Tło burzliwej historii zaręczyn Anny Pilemann i Maurycego Ferbera*. In *Kobiety o kobietach. Studia i szkice średniowiecze i czasy nowożytne*. Red. Wioletta ZAWITKOWSKA. Rzeszów, 2010, s. 105–117.

⁴⁰ SCHMAUCH, [n. n.] Ferber Mauritius. *AB*, Bd. 1, S. 181; GLEMMMA, T. Ferber Maurycy. *PSB*, T. VI, s. 419; SZCZUCZKO, W. Ferber (Ferver, Ferwer) Maurycy. *SBPN*, T. 1, s. 414–415; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 25, 27.

⁴¹ ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 26.

⁴² *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 72, s. 4; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 806, s. 47; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms 602, s. 66; GLEMMMA, T. Ferber Maurycy..., s. 419; W SZCZUCZKO, W. Ferber (Ferver, Ferwer) Maurycy..., s. 415; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 28.

⁴³ *National Museum in Gdańsk*, nr inw. MNG/SD/411/M.

⁴⁴ SCHWARZ, [F.] Ferber Eberhard. *AB*, Bd. 1, S. 179; BODNIAK, S. Ferber Eberhard. *PSB*, T. VI, s. 415; BOGUĆKA, M. Eberhard Ferber..., s. 26; SZCZUCZKO, W. Ferber (Ferver, Verver) Eberhard. *SBPN*, T. 1, s. 410; BOGUĆKA, M. *Człowiek przełomu...*, s. 206.

⁴⁵ ZDRENKA, J. *Urzędnicy...*, s. 85–86.

⁴⁶ LÖSCHIN, G. Op. cit., S. 24–25; KESTNER, E. Op. cit., S. 22; PAWŁOWSKI, J. N. Op. cit., S. 52–53; FREYTAG, H. *Preussische Jerusalemspilger im 15 und 16 Jahrhundert. Mittheilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1902, Jhg. 1, S. 45–47; MAŃKOWSKI, A. *Pielgrzymki Pomorzań w wiekach średnich. Miesięcznik Diecezji Chełmińskiej*, 1936, Nr. 3–4, s. 249–250; TRUPINDA, J. *Peregrinus–Miles Christi. Dwa skrzydła Dużego Ołtarza Ferberów. Porta Aurea. Rocznik Zakładu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, 1999, T. 6, s. 17–24.

⁴⁷ BEYER, Ch. *der ältere. Danziger Chronik*. In *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*. Bd. V. Hrsg. von Th. HIRSCH, M. TÖPPEN, E. STREHLKE. Leipzig, 1874, S. 452.

of the previously used coat of arms (three heads of wild boar) (Fig. 7).⁴⁸ The Polish king also gave the mayor's wife Gertrude the Odrowąż coat of arms of the Szydłowieccy family. Less than two months after this, Ferber also received in Vienna an ennoblement document from Emperor Maximilian I Habsburg, and his coat of arms (three heads of wild boar) was then additionally decorated with peacock feathers and a golden crown (Fig. 8).⁴⁹ After returning to Gdańsk, the rich, influential, and ambitious trader tended to attract the greatest power in the city. Appointing his brother Maurice to the parish of St Mary's Church, and the other brother Johann to the parish of St John's Church gave grounds to accusations by citizens of Gdańsk hostile to Eberhard Ferber that he was practising nepotism. An opposing group of patricians was growing steadily in connection with these allegations, led by representatives of the Feldstete family.⁵⁰ As a result of his unfavourable reputation in the city, Ferber moved to Tczew.⁵¹ In the face of a conflict between the Hanseatic League and the Danish King Christian II, he came to a short-term reconciliation with the city council and the hostile Feldstete family in 1522.⁵² He was entrusted with the command of the Gdańsk fleet, in order to cooperate with the ships of the Hanseatic fleet. However, the maritime campaign ended in failure, and in September 1522, Ferber was forced to leave the city after a crowd of Gdańsk citizens destroyed his family mausoleum in the Church of St Mary. Leaving Gdańsk, Eberhard submitted a complaint to the Polish King Sigismund I the Old. In response, the city council condemned the Ferber family to eternal banishment and confiscated their property. In 1526, while staying in Gdańsk (from 17 April to 23 July), Sigismund I the Old issued three decrees concerning Ferber. On the basis of these documents, the Polish king ordered the municipal authorities to pay Eberhard significant compensation, and then restored him to the office of mayor. However, during a meeting of the city council, Ferber asked the monarch to be released from the offices he occupied, and left Gdańsk. He settled permanently in Tczew, where he died on 5 March 1529.⁵³ Eberhard Ferber was married three times, and left many descendents (six daughters and ten sons).⁵⁴ From his first marriage to Margarethe Valandt (d. 1501), he had a daughter, Barbara (1494–

⁴⁸ *AP Gdańsk*, sygn. 300 D, 82 nr 230 b; MICHTA, J. *Nobilitacja Eberharda Ferbera i jego dzieci Jana, Tidemana, Jerzego, Barbary oraz żony Gertrudy Ferber wystawiona w Posonium (Pressburg=Bratislava), 18 maja 1515 roku* (Nobilitacje i indygenaty w Rzeczypospolitej 1434–1794, z. 7). Kielce, 1993.

⁴⁹ *AP Gdańsk*, sygn. 300 D, 82 nr 230 a.

⁵⁰ *PAN BG*, sygn. Ms 867, s. 26.

⁵¹ SIMSON, P. *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*. Bd. II: *von 1517 bis 1626*. Danzig, 1913, S. 52–53; BOGUCKA, M. *Człowiek przełomu...*, s. 210.

⁵² GLEMMMA, T. *Ferber Eberhard*. *PSB*, T. VI, s. 416–417; SZCZUCZKO, W. *Ferber (Ferver, Verver) Eberhard...*, s. 411; ZINS, H. *Op. cit.*, s. 58–73; BOGUCKA, M. *Człowiek przełomu...*, s. 210.

⁵³ SCHWARZ, [F.] *Ferber Eberhard...*, s. 179; BODNIAK, S. *Ferber Eberhard...*, s. 417; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. *Op. cit.*, S. 168; SZCZUCZKO, W. *Ferber (Ferver, Verver) Eberhard...*, s. 411; BOGUCKA, M. *Człowiek przełomu...*, s. 212; ZDRENKA, J. *Urzędnicy...*, s. 85–86.

⁵⁴ ZINS, H. *Op. cit.*, s. 92.

1534), the wife of Jacob Rhesen (1480–1549),⁵⁵ a city councillor, and three sons, two of whom made careers by becoming Warmia canons. Eberhard (1499–1528) and Johann (1496–1530) had the additional functions of pastor in the Church of St John in Gdańsk (1516 to 1530), and also less-known Tiedemann (1501 to 1519).⁵⁶ Five years (1506) after the death of his first wife, Ferber married Katharina Sidinghusen (d. 1511), the widow of the mayor of Gdańsk, George Bock (1430–1504), who gave him two sons, Maurice (1506–1508) and George (1508–1514), and three daughters, Katharina (1509–1514), Dorothey (1510–1512) and Anna (d. 1511).⁵⁷ However, none of these children lived to adulthood. From 1512, the mayor's third wife was Gertrude (d. 1523), the daughter of Georg von Ruden, one of the wealthiest merchants of Gdańsk. From this marriage, two daughters were born, Margareth (1522–1564) and Dorothy (1527–1550), and five sons, of whom only the first one, Maurice (d. 1514), died in infancy. Georg (1515–1552), another Maurice (1516–1546), later a canon of Warmia, Alexander (1518–1556), and the youngest, Konstantin (1510–1588), later a mayor of Gdańsk, lived to adulthood (Fig. 9).⁵⁸

The patrician Ferber family is an excellent example of a family which, thanks to connections, acquaintances and huge assets, constituted an elite financial and political authority in Gdańsk at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The Ferber family's relations opened the way for active participation in the political, economic and social life of the city. Genealogical relationships at that time played an important role in the line-up of city council and jury members, and the selection of a person was very often preceded by marriage. Family connections, which had such a huge impact on taking various offices in Gdańsk, in the case of this family, also revealed the mechanisms that determined the quick promotion of clerics in the Church hierarchy. The mayor of Gdańsk Johann Ferber paved the way for his sons, Maurice, the Bishop of Warmia, and Eberhard, mayor of Gdańsk, to reach higher levels in both political and spiritual careers. Eberhard Ferber has been called 'the uncrowned King of Gdańsk', since after becoming mayor and attaining the title of royal burgrave, he ruled almost independently in Gdańsk.⁵⁹ Thanks to extraordinary political skills and tremendous assets, he also obtained noble status from the Polish King Sigismund I the Old and the Emperor Maximilian I Habsburg, for himself and his descendents. Ennoblement was an important event in the life of burgher patricians of Gdańsk, as it affected their

⁵⁵ ZDRENKA, J. *Urządnicy...*, s. 249.

⁵⁶ PAN BG, sygn. Ms 602, s. 66; *Ibid.*, sygn. 604, s. 60; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms Uph. f. 172, s. 2, 6; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 93–94; ZDRENKA, J. *Urządnicy...*, s. 85.

⁵⁷ PAN BG, sygn. Ms 602, s. 66; *Ibid.*, sygn. 604, s. 60; *Ibid.*, sygn. Ms Uph. f. 172, s. 2, 6; WEICHBRODT-TIEDEMANN, D. Op. cit., S. 168; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 94.

⁵⁸ FISCHER, R. Op. cit., S. 51–82; SCHWARZ, [F.] Ferber Konstantin. AB, Bd. 1, S. 180–181; BODNIAK, S. Ferber Konstanty. PSB, T. VI, s. 417–418; ZINS, H. Op. cit., s. 96–109; SZCZUCZKO, W. Ferber (Ferber, Ferwer) Konstanty. SBPN, T. 1, s. 413–414.

⁵⁹ BOGUĆKA, M. Człowiek przełomu..., s. 208.

civic standing, as well as that of their offspring. It also presented an opportunity for the emergence of an official elite who ruled the city, shaping political life both within Gdańsk itself, and when representing the city at gatherings of the Hanseatic League. It was a great honour, and was the social advancement of the whole patrician family, which helped subsequent members of the Ferber family running for public positions in Gdańsk continuously from the 15th to the 18th century. By building their own political and economic independence, they also built the independence of Gdańsk.

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SOCIALINIS IŠKILIMAS GDANSKO PATRICIATE VĒLYVAISIAIS VIDURAMŽIAIS IR ANKSTYVAISIAIS NAUJAISIAIS LAIKAIS: FERBERIŲ GIMINĒS PAVYZDYS

Ewa Bojaruniec

Santrauka

160 | Ferberiu giminė buvo viena žymiausių patricijų giminių Gdanske. Ferberiai apsigyveno Gdanske XV a. ir užėmė įvairias pareigas valdant miestą iki pat XVIII a. Dėl milžiniškų turty, pažinčių ir šeiminių ryšių jie formavo miesto finansinį ir politinį elitą. Johannas Ferberis praskyrė kelią siekti bažnytinės ir politinės karjeros savo sūnams Maurice'ui ir Eberhardui. Maurice'as tapo Varmijos vyskupu, o Eberhardas buvo vienas žinomiausių burmistrų Gdansko istorijoje. 1515 m. giminė gavo nobilitaciją patvirtinančius dokumentus ir iš Lenkijos karaliaus Žygimanto I, ir iš Šv. Romos imperatoriaus Maximiliano I Habsburgo. Karališkoji ir imperinė nobilitacija leidžia kalbėti apie tam tikrą Eberhardo Ferberio nepriklausomumą ir jo diplomatinis gebėjimus. Dėl šios nobilitacijos giminė įgijo prestižą ir įsitvirtino aukščiausiose socialinėse pozicijose Gdanske. Eberhardas Ferberis kilmingąjį titulą gavo 1515 m. pirmajame Vienos kongrese, kuriame dalyvavo trys monarchai: Lenkijos karalius Žygimantas I, Vengrijos ir Bohemijos karalius Vladislovas II ir imperatorius Maksimilianas I. Tai yra įdomus pavyzdys, kai vienas nobilitacijos dokumentas sujungė du kilmingumo suteikimo būdus: Ferberiu šeimos jau naudoto herbo (trys laukinių šernų galvos) pripažinimas Eberhardui Ferberiu bei jo atžaloms ir Odrowąžo herbo, naudoto galingos ir įtakingos Szydłowieckių giminės, pritaikymas jo žmonai Gertrudai.

Kilmingųjų sluoksnių jungtvių faktas Gdansko biurgerių gyvenime buvo svarbus įvykis – jis lemdavo tiek jų, tiek ir jų atžalų poziciją mieste. Nobilitacijos procedūra vainikavo biurgerių specifines diplomatinės pastangas ir įvairius finansinius veiksmus monarcho ar kilmingųjų naudai mokesčių, paskolų ar dovanų forma. Nobilitacija ne tik atverdavo duris karjerai valdant Gdanską valdyme, bet ir palengvino elito, formuojančio miesto politinį gyvenimą, kūrimąsi.

Pasiturintys Gdansko patricijai, tokie kaip Ferberiai, su malonumu pabrėždavo savo aukštą poziciją bendruomenėje remdami bažnytinį meną. Jie investuodavo savo laiką ir pinigų į privačias koplytėles, altorius (pvz., Ferberiu mažąjį altorių) ir mauzoliejus. Koplytėlių ir altorių išdėstymo vieta, jų dekoravimas ir išvaizda buvo svarbūs ne tik dėl religinių priežasčių, bet ir dėl jų reprezentatyvumo. Puošti antkapius, epitafijų įrašus, kapų paminklines lenteles ir kartušus herbais Gdansko elito terpėje buvo paplitusi praktika. Heraldiniai pranešimai ant istorinių paminklų rodo, kiek svarbu buvo viešai demonstruoti savo aukštą kilmę. Nuorodos į genealogiją galėjo palengvinti Gdansko patricijams galimybę kopti karjeros laiptais ar atlikti mieste aukšto statuso asmenims priderančias funkcijas.

Ferberiu šeimos socialinio iškilimo tyrimas šiame straipsnyje reikalavo šaltinių, saugomų Varšuvos istorinių aktų centriniame archyve ir Gdansko valstybiniame archyve, taip pat Gdansko bibliotekos ir Lenkijos mokslų akademijos rinkinių analizės. Pagrindiniams šaltiniams priskirtini Eberherdo Ferberio nobilitacijos dokumentai, saugomi Gdansko valstybinio archyvo fonduose. Pirmasis, išduotas Žygimanto I Senojo kanceliarijos, buvo

surašytas lotyniškai, įtraukiant į jį spalvotus Ferberių ir Odrowąžo herbų atvaizdus. Antrašis, kuriame matyti Ferberių herbo grafinis atvaizdas, buvo išduotas imperatoriaus Maksimiliano I kanceliarijos. Su karališkąja nobilitacija sietino dokumento kopija taip pat išliko Karališkojoje metrikeje, saugomoje Varšuvos istorinių aktų centriniame archyve.

Vystant šį tyrimą, vertingu šaltiniu pasirodė esanti daugybės genealoginių ir heraldinių rankraščių kolekcija, saugoma Gdansko bibliotekoje ir Lenkijos mokslų akademijoje. Ši medžiaga straipsnyje buvo derinama su Ferberių šeimos biografijomis, paskelbtomis žinynuose „Altpreussische Biographie“, „Polski Słownik Biograficzny“ ir „Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego“. Detaliau identifikuoti atskirus Ferberių giminės narius padėjo Joachimo Zdrensko Gdansko miesto 1342–1792 m. pareigūnų sąrašas bei giminės genealoginis medis, kurį sukūrė Dorothea Weichbrodt-Tiedemann. Vertingas šaltinis šios patricijų giminės istorijai pažinti yra ir mokslinės publikacijos apie Šv. Marijos bažnyčios Gdanske sakralųjį meną ir paminklus. Paskirus Ferberių giminės atstovus perteikiantys meno kūriniai tapo informacijos apie paminklų fundatorius šaltiniu bei jų skonių ir amžininkų mados liudijimu.

Kelerius metus trukęs šaltinių, susijusių su Ferberių giminės Gdanske atšakomis, tyrimas įgalino detaliai atskleisti atskirų giminės atstovų istoriją. Keturis šimtmečius ši giminė turėjo milžinišką įtaką Gdansko miesto likimui. Iš Ferberių giminės kilo burmistrai ir burgrafai, iš kurių žinomiausias buvo Eberhardas Ferberis (1463–1529).

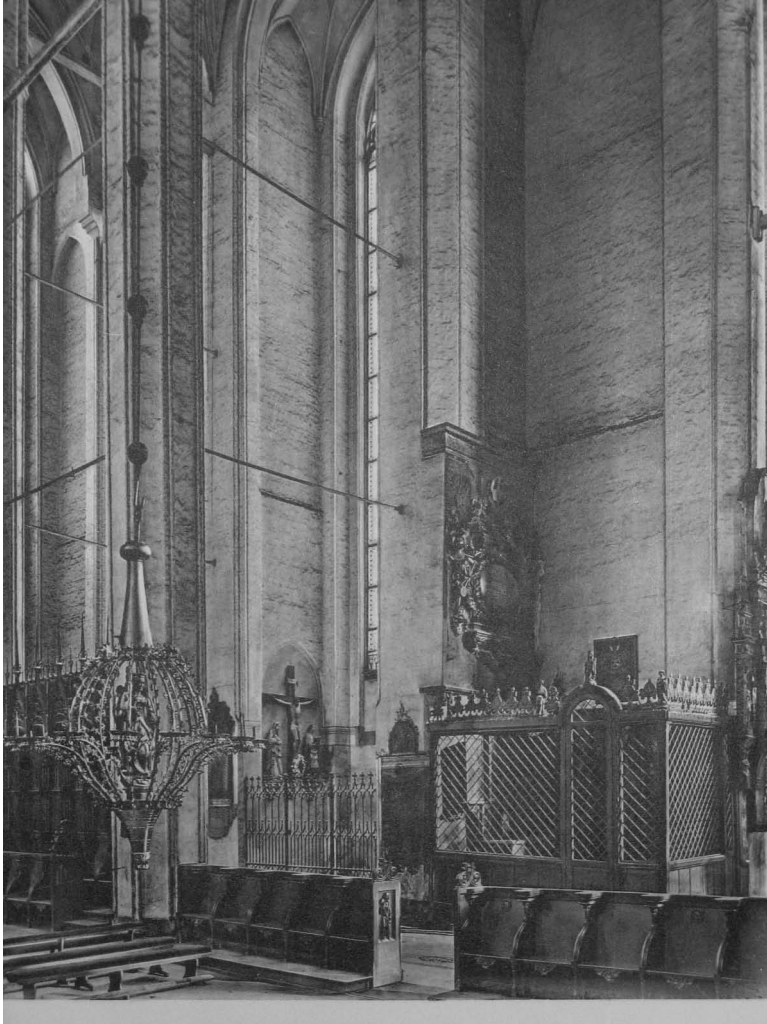


Fig. 1 The Ferber family chapel in St Mary's Church in Gdańsk
[in:] KEYSER, E.; GRUBER, K. *Die Marienkirche in Danzig*. Berlin, 1929, S. 157



Fig. 2 The pictorial epitaph of Nale Ferber-Langerbecke, circa 1500, photograph by E. Grela. St Mary's Church in Gdańsk



Fig. 3 The Ferbers' Small Altar, circa 1485–1490, photograph by E. Grela. St Mary's Church in Gdańsk

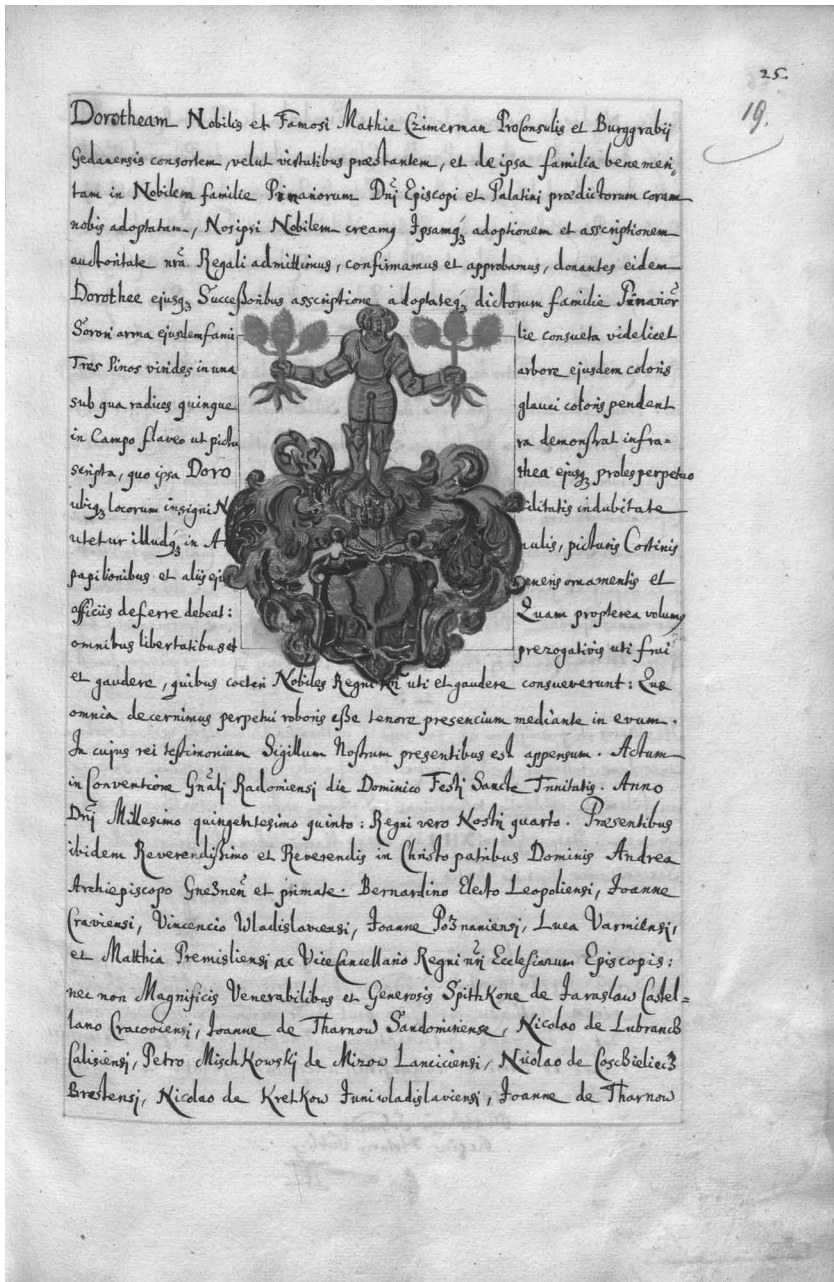


Fig. 4 Excerpt from a copy of Dorothea Zimmermann's patent of nobility, 17th century. From the Gdańsk Library, Polish Academy of Sciences



Fig. 5 A portal with the Ferber family coat of arms, 1518, photograph by E. Grela. The rectory at St Mary's Church in Gdańsk



Fig. 6 Anton Möller, A Portrait of Bishop Maurice Ferber of Warmia, oil on a wood panel, 1590. From the National Museum in Gdańsk



Fig. 7 The certificate of nobility of the mayor of Gdańsk Eberhard Ferber, his children and wife Gertruda, issued by the chancery of the Polish King Sigismund I the Old, 1515. From the State Archives in Gdańsk

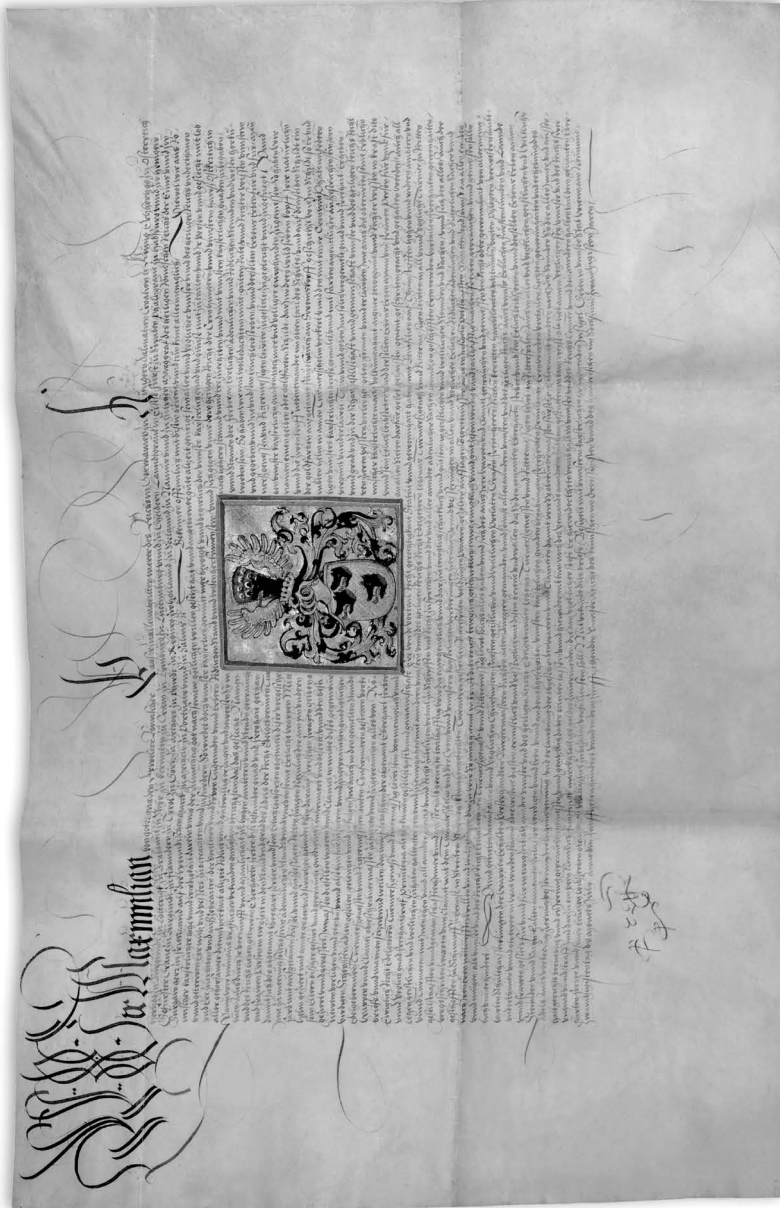


Fig. 8 The certificate of nobility of the mayor of Gdańsk Eberhard Ferber and his children, issued by the chancery of the Emperor Maximilian I Habsburg, 1515. From the State Archives in Gdańsk



Fig. 9 Nicolaus Andrea, *Portrait of Konstantin Ferber (1520–1588), Mayor of Gdańsk*, copperplate, circa 1586.
From the Gdańsk Library, Polish Academy of Sciences