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ABOUT THE SALE OF THE MUSEUM
OF THE GOTTWALDS: JOHANN PHILIPP BREYNE
AND HIS CORRESPONDENTS*

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In early modern times, after the death of a collector, auctions were often organized to sell this late person's collections: be they books, *naturalia*, *artificalia* or *scientifica*. In 17th and 18th century Europe, such luxury items were very fashionable as they symbolized a person's social status and refinement.¹ All around there were special agents who, very often on a family's request, would first record the items, compile them, publish an auction catalogue and finally organize the aforementioned auction for rich clientele interested in purchasing the whole or just a part of the collection.²

Auction catalogues containing lists and sometimes even pictures of some of the valuable items were always distributed in a number of large European cities; in particular, in cities in the Netherlands where interest in *naturalia* auc-

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¹ The scope of collection would encompass that material, social and intellectual assets of a collector. To read more on the subject refer to: Michał MENCZEL, *Skarbcze natury i sztuki. Prywatne gabinety osobliwości, kolekcje sztuki i naturalistów na Śląsku w wieku XVII i XVIII*, Warszawa 2010.

² To read more on the subject see: Dániel MARGÓCSY, *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age*, Chicago 2014; *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Sven DUPRÉ, Christoph LÜTHY, Berlin 2011.

tions was very strong. However, many of the interested would ask their friends who perhaps lived near the place of auction to send them a printed catalogue or hand-written list of the objects being sold.³

After the death of the Gdańsk/Danzig collector, doctor of medicine and philosophy, Johann Christoph Gottwald, auction catalogues of items his father, Christopher and himself gathered were requested by numerous booksellers, physicians and natural scientists from the German-speaking territories of Europe. These requests were addressed to the Gdańsk/Danzig doctor and natural scientist, Johann Philipp Breyne.⁴

In the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries, Gdańsk/Danzig occupied a special position in any map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth⁵ as regards *naturalia* collections as it was the place where the *Naturalien-Cabinets* of such natural scientists as Gottwald, Breyn, Klein and Gralath were to be found and in which they displayed rare objects coming from all parts of the globe⁶: all belonging to the three *regni naturali*. People passionate about them came to be known as *Naturliebende*, *Naturverständige* and *Naturbegierige*, whether they were pure amateurs such as *Liebhaber* or scientists like *Gelehrte*.⁷

³ Dániel MARGÓCSY, "Refer to folio and number": *Encyclopedias, the Exchange of Curiosities, and Practices of Identification before Linnaeus*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 71: 2010, pp. 63–89.

⁴ To find out more about him see for example: Alicja KURKOWA, *Jakub i Jan Filip Breynowie, uczeni gdańscy*, *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, vol. 32: 1987, pp. 661–678; Zbigniew KAWECKI, *Jan Filip Breyne. Ioannes Philippus Breynius (1680–1764)*, *Przegląd Zoologiczny*, vol. 8: 1964, pp. 330–334; Jan Filip BREYNE, *Prace o czerwcu polskim. De Cocco polonico opera 1731–1733*, Johann Philipp Breyne's biography and commentary was written by Zbigniew KAWECKI, Helena WERNERÓWNA, *Memorabilia Zoologica*, vol. 20: 1969, pp. 7–29, 130–148. More about Jacob Breyne can be read in for instance: Karolina TARGOSZ, *Jacob Breynius 1637–1697. „Botanicus Celeberrimus” w wymiarze europejskim*, Kraków 2010.

⁵ See: Andrzej R. CHODYŃSKI, *Kultura kolekcjonerska w XVIII wieku. Gdańscy uczeni, amatorzy – znawcy i dyletanci, także z innych miast europejskich, i ich stosunek do dzieł sztuki*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Opuscula Musealia*, vol. 15: 2006, pp. 139–177; idem, *Kolekcjonerstwo*, [in:] *Aurea Porta Rzeczypospolitej. Sztuka Gdańska od połowy XV do końca XVII wieku*, vol. 1: *Eseje*, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 349–363.

⁶ About Gdańsk *naturalia* collections see: Friedrich Samuel BOCK, *Versuch einer wirthschaftlichen Naturgeschichte von dem Königreich Ost- und Westpreussen*, Bd. 2, Dessau 1783, pp. V–XXIII.

⁷ On different definitions see: Michał MENCFEL, *Osobliwy czyli jaki? Kategoria niezwykłości w kulturze naukowej, artystycznej i kolekcjonerskiej epoki nowożytnej*, [in:] *Curiosità – zjawiska osobliwe w sztuce, literaturze i obyczajach*, ed. Anna Sylwia CZYŻ, Janusz NOWIŃSKI, Warszawa 2013, pp. 10–25.

Gottwald's collection⁸ was established by the doctor of medicine, philosophy and engraver,⁹ Christopher Gottwald (1636–1700). It consisted mostly of scientific instruments, art pieces and natural objects with the collection being so rich and varied as to merit description by one 17th century traveler by the name of Carl Arendt, who visited the Gdańsk/Danzig museum in 1694.¹⁰ After Gottwald Senior's death, his collection was taken over by his son, Johann Christoph (1670–1713),¹¹ also a physician. Johann died at the young age of 43, leaving to his widow: “a collection of rare and valuable objects,¹² including a rich collection of *artificialia* and *scientifica*¹³ which was initiated by his parent and improved and developed by himself”.

⁸ The Gottwalds are not very frequently mentioned in Polish historiography. They are referred briefly only as collectors of *naturalia*. You will not, however, come across their names either in for example Zygmunt Fedorowicz's (idem, *Zoologia w Gdańsku w stuleciach XVII i XVIII* (Memorabilia Zoologica, vol. 19), Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1968), or Zbigniew Nowak's (idem, *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Uwarunkowania funkcjonowania nauki, kultury i sztuki*, [in:] *Historia Gdańska*, vol. 3, pt. 1: 1665–1793, ed. Edmund CIEŚLAK, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 279–317) essays which are the basic works on natural science in Gdańsk. More about them and their collection can be read in: *Nocheinige und verbesserte Nachrichten des Herrn Baron von Zorn, das Musaeum Gottwald. Betreffend*, Berlinische Sammlungen zur Beförderung der Arzneywissenschaft, der Naturgeschichte, der Haushaltungskunst, Cameralwissenschaft und der dahin einschlagenden Litteratur, Bd. 6: 1774, pp. 659–661. At the moment the history of the Gottwalds' iconographic legacy is being discussed by Jakub Jakubowski (see further on).

⁹ Biographical details see in: *Personalia*, [in:] *Biographiae medicorum: Sammelband mit Gelegenheitsschriften zu Medizineren aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Staatsbibliothek Berlin, sygn. 4' Jb 664. Short biographical notes were also published by: Władysław CHOJNACKI, *Gottwald Krzysztof*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* (further cit. PSB), vol. 8, Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa 1959–1960, p. 388; *Gottwald Krzysztof (1636–1700)*, [in:] Krystyna JACKOWSKA, Adam SZARSZEWSKI, Piotr PALUCHOWSKI, *Portrety gdańskich lekarzy (XVI–XVIII w.). Portraits of Gdańsk Physicians (16th–18th c.)*, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 134–139; *Gottwald Krzysztof (1636–1700)*, [in:] Adam SZARSZEWSKI, Piotr PALUCHOWSKI, Seweryna KONIECZNA, Bartłomiej SIEK, Piotr KRAJEWSKI, *Sławni gdańscy lekarze*, Gdańsk 2016, pp. 104–108. Gottwald sen. is also one of the characters of Wolf Serno's novel *Tod im Apothekehaus*, Knauer 2003.

¹⁰ Gustav KOHFELDT, *Eine akademische Ferienreise von Rostock bis Königsberg im Jahre 1694*, *Baltische Studien*, Bd. 9: 1905, pp. 20–24.

¹¹ Biographical details see in: *Ad Disputationem Inauguralem De Viscido, Sanitatis Offendiculo Praenobilis ac Clarissimi Medicinae Candidati Dn. Johannis Christophori Gottwalds / Gedanensis ... Die XI. Aprilis ... invitat*, Weppingius Rostochii 1695, pp. 7–12; *D. Johann Christoph Gottwald*, Preußische Lieferung alter und neuer Urkunden, Erörterungen und Abhandlungen, zur Erläuterung der Preußischen Geschichte und Rechte für allerley Lese, Bd. 1: 1753/1755, pp. 129–132; Władysław CHOJNACKI, *Gottwald Jan Krzysztof*, [in:] PSB, vol. 8, p. 388; *Johann Christoph Gottwald*, [in:] *Sławni gdańscy lekarze*, pp. 114–117; *Johann Christoph Gottwald*, [in:] *Portrety gdańskich lekarzy (XVI–XVIII w.)*, pp. 178–183.

¹² *D. Johann Christoph Gottwald*, p. 130.

¹³ The author of this article is currently working on an essay devoted to the Gottwalds' Museum which is an analysis of the catalogues, both printed and handwritten together with etchings to show its scope and content; see Katarzyna PEKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Simple medicines in the natural*

Not long after the death of Johann Christoph, Christian Heinrich Erndtel,¹⁴ physician to Augustus the Strong, became interested in his heritage. He would have asked J. P. Breyne much earlier about the scientific activities of Gottwald Jr.¹⁵ In letters from September 1713, Ch. H. Erndtel asked him to send Gottwald's auction library catalogue as soon as it was published.¹⁶ He also requested the catalogue be sent to Doctor Johann Daniel Geyer,¹⁷ either to Warsaw or Dresden.¹⁸ He expressed sorrow after the death of Johann Christoph, stressing the fact that he might manage to persuade the king himself to purchase the Gdańsk/Danzig collection¹⁹ especially because it contained a rich collection of succinite (Baltic amber).²⁰

collections of the Gottwald and the Breyne Families, 1650–1750, <http://43ichp.warsaw.pl/index.php/programme/> (access from 10th August 2017).

¹⁴ For bibliographical details go to: Barbara MILEWSKA-WAŻBIŃSKA, *Jak lekarz z Saksonii o Warszawie pisał...*, [in:] *Literatura piękna i medycyna*, ed. Maciej GANCZAR, Piotr WILCZEK, Kraków 2015, pp. 83–100.

¹⁵ J. P. Breyne in his letter from 2nd May 1711 informed Ch. H. Erndtel that together with Gottwald Jr. he had anatomized a seal, see: *Forschungsbibliothek Gotha* (further cit. FB Gotha), Chart. B857b, fol. 29v.

¹⁶ On the character and content of auction catalogues in regard to physicians' book collections see: Barbara SERCZYKOWA, *Księgozbiór lekarza toruńskiego Wacława Duroscha z drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika. Nauka o Książce*, no. 6: 1970, pp. 4–32; Katarzyna PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Georg Seger i jego książki, czyli o lekturach siedemnastowiecznego lekarza z Prus Królewskich*, an electronic document available at: http://www.wilanowpalac.pl/georg-seger_i_jego_książki_czyli_o_lekturach_siedemnastowiecznego_lekarza_z_prus_krolewskich.html (access from 1th May 2017). About the medical books and books on nature presence in the private book collections of the townsmen of Royal Prussia see: Maria OTTO, *Książka przyrodniczo-medyczna w gdańskich księgozbiorach prywatnych między XV a XVIII wiekiem*, [in:] *Joachim Oelhaf and his heirs*, ed. Adam SZARZEWSKI, Bartłomiej SIEK, Gdańsk 2013, pp. 103–109.

¹⁷ For biographical details see: Wilhelm von GÜMBEL, *Geier, Johann Daniel*, [in:] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 8, Leipzig 1878, pp. 503–504.

¹⁸ FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, vol. 122–124v.

¹⁹ In Dresden's collection of *mineralia*, where amber could have been found as early as in the 16th century. More on the character and status of Dresden's mineral collection see: Barbara MARX, *Auf dem Weg zur Frühbarocken Kunstkammer. Eine Annäherung*, [in:] *Sehen und Staunen. Die Dresdner Kunstkammer von 1640*, hrsg. v. eadem, Peter PLASSMEYER, München 2014, pp. 17–24; Klaus THALHEIM, *Minerale, Gesteine und Fossilien in der Dresdner Kunstkammer*, [in:] *Die kurfürstlich-sächsische Kunstkammer in Dresden. Geschichte einer Sammlung*, hrsg. v. Dirk SYNDRAM, Martina MINNING, Dresden 2012, pp. 262–281.

²⁰ FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 128–129v. On Gdańsk's amber collection see: Andrzej R. CHODYŃSKI, *Gdańskie kolekcje bursztynu od XVIII do XIX wieku*, *Porta Aurea. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, vol. 3: 1994, pp. 51–74; Elżbieta MIERZWIŃSKA, *Bursztynnictwo*, [in:] *Aurea Porta Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 1, pp. 141–156; Katarzyna PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Johann Philippe Breyne i bursztyny (lata 20. XVIII wieku)*, an electronic document at: http://www.wilanowpalac.pl/johann_philippe_breyne_i_bursztyny_lata_20_xviii_wieku.html (access from 1th May 2017). Gottwald and other collectors from Royal Prussia and Ducal Prussia

Some months later, in 1714, Ch. H. Erndtel received a detailed catalogue entitled *Museum Gottwaldianum* (to be further in the text referred to as *MG*),²¹ sent to him by J. P. Breyne however, this did not stop him from continuing to request catalogue *Bibliotheca Gottwaldiana*.²² Also on his wish list was that a complete list of the books be sent to J. D. Greyer who was staying in Dresden at that time.²³ At the same time, Breyne sent the recently published *MG* to Caspar Commelijjn in Amsterdam²⁴ and Hans Sloan in London.²⁵ To the latter, he also mentioned 9th April as the date of the auction.²⁶

Christian Heinrich Erndtel was however particularly interested in the Gdańsk/Danzig doctors' library, so that is why he was so inquisitive and impatient about receiving the list of the publications from their book collection

in the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries used Hartmann's classification to arrange their amber, based on criteria such as: the colour, inclusion, shape, origin or artistic creation made of it. See: Philipp Jacob HARTMANN, *Succini prussici physica et civilis historia cum demonstratione ex autopsia et intimiori rerum experiential deducta*, Francofurti 1677; idem, *Succincta succini prussici historia et demonstratio*, Berolini 1699; FB Gotha, Chart. A791, fol. 97–107v (a hand-written catalogue of N. Sendel's collection, Elbląg/Elbing), 109–112, 115–115v (J. P. Breyne's hand-written catalogue and the description of the cabinet containing amber); Dar'ya NOVGORODOVA, *Pervaya nauchnaya kolleksiya yantarya v Rossii*, [in:] *Yantar' v istorii meditsiny. Materialy mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii*, Kaliningrad 2016, pp.179–196, [Дарья Новгородова, *Первая научная коллекция янтаря в России*, [in:] *Янтарь в истории медицины. Материалы международной научной конференции*, Калининград 2016, pp. 179–196].

²¹ *Gottwald C. Musaeum Gottwaldianum, sive catalogus rerum rariorum, tam naturalium, quam artificialium, longa annorum serie. Cur aque et sumtibus haud exiguis collectarum, à viris d.v. excellentissimis experientissimisque, D. Christophoro Gottwaldio, Med. D. & Phisico Gedanensi, Patre & D. Joh. Christoph Gottwaldio, Med. D. filio, quas publica auctione in aedibus gottwaldianis Anno 1714. D. [...] Divend et Georgius Mattern, Typis Joh. Zachariae Stollis [Gedani 1714].*

²² During a search through the library and archive resources, neither a hand-written list nor a printed catalogue of Gottwalds' book collection defined by Breyne's correspondents as *Bibliotheca Gottwaldiana* were found.

²³ FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 145–146v.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 87.

²⁵ British Library (further cit. BL), Sloane MS 4043, fol. 222.

²⁶ A copy of *Gottwald C. Musaeum Gottwaldianum* can be found in BL, entry no. 1044.a.28.(1). In BL there are also two copies of catalogues with the etchings bound together: [Museum Gottwaldianum. A collection of plates in 2 pt. 62 anatomical objects and 49 plates representing shells, etc.], entry no. 459.c.8., 548.m.12. More on the ambiguities surrounding the date of the auction of the Gottwalds' collection see: Dar'ya Dmitriyevna NOVGORODOVA, *Ot muzeya Gottval'da k mineral'nomu katalogu kunstkamery*, [in:] *Materialy semnadsatykh chteniy pamyati I. M. Tronskogo „Indoyevropeyskoye yazykoznaniye i klassicheskaya filologiya – XVII”*, St. Petersburg, pp. 636–653 [Дарья Дмитриевна Новгородова, *От музея Готтвальда к минеральному каталогу кунсткамеры*, [in:] *Материалы семнадцатых чтений памяти И. М. Тронского „Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология – XVII”*, Санкт-Петербург 2013, pp. 636–653].

for himself and J. P. Geyer.²⁷ In April, Ch. H. Erndtel was busy preparing himself to Gdańsk/Danzig auction of Gottwald's museum²⁸ and during this auction only a part of the collection was sold. That is why, in January 1715, the king's doctor still expressed an interest in the collection in a letter to J. P. Breyne.²⁹ Finally in July 1716, the former received the long-awaited *Bibliotheca Gottwaldiana*.³⁰

Inquiry letters about the Gottwalds' collection were also sent to Breyne by Johann Daniel Geyer, physician to Augustus II the Strong. Immediately after the death of Gottwald Jr., in mid August 1713, Geyer asked Breyne to be informed about the date of the museum auction. Geyer's main interest lay in Baltic amber and objects included in the so-called antiquarian cabinet.³¹ It is not surprising therefore that in October, he asked Breyne to send the auction catalogue of the collection the moment it was published.³² As he was fully aware that the catalogue would be published at the beginning of the upcoming year, he had already requested the opportunity of acquiring some information about the contents of the mineral cabinets. Apart from wishing for detailed descriptions of these most precious of minerals, J. D. Geyer also wanted a detailed description of this particular part of the museum because as he said: "we do not really know what it contains".³³ He also expressed his anxiety that the Gottwald collection might be sold "ahead of time",³⁴ which only confirms the fact that the auction was to take place quite soon.

In the second half of January 1714, J. D. Geyer enquired again about the printed auction catalogue and in particular whether it would be available at the Leipzig fair.³⁵ On 23rd March, he thanked Breyne for sending it to Dresden and informed him that there was a beautiful etching of Gottwald Sr, the effigy which Gottwald had himself presented to him in bygone years.³⁶ That would imply that Geyer not only received a catalogue but also one with

²⁷ FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 149–150v.

²⁸ Ibid., fol. 160–161.

²⁹ Ibid., fol. 169–172v.

³⁰ Ibid., fol. 193–194v. In the auction catalogue of Ch. H. Erndtel there is no mention of a catalogue of the Gottwalds' legacy (see: *Bibliotheca Erndeliana sive Catalogus Librorum Philologico-Medicorum*, qvos B. D. Christ. Heinrich Erndel, Sereniss. Augusti II. Reg. Pol. & El. Sax. Archiater, Adiunctus Academiae Naturae Curiosorum & c. sibi undecunqve conqvisiverat Auctio fiet Dresdae D. 19. seqq. Jan. MDCCXXXV. In *aedium Fridelianarum*..., [Dresdae 1735]).

³¹ FB Gotha, Chart. B786, fol. 249–251.

³² Ibid., fol. 252–253.

³³ Ibid., fol. 253.

³⁴ Ibid., fol. 254–255.

³⁵ Ibid., fol. 256–256v.

³⁶ Ibid., fol. 257–257v.

etchings.³⁷ A few days later, on 28th of March, he informed J. P. Breyne that the

³⁷ To read more about the catalogues with copper prints see: Jakub JAKUBOWSKI, *Dawna polska ilustrowana ksiązka przyrodnicza (XVII–XIX wiek)*, Bibliotekoznawstwo, vol. 30: 2011, pp. 40–42; Mathias BERSOHN, *O rytownikach gdańskich: podręcznik dla zbierających sztychy polskie*, Warszawa 1887, p. 38; Rudolf BERGAU, *Die Danziger Kupferstecher Samuel und Johann Donnet*, Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste mit besonderer Beziehung auf Kupferstecher- und Holzschneidekunst und ihre Geschichte, Bd. 13: 1867, pp. 148–149; Berichte der allgemeinen Buchhandlung der Gelehrten, Bd. 2: 1782, p. 225. Gottwald Senior would make the drawings and copperplates from the very early age and he upgraded his skills in Leyden where he cooperated with F. Le Boë-Sylvius (see: *Personalia*). The same refers to the copperplates published in MG as Ch. Gottwald made the projects (sometimes even during his *peregrinatio academica*), and which were later used by himself and S. Donnet to prepare the matrixes/templates (*ibid.*). Based on them, in March 1714, J. P. Breyne published in Gdańsk two separate etchings catalogues without title pages and descriptions of separate tables: one with the anatomical illustrations and the other with the images of various shells (FB Gotha, Chart. B789, fol. 14). J. P. Breyn's and J. T. Klein's auction catalogues mention the prints as separate: 1) *Thesaurum Conchiliorum tabb. aen. XLIX constantem, quarum IV priores, Stellas marinas et Corallia, caetera testacea univalvia turbinata repraesentat*, Danzig [n.d.]; 2) *LXII tabulas aenean artificiose sculptas, varias curiosas observatt. anatomicas in homine et brutis complectentas*, Danzig [n.d.] (according to: *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon: Darinne die Gelehrten aller Stände sowohl männ- als weiblichen Geschlechts, welche vom Anfange der Welt bis auf ietzige Zeit gelebt, und sich der gelehrten Welt bekannt gemacht, Nach ihrer Geburt, Leben, merckwürdigen Geschichten, Absterben und Schrifften aus den glaubwürdigsten Scribenten in alphabetischer Ordnung beschrieben werden. Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen*, Bd. 2: C bis J, Leipzig 1787, col. 1548). A separate copy of *Museum anatomicum* was also in possession of Daniel Ernest Jabłoński (*Catalogus Librorum ... Dan. Ern Jablonski*, Berolina 1742, p. 300). Contemporary etchings catalogues are either separate copies or adligats. In the first case, *Museum anatomicum* which is kept in Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden and in the Library of Leiden University (a section of Museum of Boerhaave) can be mentioned as well as the tables presenting marine *naturalia* (*49 Kupfertafeln von Conchylien, Knorpelthieren und Korallen*) which can be found in Dutch DetKgl. Bibliothek – København collections. In case of the copies bound together we can for instance mention one kept in the Main Library of Gdańsk University of Technology (<http://pbc.gda.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=2467&dirids=1&tab=1>) or one in the collection of the University of Strasburg and all the etchings which are in it were described by its owner, Jean Hermann. The catalogue was entitled *Gottwald C. Museum Gottwaldianum continens tabulas mutas quarum anatomicae sexaginta & una, conchylologicae quadraginta & novem, aliaque corpora marina experimentes, sculptæ et ad edendum jam paratæ a Christophoro Gottwaldt, Dr. Med. & Physic. Civit. Gedan*, Gedani 1714 (electronic document: <http://docnum.u-strasbg.fr/cdm/ref/collection/coll13/id/43888>). Significant is the fact that hand-written descriptions of etchings, like the ones similar to J. Hermann's copy can be found in a copy from bishop Vinzenzo, Marco Giuseppe Cornaro, however, the cards in the Italian catalogue were arranged in a different way. See: *Deliciae Cobresianae. J. P. Cobres Büchersammlung zur Naturgeschichte*, Th. 2, [n.p.] 1782, pp. 805–811. To find out more about the Gdańsk copy see: Jakub JAKUBOWSKI, „*Musaeum Gottwaldianum*” ze zbiorów Biblioteki Politechniki Gdańskiej i wydawnicze losy dzieła Christophorusa Gottwalda (1636–1700) w XVIII w., *Porta Aurea. Rocznik Zakładu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, vol. 14: 2015, pp. 93–119. Important is the fact that in a copy of *Museum anatomicum*, which can be found in the library of Universitätsbibliothek Basel (entry no. UB Basel, Hg I 43), there are unknown to the researchers, handwritten introductions to both albums with

king himself was considering purchasing the *naturalia* collection and would also be happy to buy Gottwalds' book collection.³⁸

The matter of purchasing Gottwalds' legacy was also considered by Michael Friedrich Lochner von Hummelstein,³⁹ a doctor from Nuremberg. On the 28th February 1715, just after the auction he thanked Breyne for sending him information about the Gottwalds' collection. He also wrote that: "I regret with all my heart that such a beautiful and unique collection, so carefully compiled would soon be dispersed".⁴⁰ He also asked for a copy of a catalogue of the Gottwalds' copperplates to be sent to Leipzig for which he would be both obliged and deeply grateful. In subsequent letters he thanked Breyne for the etchings from MG, expressing similar praise to Geyer at the effigy of Gottwald Sr.⁴¹ Next year, in *Rariora Musei Besleriani* he stated that: "Et licet haec Testudinis solertissima Anatomie omnem mereatur laudem, nitidiorum adhuc habuissimus, ni mors invida abripuisset virum omni eloquio superiorem, Christophorum Gottwaldum, Podalirium Dantiscanum, naturae Mystam solertissimum, ceu ex aeneis Musei Anatomici ejus figuris, quae apud Nobilissimam Viduam una cum Conchyliorum elegantissimis, et omnes, quas hactenus videre contigit, delineationes superantibus, supersunt, satis patet cum explicatione et uberiore destituatur descriptione opus fere Regium, Tabulas tantum recensere placuit, ut saliva moveamus erudyto orbi, et Bibliopolarum curiosioribus, quo Virum in Historia naturali promovenda solertissimum, paternis gloriose insistentem bvestigiis Joh. Phil. Breyonium, Medicum pariter Dantiscanum celeberrimum, Reg. Soc. Angliae Socium dignissimum, sub cujus directione et manibus, precibus et pretio exorent, ut in publicam tandem lucem opus splendidissimum prodeat [...]"⁴²

the etchings by J. P. Breyne. Transcriptions of the resources were published as an appendix in the article written by: Katarzyna PĘKACKA-FALKOWSKA, *Wokół kolekcji przyrodniczych w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Cz. I: Christoph i Johann Christoph Gottwaldowie oraz ich gdańskie muzeum*, *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, vol. 63: 2018, no. 2 (in press).

³⁸ FB Gotha, Chart. B786, vol. 258.

³⁹ To read some biographical notes see: Clemens Alois BAADER, *Lochner, Michael Friedrich*; 28.02.1662–15.10.1720; *Naturwissenschaftler (PND 104225033)*, [http://personen.digitale-sammlungen.de/pnd/bsb00000283_00152-00.html?pos=1&suche=pndid:104225033%20AND%20\(bsbID:bsb00000273%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000274%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000279%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000280%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000281%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000282%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000283%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000284\)](http://personen.digitale-sammlungen.de/pnd/bsb00000283_00152-00.html?pos=1&suche=pndid:104225033%20AND%20(bsbID:bsb00000273%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000274%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000279%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000280%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000281%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000282%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000283%20OR%20bsbID:bsb00000284)) (access from 1st May 2017).

⁴⁰ FB Gotha, Chart. B789, fol. 447–448. This information confirms the fact that the auction took place.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 449.

⁴² Johann Heinrich LOCHNER, Michael Friedrich LOCHNER, *Rariora musei Besleriani quae olim Basilius et Michael Rupertus Besleri collegerunt: aeneisque tabulis ad vivum incisa evulgarunt*, [Nuremberg: s.n.], Anno O.R. 1716, p. 61; <http://dx.doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.61137>.

In 1716, another doctor of medicine and philosophy, Christian Vater⁴³ from Wittenberg expressed enchantment at the mastery of the prints and he as well as some of his close friends wanted to buy intaglio printing plates – which formerly belonged to the Gottwalds and then were in the hands of their heirs.⁴⁴

In letters from February 1716, Ch. Vater informed J. P. Breyne that a bookseller from Leipzig called Gladitsch had been in touch with Gottwald Jr.'s widow hoping to get Gottwalds' manuscripts and templates showing the shells and human and animal anatomy. He also added that for the copperplates she was supposed to be paid 200 florins in cash but wanted another 400. He also enquired about some individual samples from the mineral collection.⁴⁵

The negotiations with the woman did not bring the expected results. In the middle of March, Ch. Vater complained about a lack of resolution⁴⁶ and in his letter he asked Johann Philip to act as a go-between in contacts with the widow.⁴⁷ The negotiations took a number of months⁴⁸ and lasted until January 1717. It can be assumed that they failed to reach agreement as the copperplates⁴⁹ were put up for sale in 1720.⁵⁰

In the years to come, the copperplates came into the possession of Breyne although it is not possible to identify the circumstances behind this.⁵¹ Most probably only after his death did they fall into the hands of Gabriel Nicolaus

What is significant is that J. P. Breyne himself wrote in the introduction to one of the copies of Gottwalds' anatomic etchings published in 1714: „Postea Tabularum harum potitus est Ejus non degener Filius natu maximus Nobilissim pariter et Curiosus Vir D. Johannes Christophorus Gottwaldius, Med. Doct. et Practicus Gedanensis, Amicus mihi inter Charissimos una cum M.S.S. sed admodum confusis, qva in ordinem et formam Libri redigere promittebat; sed et hic Praxi Medica, curis domesticos aliisq rebus // impeditus, Vitam finivit Anno 1713. Opus hoc ut acooperat, imperfectum relinqvens, qvodo ego permittente Noblissima Vidua aliquoties pervolvi Tabulas in hunc ordinem qvalem cunq digessi, et breves aliquot Explicationes ex M.S.S. adjecti” (Museum anatomicum), pag. left out; entry no. UB Basel, Hg I 43.

⁴³ Julius Leopold PAGEL, *Vater, Christian*, [in:] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 39: *Tun-ner – de Vins*, Leipzig 1895, p. 503, electronic document at: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd11735533X.html#adbcontent> (access from 1th May 2017).

⁴⁴ FB Gotha, Chart. B789, fol. 620–621v.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 622–622v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 624–624v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 626–627.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 628–628v.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 630–631v.

⁵⁰ BL, Sloane MS 4046, fol. 161.

⁵¹ A similar hypothesis was made by J. Jakubowski, see: *idem*, *Musaeum*, p. 101 f. After a three weeks search through the documents and papers left by J. and J. P. Breynes and stored in FB Gotha no trace was found to state for certain what were the circumstances which allowed J. P. Breyne to possess Gottwalds' copper plates. That does not necessary mean that such documents do not exist as due to time limitations not all the units were checked.

Raspe's⁵² printing house in Nuremberg and he used them in three other publications.⁵³ This might be true as after J. P. Breyné's death in the auction catalogue of his book collection it was written that apart from books and manuscripts other items available for purchase included: "A. B. Zwey Kisten mit 59 Paquete, in jedem circa 400 bis 500 Abdrücke, von Christoph. Gottwalds Museo anatomico. Nebst 61 gestochene Kupferplatten von diesen Musaeo. C. Eine Kiste mit 42 Paquete, in jeden circa 400 biß 500 Abdrücke, von C. Gottwalds Museo curioso rerum naturalium. Imgleichen 49 gestochene Kupferplatten von diesen Musaeo, nebstzwey Kupferplatten von den Portraits C. Gottwalds und I. C. Gottwald fil. wieauch von beydeneinige Abdrücke. Zwey Kupferplatten zweyer Missgeburten [...]. D. Ein Schrank worinnalle Kupferplatten liegen".⁵⁴

Let us now return to the Gottwalds' museum auction in April 1714.

Another of J. P. Breyné's correspondents interested in the Gottwalds' legacy was Nicolaus Martini from Riga,⁵⁵ a doctor of medicine and philosophy. In

⁵² Johann Samuel SCHRÖTER, *Vorrede*, [in:] *Musei Gottwaldiani testaceorum, stellarum marinarum et coralliorum quae supersunt tabulae* = *Die Conchylien, Seesterne und Meergewächse der ehemaligen Gottwaldtischen Naturaliensammlung: nach den vorhandenen neun und vierzig Kupfertafeln mit einer kurzen Beschreibung begleitet*, Nürnberg 1782, pp. 3–4.

⁵³ It is about Christoph GOTTWALD's, *Physikalisch-ökonomische Bemerkungen über die Schildkröten*, Nürnberg 1781; *Physikalisch-ökonomische Bemerkungen über den Bieber*, Nürnberg 1782, and commented on by Ch. SCHRÖTER *Musei Gottwaldiani testaceorum, stellarum marinarum et coralliarum* (the image also appeared earlier in 1749/1750 – see: a Dresden copy). More on the subject in: *Deliciae Cobresianae*, pp. 817–818; *Physikalisch-ökonomische Bibliothek worinn von den neuesten Büchern, welche die Naturgeschichte, Naturlehre und die Land und Stadtwirtschaft betreffen*, Bd. 12: 1783, pp. 443–449; *Leipziger Gelehrte Zeitungen*, St. 75: 1783, Donnerstags, den 18. September, pp. 603–604. What is interesting is that an anonymous reviewer of "Leipziger Gelehrte Zeitungen" did not judge highly any of the works, stating that with regard to the publications dealing with shells, their only significance is "for the history of literature, art and to define Gottwald's merit". And with regard to the work about the beaver he just wrote that it saw the light of day too late as among others, Buffon had written an excellent description of this animal.

⁵⁴ *Bibliothecae Breynianae Pars Prior. Sive Catalogus Librorum Philologico-Philosophico-Historicorum, Itinerariorum, Inprimis autem Medicorum, Botanicorum Et Historiae Naturalis Scriptorum & c. Rariorum, Quam Magno Studio Et Sumptu Sibi Comparavit D. Johan. Philipp. Breynius, Acad. Imper. Natur. Curiosorum, Nec Non Reg. Societ. Anglic. Scient. Sodal. Publica Auctionis Lege In Aedibus B. Possessoris (in der Langgasse.) D. XV. Julii A. MDCCLXV*, Distrahende Per Joan. Godofr. Barthelsen [Pars Posterior... MDCCLXVI], p. 394. The information about the number of prints from 1714 can be found in J. P. Breyné's hand-written introduction to the anatomical illustrations album from the Library of the University of Basel: „NB. Das Kuppfer von Bildnis des Auctoris No.1. ist nicht mehr vorhanden, es werden aber etwan 500 à 600 Abdruckes als denen seyn. Imgleichen ist des Kuppfer vom Nahmens Zug auch nicht denn. Die übrigen aber seyend aller vorhanden nebst Abdruckes als zu 900 à 100 Exemplaren". (Museum anatomicum), UB Basel, Hg I 43, without pag.

⁵⁵ For biographical information see: *Martini, Nicolaus*, [in:] *Das Baltische Biographische Lexikon*, <http://www.bbl-digital.de/seite/490/> (access from 1st May 2017).

a letter from 4th October 1713, he wrote that he had found out about Gottwald Jr.'s death and so asked for his catalogue of books to be sent. He also requested delivery of "the catalogue of *curiosities* and *naturalia* which belonged to both of the Gottwalds as soon as it was published".⁵⁶

In April 1714, Johann Georg Kisner, a physician from Frankfurt, asked about the possibility of receiving a copy of MG.⁵⁷ He also wondered if there were many *naturalia* lovers (*curiose Liebhaber*) in Gdańsk/Danzig and provided the answer himself; in Gdańsk/Danzig there was an overseas trade (*florissantes commercium*), and thus there were many opportunities to avail of rare and interesting samples.⁵⁸

In 1717, J. G. Kissner mediated between Breyne and Lincken Jr., a Leipzig chemist and their friend.⁵⁹ In a letter he sent to Gdańsk/Danzig in September 1717 he asked Johann Philipp for two copies of MG with engravings of anatomy pieces and shells and asked that they be sent to Leipzig.⁶⁰ Breyne sent the catalogues although they were already collectors' items. In February 1720, he was informed by J. G. Kissner about the problems which existed in purchasing the publications, even in Gdańsk.⁶¹

From the beginning of February 1717 J. H. Lincken exchanged letters with Breyne about an illustrated MG copy.⁶² On 24th May, Lincken wrote that he only had a text version and would be very happy to come into possession of an illustrated copy.⁶³ On 13th September, he reminded him again about the im-

⁵⁶ FB Gotha, Chart. B789, fol. 484–485.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Chart. B787, fol. 13v.

⁵⁸ Ibid., fol. 14.

⁵⁹ In 1704 J. P. Breyne met Lincken senior, who came from Gdańsk/Danzig, the father of Johann Heinrich during his scientific excursion when he stopped in Leipzig on the way back to Gdańsk/Danzig. As he mentioned in his diary, Lincken Sr was very nice to him and showed him various exhibits from both his and his son's collections, for instance: snakes maintained in wine spirits, shells and minerals. He also told him about complicated iatrochemistry procedures, showed him a piece of gold from Solomon mines and numerous *producta chemica*, for example: "*phosphorum*, which he prepares from human blood". He also shared with him some interesting information on stupefying among the royal court members by jimsonweed (*Datura Stramonium*): "er hatte auch das seinen Datura, voran sich der König oft vor sein plaisirbedinnet, und dessen ein drachma anderen Leuten ein zur geben, aus selbige vor einen zaitlang zu toren zu machen. Das Antidotum dagegen ist, wann man die Hände in kalt Wasser sticht". *Ibid.*, Chart. B968, fol. 110–112. For biographical information see: Veit HAMMER, *Linck, Johann Heinrich d.Ä.*, [in:] *Sächsische Biografie*, hrsg. v. Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde e.V., bearb. v. Martina SCHATTKOWSKY, <http://www.isgv.de/saebi/> (access from 17th June 2017).

⁶⁰ FB Gotha, Chart. B787, fol. 28.

⁶¹ Ibid., fol. 30.

⁶² Ibid., fol. 255.

⁶³ Ibid., fol. 257: "Ich habe von Musaeo Gottwaldiano nichts anders als ein klein Tractat in 8^o vorbey keine kupfer, mir vorlieb, wende ich darzu gehörige Kupfer auch erlangen kaufe, ich zahl solche gerne".

portance of receiving a catalogue⁶⁴ and on 15th October he happily announced that: “Mr. Buck delivered copperplates from *Museo Gottwaldiano*” and that he was particularly happy with the shell pictures.⁶⁵

In 1717, the subject of the Gottwald collection appeared in correspondence between Breyne and Johannes Vogetius, a Gdańsk/Danzig doctor living in Toruń/Thorn.⁶⁶ The latter also kept asking about the *naturalia* catalogue.⁶⁷ He reminded Breyne, that Gottwald received some stones from the Vistula River banks around Toruń which were sent to him by Georg Wendt, a scholar teaching in the Thorn Academic Gymnasium.⁶⁸ The stones were the subject of a short scientific essay⁶⁹ and were discussed in letters by Breyne and other scholars.⁷⁰

In the subsequent years, the Gottwalds’ catalogue in which “many interesting and unique things” were mentioned was referred to by Franz Ernst Brückman⁷¹ from Wollfenbüttel.⁷² In the 1720s, however, he took more interest in

⁶⁴ Ibid., fol. 261v.

⁶⁵ Ibid., fol. 262v.

⁶⁶ Johannes Vogetius with his family moved from Gdańsk to Toruń in 1712 (J. P. Breyne informed his friends about it in letters, see: FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 69–69v) and it seems that in the next years he came to regret this decision. In numerous letters to J. P. Breyne he wrote about problems with keeping his apprenticeship going, the impossibility of getting into scientific circles or the lack of natural scientists in the city which he had settled down in. For more biographical details see: *Christliches Denck-Mahl, Welches Dem [...] Herrn Johann Vogetius, Medicinæ [...] Doctori und wohlerfahrem Practico, Bey der Königl. Stadt Thorn, Als Derselbe Anno 1724. d. 8. Febr. im 52 Jahre seines Alters im Herrn entschlaffen, und den 13. darauff, war der Sonntag Septuag. mit Christlichen Ceremonien in der Marien-Kirche zur Erden bestattet wurde, Zu letzten Ehren, und [...] Zu einigem Troste, aufgesetzt* E.E. Ministerium U.A.C. hieselbst, Thorn: Gedruckt bey Joh. Nicolai [...], [1724].

⁶⁷ FB Gotha, Chart. B788, fol. 739.

⁶⁸ Ibid. For more information about him see: *Wende, Georg*, [in:] *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, Bd. 30: *Weiss-Widuwilt*, Berlin 2010, p. 516.

⁶⁹ *Dissertatio. XVI. Figuratis quibusdam Lapillis prope Thorunium in Vistulae praeterlabentis littoribus collectis*, [in:] *Meletemata Thorvnensia seu dissertationes varii argvmenti ad historiam maxime Polon. et Prvssicam, Politicam, Physicam, rem Nvmmariam, ac literariam spectantes von volvmine iam collectae et comprehensae*, vol. 1, Thorn 1726, pp. 166–175 (formerly as: *Naturae pictricus Specimen Thoruniense h. e. figuratos quosdam Lapillos prope Thorunium in Vistulae praeterlabentis Littoribus collectos Praeside M. Georg. Wendio... Rerum Naturalium Admiratoribus Petri Dzikovii & Georgii Henrichsdorffs Thorunensium Censoris pro virili vindicare voluit Antonius Giering Thorunensis a. d. XXV Septembris Anno Christi 1704*, H.L.Q.S. Thorunii, Ex officina Nobiliss. Senatus et Gymnasii, 1704).

⁷⁰ See correspondence with Johann Friedrich Leopold of Lübeck, from 1706, FB Gotha, Chart. B787, fol. 109v.

⁷¹ Biographical information see in: Rudolph ZAUNICK, *Brückmann, Franz Ernst*, [in:] *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 2, Berlin 1955, pp. 655–656.

⁷² FB Gotha, Chart. B785, fol. 193–193v.

Breyne's collections than in the Gottwalds' which was but briefly mentioned in their correspondence.⁷³

Also Georg Christoph Christiani from Preußisch Holland/Pasłęk, a doctor of medicine and philosophy, was deeply interested in the implements and pharmacy materials which belonged to Johann Christoph Gottwald. On 20th August, Christiani thanked Breyne for sending him MG and was anxious when he found out that some objects had been marked as deleted.⁷⁴ He was mostly interested in, for example rectified liquids, oils, tinctures, wines and numerous medical simples, including roots, flowers, powder, rubber and resin. He also wanted to buy the Gottwalds' medical manuscripts and most of their formularies to find out about the measurements and dosages used by them. He was also interested in various scientific and pharmacy equipment, among others: "small and big copper baths (*Balnea*), receiving flasks, funnels, iron and metal items" and all matter of laboratory equipment. Georg Christoph Christiani complained, however, that the catalogue did not mention all of Gottwald Jr.'s *composita* and *simplicita*⁷⁵ and that the costs of purchase and transportation would undoubtedly be far beyond his financial means.⁷⁶

Some days later, on 6th September, Christiani announced that he had exchanged letters with Gottwald Jr.'s widow and that she had offered him all the *Materialen*, with the exception of the skillets and bowls for about 10⁷⁷ florins. If he wanted to buy more advanced lab instruments, such as glass retorts, laboratory flasks or receivers he would have to pay an extra 60 fl. He said that he wished he could go to Gdańsk in person to finalize the negotiations with the widow and asked J. P. Breyne to act as a bargainer.⁷⁸ On 19th September, he said that the widow wrote a letter in which she stated that "in six weeks her house was due to be cleaned" and so Christiani should wait until October to finalise all the transactions but he was not really willing to wait so long as he anxiously said: "All the medicine is going to go off".⁷⁹ On the 21st September, Christiani expressed his conviction that the Gottwalds' collection included a lot of lab equipment as well as medicines which were not recorded anywhere and as he stressed that some of them had "disappeared" and it would be impossible to get

⁷³ Ibid., fol. 195–195v.

⁷⁴ Which confirms that the Gottwalds' action had already taken place and some exhibits/items had already been sold.

⁷⁵ *Simplicita* refers to medical simples, e.g. raw plant, animal and mineral materials; *composita* refers to complex ones (compounds).

⁷⁶ FB Gotha, Chart. B785, fol. 269–270v.

⁷⁷ It is not clear, if the widow asked for 10 and 60 or 100 and 600 florins.

⁷⁸ FB Gotha, Chart. B785, fol. 265–267.

⁷⁹ Ibid., fol. 273–274v.

them back.⁸⁰ On 19th November, he described the problems he had with buying some lab glass and its transport.⁸¹

Apart from the correspondents from the German-speaking territories who were interested in purchasing the Gottwalds' collection, there was also an English collector and J. P. Breyne's close friend from his early times of *peregrinatio academica*, Hans Sloane. In October 1713, J. P. Breyne informed his friend, that Gottwalds' Jr. widow was planning to sell some of the copperplates, books and exhibits from his *naturalia* collection⁸² and in January 1714 he sent him MG catalogue.⁸³ In his thank-you letter, dated the 15th March 1715, Sloan wrote that he got the catalogue too late, so it must have been after the auction. He also informed that he would love to get some of Gottwald's books as well as the precious amber;⁸⁴ he was also interested in Prussian fossils.⁸⁵ However, his goals were not realized. It is worth adding here that in August 1720, J. P. Breyne informed H. Sloane again that, "copperplates and Gottwald's prints were not sold and still owned by the widow". He also added that they could be purchased with 50 guineas.⁸⁶ The same information appeared in a copy of the letter sent to London the same year.⁸⁷

As can be seen, the Gottwalds' collection was of special interest to many people. Apart from the ones mentioned, there were also Polish natural scientists, for example Gabriel Rzączyński⁸⁸ and the representatives of the Tsar's

⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. 267–268.

⁸¹ Ibid., fol. 271–272.

⁸² BL, Sloane MS 4043, fol. 197–198.

⁸³ FB Gotha, Chart. B785, fol. 222.

⁸⁴ BL, Sloane MS 4043, fol. 197: "I have likewise received the copy of the tables of anatomy and shells of Dr Gottwald together with a catal. of his museum but they were delivered to me long after the sale of the museum wch' was mentioned upon the titulo pago of it' or also I had sent to desire you to have bought me some of them. You do not mention what is also for the plants or cuppercuts. I have all the marine things corals and shells in those tables not wanting one [...]: I have soon have an amber cabinet of all the sorts of amber to be sold but do not yet know what price is asked for it. It comes from Dr Gottwald's Museorum and is very fine".

⁸⁵ FB Gotha, Chart. B788, fol. 613–614.

⁸⁶ BL, Sloane MS 4046, fol. 1; FB Gotha, Chart. B857b, fol. 161.

⁸⁷ FB Gotha, Chart. B875, fol. 170–171.

⁸⁸ Some elements of the collection were described by Gabriel Rzączyński in *Historia Naturalis Curiosa Regni Poloniae* (Sandomiriae 1721, pp. 18, 22, 28–29, 37, 180). According to Jerzy Pawłowski, the Jesuith had seen the collection between 1715 and 1717 (Jerzy PAWŁOWSKI, *Wkład jezuitów do rozwoju zoologii polskiej od wieku XVII do roku 1918*, [in:] *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami*, ed. Irena STASIEWICZ-JASUKOWA, Kraków 2004, p. 184 f.). The collection however reached the tsar court already in 1716.

court led by doctor Robert Areskin,⁸⁹ thanks to whom a part of the minerals collection as well as conchological collection, collection of fauna of the sea and a botanical one (described and defined in Gdańsk/Danzig⁹⁰ and then in St. Petersburg by Michaił Łomonosow⁹¹) were bought with 500 ducats by Peter the Great⁹² and reached the Russian Kunstkammer⁹³ after the 8th April 1716.

⁸⁹ About R. Areskin's activities in the Tsar's Court and his engagement in promoting the research and purchase of natural collections, see: Robert COLLIS, *The Petrine Instauration: Religion, Esotericism and Science at the Court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725*, Leiden 2011, pp. 121–207.

⁹⁰ A short, hand-written list of purchases made of items in the Gottwalds' collection is held in the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg together with Seba's catalogue; however both sources were written by different people (MS 188: „Musaei Gottwaldiani. Pars prima continens Varia naturalia ex Triplici Naturo Regnopolita”, Библиотека РАН. Отдел рукописей, Ф. 188, fol. 19–20v). Information comes from: Jozien J. DRIESSEN-VAN HET REVE, *De Kunstkamera van Peter de Grote. De Hollandse inbreng Gereconstrueerd uit brieven van Albert Seba en Johann Daniel Schumacher uit de jaren 1711–1752*, Hilversum 2006, p. 113 (fn. 31), 290. D. D. Novogrodowa cites a hand-written copy of MG stored in Moscow: Архив Минералогического музея им. А. Е. Ферсмана РАН, д. 10, 21 к [Архив Минералогического музея им. А. Е. Ферсмана РАН, д. 10, 21 к]. Both quoted sources constitute one whole: two cards in Petersburg are the introduction to the next part of the catalogue which is in Fersman's Mineral Museum. The Moscow's catalogue is a hand-written version of a printed copy from 1714, see: Dar'ya Dmitriyevna NOVGORODOVA, *Tri kataloga iz Arkhiva Mineralogicheskogo muzeyaim. A. Ye. Fersmana RAN, Novyye dannyye o mineralakh*, вып. 46: 2011, pp. 114–123 [Дарья Дмитриевна Новгородова, *Три каталога из Архива Минералогического музея им. А. Е. Ферсмана РАН*, Новые данные о минералах, вып. 46: 2011, pp. 114–123]; eadem, *Obraztsy mramornoj florentiyskoj mozaiki i ruinnogo mramora iz kollektiy mineralogicheskogo muzeyaim. A. Ye. Fersmana v mineral'nom kataloge kunstkamery (1745 g.)* [Образцы мраморной флорентийской мозаики и руинного мрамора из коллекций минералогического музея им. А. Е. Ферсмана в минеральном каталоге кунсткамеры (1745 г.)], *ibid.*, pp. 123–125. My sincere thanks go to Ms D. D. Novogrodowa for letting be familiarize myself with the hand-written copy of the catalogue stored in Moscow.

⁹¹ Krystyna KOWALSKA, *Zoologia*, [in:] *Zarys dziejów nauk przyrodniczych w Polsce*, ed. Bogdan SUCHODOLSKI [et al.], Warszawa 1983, p. 337; J. PAWŁOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 184 f. (gives 1718).

⁹² See: D. D. NOVGORODOVA, *Ot Muzeya Gottvalda* [Д. Д. Новгородова, *От музея Готтвальда*]. The information is repeated in some earlier mentioned literature and in the hand-written introduction to MG, stored in Strasburg.

⁹³ Johann Daniel SCHUMACHER, *Gebäude der Kayserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften nebst der Bibliothec und Kunst-Kammer in St. Petersburg nach ihrem Grundriss, Aufriss und Durchschnitt*, St. Petersburg 1741, p. 17, <http://www.e-rara.ch/zut/content/pageview/1925444>; J. Bernoulli's *Reisen durch Brandenburg und Polen, Erster Band, Reise nach Danzig*, Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, Bd. 39: 1779, p. 28; Johann Gottlieb GEORGI, *Geographisch-physikalische und Naturhistorische Beschreibung des Rußischen Reichs: zur Übersicht bisheriger Kenntnisse von demselben. Vorhandene Mineralien. Systematische Beschreibung aller bisher bekannt gewordenen inländischen Mineralien, deren hiesige Gewinnung und Verwendung*, Bd. 3, T. 2, Königsberg 1798, p. 101; R. COLLIS, *The Petrine Instauration*, pp. 437–438.

Thanks to Areskin, the Tsar's court also came into the possession of Albert Seba's and Frederik Ruysch's collections which was the starting point of the Tsar's own natural collections.⁹⁴ What was to be found in the Gottwalds' collection and how the items were arranged is discussed in a separate article.⁹⁵

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⁹⁴ More on the purchase of F. Ruysch's and A. Seba's collection see: J. J. DRIESSEN-VAN HET REVE, op.cit.

⁹⁵ See footnotes: 13 and 37.



ABOUT THE SALE OF THE MUSEUM OF THE GOTTWALDS:
 JOHANN PHILIPP BREYNE AND HIS CORRESPONDENTS

Summary

Key words: Christoph(or) Gottwald (1636–1700); Johann Christoph Gottwald (1670–1713); *Musaeum Gottwaldianum*; the history of medicine – Royal Prussia, the 17th century, the 18th century; the history of natural collections – Royal Prussia, the 18th century; the history Natural Science – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the 17th century, the 18th century

The article discusses the correspondence between Johann Philipp Breyne and scholars from the German-speaking territories of Europe and England interested in purchasing the exhibits from the Museum of the Gottwalds in Gdansk/Danzig after the death of its second owner Johann Christoph Gottwald (1670–1713). The Museum of the Gottwalds was set up in the second half of the 17th century by Christoph Gottwald (1636–1700), a medical doctor and a doctor of philosophy; after his death, it was inherited by his son, who was also a medical doctor. It constituted one of the biggest collections of natural exhibits in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the early modern period and one of the most outstanding collections in Gdansk/Danzig. In 1716, part of the collection was moved to Petersburg, where it gave rise to a collection

of minerals which was part of the royal cabinet of curiosities. At present it is kept in the Fersman Mineralogical Museum.

ZUM VERKAUF DES DANZIGER MUSEUMS DER DOKTOREN GOTTWALD:
JOHANN PHILIPP BREYNE UND SEINE KORRESPONDENTEN

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Christoph(or) Gottwald (1636–1700); Johann Christoph Gottwald (1670–1713); *Musaeum Gottwaldianum*; Geschichte der Medizin – Königliches Preußen, 17. Jahrhundert, 18. Jahrhundert; Geschichte der Naturaliensammlungen – Königliches Preußen, 18. Jahrhundert; Geschichte der Naturkunde – Republik beider Nationen, 17. Jahrhundert, 18. Jahrhundert

Der Artikel behandelt die Korrespondenz zwischen Johann Philipp Breyne und Gelehrten aus den deutschsprachigen Gebieten Europas und aus England in den Jahren 1710–1730. Diese Gelehrten interessierten sich für den Ankauf von Exponaten aus dem Danziger Museum der Gottwalds nach dem Tod seines zweiten Eigentümers Johann Christoph Gottwald (1670–1713). Das Museum der Gottwalds wurde in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts von dem Danziger Christoph Gottwald (1636–1700), einem Doktor der Medizin und Philosophie, begründet. Nach seinem Tod erbte es sein Sohn, der ebenfalls Medicus war. Es handelte sich um eine der größten Naturaliensammlungen in der frühneuzeitlichen Republik sowie um eine der bedeutendsten Naturaliensammlungen in Danzig. 1716 wurde ein Teil von ihr nach St. Petersburg gebracht, wo sie zum Keim einer mineralogischen Sammlung wurde, die zur dortigen Kunstammer gehörte; gegenwärtig befindet sie sich allerdings im Bestand des A.-E.-Fersman-Museums für Mineralogie in Moskau.

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