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Sigismund II Augustus' volumes in the Åbo Akademi Library, Finland

Renaissance books in a transnational, national and regional context

When discussing Renaissance libraries, it is common that Italian examples – they were indeed important and served as a model for the rest of Europe – or other Western European book collections are the focus of attention. (Segel 1989, 1). Since Eastern Central European scholars in the field of book history have recently published also in other than national languages, the rich book cultures of Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Bohemia, and Dalmatia have increasingly received the attention they deserve. There is nevertheless still a need for further investigation of intellectual and material exchange with other areas. This article explores the history of three medical volumes, which once belonged to the important book collection of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Sigismund II Augustus (1520-1572), and their possible itinerary to Finland, where they are nowadays located in the Åbo Akademi Library, Turku. It sheds light on the people and professions who were interested in these valuable continental, Renaissance books originally possessed by the maternal uncle of the deposed Catholic King Sigismund of Sweden (1592-1599), as Sigismund III of Poland-Lithuania (1587-1632) and explores their meaning for both national and regional culture in Sweden and Finland. It extends the concept of a *Renaissance book collector* geographically to Northern Europe and temporally to the emergence of the period we call the modern period.

Sigismund II Augustus' library among Renaissance book collections

The King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Sigismund II Augustus (1520-1572), had a collection of approximately 5,000 books in his library.¹ The collection was massive in contemporary Europe, where even the most substantial Renaissance book collections rarely exceeded 1,000 volumes. In comparison, one of the largest private libraries was owned by the Italian humanist Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494). In his short life, Pico succeeded in acquiring 1,132 books (Merisalo, 2020, 626). Naturally, the numbers are not entirely comparable, since book production increased rapidly after the spread of the printing press from the latter half of the 15th century. Besides wealthy private book collectors, some prosperous

¹ Estimates put the amount at between 4000 and 5000 prints and manuscripts at the end of Sigismund II Augustus' life.

institutions, such as monasteries with scribal traditions or favoured by important book donors, were able to possess considerable libraries. One of the first libraries we may consider “public” in a broad sense opened in 1444 in the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence and contained 400 codices. (Ullman & Stadter 1972, 60–67, 259–309; Field 2017, 233-255). In 1455, Pope Nicholas V made the pontifical library available for scholars to read and study with its around 1,200 Latin, Greek and Hebrew manuscripts (Bignami Odier 1973; Boyle 1993, xi-xx).

To display its imperial splendour, the library of the Habsburgs – the main rivals of the Jagiellons among European dynasties - in Vienna consisted of 7,000 books according to an inventory compiled in 1576 by the first head librarian, Hugo Blotius. Before his employment, the library was reported as being in a “chaotic state”: valuable manuscripts were damaged by bookworms, moths, damp air, and lack of ventilation (Louthan 2006, 69-71). Blotius was educated in Louvain, but continued his studies in France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy and Germany. He was reported to have close connections to Hungary, where the *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, established by the King of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus (1443-1490), possibly served as one of the models for Sigismund II Augustus’ library (Pirożyński 1989, 23-24). At the king's death in 1490, the library consisted of about 3,000 codices, which included about four to five thousand works, representing both classical, medieval, and contemporary authors identically with typical Renaissance libraries including Sigismund II Augustus’ collection. Both of these royal libraries were intertwined with Italian Renaissance humanism and individual humanist scholars (Csapodi & Csapodi Gárdonyi 1967). Both kings were also family-related with the House of Naples and therefore, to each other: Matthias Corvinus’ second wife² was Beatrice of Naples (1457–1508), also known as Beatrice of Aragon, while Sigismund II Augustus’ mother was Bona Sforza (1494-1557), whose mother, Isabella of Naples, also known as Isabella of Aragon, was Beatrice’s niece. It was through Beatrice’s family that Matthias’ library acquired Renaissance architectural treatises in the 1480s (Farbaky 2017, 26). In a letter (*sine datum*), Sigismund II Augustus’ secretary and historian Marcin Kromer (1512-1589) specifies the King’s relatives Matthias of Hungary (Corvinus, 1443–1490) and great-grandfather Alfons of Aragon (1448-1495) in maternal line (“materni generis ducis originem”), who filled their libraries with magnificent books of all kinds (“magnificas et omni genere librorum refertas bibliothecas condidisset”) as models for Sigismund II Augustus

² The first wife of Matthias Corvinus was Catherine of Poděbrady (1449–1464) who died in childbirth only at the age 14.

(Hartleb 1928, 137; see also Hersey 1969). Apparently, a part of Bona Sforza's library passed to the queen's only son, Sigismund Augustus (Pirożyński 1989, 25), but only one volume's provenance has been associated with Bona, namely Giovanni Simonetta's *La Sforziada*, (printed in 1490 and translated from Latin into Italian by Cristoforo Landino), a historical-panegyric work about the founder of the ducal dynasty of Milan, Francesco Sforza (1401–1475), originally a wedding gift for Galeazzo da Sanseverino (c. 1460–1525) and Bianca Sforza (1482–1496), nowadays in the Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw (Kawecka-Gryczowa 1988, nr. 805, 267–268). In general, the role of women in transmitting books is undervalued and definitely needs further studies. Only about 216 items of *Corvinae* survived, today located in several libraries in Hungary and Europe. Similarly, Sigismund II Augustus' books acquired in the 1540's–60's with the help of various court intellectuals, agents and ambassadors were dispersed after his death and only partly preserved.

The books were gathered for the royal library from the mid-1540's onwards. The King did not purchase the books himself, but authorized administrative persons, envoys, and intellectuals for that purpose. For instance, Franciszek Lismanin, Andrzej Trzeciecki the Elder and Andrzej Trzeciecki the Younger were active in acquiring books for the royal library. Franciszek Lismanin (Francesco Lismanino) was an Italian brought up in Poland, confessor of Queen Bona Sforza. Andrzej Trzeciecki (Tricesius the Elder, d. 1547) was a humanist, an expert on classical languages and after his death in 1547 replaced by his son, Andrzej Trzeciecki the Younger, also a well-educated language specialist and a talented poet (Madej-Anderson 2017, 391). The collection was looked after by court librarians: Jan of Koźmin in 1547–1548, royal secretary Stanisław Koszutski, who catalogued law books in 1551–1559, and a well-known humanist and writer Łukasz Górnicki, who also transferred the collection to the castle of Tykocin in 1565. In addition, the historian Marcin Kromer and Jan Zamojski, later chancellor and Great Hetman of the Crown, participated in enlarging the royal library (Pirożyński 1989, 26).

The books were first-class editions representing the fields of law, theology, philosophy, medicine, natural sciences, mathematics, astronomy, history, geography, classical literature and grammar. The works mirrored the humanistic ideals of classical knowledge as well as the latest trends and scientific achievements of the era. Purchases were made domestically, as well as abroad, for example in Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Augsburg and Cologne. Most of the books were similarly bound. The covers were made of elaborated brown leather, decorated with blind embossing and gilded with knurling wheels and small decorative pistons. In the mirror of the top cover there is a royal super-libris showing the coat of arms of Poland and

Lithuania, and on the back cover a formula indicating ownership: "SIGISMUNDI AUGUSTI REGIS POLONIAE MONUMENTUM", usually with the date of the binding. The bindings in 1547–1555 were made by the Cracow bookbinders Dawid and Jerzy Moeller. Later bindings were made in Vilnius in anonymous workshops. Rankelienė's recent study of the decorations of book covers, now in Vilnius University Library, has yielded more detailed data about their provenance (Rankelienė 2020). After 1563, this type of decoration was abandoned, perhaps caused by the transfer of the library to the castle in Tykocin. Sigismund Augustus' library, housed first in the Lower Castle in Vilnius, was larger than the royal library in Cracow. Besides books, the King passionately collected jewels. According to nuncio Bernardo Bongiovanni's relation, his collection of jewels was located in 16 chests (Cynarski 1988, 198–199). The collection of artefacts as part of a larger programme of humanistic ideals was developed throughout the 15th century across Italy and spread further during the next century. It became fashionable for political leaders and prominent members of the Houses of e.g. Aragon, Colonna, d'Este, Habsburg, Medici, and Sforza-Visconti, who had access to local antiquities, to display books, jewels, coins, gems, marbles and other objects. Familial and diplomatic networks spread both the habit of collecting and the objects themselves. From his mother's side, Sigismund Augustus had relatives belonging to all these families in addition to his two Habsburg-born wives. Precious and rare objects conferred their owner with status and demonstrated wealth, learning, taste and historical importance. (Kutasz Christensen 2018, 38-41).

Sigismund II Augustus was usually in close proximity to his collection. In about 1565, he decided to move the library from Vilnius to Tykocin, near his favourite residence Knyszyn in Podlachia, located on the road connecting the Polish Crown with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Pirożyński, 1989, 26). Despite three marriages, the last of the Jagiellons (in the male line) remained childless. In his testament indited on 6 May 1571, the King left the books to the Jesuits of Vilnius, except for liturgical books that were donated to the church of St Anne, also in Vilnius (Przezdziecki 1868, 248), but this wish was never fully realised. After his death in 1572, the library was scattered and a large part of it disappeared. If not lost earlier, some books were irretrievably damaged, as was the case in 1944 in Warsaw, where after suppressing the uprising, the Germans burnt the collections of the National Library, and with them 72 volumes from the collection of Sigismund Augustus. Today, only partial catalogues are known, e.g. the inventory of legal works made by the royal librarian Stanisław Koszutski (manuscript in the Royal Library in Stockholm) and the list of books from the library of Jan III Sobieski in

Warsaw and Żółkiew compiled by Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski. The search for and discovery of the hitherto undiscovered remains of the royal library continues to this day. The latest item of the collection with typical binding was discovered in 2021 by Nils Åkerlund, librarian of the Umeå University Library, including Strabon's *Geography* (1549) in parallel columns in Greek and Latin.

The previous scholarship (before her own time) has been meticulously listed by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (Kawecka-Gryczowa 1988, 19–66), who in 1988 succeeded in cataloguing 958 prints and 12 manuscripts from the library. Maria Brynda and Mariâ Ivanovna Tkačenko completed Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue by adding 110 titles in 74 volumes that were transported in the 18th and 19th centuries to Russia and that are currently in the collection of the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg. A part of the books was already known by Kawecka-Gryczowa. (Brynda & Ivanovna Tkačenko 2015). Individual, previously unidentified books have been described quite recently (see, e.g. Płaszczyńska-Herman 2020). The National Library of Poland houses the largest collection of surviving items from Sigismund II Augustus' library, some 160 works bound into 106 volumes. In turn, more than 90 items are held in Scandinavia and Finland: mostly in Sweden, 3 in Denmark and 1 in Finland. In 2019-20, I was able to consult Sigismund II Augustus' books located in the Vilnius University Library (14), in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (app. 30) and in the Åbo Akademi Library in Turku (1, bound in three volumes). The aim of the project was to consult all the books located in Nordic countries and I managed to consult the Rogge Biblioteket volumes (5) in Strängnäs as well as some individual volumes in the Royal Library in Stockholm (9) before the project was interrupted because of COVID-19. In this article, the focus is on the volumes in Finland, which have attracted neither international nor national scholarly attention. In the Åbo Akademi Library, the books belong to the collection called in Swedish *Gadoliniska biblioteket* (the Gadolin library), according to its former owner, Johan Gadolin. Eva Costiander-Huldén has published her studies on the Gadolin library, but does not touch specifically upon Sigismund Augustus' volumes (Costiander-Huldén, 2017 & 2018).

Sigismund II Augustus' volumes in Turku

The Turku volumes are a collected work attributed to Galen. The influence of the Roman physician's (d. c. 216) oeuvre, identified as *Galenism*, on medicine and medical thinking was enormous during Antiquity and the Middle Ages and enjoyed a revival in the first half of the

16th century. The Latin edition of the Galenic works *Omnia quae extant in latinam sermonem conversa* contains eight works bound in three volumes, all printed in 1556 in Venice by the Giunti press. The printing house owned by the Giunti family enjoyed an international reputation at the time with a series of satellite firms in various cities and was one of the wealthiest publishing enterprises in Renaissance Italy and France. (Petras 1974, 334-349). The 1556 printing was the third edition of the work. Giovanni Battista Monte (Johannes Baptista Montanus, 1498-1551), Paduan professor of medicine and one of the leading Renaissance humanist physicians of Italy, was involved in the editing process. Monte promoted the revival of Greek medical texts and practice, producing revisions of Galen as well as of medical texts by Rhazes and Avicenna. In the previous editions, Galen's works were organized into two volumes more or less according to the Arabic division of medicine into theory and practice. Monte proposed a new order according to Galen's description in his *De constitutione artis medicae*. Thus, the works were arranged in seven sections by topic (Fortuna 2012, 402-403):

- biology, anatomy, and physiology;
- hygiene and dietetics;
- pathology;
- semeiotics;
- pharmacology;
- surgery;
- therapy.

Additionally, three sections were included:

- introductory works;
- works *extra ordinem*, that is, the works that did not fit in a specific section, such as the commentary on *Aphorisms*;
- spurious works.

The order was maintained in the next consecutive *Giuntines* until 1625. The xylographs on the 1556 Giunti edition frontispiece depict Galen in various medical situations with other important figures such as Alessandro of Tralles and Paul of Aegina, and outside the medical sphere probably Marcus Aurelius. The same Giunti edition of 1556 of the work is preserved in several Italian libraries and in the Bavarian State Library, Germany, for instance. The edition is known to have belonged to other prestigious early modern libraries such as to the Maldotti Library in Guastalla, Reggio Emilia, Italy (Dallasta 2017).

However, the royal Sigismund II Augustus binding is unique in this work. Each volume contains separate works with its own pagination and special title pages.

Galenos, Claudios, *Omnia quae extant in latinam sermonem conversa*

Venetiis: Iunta 1556, fol.

Provenience: Gadolinian Library 19th c., Åbo Akademi's Library 1919

Binding: oak, brown leather, blind embossing, gilded coat of arms, "SIGISMUNDI AUGUSTI REGIS POLONIAE MONUMENTUM 1563"

Gad. 1273

[1]: Galeni Isagogici libri 72p.

[2]: Galeni Prima classis naturam corporis humani, hoc est elementa, temperaturas, humores, structurae habitudinisque modos, partium dissectionem, vsum, facultates & actiones, seminis denique foetuumque tractationem complectitur 341, [1]

Front cover: Galeni omnia quae extant

Gad. 1274

[3]: Galeni Secunda classis materiam sanitatis conseruatricem tradit quae circa aerem: cibum, potum: somnum, vigiliam: motum, quietem: inanitionem, repletionem: animi denique affectus versatur 109, [1]

[4]: Galeni Tertia classis quaecunque ad morborum omnium ac symptomatum differentias & causas & tempora attinent, declarat 197 [i.e.195, 1]

Front cover: Galeni secunda classis

Gad. 1275

[5]: Galeni Sexta classis eam chirurgiae partem amplectitur, quae ad cucurbitulas, scarificationes, hirudines, deriuationem, reuulsionem, ac phlebotomiam spectat 21, [1]

[6]: Galeni Septima classis curandi methodum tum diffuse tum breuiter descriptam, victus rationem in morbis acutis, singulorum morborum facile paranda remedia, priuatam quorundam morborum curationem, chirurgie constitutionem ... continent 322

[7]: Galeni Extra ordinem classium libri in quibus breues rerum determinationes traduntur, 79

[8]: Galeno ascripti libri spurii libri, qui variam artis medicae farraginem ex varijs auctoribus excerptam continent, ... Galeno ascripti libri, spurii libri, qui variam artis medicae farraginem ex varijs auctoribus excerptam continent... 113, [1]

Front cover: Galeni sexta classis latine

It is noteworthy that *Quarta classis* and *Quinta classis* are missing. Since only three volumes are mentioned in Gadolin's catalogue, it is probable that the missing titles formed a separate volume that had been lost earlier. All front covers contain a royal super-ex-libris with the coat of arms of Poland and Lithuania, with the back cover indicating ownership and the date of the binding: "SIGISMUNDI AUGUSTI REGIS POLONIAE MONUMENTUM 1563". The gilding is only partially preserved.

The watermark, a wild boar (e.g. on the inside cover of Gad. 1275) is very similar to those introduced in Briquet, e.g. 1) Briquet 13574, Breslau/Wrocław [?] 1503 2) Briquet 13576, Wschoven/Wschowa 1526 3) Briquet 13577, Posen/Poznań 1542 (Briquet 1968, vol. 4, 674 "sanglier"). These Polish watermarks representing wild boars have clear distinctive elements compared with the Italian (no 13571, no 13569) wild boar watermarks, for instance. All the Polish examples are presented in a dynamic position with a curved back covered with significant boar bristle. According to Briquet, they come from the Schweidnitz (nowadays Świdnica) paper mill, founded by the end of the 15th century in Silesia (Eysymontt, Sachs & Szymczyk, 2018, 8). Very plausibly, the paper used in the royal volumes was produced in the same paper mill. There is another, more ornamental round-shaped watermark (a dragon?) e.g. on the inside cover of Gad. 1273 and 1274. (See, Brynda & Ivanovna Tkačenko 2015, App. "Watermarks" ad. catalogue no 37).

The supralibros present on the covers was marked as V in the Kawecka-Gryczowa catalogue (fig. 30). According to her, two ornamental roll tools (nr 16 and 17) were used to decorate the binding, but she does not mention the noteworthy roll on the front and back cover of Gad. 1275 with eminent Reformist figures, with their names written: [IOAN]NES HUS, PHILLI[P] MELA[NCHTON], MARTIN LV[THER], ERASM[US] ROTE[RODAMUS]. While Kawecka-Gryczowa reads the roll elsewhere as merely MARTIN, my reading is MARTIN LV[THER] (fig.35-38). The binding is uniform with other Sigismund II Augustus volumes in Vilnius, Stockholm, Strängnäs and Berlin. The decoration varies depending on which rolls were used from the book binders' repertory. Based on the printing year and the supralibros V, these volumes were probably bound in Vilnius.

So far, there is no direct evidence as to how these volumes ended up in Turku, Åbo in Swedish, then part of the Swedish realm, nowadays Finland. It is probable that they were included in the

immense war booty the Swedes confiscated from Eastern Central Europe during the continuous wars in the 17th century. The country was poor and peripheral and needed cultural capital, which was acquired on the orders of King Gustav II Adolph, of his successor Queen Christina and, during her regency, of state counsellor Axel Oxenstjerna. The first university in Sweden was founded in 1477 in Uppsala, but there was no proper university library. The Uppsala University Library was founded in 1620 by Gustav II Adolf. It included the remains of the medieval monastic libraries and some confiscated private libraries, such as King Sigismund's and that of Hogenschild Bielke, a privy counsellor who was executed in 1605. Gustav II Adolf multiplied his donations with literary war booty acquired during his wars on the continent. It is often maintained the Swedes took booty more systematically and on a larger scale than any other European state at that time, especially when it came to archives and libraries (Walde 1916, fn. 4, 16; Hagström Molin 2019, 257). This is, for example, how the Jesuit libraries in Riga, Braunsberg (Braniewo) and Frauenburg (Frombork) ended up in Swedish hands. The Academy Library of Vilnius (former Jesuit Library), which in the end received only a part of Sigismund II Augustus' literary heritage, was transported to Königsberg, East Prussia during the Russian attack in 1655. From there, a section of the collection was confiscated by the Swedes and taken to the University of Uppsala. Queen Christina followed in her father's footsteps by Central European libraries of their books and artifacts as loot. However, when she moved to Rome she took the most valuable books and objects with her and donated the rest to her librarians, public libraries and other persons and places. (Balsem 2020, 31-38; Nylander 2011, 47-50; see also Veselà 2019, 169-176). Usually, duplicates were given away or sold at auctions.

One of the best known auctions was held in Strängnäs in 1765. The war booty of over 1,000 books taken from the Czech lands towards the end of the Thirty Years War was given as a gift from Queen Christina to the Chapter of Strängnäs. An incomplete catalogue for auction was made (Salvius 1765). Although some other books were for sale besides the Czech war booty, Galen's works were not mentioned. Interestingly, the main criterion for choosing books for the auction seems to have been the size of the volumes and, more importantly, their age, rather than their content: a substantial number of the auctioned books were of a large size and had been printed before 1550. The Gadolin books may have been sold in some other auction since they are of a large size and probably not old enough (nor new enough) to have been interesting to an average collector. Nor do they have any inscriptions to mark auction or owner history.

There is no handwriting in the margins, which indicates that the large volumes originally served rather as books showing status or as prestigious reference books for courtiers.

There has been speculation about the fate of the books that passed to Sigismund II Augustus' sisters Anna and Catherine Jagiellon after his death, and subsequently to Sigismund (III) and to his sons (Ososiński 2015, 16-17). According to Lisowski they were taken from Warsaw by the Swedes in 1655 (Lisowski 1951, 241; see also Maruszak 2012, 20), but already in 1915 Otto Walde demonstrated that the books were already in Sweden before 1587 and were not returned to Poland after that date. Thus, they could not have been taken as loot in Warsaw in 1655 (Walde 1915, 319-321). Kawecka-Gryczowa states that the books taken by the Swedes in 1655 were books that had been in Warsaw since the times of Anna Jagiellon and that were taken over by Sigismund III, not after the death of his mother in 1583, but in 1587, when he became king of Poland (Kawecka-Gryczowa 1988, 77, 88).

Nevertheless, all Sigismund II Augustus' books in Nordic libraries are not war booty. Since Sigismund II Augustus' nephew, Sigismund (III) Vasa, was the heir apparent and King of Sweden in 1592–1599, books from Poland-Lithuania proceeded to Sweden through his relatives. In that case, the books usually include inscriptions, which indicate that Sigismund possessed them as a Swedish prince or monarch. Such an example is the inscription on the inside front cover of “Ex libris serenissim(i) Prin(cip)is Sigismundi” in a copy of the history of Venice (*Decades rerum venetarum*) by Sabellicus from 1487, now located in the Uppsala University Library (Sabellicus 1487, 1r). The Turku volumes do not contain this kind of markings.

It might be tempting to suggest that medical books were purchased and preserved because of their early modern possessors' personal interest. It is true that medical issues and thus, medicine, medical gardens and even plants enjoyed a certain place in the lives of Bona Sforza, Sigismund Augustus, Catherine Jagiellon as well as of her daughter, Anna Vasa. Furthermore, several medical works were published in Polish around the middle of the 16th century and in turn contributed to the general interest in medicine, but since there are no marginal markings, meta-texts nor sources proving Sigismund II Augustus or other family members used these books it would be imprudent to draw such conclusions. Either way, Galenic works were a part of the canonized medical literature that formed a seminal part of a Pan-European humanist library. According to the catalogue of Kawecka-Gryczowa, there were 97 medical entries in

Sigismund II Augustus' library, mostly in Latin, a few in Greek. Only five of them were in the vernacular, all in German. (Kawecka-Gryczowa 1988, 223-242).

The Gadolins

Most of the books in the library of the chemist, Professor Johan Gadolin (1760–1852) already belonged to his father, Professor and Bishop Jacob Gadolin (1719–1802) and to his father-in-law, Professor and Bishop Johan Browallius (1707–1755) (Rajalin 2008 & 2009), all three of them politicians, scientists and professors at the Royal Academy of Åbo. The collection consists of approximately 3,400 works, mostly older natural science works, such as the Galenic volumes once possessed by Sigismund II Augustus. The oldest item was printed in 1500, and the last one in 1848. The later works were connected to the professors' research or personal interests, typical of natural scientists of the period called the utilitarian age or age of utility in Nordic countries, where ideas of Enlightenment were articulated in practical terms often associated with novelties in agriculture or mining, for instance. Gadolin often had the valuable works rebound, but these practical books usually had modest lump paper covers. (Costiander-Huldén 2018, 45). As a bibliophile, he knew the value and beauty of the royal binding and left it as it was. The works have been listed in a hand-written catalogue by Johan Gadolin in alphabetical order according to author. *Galenii Omnia quae extant* is included in the inventory. (Gadolin, *Catalogus*, no 1273-1275). In addition, there is a letter 'N' below the title to indicate Gadolin's son Nils, to whom Galen's volumes were probably meant to be donated after his death. Letters written in Gadolin's handwriting in the inventory (R, Hm, P, N, Sp, G) possibly refer to Gadolin's children. (Costiander-Huldén 2018, 31)

The collection is unique, first, because it avoided being burnt in the Great Fire of Turku in 1827 as Gadolin had moved to the mansion of Virmo outside the town, and second, because it includes works acquired by three generations of professors. The collection provides information about the state of knowledge and activities at the royal Åbo Akademi, and gives an insight into the intellectual endeavours in Turku before the Great Fire. Although neither the itinerary of the volumes to the Gadolin Library nor their specific function are known, one may assume that they fed the interest in the history of medicine and book collecting of 18th century intellectuals even though Galenism had ceased at the end of the 16th century. Being semi-professional book collectors, the Browallius-Gadolin family members recognized a a rarity in book history, whether it is was purchased from an auction or elsewhere. They were all provided

with sufficient wealth and an international network of bibliophiles who knew their tastes and interests.

In 1919, Johan Gadolin's descendant Emil af Hällström donated the collection to the Åbo Akademi Library - not entirely without economical interest, but for one-third of its value, probably 12,500 FIM. (Åbo Akademi's Consistor's protocol 1919, 18-20 §3-5). He also donated other objects to other museums such as old newspapers, manorial decoration and farming tools (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 23 Dec 1919, 7). The rich and diverse book collection received the status of national Memory of the World Register in 2017 as a nationally significant documentary and written cultural legacy. Whatever route their journey to Turku took, the Sigismund II Augustus volumes are now part of the national Memory of the World Register.

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