

ARTICLES

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JACOB BREYNE'S *HORTI SICCI*
FROM 1659 AND 1673

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In 1714, Christian Heinrich Erndtel, the court physician of King August II the Strong, complained in one of his letters to Johann Philipp Breyne that the Poles were interested only in matters of politics and wars, not in studying plants¹. As the recipient of his letters, Erndtel was a doctor of philosophy and medicine and an avid botanist, who in his new homeland initiated research on native plants of Poland². His crowning achievement was to be the publication of *Viridarium vel Catalogus plantarum circa Warsaviam nascentium*³.

Erndtel's complaints about the state of botanical knowledge in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the turn of the 18th century were justified; with the exception of catalogues of plants growing in Warsaw royal gardens⁴ and

¹ Forschungsbibliothek (further cit. FB) Gotha, Chart. B. 786, fol. 167–168v.

² See more about Erndtel's stay in Poland and his botanic interests in the second decade of the 18th century: Katarzyna PEKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Wstęp*, [in:] Christian Heinrich ERNDEL, *Pamiętnik podróży uczonej do Anglii i Holandii (1706–1707)*, trans. and prep. by Katarzyna PEKACKA-FALKOWSKA, Halina BOGUSZ, Warszawa 2018, pp. 11–36.

³ Christian Heinrich ERNDEL, *Viridarium, Warsaviense sive Catalogus Plantarum Circa Warsaviam Crescentium*, [in:] idem, *Warsavia Physice Illustrata, Sive De Aere, Aquis, Locis Et Incolis Warsaviae, Eorundemque Moribus Et Morbis Tractatus; Cui Annexum Est Viridarium, Vel Catalogus Plantarum Circa Warsaviam Nascentium*, Dresdae 1730, pp. 1–132 [2nd part of the volume].

⁴ *Catalogi plantarum quae A. 1651 Varsaviae in hortis botanicis regis Ioannis Casimiri colebantur, secundum conspectus hortulanorum Bartholomei Gei et Jacobi Haic: accedit catalogus tertius plantarum indigenarum, quae circa Varsaviam nascuntur. Królewskie ogrody botaniczne króla Jana Kazimierza w Warszawie oraz systematyczny spis roślin tamże hodowanych*, ed. by Józef ROSTAFIŃSKI, Kraków 1928; Alina DOROSZEWSKA, *Królewskie ogrody botaniczne w Warszawie za Jana Kazimierza*, *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* (further cit. KHNT), vol. 31: 1986, no. 2, pp. 397–410; eadem, *The oldest botanical garden in Warsaw*, [in:] *Studies on the history of*

isolated observations of court physicians and surgeons published in the *Miscellanea Curiosa*⁵, in the 17th century and in the first two decades of the 18th no works on botany were actually brought out⁶. Johann Philipp Breyne also mentioned this wistfully when he was describing the state of natural history research in the territory of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland⁷. The only estimable exception was Royal Prussia. The great cities of this province, led by Gdańsk, were important centres of *historia naturalis* studies such as botany, mineralogy, zoology, and medicine. Since the 16th century, Gdańsk was the home of scholars (*Gelehrte*) and amateurs (*Liebhaber*) interested in native and foreign plants not only for purely aesthetic, commercial or practical reasons⁸ but also – at least in the case of some – for purely cognitive purposes.

Numerous works and articles have been devoted to botanical pursuits among the Gdańsk citizens of old, focusing among others on their fascination with *plantae exoticae*, collector and bibliophile passions as well as, significantly, autochorology (or floristics)⁹. It should be remembered that studies of

Botanical Gardens and Arboreta in Poland, ed. by Alicja ZEMANEK, Bogdan ZEMANEK, Kraków 1993, pp. 47–58.

⁵ See e.g. the incomplete list of titles in: Marcin ŁYSKANOWSKI, *Polonica w czasopiśmie XVII i XVIII wieku „Miscellanea Curiosa”*, *Historia Nauk Biologicznych i Medycznych*, vol. 5: 1961, pp. 55–62.

⁶ Botany as an independent branch of science appeared during the days of Andrei Cesalpino and Caspar Bauhin, who without paying any attention to the usefulness of plants released plant science from its role as an auxiliary discipline of medicine. Thus, botanical studies are those that deal with plants as independent entities. Perhaps the strictly botanical work was a lost print by Gabriel Joannicy *Plantarum Cracoviensium indicem proprium latine confectum Serenissimae Principi Dominae Annae Infanti Sueciae oblatum* issued in Cracow in 1616.

⁷ Johann Philipp BREYNE, *Praefatio ad Lectorem benevolum*, [in:] Georgii Andreae HELWING, cum praefatione Johannis Philippi BREYNI, in qua de scriptoribus rerum naturalium Borussiae & Poloniae agitur, & multi errores Florae Prussiae modeste corriguntur, *Flora quasimodogenita, sive enumeratio aliquot plantarum indigenarum in Prussia, quarum in herbariis hectenus editis Borussicis aut nulla, aut superficialia facta est mentio, additis nonnullis iconibus descriptionibus et observationibus nec non annexo florilegio ad clima Prussiae accommodato, in gratiam botanophilorum adornata*, Gedani 1712, pp. 1–2. Breyne did not include John Jonston to the group of researchers of *historia naturalis* associated with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

⁸ In the utility dimension, Danzig doctors and pharmacists were interested in plants in practical terms, e.g. J. Placotomius; in the commercial dimension – many merchants, including the father of J. Breyne; while in the aesthetic dimension – such collectors without botanical inclinations as Ch. Gottwald (who owned, among others, flowering erythrins).

⁹ See e.g. Urszula SZYBKOWSKA, Magdalena MADEJA-GRZYB, *Herbaria i florilegia od XV do XVIII wieku ze zbiorów PAN Biblioteki Gdańskiej*, Pruszcz Gdański 2017; Magdalena ZIARNEK, *Badacze szaty roślinnej Pomorza sprzed 1945 roku*, Szczecin 2012, pp. 15–30; Karolina TARGOSZ, *Jacob Breynius 1637–1697, „botanicus celeberrimus” w wymiarze europejskim*, Kraków 2010; Tadeusz SULMA, Zofia SCHWARZ, *Z dziejów botaniki na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Cz. II: Rozwój botaniki w Gdańsku w dobie Oświecenia*, *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, Seria B,

native plants in Royal Prussia had had a long tradition, so no other province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth could boast of such insightful descriptions of their plant life.

At the end of the 16th century the flora of Gdańsk area was described by Johann Wigand¹⁰. The noteworthy 17th-century scholars who undertook research on indigenous plants include Nicolaus Oelhaf¹¹, Johann Loesel¹², Christian Menzel¹³, Lorentz Eichstad¹⁴ and Jacob Breyné. A century later, studies on *plantae indigenae* of Royal Prussia were carried out by Gottfried Reyger¹⁵. In the first half of the 18th century other *Gelehrte* from Gdańsk, such as Johann Philipp Breyné and Jacob Theodor Klein, were clearly also interested in floristics; however, instead of native plants, they focused rather on *plantae exoticae* and acclimating them to Gdańsk conditions¹⁶.

vol. 27: 1977, pp. 63–118; iidem, *Z dziejów botaniki na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, ibid., vol. 14: 1968, pp. 25–74. The basic literature of the subject matter was included in the above-mentioned works.

¹⁰ Johann WIGAND, *Catalogvs herbarvm in Borvssia nascentium*, [in:] *Vera historia de succino Borussico, de alce Borussica, & de herbis in Borussia nascentibus. Item, de sale creatura Dei saluberrima, consideratio methodica, & theologica, etc.*, Jenae 1590, pp. 48–88.

¹¹ Nicolaus OELHAFIUS, *Elenchus plantarum circa nobile Borusforum Dantiscum suâ sponte nascentium: Earundem Synonyma Latina & Germanica, loca natalitia, florum tempora & vires exhibens*, Stettini 1643; e-source: <https://fbc.pionier.net.pl/details/nnh7dRm> (Gedanii 1656); Hugo Wilhelm CONWENTZ, *Oelhafens Elenchus plantarum circa Dantiscum nascentium*, *Schriften der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft Danzig NF, Bd. 4: 1877, H. 2*, pp. 1–33.

¹² *Ioanni Loeseli plante in Borussia sponte nascentes*, Regiomonti 1654; idem, *Flora Prussica; sive, Plantae in regno Prussiae sponte nascentes. Quarum catalogum & nomina Johannes Loeselius [...] olim disseruit, nunc additis nitidissimis iconibus rariorum partim ab aliis nondum delineatarum plerumque Prussiae propriarum & inquilinarum plantarum, earundemque accurata descriptione, nec non adjectis synonymiis veterum botanicorum, interspersisque observationibus historico-philologico-criticis & medio-practicis noviter efflorescentes curante Johanne Gottsched*, Regiomonti 1703.

¹³ Christian MENTZEL, *Centuria plantarum circa nobile Gedanum sponte nascentium adjecta appendicis loco ad Elenchum plantarum gedanensium excell. & exper. Dn Nicolai Oelhafii, regi medici, et physici gedanensis, Dantisci 1650*; idem, *Catalogus plantarum circa Gedanum sponte nascentium*, Dantisci 1658.

¹⁴ *Elenchus plantarum, circa nobile Borussorum Dantiscum, sua sponte nascentium D. Nicolai Oelhafii etc. cum synonymia earundem latina et germanica, indice autorum, locis natalibus, florum temporibus et viribus, denuo recensitus ac locupletatus a successore eius, (Laurentiô Eichstadio) de quo in praefatione*, Gedani 1656.

¹⁵ Gottfried REYGER Soc. Phys. Ged. Secretarii, *Tentamen Florae Gedanensis Methodo Sexuali Adcommodatae*, Gedanii 1764; e-source: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.45250>.

¹⁶ See e.g. Polish Academy of Sciences, Library in Gdańsk, Ms 534, ch. 130–143; Zofia SZWARC, *Prywatne ogrody botaniczne a rozwój nauk przyrodniczych w ośrodku gdańskim w XVI–XVIII w.*, KHNT, vol. 31: 1986, no. 2, pp. 411–444; T. SULMA, Z. SCHWARZ, *Z dziejów botaniki na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Cz. II*, passim; M. ZIARNEK, *Badacze*, pp. 25–30; Katarzyna PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Johann Philipp Breyné i jego ogrody: hortus vivus i hortus siccus*, [in:] *Natura Homines. Studia z historii środowiskowej*, vol. 1: *Historia – klimat – przyroda. Perspektywa*

The indigenous plants of Pomerelia were of interest also to the inhabitants of other parts of Europe¹⁷, in particular, those from Royal Prussia's neighbour, Kingdom of Prussia. Among them were Georg Andreas Helwing¹⁸ and Matthias Ernst Boretius¹⁹; they maintained close links with Gdańsk scholars, especially with Johann Philipp Breyne. The legacy of those East-Prussian scholars (who were a father- and a son-in-law respectively) includes several of their *herbaria viva*²⁰, i.e. herbaria made of dried plants²¹. Polish literature on botany considers these herbaria to be the oldest preserved *horti sicci* that originated from the area of modern-day Poland²². However, the collection of *Naturalis*

antropocentryczna, ed. by Piotr OLIŃSKI, Wojciech PIASEK, Toruń 2018, pp. 217–228. Johann Philipp Breyne received many pieces of information about the flora of the Kingdom of Poland from Ch. H. Erndtel; he shared the knowledge with Helwing and English scholars. See: K. PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Wstęp*, passim; M. Georgii Andreae HELWINGII, pastor. Angerburg. [...], *Florae campana seu pulsatilla cum suis speciebus et varietatibus methodice considerata et interspersis variis observationibus oculis curiosorum exposita, cum XII iconibus, quarum nonnullae nunquam ante hac aeri incisae. wariant tytułu: Florae campana seu pulsatilla cum suis speciebus et varietatibus methodice considerata*, Lipsiae 1719, p. 65.

¹⁷ Alix COOPER, *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2007, passim; K. PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Johann Philipp Breyne i jego ogrody*, passim.

¹⁸ *Flora quasimodogenita: Sive enumeratio aliquot plantarum indigenarum in Prussia, Quarum in Herbariis hactenus editis borussicis aut nulla, aut superficiaria facta est mentio, additis nonnullis iconibus, descriptionibus et observationibus, nec non annexo florilegio, ad clima Prussiae accommodato. Cum praefatione Johannis Philippi Breynii*, Gedani 1712; idem, *Supplementum florae Prussiae: seu enumeratio plantarum indigenarum post editam Floram quasimodogenitam additis synonymiis, appellationibus Latino-Germanico-Polonicis, nec non observationibus quibusdam curiosis, ultra numerum quadringentesimum aucta*, Gedanii 1726.

¹⁹ Stanisław FLIS, *Maciej Ernest Borecki (Boretius) – Znany lekarz mazurski XVIII wieku*, *Polski Tygodnik Lekarski*, 1956, no. 38, pp. 1637–1638; idem, *Panegiryk z pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku ku uczczeniu pamięci Macieja Ernesta Boretiusa (Boreckiego)*, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 1964, no. 4, pp. 514–519.

²⁰ *Dzieło Boretiusa, ucznia Helwina*, digitalized fragments of the herbarium of Boretius: http://www.zielnik.biol.uw.edu.pl/?page_id=2941; digitalized herbarium of Helwing: *Herbarium vivum plantarum sponte in Prussia nascentum*, vol. I–III: [https://polona.pl/search/?filters=creator:%22Helwing,_Georg_Andreas_\(1666--1748\)%22](https://polona.pl/search/?filters=creator:%22Helwing,_Georg_Andreas_(1666--1748)%22) [Accessed 19 IX 2018].

²¹ About the tradition of making *horti sicci* and its significance for the development of botany in the early modern period see e.g.: Brian W. OGLIVIE, *The Science of Describing: Natural history in Renaissance Europe*, Chicago–London 2008, pp. 165–174.

²² About Helwing's herbaria see: Krzysztof SPALIK, *Pre-Linnaean herbaria viva of Helwing in the collections of the National Library of Poland and the University of Warsaw*, *Acta Societati Botanicorum Poloniae*, vol. 83: 2014, no. 1, pp. 13–16, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5586/asbp.2014.008>. About Boretius's herbaria see: Maja GRANISZEWSKA, Adam KAPLER, *Herbaria of the Prussian physician Boretius (1694–1738) in the Herbarium WA*, *Biodiversity: Research and Conservation*, vol. 52: 2018, pp. 1–6, DOI: 10.2478/biorc-2018-0012. According to the opinion of Alicja Zemanek, the oldest *hortus siccus* from the territory of the Commonwealth could have been the lost herbarium of Anna Vasa of Sweden, while “the oldest [preserved in the Herbaria of Polish

Biodiversity Centre/Nationaal Herbarium Nederland contains two older collections of this type: the herbaria comprising plants of Pomerelia, Kashubia and Toruń area, compiled in the second half of the 17th c. in Gdańsk by the “Grand Amateur des Fleurs”²³, Jacob Breyne.

Jacob Breyne is a figure who has received a lot of recognition in Polish and foreign historiography. He has been the subject of works authored by historians, librarians, botanists and other scholars²⁴. However, in those studies, the interest of Breyne the Elder in the native flora of Royal Prussia has been merely touched upon – due to the fact that the sources of Polish and German scholars were the printed works of both Breynes, or possibly selected manuscripts from among Breyne the Younger’s writings²⁵. Breyne’s preserved *horti sicci* have been recognized only by Dutch researchers although the British also made a note of them²⁶.

Faculties of Biology] collection of plants for scientific purposes is the herbarium of the Italian naturalist Silivius Boccone of 1674 preserved in the Herbarium of the Botanical Institute of Wrocław University”, see: eadem, *Odnalezienie prawdopodobnych śladów pierwszego polskiego zielnika królowny Anny Wazówny*, KHNT, vol. 41: 1996, no. 3–4, p. 203. The herbarium includes Mediterranean plants.

²³ FB Gotha, Chart. A 790, fol. 126.

²⁴ See e.g. Danuta Natalia ZASŁAWSKA, *The Floral Still Lifes of Andreas Stech*, Acta Historiae Artium Balticae, vol. 1: 2005, pp. 101–137; K. TARGOSZ, op.cit. [here the overview of the literature until 2012]; Alicja KURKOWA, *Jakub i Jan Filip Breynowie: studium z dziejów kultury książki XVII i XVIII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Gdańsk 1989; ead., *Jakub i Jan Filip Breynowie – uczeni gdańscy XVII i XVIII w.*, KHNT, t. 37: 1987, nr 3–4, pp. 661P–678; T. SULMA, Z. SCHWARZ, *Z dziejów botaniki na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Cz. II* [here the review of the Polish, German and Latin literature of the subject matter until the 1970s].

²⁵ See e.g. Polish-language literature above mentioned and Johann Gottlieb BUJACK, *Über preußische Naturforscher des 16ten, 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts. Biographisch-literarische Skizzen. (Die Danziger Jacob Breyn, Johann Philipp Breyn und Jacob Theodor Klein)*, Preußische Provinzial-Blätter, Bd. 23: 1840, pp. 193–209, 344–359; Hugo CONWENTZ, *Westpreußische Botaniker der Vergangenheit*, Berichte der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 29: 1911, pp. 6–15; Hugo VON KLINGGRÄFF, *Zur Geschichte der Botanik in Preussen*, Der neuen Preuß. Prov.-Blätter, Bd. 5: 1854, pp. 53–63.

²⁶ Philip Christiaan MOLHUYSEN, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit 1574–1811*, Deel 5: 1725–1765, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit. Vijfde deel: 10 Febr. 1725–8 Febr. 1765*, Gravenhage 1921, pp. 87–89; *Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae. Catalogus deel XIV. Inventaris van de Handschriften. Eerste Afdeling*, Leiden 1932, p. 150; Simon Jan VAN OOSTSTROOM, *Een 17de eeuwsch herbarium uit de omgeving van Danzig*, [in:] *Gedenkboek J. Valckenier Suringar, 24 December 1864 – 17 October 1932*, Wageningen 1942, pp. 208–217; Gerard THIJSSSE, *Gedroogde schatten*, [in:] *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw*, Hilversum 2012, pp. 49–50; idem, „Hieronymus van Beverningk (1614–1690), diplomat and plant lover. His garden and herbaria, in particular those of Paolo Boccone (1633–1704), Jacob Breyne (1637–1697) and Paul Hermann (1646–1695)” [typescript]; Alette FLEISCHER, *Gardening Nature, Gardening Knowledge: the Parallel Activities of Stabilizing Knowledge and Gardens in the Early Modern Period*, [in:] *Gardens, Knowledge and*

The printed works of Breyne the Elder in which he mentions indigenous plants of Gdańsk area are his *Centuria* and *Prodomus* (I) as well as the reports from the *Miscellanea Curiosa*. Thus, in his *Centuria* Breyne mentions his interest in both exotic and indigenous plants, yet the latter, as he emphasizes, are what he loves most honestly²⁷. However, in *Centuria* he mentions only ten *plantae indigenae* of Royal Prussia and the Crown²⁸, describing them as rare “under our skies”²⁹. Other plants he describes are the exotic ones which he either admired in Dutch gardens or received from his friends as dried specimens. Five pieces of information about Kashubian plants – including those Breyne sent to Leiden for acclimatization – appear in *Prodomus* (I)³⁰. Also in the *Miscellanea* merely five out of twenty-six observations he sent there refer to the indigenous flora of Royal Prussia and the Crown³¹.

It is well known that Jacob Breyne planned to publish a separate work on the indigenous plants of Pomerelia and Kashubia³². The working title of this labour of many years – *tractatus [...] de plantis in Borussia Occidentali et Casubia*³³, *Viridarius [...] Borusiacus*³⁴ and *Viridarius Prussiae occidentalis ataque*

the Sciences in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Hubertus FISCHER, Volker R. REMMERT, Joachim WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, Basel 2016, pp. 294–296; eadem, “Rooted in fertile soil: seventeenth-century Dutch gardens and the hybrid history of material and knowledge production”, *Twente* 2010, pp. 112–116 [the typescript of doctoral thesis – DOI 10.3990/1.9789036530972]; Frans Antonie STAFLEU, Richard S. COWAN BOHN, *Taxonomic literature: a selective guide to botanical publications and collections with dates, commentaries and types*, vol. 1, Utrecht 1976, pp. 48–50.

²⁷ Jacobi BREYNII, *Ad lectorem botanicum Praefatio*, [in:] *Centuria* (1678), no page. Also Benjamin Engelke in *Ad Jacobum Breynium amicum, rei herbariae peritissimum. Elegia* published in *Centuria* (1678) indicated the interesting plethora of plants growing in Cashubia.

²⁸ J. BREYNII, *Centuria* (1678), pp. 102, 104–107, 130–135, 145, 162, 183–184. Comp. H. W. CONWENTZ, op.cit., p. 28.

²⁹ *Ad lectorem Botanicum Praefatio*, [in:] J. BREYNII, *Centuria* (1678), no page.

³⁰ Jacobi BREYNII, *Prodomus fasciculi rariorum plantarum, Anno M.DC.LXXIX. in hortis Celeberrimis Hollandiae, praefertim Incomparabili & Nobilissimo illo Florae Pandocheo Illustrissimi atqve Excellentissimi Domini, Domini Hieronymi van Beverningk etc. observatarum a Jacobo Breynio, Gedanensi. Cui accedunt Interrogationes de nonnullis Plantarum ab Auctore in Centuria prima descriptarum partibus, quibus, tempore editionis Centuriae primae, Idem ille ut plurimum destitutus fuit*, Gedani 1680 (further cit. *Prodomus I*), pp. 29, 40, 42, 45, 52.

³¹ M. ŁYSKANOWSKI, op.cit., pp. 58, 60; K. TARGOSZ, op.cit., pp. 32–35; *Obs. CCLXXXIX–CCXC*, pp. 509–511 (*Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 3: 1672); *Obs. CLX*, p. 138; *Obs. XXXV, CXLIX*, pp. 144, 192 (*Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 4/5: 1673). Too some extent also: *Obs. CLI* (*Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 4/5: 1673), pp. 194–195; it concerned the flora of the Kingdom of Poland.

³² See e.g. Z. SCHWARZ, *Prywatne ogrody*, pp. 419, 422.

³³ *Obs. CCLXXXIX. Dn. Jacobi Breynii. De Musco Pulmonario terrestri sanguineo*, *Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 3: 1672, col. 510; FB Gotha, Chart. A790, fol. 24.

³⁴ *Jacobi Breynii Gedanensis Icones Exoticarum aliarumque Minus Cognitarum Plantarum in Centuria Prima descriptaru*, Gedani 1678, pp. 102, 131.

*Cassubiae*³⁵ – has been mentioned numerous times by Breyne the Elder in his printed works and writings. He also mentioned it in letters to his numerous friends³⁶. His son Johann Philipp also confirmed that his father planned to publish *Pomerelliae Viridarius*, a richly illustrated book with descriptions of rare plants growing wild in Royal Prussia³⁷. After the death of Breyne the Elder, the work on the publication was taken over by Breyne the Younger when he returned from his *peregrinatio medica*; however, for unknown reasons – maybe due to his lack of interest in continuing his father's work – the publication was left unfinished. This was the subject of complaints from Gottfried Reyger³⁸, who in his work on *Tentamen florae Gedanensis methodo sexuali adcommo-datæ* eagerly used the material left by both Breynes³⁹.

Apparently, the local flora of Royal Prussia and the Crown had fascinated Breyne the Elder since his youth⁴⁰, as testified among others by his teacher Christian Menzel and in the fragments of his biography prepared by Georg Daniel Seyler on the basis of information obtained from Breyne the Younger⁴¹. Mentzel called Jacob Breyne “discipulus [...] meus in re Herbaria”⁴² and

³⁵ J. BREYNI, *Prodomus I*, p. 52; A. FLEISCHER, *Gardening Nature*, p. 296; *The Sloane herbarium: an annotated list of the Horti sicci composing it; with biographical details of the principal contributors*, based on records compiled by the late James BRITTEN; with an introd. by Spencer SAVAGE; rev. and edited by James Edgar DANDY, London 1958, p. 97, <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.137366>.

³⁶ British Library, Sloane, Ms 4066, fol. 271: “I am now fully resolved to publish my Viridarium of Prussia & Cassubia, as soon as ever I [...] take a journey one summer more through Prussia & Cassubia to take a view and reckonize those plants which I had determined to have this year and had made some beginning too with with [sic] wonderfull success as to the observations tho' my health was not answerable to succeed for it...”. Cited after: A. FLEISCHER, *Gardening Nature*, p. 296. Comp. A. COOPER, op.cit., pp. 114–115.

³⁷ J. P. BREYNE, *Praefatio ad Lectorem benevolum*, p. 7; Georg Daniel SEYLER, *Vita Jacobi Breyni (1736)*, [in:] Jacob BREYNE, *Icones rariorum plantarum & exoticarum plantarum*, Gedani 1739, p. 7.

³⁸ G. REYGER, op.cit., p. 5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, passim.

⁴⁰ J. Breyne was interested, among others, in the herbarium of Syreniusz, the fragments of which he ordered to rewrite the texts and boasted about on 30 May 1682 (in the letter of 30 June 1682, sent to King John III Sobieski; FB Gotha, Chart. A790, fol. 14).

⁴¹ *Vita Jacobi Breynii, botanici celeberrimi conscripta a Georgio Daniele Seylero, Gymnasii. Elbingensis nunc rectore dignissimo*, [in:] *Jacobi Breynii, Gedanensis, Prodromi fasciculi rariorum plantarum: primus et secundus, quondam separatim, nunc nova hac editione multum desiderata coniunctim editi notulisque illustrati / adiectis nominibus et succinctis descriptionibus. Quibus praemittuntur vita et effigies auctoris*, cura et studio Joannis Philippi BREYNI, Gedani 1739, pp. 5–6; the correspondence concerning this issue is preserved in FB Gotha.

⁴² Christian MENTZEL, *Elenchus Auctorum*, [in:] idem, *Pinax botanonymos polyglottos katholicos, Index nominum plantarum universalis etc.*, Berolini 1682, K. TARGOSZ, op.cit., p. 29.

stressed that “monstravit quondam quascunque fideliter Herbas, et vidi ingenii Maxima signa tui; sed nunc Discipulus vincis superasque Magistrum pandis & ingenii munera rara Tui”⁴³. In turn, Seyler wrote that Mentzel was the first to teach Jacob Breyne *res herbaria*, which “diligenti institutione sonit & adauxit”⁴⁴. Breyne the Elder confirmed himself that in 1650 he participated in botanists’ field trips led by the author of *Centuria plantarum*, “qui prima mihi ostendit fundamenta” of his knowledge of botany. Perhaps as a child, he also participated in *herbationes* organized during summer months by a doctor of philosophy and medicine Lorentz Eichstadt for the pupils of the Academic Gymnasium Danzig⁴⁵ (many years later Breyne the Elder would himself organize similar trips for his son Johann Philipp)⁴⁶. As a young man, Jacob Breyne also conducted independent observations of Kashubian plants⁴⁷. He was driven at that time by his innate desire to learn about the indigenous flora: “Amor hic tantum suit & Ardor, ut nullis sere nec periculis, nec laboribus, ab inquisitione Plantarum per culta, per inculta et aspera, se deterreri passus sit”⁴⁸. Besides, in his garden he grew a variety of indigenous plants of Prussia, such as northern water hemlock described by Andreas Cnoeffel, and eagerly wrote about them to his correspondents⁴⁹.

One of the foundations for the study of the book about indigenous plants of Royal Prussia planned by J. Breyne, and in particular the preparation of engravings, which had fundamental significance in botanical prints, were studies of dry specimens alongside living plants. *Exsiccatae* in the early modern times served not only as the collector’s items⁵⁰, but also an important material for carrying out research⁵¹ in *res herbaria* (as epistemic objects), educational activities (as demonstration objects) or performing artistic works (as immovable models). Their invaluable role in the work of scholars was emphasized by, among others, Andriaan van de Spiegel in *Isagoge In rem herbarium*, when

⁴³ *Carmina a viris quibusdam clarissimis In laudem Jacobi Breynii, diversis temporibus composita. Ad Clarissimum Celeberimumque Dn. Jacobum Breynium, Fasciculum Rariorum Plantarum edentem*, [in:] *Jacobi Breynii, Gedanensis, Prodromi* (1739), p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Vita Jacobi Breynii*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie*, vol. 2: *Wybór źródeł z XVI i XVII wieku*, ed. by Lech MOKRZECKI, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 209, 263–264; K. TARGOSZ, op.cit., pp. 17–18; Lorenz EICHSTADT, Johann MÖLLER, *Exercitatio phytologica de plantis in genere*, Gedani 1648, pp. 72–76.

⁴⁶ FB Gotha, Chart. A788, fol. 47–48.

⁴⁷ J. BREYNI, *Centuria*, p. 105.

⁴⁸ *Vita Jacobi Breynii*, p. 6, fn. F.

⁴⁹ FB Gotha, Chart A790, fol. 2, 56–56v; information concerning the entry made by Andreas CNOEFFEL, *De nassa vel corbi Piscatora naturali*, *Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 3: 1672, pp. 436–437.

⁵⁰ Ch. H. Erndtel and J. T. Klein had numerous *horti sicci* in their book collections.

⁵¹ Particularly in the late autumn, winter and early spring.

he described the methodology for the preparation of *hortos hiemales*⁵², and Caspar Bauhin in *Phytopinax and Pinax*⁵³.

The analysis of the catalogue published in 1765 for the auction of the Breynes' collection reveals that it included numerous *exsiccatae*. Thus, next to such objects as “vegetabilia Indica et Japonica rariora, extra chartam exiccata”⁵⁴, it comprised dried specimens of indigenous plants of Prussia. As the catalogue notes, during the auction one could purchase “eine sehr zahlreiche Sammlung von Kräutern sowohl aus beyden Indien, als auch Frankreich, Italien, Holland, Siberien, auch einheimischen, theils von dem berühmten Botanico Jacob Brayne und dessen Sohn Herr D. Joh. Phil. Brayne, in Dantzig und auf ihren Reisen selbst gesammelt, theils auch von Anders Botanicis überschickt, und die Meisten sehr wohl conservirt, alle zwischen 2 Papieren loss liegend, womit 9 grosse und 2 kleine Laden, auch noch etliche Fächer eines Repositorii angefüllet sind”⁵⁵.

Thus the Breynes' collection of *exsiccatae* included single specimens of plants collected by both Gdańsk naturalists in Royal Prussia⁵⁶ and abroad during their travels⁵⁷, those sent to them by members of their “network of learned men”⁵⁸ and/or their family members⁵⁹, as well as those received from local informers, such as Kashubian herbalist women⁶⁰ and Swedish soldiers⁶¹. Similarly, both Breynes sent dried plants from Royal Prussia and other provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to their learned correspondents from Britain, German-speaking territories, the Netherlands etc. For instance, dried specimens of grasses from Gdańsk area collected by Breyne the Elder were

⁵² *Adriani Spigelii Bruxellensis Philosophi Ac Medici Patavini Isagoges In Rem Herbariam Libri Duo: Cum Indice Rerum Caputum. Editio prioribus correctior*, Helmestadii 1667, p. 172.

⁵³ Davina BENKERT, *The “Hortus Siccus” as a Focal Point: Knowledge, Environment, and Image in Felix Platter’s and Caspar Bauhin’s Herbaria*, [in:] *Sites of Mediation: Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1450–1650*, ed. by Susanna BURGHARTZ, Lucas BURKART, Christine GÖTTLER, Leiden 2016, pp. 211–239.

⁵⁴ FB Gotha, Chart. A871, fol. 6v.

⁵⁵ *Herrn Doct. Johann Philipp Brayne nachgelassenen berühmten Naturalien Cabinets welches in Danzig in der Langgasse für baares Danziger Geld den 1765 etc.*, p. 54; *Johann Bernoulli’s Reisen durch Brandenburg, Pommern, Preußen, Curland, Rußland und Polen in den Jahren 1777 und 1778*, Leipzig 1779, p. 224.

⁵⁶ See e.g. FB Gotha, Chart. A788, fol. 47 and following; Chart. B787, fol. 492; Chart. B875, fol. 170–171.

⁵⁷ See e.g. J. BREYNE, *Centuria*; FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 222v–224; Chart. B968, fol. 39, 72, 93; Chart. B 789a, fol. 28–33.

⁵⁸ J. BREYNE, *Prodomus I*; FB Gotha, Chart. B875, fol. 170–171; FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 76v–178.

⁵⁹ J. BREYNE, *Centuria*, p. 135.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Source annex no. 1, p. 21.

sent by his son Johann Philipp to Johann Jakob Scheuchzer, who accompanied Johann Philipp's friend Christian Heinrich Erndtel on the *herbationes* in the Alps which the latter organized during his bachelor tour⁶². Johann Philipp also provided Hans Sloane, William Sherard, James Petiver and other natural historians with exotic and Prussian plants which were described among others by his father in *Centuria*⁶³. Also Jacob Breyne sent to his friends both dried *plantae exoticae* and plants from Kashubia and Gdańsk area⁶⁴. Some of them have survived in British herbaria of Sherard⁶⁵, Pettiver and Sloane⁶⁶. What is also important, botanists exchanged not only separate dried plants placed between two sheets of paper but also *horti sicci* in a bound form (codices), that is, book herbaria⁶⁷. Such collections were sometimes purchased during the auctions after the owner's death.

The preserved *horti sicci* of Jacob Breyne, gifted by him at an unspecified time to his patron and friend Hieronymus van Beverningk⁶⁸, are the two-part *Herbarium door Jacob Breyne verzameld in de omgeving van Danzig 1659*⁶⁹ (referential title) and four-volume *Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae a Jacobo Breynio Gedanensis collectae, exiccatae atq in hoc Libro [1, 2, 3, 4] studio, non eo, quo debebant ordine positae et per nomina Bauhiniana explicatae. An: 1673*⁷⁰. These herbaria are invaluable sources in research on the history of botany in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, on the floristic fascinations among Gdańsk citizens of old, and on the circulation of botanical knowledge in the 17th-century Europe.

⁶² G. REYGER, op.cit., p. 5; Johann Jakob SCHEUCHZER, *Agrostographia sive Graminum, Junceorum, Cyperorum, Cyperoidum, iisque affinium Historia*, Zuerich 1719, passim; K. PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Wstęp*, p. 16.

⁶³ FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 76v–178. See more: K. PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Johann Philipp Breyne i jego ogrody*, passim.

⁶⁴ *The Sloane herbarium: an annotated list*, passim; FB Gotha, Chart. A790, fol. 49 (Paolo Boccones request to send him specimens of the plants whose names he had put on the list).

⁶⁵ <https://herbaria.plants.ox.ac.uk/bol/Sherard>; Hermia Newman CLOKIE, *An account of the herbaria of the Department of Botany in the University of Oxford*, Oxford 1964, p. 68; <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.137366>; Frans STAFLEU, Richard S. COWAN, *Taxonomic literature*, vol. 1: A–G, Utrecht 1976, pp. 321–323; <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.48631>. G. THIJSSSE, “Hieronymus van Beverningk (1614–1690)”.

⁶⁶ *The Sloane herbarium: an annotated list*, passim.

⁶⁷ FB Gotha, Chart. A 785. In the herbarium the following dedication is included: “Collegit & tom: dedit JOANNI BREYNIO Paulus HERMANNUS: 1683”. See more about the herbarium: Stephan RAUSCHERT, *Das Herbarium von Paul Herman (1646–1695) in der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*, Hercynia N.F., Bd. 7: 1970, pp. 301–328; Enid DU PLESSIS, Mary GUNN, *The Flora Capensis of Jakob and Johann Philipp Breyne*, Johannesburg 1978, p. 15.

⁶⁸ G. THIJSSSE, “Hieronymus van Beverningk (1614–1690)”.

⁶⁹ Naturalis Biodiversity Center, Leiden, sign. L.2077662.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, sign. L.2077661.

As Gerard Thijssse has ascertained, after 1690 Breyne's *horti sicci*, together with other herbaria owned by van Beverningk, were bequeathed to one of his nephews, Melchior Gerard van Rietveld. After the latter's death they passed into the hands of subsequent inheritors, and in July 1741 they were added to the library of Leiden University and then to Nationaal Herbarium Nederland / Naturalis Biodiversity Centre⁷¹.

What induced Jacob Breyne to compile the mentioned herbaria is unknown, as are the reasons for and means of sending them from Gdańsk to the Dutch collection of his friend and patron. Perhaps the older of the Gdańsk *horti sicci*, compiled on loose sheets of laid paper when Breyne was merely twenty two years old, served as a documentation of his botanical trips through Gdańsk area and a compilation of plant knowledge passed to him by his informants. The newer herbarium, made when Breyne was in his thirties, seems to have been an important aid in his work on *Pomerelliae Viridarius*, which might be confirmed by fragments of descriptions on some of the labels that accompany the plants⁷². It is also worth emphasizing that some of the Pomerelian plants preserved in both of the Leiden *horti sicci* were described by Breyne the Elder in the 1670s in his brief reports published in the *Miscellanea Curiosa* as well as mentioned in *Centuria* and *Prodomus* (I).

The Leiden herbaria of Jacob Breyne put together contain over a hundred specimens (in various states of preservation) of dried plants from Kashubia and Pomerelia. However, neither of them is complete. In the older one, many objects have crumbled while some others were removed or excised together with their labels. In the four-volume herbarium from 1673, selected sheets with plants were cut out, which is clearly confirmed by gaps in numbering of the sheets. As Gerard Thijssse notes, individual missing objects may have been removed from Breyne's herbaria on purpose and included in other collections kept in Leiden⁷³.

In the 1659 herbarium Breyne the Elder included among others information concerning the area of occurrence of a given plant, its flowering time and such features as colour and smell, thus following the works of earlier Gdańsk botanists. He also gave Latin names of the plants according to the nomenclature of Caspar Bauhin, quoting sometimes the *nomina* used by other naturalists (e.g. Jules Charles de l'Écluse). The additional information was written in Latin and Dutch either on labels that were among the elements fixing the plant to the sheet or directly on the sheets of the herbarium. In the 1673 herbarium

⁷¹ G. THIJSSSE, "Hieronymus van Beverningk (1614–1690)"; Ph. Ch. MOLHUYSEN, *op.cit.*, pp. 87–89.

⁷² Comp. A. FLEISCHER, *Rooted in fertile soil*, pp. 112–113.

⁷³ G. THIJSSSE, "Hieronymus van Beverningk (1614–1690)". Thijssse lists the herbaria from Leiden shelf marks L0144230 and L0365009.

he also used the nomenclature of the Bauhins (Caspar and Johann), providing at the same time names used by Pierre Bellon, Robert Morison, Jacobus Theodorus Tabernaemontanus, Matthias de l'Obel and other significant authors of botanical literature. Furthermore, in the newer herbarium the objects are ordered in accordance with Morrison's criteria, which might have facilitated their identification and integration with other specimens, also those belonging to separate collections⁷⁴. The additional information on the labels was written only in Latin.

Tab. 1: Jacob Breyne's seventeenth-century herbaria

Inventory number	L.2077662	L.2077661
1	2	3
Location	Naturalis Biodiversity Center, Leiden	Naturalis Biodiversity Center, Leiden
Dated	1659	1673
Binding	Secondary cover – two cardboard dust-jackets connected with ribbons; Two sets of sheets (pars 1, pars 2) – each of the sets in a separate envelope	Secondary cover (connecting four original volumes) of half-linen, tied (corners and spine of linen), covered with marbled paper (of the “glue” marble type)
Size	h x w x d: 53.0 x 28.8 x 5.2 cm	h x w x d: (39.5+3.5) x 27.5 x 5.5 cm
Number of sheets	Pars 1: fol. 1 – fol. 28 Pars 2: fol. 1 – fol. 16	Original numbering only on sheets with plants, ink: Vol. 1: 26 pp., original sheet numbers (fol.): 62, 64, 67, 68, 69; Vol. 2: 22 pp., original sheet numbers: 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61; Vol. 3: 42 pp., original sheet numbers: 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44; Vol. 4: 26 pp., original sheet numbers: 1, 2, 3, 6

⁷⁴ A. FLEISCHER, *From the fertile soil*, p. 114; Sydney Howard VINES, *Robert Morison and John Ray*, [in:] *Makers of British Botany. A collection of biographies by living botanists*, ed. by Francis Wall OLIVER, Cambridge 1913, pp. 8–43.

1	2	3
Title on the cover [printed label]	[Herbarium door Jacob Breyné verzameld in de omgeving van Danzig 1659]	[Jacob Breynii Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae An: 1673.]
Title inside [handwritten]	none	<p>[bs.] Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae a Jacobo Breynio Gedanensis collectae, exsiccatae atq in hoc Libro Primo studio, non eo, quo debebant ordine positae et per nimina Bauhiniana explicatae. An: 1673. (ACAD LAGB) (5.)</p> <p>[bs.] Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae a Jacobo Breynio Gedanensis collectae, exsiccatae atq in hoc Libro Duo studio, non eo, quo debebant ordine positae et per nimina Bauhiniana explicatae. An: 1673. (ACAD LAGB) (6.)</p> <p>[bs.] Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae a Jacobo Breynio Gedanensis collectae, exsiccatae atq in hoc Libro Tertio studio, non eo, quo debebant ordine positae et per nimina Bauhiniana explicatae. An: 1673. (ACAD LAGB) (7.)</p> <p>[bs.] Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae a Jacobo Breynio Gedanensis collectae, exsiccatae atq in hoc Libro Quarto studio, non eo, quo debebant ordine positae et per nimina Bauhiniana explicatae. An: 1673. (ACAD LAGB) (8.)</p>

1	2	3
Spine	Not applicable	Upper part (a label, handwritten): J. Breynii Plantae rariores Borussiacae et Cassubiae An: 1673. Lower part (a label, printed): Bibliothecae Pub. [damaged fragment]ex [damaged fragment]nus No 1710.
Index	none	none
Method of object fixing	glue and strips of paper; paper labels	glue and strips of paper; paper labels
Total number of preserved objects	57	47
Number of preserved objects on a sheet	1–6	1–3
State of preserved objects	good, poor (partially crumbled), very poor (almost entirely crumbled) note: some objects missing (entirely crumbled, excised or removed with labels)	good note: some objects missing (excised cards)
Botanical nomenclature	polynomial Latin names, isolated Greek inclusions, supplementary information in Latin and Dutch	polynomial Latin names, isolated Greek inclusions, supplementary information in Latin
Location/medium of description	a paper label glued to the plant and/or a note directly on the leaf	a paper label glued to the plant
Handwriting	Jacob Breynne	Jacob Breynne
Object annotation / taxonomy modernisation	secondary paper labels with Latin names of identified objects following Linnaeus' nomenclature, Simon Jan van Ooststroom	none
Online access	none	one

Source: author's own work.

The *horti sicci* kept in Leyden nowadays have historical significance. However, they can be useful for historians and philosophers of science as well as botanists and ethnobotanists studying old classification systems or for scholars following the history of indigenous flora of early modern Poland or that of the southern Baltic coast. These sources can be utilised also by historians of art studying scientific illustrations (predominantly botanical ones), by the representatives of environmental history specializing in changing relations between humans and natural environment during the last centuries as well as by researchers of other disciplines.

The preparation of the text from the herbaria for printing partially followed the publisher's instruction *Empfehlungen zur Edition frühneuzeitlicher Texte vom Arbeitskreis „Editionsprobleme der Frühen Neuzeit“*⁷⁵. Only some abbreviations were expanded, which is marked in the text. It was also noted whether the description of a given plant was found on the attached labels or directly on paper, and whether it was accompanied by a dried specimen of that *plantae*. In order to save space, the original arrangement of the text was replaced by the graphic arrangement introduced by the publisher.

* * *

I would like to express my gratitude to Christel Schollaardt, a Hoofd Collectie Botanie, and Roxali Bijmoer, a Senior Collections Manager at the Naturalis Biodiversity Center in Leiden for allowing me to conduct a research in the collection of historical herbaria. Furthermore, I would like to thank Gerard Thijsee for sharing with me an unpublished article “Hieronymus van Beverningk (1614–1690), diplomat and plant lover. His garden and herbaria, in particular those of Paolo Boccone (1633–1704), Jacob Breyné (1637–1697) and Paul Hermann (1646–1695)”.

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ANNEX NO. 1

J. BREYNE'S HERBARIA OF 1659

[Herbarium door Jacob Breyné verzameld in de omgeving van Danzig 1659]
Naturalis Biodiversity Center, Lejda, sign. L.2077662

The copies published with sporadical mistakes in proper names by: Simon Jan VAN OOSTSTROOM, *Een 17de eeuwsch herbarium uit de omgeving van Danzig*,

⁷⁵ http://www.heimatforschung-regensburg.de/280/1/E-Forum_AHF-Empfehlungen.pdf [accessed 19 IX 2018].

[in:] *Gedenkboek J. Valckenier Suringar, 24 December 1864 – 17 October 1932*, Wageningen 1942, pp. 212–217.

Part 1

Fol. 1

^a-ACAD LVGD^a

[fragments of the chipped plant]

[written on the paper] Hedisarum peregrinum Clusii

Fol. 2

[three fragments of plants][on the paper] Gentiana palustris latifolia flore punctato. Cas. Bauhini⁷⁶. in Pinace⁷⁷. Sive Alisma folio glabro. in Phytopinace⁷⁸. Collegi. Ao 1659. M. Augusto.

NB. hier bennen 2 soorten in fatzoen van bloemen verschillende

No. 1. is dese die UE sende, heeft groote en heel scherpe spitz biadige bloemen,

No. 2 waer van hier, een bloemche leit, de welcke kleiner, ende botter.

In de colour is oock een verschil, als. bleick. 2. blauw. 1. bruijn, de placken (?) bennen doorgaens een colour.

N. 2.

Fol. 3

[three plants removed; the remains after three labels]

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the paper] Gentiana cruciata major.

[unnumbered sheet]

[the plant without a label]

Fol. 4

[dried plant] [on the paper] Teucrium

^{a-a} seal

⁷⁶ Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624) – Swiss naturalist, he introduced the binomial nomenclature of anatomy and botany.

⁷⁷ Caspar BAUHIN, *Pinax theatri botanici*, Basileae 1623.

⁷⁸ Idem, *Phytopinax seu Enumeratio plantarum ab Herbariis nostro seculo descriptarum, cum earum differentiis: cui plurimarum hactenus ab iisdem non descriptarum succinctae descriptiones & denominationes accessere: Additis aliquot hactenus non sculptarum plantarum vivis iconibus: / Casparo Bauhino Botanico & Anatomico Acad. Basileens. ordin. Auctore*, Basileae 1596.

Fol. 5

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*] Chamaecist[us] flore luteo ^bC. B. ^bsive. Panax Chironicu[m] Matthiol.⁷⁹ M. Julio, in collib[us] inter desertum Bahrenwinckel et Jaskendahle

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*] Selago tertia. Thalii.⁸⁰ sive musc[us] erect[us] ramos[us] saturate viridis, granula inter folia haben. C.B. Rara est plantula et reperi in montib[us] sylvis bej Mattaren. [*on the label*] NB. Dese Muscus dryefft soo sterck als Sabina

[*dried plant*] [*on the labe*] Polygonum ^cPolyg. Coccife[r]u[m]ignes].

M. Julio, copiose in montib[us] apricis. Juxta. Pagu[m] Bringenzii

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*] Vaccinia. Pannonica. Gesn.⁸¹ Trunckel beren.

In udosis Insul: Nerring: [*on the paper*] Op het vel is geschreven: Als men veel van dese peeren eet soo wordt men soo droncken als off men veel wijn gesooopen hadde.

Fol. 6

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*] Cist[us] Ledon foliis rorismarini ferrugineis. C. Bau. NB. de Schweden hebben van dit kruyt wel 10 voeder uyt de Neeringh gehalt, om in het bier voor de Soldaten te doen twelck furiesigheit maekt

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*] Fer[r]u[m] equinu[m] siliqua singulari. C. Bau. Sive. Sferro cavallo. Adversar: Solea equina. In historia generalis lugduni cusa⁸²

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*] Anonymos tenuifolia. Clus.⁸³ sive. Anthyllis montana. in histor. gener. lugduni cusa. Floret mense Junio in montib[us] inter ericas prope desertum Bahrenwinckel. Sed in montib[us] non procul pagu[m] bringen zu ad semicubitu[m] crescit.

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*]

[*dried plant*] [*on the label*] Viola barbata angustifolia. Dalechampii⁸⁴. Floret M. Julio in monte isto herboso inter veperes juxta patibulu[m].

^{b-b} overwritten initials

^c two words crossed out

⁷⁹ Pietro Andrea Gregorio Mattioli (Matthiolus) (1501–1577) – an Italian naturalist; he was interested in medical botany; he edited botanical works of Dioscurides.

⁸⁰ The plant described by J. Breyné in: idem, *Obs. CXLIX: De Selagine tertia thalii*, *Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 4–5: 1673/1674, Dec. I, p. 198.

⁸¹ Conrad Gesner (1516–1565) – a Swiss naturalist interested in botany, the author of *Historia Plantarum*.

⁸² Jacques DALECHAMPS, *Historia generalis plantarum* [...] [Pars prima], Lugduni 1586.

⁸³ Jules Charles de l'Écluse (Clusius) (1526–1609) – French physician and botanist, active in Flanders, one of the most important botanists of the sixteenth century. As the first in history he created scientific descriptions of plant species.

⁸⁴ Jacques Dalechamps (1513–1588) – French doctor and botanist, Gesner's correspondent.

Fol. 8

[dried plant] [on the label] Origanu[m] speciosu[m]. M. Julio et Augusto. reperi copiose in colle isto herboso inter veperes prope patibulu[m]

[dried plant] [on the label] Chamaenerion Gesnerii flore albo. Rara est planta, et nullibu[s] nisi tantu[m] in deserto vulgo bahren winckel. adhuc observavi. ubi etiam college

[removed plant, remains of the label]

Fol. 9

[two removed plants, remains of a label]

[dried plant] [on the label] Rapuncul[us] spicat[us] flore albo. In sylvis ac sylvosis montib[us]. M. Julio.

Fol. 10

[two removed plants, remains of labels]

Fol. 11

[three removed plants, remains of a label]

Fol. 12

[removed plant, remains of the label]

[dried plant] [on the label] Pyrola rotundifolia major fol. ampliore mollique Cas. Bau.

M. Julio ad margin. sylvaru[m].

[dried plant] [on the label] Stoebe Austriaca. Clusii. In collib[us] ac montib[us] herbosis inter frutices in deserto Bahren winckel. M. Augusto

[unnumbered sheet]

[fragments of three dried plants without labels]

Fol. 15

[removed plant, remains of the label]

[dried plant] [on the label] Pyrola. rotundifolia. folio minore et atrovirose. flore luteo virescente. inodor. M. Julio. In ista spelunca ubi Calceolus Mar.⁸⁵ cres., et etiam in sylv. Jasken:

Fol. 16

[two removed plants, remains of the label]

⁸⁵ The plant described by J. Breyne in: idem, *Obs. CCLXXXIX: De musco pulmonario...*, *Miscerllanea Curiosa*, An. 3: 1673, Dec. I., pp. 509–511.

Fol. 17

[three removed plant, remains of the label]

Fol. 19

[dried plant] [on the label] Scorzonera montana humilis latifolia. J. B.⁸⁶ M. Mayo. In montib[us] inter ericae in deserto Bahren winckel.

[dried plant] [on the label] Hyraciu[m] Pannonicu[m] latifoliu[m] maj[us] folio non maculato. In montib[us] in deserto Bahren winckel.

Fol. 20

[removed plant, remains of the label]

[dried plant] [on the label] Hyracium mont, latifol. Clusii folio macul. M. Junio in collib[us] et montib[us] herbosis in deserto Bahren winckel

[dried plant] [on the label] Fungus ramos[us] Imperati. S. Digitelli. M. Aug[usto] in sylvis ubi dodrantem non superat *[na papierze]* Van deze Manninae worden 3 soorten gevonde. No. 1 is dese en geel von couleur. No. 2 is grauw. No. 3 is wit.

[dried plant] [on the label] Lactucella sylv. repens. Camerar.⁸⁷ M. Julio. op een weide achter de Oliwe niit ver van Ambrosie syn hoff, al de waer de diverse Satiyria staen.

Fol. 21

[removed plant, remains of the label]

[dried plant] [on the label] Dauc[us] montan[us] hirsute[us]. M. Augusto. in montib[us] ubiq[ue]

Fol. 22

[two removed plants, remains of the label]

Fol. 23

[dried plant] [on the label] Daucus λασιόχανλος Thalió. dit is hier een rare plante, ende groeit opt geberchte achter Miggauw

[dried plant] [on the label] Meu[m] alteru[m] Silesiacu[m]. Cam. flore amethystino. dese aerdige aromatische plant in een lustigh bosche ontrent Bringenzii. in Junio en Julio.

[on the paper] Myrris altera parva lobelii

⁸⁶ Jean Bauhin (Johann Bauhin) (1541–1612) – Swiss naturalist and botanist, the brother of Caspar Bauhin.

⁸⁷ Joachim Camerarius (1534–1598) – German naturalist and botanist. The author of *Hortus medicus et philosophicus in quo plurimorum stirpium brevis descriptio* (1588).

Fol. 24

[on the paper] Orobanche quib[us]da[m] Hypopitis flore sulphureo lanuginoso.

[dried plant without a label]

[two removed plants, remains of the label]

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Testicul[us] vulpin[us]. Op het geberch in de woestine de bahren winckel. bloeidt ontrent Junio in grote abundantie

Fol. 25

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Phalangi[us] ramosu[m]. M. Julio et Augusto. In montibus Juxta Monasterium Oliwe

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Spartu[m] 3. lobelii. M. Julio, super montem vulgo de wonderberge

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Juncus alpinus capitulo lanuginoso. M. Majo. In Insula Neringa *[na papierze]* Juncus alpin[us] cu[m] cauda leporina C. Bau. NB. dit is heel raer, en diendt te weeten dat het nijt linu[m] pratense is.

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Serapias minor rubello ni^dflore^dtente flore angustiolia nullis inspersis punctulis ^e lobelii.

M. Julio in montib[us] inter ericas.

Fol. 26

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

[unnumbered page]

[two removed plants]

[on the paper] flos semen

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the paper] Muscus terrestris clavatus C. B. Lycopodium. s. Pes Lupi. Selago 2. Thalii.

[on the paper] Groeidt in grote abundantie op het boschachtige geberghte ter Oliwe;

[on the paper] Lycopodium. s. Pes Lupi.

^{d-d} crossed out fragment

^e crossed out fragment

Fol. 27

[*on the paper*] Ledon Sijlesiacum Clus. sive. Rosmarinus sylvest. Dodo.⁸⁸ sive. Chamaepeuce Cordi.⁸⁹ sive. Cistus ledon foliis rorismarini ferrugineis C. Bau. [*on the paper*] De Schweden hebben van dit Hesterchen wel 20 Voeder uijt de Neringh in het Hooft laeten voeren, om in het bier voor de Soldaten te doen, dan het heeft een Furiesmaekende kracht.

[unnumbered sheet]

[*on the paper*] Ao. 1659. dese hebbe dit Jaehr noch toe gedaen. Pulsatilla ranunculi folio obtusiore. Jacobi Breynii. sive. Pulsatilla folio annemones secundae Cas. Bau.

NB. Flos est coeruleus odorat[us].

[*on the paper*] Floret M. Majo in montibus circa Thoruniam unde Jacobus Hase misit. sub nomine. Pulsatilla coerulea odoratissima. reperitur etiam in ericetis bey Beren.⁹⁰

[*on the paper*] Lichen petrae: fol. supern. virid. prona parte alb : nervis nigris distinctis foliorum extremis orbiculis nigris tumidis. Eeperi cu[m] suis orbiculis onustis. M. Majo in montib[us] Oliwiensis.

[*on the paper*] Pulsatilla vernalis apii folio flore majore.

[*on the paper*] Pulsatilla flore clauso coeruleo. Joh. Bauh. NB. Ick hebbe dit Jaehr dese Pulsatilla met schwart brtujne bloemen gevonden. Item eene de welcke licht aschgrauw is ende de voorste spitsen van de blaeden bruyn.

Part 2

[fol. unnumbered v]

a- AGAD LVGD^a

[fol. unnumbered r]

[*on the paper*] Gnaphalium Creticum non descriptum Gnaphalium maximum; Helyochryson Orientale C. Bau.

Fol. 2

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

^{a-a} seal⁸⁸ Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585) – Flemish doctor and botanist.⁸⁹ Euricius Cordius – German botanist, the author of *Iudicium de herbis et simplicibus medicinae*.⁹⁰ The plant described by J. Breyné in: idem, *Centuria*, p. 135.

Fol. 2

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoechas rubescens, bloeyt op het Oliwsche geberchte in Augusto, ende wordt seiden gevonden

[on the paper, the words crossed out and undecipherable]

Fol. 3

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Origanum speciosu[m]. sive. varietas.

Op een bergh soo achter de galghe staedt. in. Augusto

Fol. 4

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Veronica flore candido. dit raere plantene groeit ontrent, Beeren, in de wouden, ende bloeydt. in. Junio en Julio *[on the sheet]* De bloem is spierwit maer wordt in het opdrogen ros.

Fol. 5

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Vaccinia Pannonica. Ger. In Insula Ner-ringa

Fol. 6

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Vicia dumetoru[m] maxima, multiflora, flore albo, venulis purpureis, elegantissimis striatis, ut in Geranio Virginiano. Dese raere plante groeit In Julio. In de dunker bergachtige Buschen.

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the paper] NB. Als dese Nidus avis noch op seyn best staedt en bloeydt, soo heeft het dese selwdige vahle colour, die het nou heeft, want wortel, steel, blaeden en bloem is een colour.

[two removed plants, remains of the labels]

Fol. 8

[removed plant, remains of the label]

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Aster montan[us] lute[us] Salicis glabro folio. C. Bau. In Augusto op het geberchte

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Lactucella sylvestris repens. Camerar. M. Julio. in pratis Oliwiens:

[unnumbered sheet]

[three removed plants, remains of the labels]

Fol. 10

*[removed plant, remains of the label]**[fragment of the plant without a label]*

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Ranuncul[us]⁹¹ montanu[s] subhirsut[us]
 Latifoli[us] C.B. In de Valleien, aan de kanten, van de loopende fonteinen in
 Junio.

Fol. 11

[removed plant, remains of the label]

[on the paper] NB. dese soorte met bredere blaederen kan Ut bey Sr. Hermanus
 van den Burch siyn.

Fol. 12

[removed plant, remains of the label] [on the paper]

NB. dese soorte met schmalle blaederen kan Ut bij mijn Cos. Johan Breynne
 syen.

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Meum alteru[m] Sylesiacu[m]. Cam. flore
 amethystino.

Dit sterekruickende aromatische plantche groeidt In Julio in de Bahren win-
 ckel by Bringenzii.

Fol. 13

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Daucus λασιόχαυλος Thalii. Dese plant
 wordt weinigh gevonden dr groeit op de bergen onder de heide achter Mig-
 gauw in. Julio en Augusto.

[removed plant, remains of the label]

Fol. 14

*[three removed plant, remains of the labels] [fragment of the plant without a la-
 bel]*

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Thalictru[m] B. angustifolium Cam.
 Heet seiden wordt dese plante hier gevonden en groeit niet verre van Beeren,
 bloeidt in Julio.

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the sheet] Alisma Tassani Caroli Johannis Bauhini. sive Gentiana. 12. et
 punctata. Clusii.

⁹¹ The plant described by J. Breyné in: idem, *Prodomus I*, p. 45.

[unnumbered sheet]

Leontopodium Creticum; Leontopodium Matthioli; Gnaphalium roseum hortense; Leontopodium alterum lob.; Gnaphalium Roseum sylvest.; Gnaphalium uncinale Hispanicu.

ANNEX NO. 2

JACOBA BREYNE'S HERBARIA OF 1673

[Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae a Jacobo Breynio Gedanensis collectae, exsiccatæ atq in hoc Libro Tertio studio, non eo, quo debebant ordine positæ et per nomina Bauhiniana explicatæ. An: 1673.]

Naturalis Biodiversity Center, Lejda, sign. L.2077661

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the sheet] Num V.

[on the label] Plantae rariores Borussicae et Cassubicae à Jacobo Breyni Gedanensi Collectae, exsiccatæ ataq. In hoc Libro Primo studio., non eo, quo debebant ordine propositæ et per nomina Bauhiniana explicatæ An:1673

[round seal] Acad. Lugd. Bat. Bibl.

[on the sheet] 5. [seal] ACAD LUGD

Fol. 62

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Viscum, Johannis Bauhini, Viscum baccis albis, Casp. Bauh:

Fol. 64

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Cornus foemina, putata Virga Sanguinea, Joh Bauh: Cornus foemina, Casp Bauh: Fractex sanguine, Bellonii⁹²

Fol. 67

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Ledum Silesiacu[m]⁹³ cum fructibus.

Fol. 68

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Chamoerhododendros Montana Allobrogum Oleastrifolio, seu Lentisci folio minus odora, Lobelli⁹⁴

⁹² Pierre Belon (1517–1564) – French naturalist and diplomat interested in botany. The author of *De arboribus Coniferis, Resiniferis aliisque semper virentibus* (1553).

⁹³ The plant described by J. Breyne in: *Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 3: 1672, p. 511.

⁹⁴ Mathias de l'Obel, Mathias de Lobel (Matthaeus Lobelius) (1538–1616) – Flemish doctor and botanist.

Fol. 69

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Caryophyllata Montana tertia Clusii⁹⁵, flore pleno prolifero, Jacobi Breynii in Viridae: Bous:

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the sheet] Num VI. 6

[on the label] Plantae rariores Borussiacae Et Cassubicae à Jacobo Breyni Gedanensi Collectae, arte exsiccatæ ataq. In hoc Libro Secundo Studio., non eo, quo debebant ordine propositæ et per nomina Bauhiniana explicatæ An: 1673 [round seal] Acad. Lugd. Bat. Bibl.

[on the sheet] 6. [seal] ACAD LUGD

Fol. 45

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Vicia dumetorum Maxima seicata, Multi floribq⁹⁶ candidis venis purpur eis distinctis; Vicia hancpulcherrimam in Viridario Borussiaco et Casubico describimq.

Fol. 46

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Vicia minima vernalis radice tuberosa, de qua in Viridario nostro Borussiaco. An Vicia præcox venna, minima Slonien-sis, semine hexedro Morison[n]i.

Fol. 48

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Onobrychis X floribq. Viciae dilute coeruleis, casp: Bauh: Onobrychis quibusdam subcoeruleo flore, Joh: Bauh: Onobrychis Secunda, Clusii. Qvam raro a Clusio in Austria; tam copiose in loco avenostro quodam Cassubiae a me reperta.

Fol. 49

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Junc[us] alpin[us] cum cauda Leporina, Joh: Bauh: Junc[us] alpin[us] capitulo lanuginoso, C. Buhini in Prod:

Fol. 50

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Gramen nemorosum hirsutu[m] primum, sive latifolium majq., Casp: Bauhini Gramen rore lucidum nemoroese, sive Luzulae, J: Bauh: Gramen hirsutum nemorosum, Lobelii

⁹⁵ The plant described by J. Breyn in: idem, *Centuria*, p. 130 and following.

⁹⁶ The plant described by J. Breyn in: idem, *Prodomus I*, p. 52.

Fol. 51

[*fragment of the plant*] [*on the label*] Gramen nemrosum hirsute. quartu., sive Gramen hirsutum capitulo globoso, C.B: Gramen Lucidum, Taber⁹⁷: Gramen capitulo lucido globoso Tabernaemontani, Joh. Bauhini.

Fol. 53

[*fragment of the plant*] [*on the label*] Gramen Sylvaticu. parvu. tenuifolium rigidiusculum, Joh: Bauhini. Gramen nemorosum globm. 3, sive Gramen nemorosum. Spica ruffescente molli, C.B.

Gramen nemorosum 1, Tab:

Fol. 54

[*fragment of the plant*] [*on the label*] Gramen spicatum montanum et nemorosum 4, sive Gramen caryophyllatum montanum Spicae varia, Caspari Bauhini. Gramen caryophyllatum montanum Spica varia Caspari Bauhini, Joh: Bauh:

Fol. 55

[*fragment of the plant*] [*on the label*] Gramen Mariae odoratum, Joh: Bauh: Gramen paniculatum montanu[m] 2, sive Gramen paniculatum odoratum, casp: Bauh. Icon apud Johannem et Casparum Bauhinu[m], à planta in cedis nata malefacta, parvum valet: at Gramen glumis variis, Casp: Bauh: nihil aliud, quam Gramen Mariae hoc in [~~crossed out~~] montosis collectum. Apu nos in Prussia adenodum copiose oritur, et à mulierculis rizotomis primo vere infasculis venale odoris gratia affertur.

Fol. 56

[*fragment of the plant*] [*on the label*] Gramen nemorale avenaceum alterum ex fusco xerampelinum et lucidu[m] Danicum, Adver: et Joh: Bauhinia: Gramen avenaceum 4, sive capillaceum minoribq glumis, Caspari Bau:

Fol. 57

[*fragment of the plant*] [*on the label*] Perfoliata alpine magna, langifolia, Joh: Bauh: Perfoliata Montana latifolia, Caspari Bauhini. Perfoliata Montana, Camerarii

Fol. 58

[*fragment of the plant*] [*on the label*] Meum Silesiacum, Camerarii, flore amethystino. Cicutaria latifolia hirsuta, flore amethystino, Joh: Bauh:⁹⁸ Cicutaria paluferis, latifolia rubore, Casp: Bauhini.

⁹⁷ (Jacobus Theodorus) Tabernaemontanus (1522–1590) – German doctor, pharmacist and botanist.

⁹⁸ The plant described by J. Breyne in: idem, *Prodomus I*, p. 29.

Fol. 59

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Apium petroleum, sive montanum album,
Joh: Bauhini, tenujoribq foliis.

Fol. 60

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Apium petroleum, sive montanum album,
Johannis Bauhini latiore folio. Dancq montanq Apiifoli [~~crossed out~~] mino.
Casp: Bauh: in Prod: icon: Dancq montanq Apiifolio albicans, Casp: Bauh:
in Pin:

Fol. 61

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Thalictrum septimu[m], sive Thalictrum
praterse angustissimo folio, Casp: Bauh:

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the sheet] Num VII. 7

[on the label] Plantae rariores Borussiacae Et Cassubicae à Jacobo Breynio Ge-
danensi collectae, arte exsiccatae atq. In hoc Libro tertio studio., non eo, quo
debebant ordine prositae et per nomina Bauhiniana explicatae An:1673 *[round
seal]* Acad. Lugd. Bat. Bibl.

[on the sheet] 7 *[seal]* ACAD LUGD

Fol. 22

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoechas citrina Germanica latiore fo-
lio, Joh: Bauhini. Elichryson VII, sive Stoechas citrine latifolia, Casp: Bauh:
Amaranth[us] lute[us], Fuchsii, Tragi⁹⁹, primq Tabernaemont:
Casparq Bauhinq in Pinace. Haec etiam c[u]m Helichryso 4 quae Stoechas
citrine tenuifolia Narbonensis, J; Bau: confundit.

Fol. 23

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoechas citrina Germanica latiore folio,
squamulis corymboru. Minoribq.

Fol. 24

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoechas aurea Germanica. Colorem me-
dium inter praededentem citrinam, et sequentem ignstentem obtinet

⁹⁹ Hieronymus Bock called Tragus (1498–1554) – Lutheran priest and botanist, the author of *New Kreuterbuch von Unterscheidt, Würckung und Namen der Kreuter, so in teutschen Landen wachsen*.

Fol. 25

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoechas ruffa, sive colore igneo Cassubica Latiore folio.

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoechas ignescens¹⁰⁰, sive ruffa Casibica Latiore folio.

Descriptio cum praecedentis, in Viridario Borussiaco et Historia exoticarum sequentur.

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoechas ruffa, sive colore igneo Cassubica Latiore folio.

Fol. 26

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Gnaphalium ad Stoechadem citrinam accedens, Johannis Bauhini. Helichrysum 8, sive Elichrysum Sylvestre latifolium capitulis conglobates, Cas: Bauh:

Fol. 27

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Gnaphalium medium, Tabernaemontani. Gnaphalio vulgari simile, Johannis Bauhini. Gnaphalium 4, sive mediu[m], Caspari Bauhini.

Fol. 29

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Gnaphalium montanum flore rotundiore candido, Caspari Bauhini. Gnaphalium montanum album, Lobelii. Pilosella major flore candido, Joh: Bauhini.

Fol. 30

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Gnaphalium montanum flore rotundiore roseo, Caspari Bauhini. Pilosella major flore magis pupurasante, Joh: Bauhini

Fol. 32

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Gnaphalium montanum longiore flore purpureo. Pilosella minor flore purpurante, Johannis Bauhini.

Fol. 33

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Gnaphalium montanum longiore flore purpureo, punctulis nigris insperis. Notandum: Qvia Casparq Bauhinq Gnaphalio montano longiore flore, etiam folia angustiora, quam flore rotundiore adscribit: ideo à fratre Johanne repretenditur, quod inter folia nullu., sed inter flores potissimum discrimen at quod haec Gnaphalia praedicta cum

¹⁰⁰ The plant described by J. Breyné in: *Miscellanea Curiosa*, An. 4/5: 1673, p. 144; idem, *Centuria*, p. 145.

brevioribq longioribq q floribq affirmant. Reperitur vero hic quaedam etiam species cum floribq longioribq, cujq folia angustiora, uti a Casparo Bauhino annotatu.: de quo in nostro Viridario Borussiaci plura.

Fol. 35

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Pilosella minoris flore, hirsutior et elatior non repens, Johannis Bauhini. Pilosella major erecta, Casp: Bauh: An Hieracium XXII sive murorum angustigolium non sinnatu., Casp: B: in Prodomo.

Fol. 36

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Hieracium montanu[m] hirsute[m] VI, sive Hieracium alpine[m] latifolium hirsutie incanu[m] flore magno, Casp: Bauh: Hieracium latifolium[m] 1, Clusii; Hieraciu[m] latifolium[m] Pannonicu[m], cam: Hieraciu[m] Pannonicum latifolium[m] 1 Clussio, Pilosellaemajori, sive Pulmonariae luteae accidens, Joh: Bauh.

Fol. 37

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Hieracium caule aphylo hirsutum, Joh: Bauhini, folii latioribq.

Fol. 39

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Hieracium fruticosum angustifolium minimu[m]: quos Hieracium fruticosum VI in Viridario Boruss:

Fol. 40

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Hieracium fruticosu[m] angustifolium[m] medium combellatum: quod Hieracium fruticosum V, in Viridario Borussiaci.

Fol. 41

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Scorzonera Latifolia 4, sive humilis nervosa, Casp: Bauhini. Scorzonera humilis latifolia Pannonica 2, Clus: Tragopogonis Species, sive Scorzonera humilis latifolia, Johannis Bauhini

Fol. 42

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Scorzonera angustifolia prima, Caspari Bauhini. Scorzonera humilis angustifolia et Pannonica tertia, Clusii. Tragopogonis species, sive Scorzonera humilis angustifolia, Johannis Bauhini.

Fol. 44

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Stoebe Gallica et Austriaca, Cl. Stoebe foliis laciniatis 3, sive Stoebe major caliculis non splendentibq, Caspari Bauhi-

ni. Centaurii majoris species tenuifolia, Johannis Bauhini. Ratione loci variat; unde a Clusio in elatiorem et humiliorem distingatur.

[unnumbered sheet]

[on the sheet] Num VIII. 8

[on the label] Plantae rariores Borussiacae et Cassubicae à Jacobo Breynio Gedanensi

Collectae, arte exsiccatae ataq. In hoc Libro Quarto studio., non eo, quo debent ordine propositae et per nomina Bauhiniana explicatae An:1673 [round seal] Acad. Lugd. Bat. Bibl.

[on the sheet] 8 [seal] ACAD LUGD

Fol. 1

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Eadium montanum flore ex dilute coeruleo et albo variegato. Apud nos, in Cassubia sed raro reperitur.

Fol. 2

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Echium montanum flore purpureo violaceo

Fol. 3

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Echium montanum flore carneo.

Fol. 6

[fragment of the plant] [on the label] Alysson 2, sive Thlaspi Alysson dictum campestre minq, Caspari Bauhini. Ayssum minimum, Clusii, Thlaspi minq quibqdem, aliis Alysson minq, Joh: Bauh:

trans. by Agnieszka Chabros

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JACOB BREYNE'S *HORTI SICCI* FROM 1659 AND 1673

Summary

Key words: Royal Prussia – 17th century, history of botany, historical herbaria – the 17th century, *herbarium vivum*, ethnobotany

Jacob Breyne, who lived in Gdańsk in the 17th century, was one of the most important botanists in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was fascinated with the exotic flora and was also interested in the flora at home. Like many other botanists in Gdańsk in the 17th century, he planned to publish the work devoted to autochthonous plants of Royal Prussia and Kashubia, but his plans were interrupted by his death. In the collection of Naturalis Biodiversity Centre in Leiden there are preserved two of his *horti sicci* prepared correspondingly in 1659 and 1673, where specimens of indigenous plants from Gdańsk Pomerania were included. They are the oldest sources of this kind to be found in the territories of early modern Poland. The author of the article presents the botanic interests of Jacob Breyne in the Pomeranian local flora. The edition of the texts from the Leiden herbaria was enclosed.

DIE *HORTI SICCI* DES JACOB BREYNE VON 1659 BIS 1673

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Königlichen Preußens im 17. Jahrhundert, Geschichte der Botanik, historische Herbarien im 17. Jahrhundert, *herbarium vivum*, Ethnobotanik

Der im 17. Jahrhundert in Danzig lebende Jacob Breyne war einer der wichtigsten Botaniker in der polnisch-litauischen Republik. Neben einer Faszination von exotischer Flora legte er ein ausgeprägtes Interesse für die heimische Flora an den Tag. Wie viele andere Danziger Botaniker im 17. Jahrhundert plante er die Publikation einer Arbeit über die heimischen Pflanzen des Königlichen Preußens und Kaschubiens, jedoch wurden seine Pläne durch den Tod durchkreuzt. In den Sammlungen des Naturalis Biodiversity Center in Leiden haben sich aber zwei seiner *horti sicci* erhalten, die in den Jahren 1659 und 1673 angelegt wurden und die Exemplare von einheimischen Pflanzen des Pommerellen enthalten. Dabei handelt es sich um die ältesten erhaltenen Quellen dieser Art aus dem Gebiet des heutigen Polen. Der Artikel behandelt die botanischen Interessen von Jacob Breyne für die lokale Flora in Pommern. Angefügt ist ihm eine Edition der Texte aus den Herbarien in Leiden.

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