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*Routledge Studies in Global Latin America*

# **TOWARD AN INTERCULTURAL NATURAL HISTORY OF BRAZIL**

**THE *HISTORIA NATURALIS BRASILIAE* RECONSIDERED**

Edited by Mariana Françaço



# Toward an Intercultural Natural History of Brazil

This volume presents the first extensive census of the surviving copies of the treatise *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* in libraries worldwide and examines the book from a variety of interdisciplinary viewpoints.

The chapters in this volume are written by scholars from different fields of knowledge, including anthropology, botany, linguistics, literature, book history, medieval and early modern history, and art history. The chapters contextualize the treatise vis-à-vis its predecessors and contemporaneous works of natural history and examine its botanical, zoological, and linguistic accuracy and usefulness in the present day. Put together, the seven chapters of this volume present a kaleidoscope of possibilities of how to reinterpret Piso and Marcgraf's work within the dynamic context of knowledge-production about the "New" World in the early modern era, while also suggesting approaches to continue profiting from its subject matter in the present day.

*Toward an Intercultural Natural History of Brazil* offers essential reading on the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*, natural history, and Latin American history.

**Mariana Françaço** is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, The Netherlands. Her research stands at the intersection of anthropology and history and focuses on the collection and circulation of Indigenous objects and knowledge from Brazil to Europe, with special emphasis on the early modern period.

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# Toward an Intercultural Natural History of Brazil

The *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*  
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Edited by  
Mariana Françaço



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### 3 Cover to Cover

## A Book Historical Approach to the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*

*Alex Alsemgeest and Jeroen Bos*

#### Introduction

When the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (HNB) came from the press of a Leiden printing office in 1648, it was already the result of a complex editorial history.<sup>1</sup> The steps leading up to the materialization of the text arguably started in the years prior to the publication, first with field research in Brazil and later with choices made for type, composition, illustration, and coloration. After the treatise was published, the copies were distributed among booksellers, sold to customers and collectors across Europe, found their way to the European aristocracy and the civic elite, or ended up in the collections of religious orders, colleges, or universities. In the following years, decades, and centuries, as the reputation of the HNB prolonged, these copies were constantly redistributed through auctions, legacies, donations, exchanges, and confiscations. New owners not only used and interpreted the treatise in new contexts, they physically reshaped the tome by adding markings, marginalia, inscriptions, bookplates, decorations, or even new bindings to their copies. These adaptations are material evidence of dealings with the past and thus valuable sources in reconstructing the trajectory of the HNB and understanding the multiple histories of the treatise.

The HNB has been subject of research in several academic disciplines, covering historical, zoological, botanical, iconographical, and ethnographical perspectives.<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly, we know little about the material history of the tome. The process of printing, publication, and dissemination, as well as the initial reception, use, redistribution, and later adaptations of the treatise in new contexts, have all been studied before, but never in a comprehensive way, that is, based on multiple copies of the same treatise. There is a practical explanation for the absence of such an analysis. The study of early printed books as material objects relies heavily on the availability of copy-specific information. Even though individual libraries sometimes provide detailed information on the binding and provenance of their respective copies in local catalogues, there are very few transnational databases that offer copy-specific information as structured data. The exception arguably lies in the field of incunabula studies, with the Material Evidence in

Incunabula (MEI) database as the standard example of how material evidence can and should be offered as structured data.

In this contribution, we use a combination of tools from analytical bibliography and cultural history to uncover the material history of the HNB and create a framework that allows us to study its trajectory. We set up a copy census to track down as many remaining copies of the HNB as possible and record all material evidence connected to it.<sup>3</sup> Even though our census is only a first attempt to give a comprehensive overview of all surviving copies of the HNB, and is most certainly incomplete and imperfect, we argue that copy-specific information of more than 300 copies ensures a solid basis to further explore the social and cultural context of the HNB. In our framework, we connect the census with the model for the life cycle of the book,<sup>4</sup> and the concepts of heritage, cultural memory, and patrimonization, that have been used in cultural history for some time and were applied in the field of book history more recently.<sup>5</sup>

The model for the life cycle of the book, which traditionally describes the acts of production, publication, distribution, reception, and survival, can now be studied in relation to material evidence that is directly connected to individual copies of the HNB. The census gives a systematic overview of actors in relation to the copies at different stages in the life cycle of the book: trade networks, acquisition, transfer of ownership, reception, use, and survival of the book. The concepts heritage, cultural memory, and patrimonization help to explain how actors dealt with their copies over time and, consequently, why copies are found in one library or one country and not another, why actors brought physical changes to the book, and why books did or did not survive in certain places.

## Copy Census

The copy census as a methodology has a history of its own.<sup>6</sup> The method derives its reputation from Sidney Lee's census of Shakespeare's first folio copies in 1902 and Seymour de Ricci's census of Caxtons a few years later.<sup>7</sup> The pioneers in the field obviously did an outstanding job finding, identifying, and listing dozens of copies from across the world without the aid of modern communication, electronic databases, and digital reproductions. One of the first major implications of these censuses was the understanding that numerous small technical, often coincidental interventions or errors in the production of the book lead to hundreds of small divergences in the text. Editorial changes were applied at the press to text and composition, ink was not always evenly distributed over the page, misprinted text might have been corrected halfway through the print run, type could have shifted or fallen out, and countless other things could and did happen during the process of printing. Consequently, Lee, De Ricci, and contemporaries typically focused on textual divergences and printing history and paid little

attention to bindings, provenances, and marginalia. Former owners were occasionally mentioned, but not recorded in a structured way.

Understanding the history of books as a social and cultural phenomenon, researching the trajectory of specific copies, and explaining how ideas were transmitted through print is a relatively modern approach. More recent examples of copy surveys seem to focus less on the questions of textual scholarship and more on the social impact of books. Owen Gingerich's *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus* does not only list 560 known copies of two editions of *De Revolutionibus*, it also analyzes important annotations, provenances, and thus the trajectory of the copies.<sup>8</sup> Appendices with auction results provide insight in collectors and library development over the centuries. The approach by Gingerich has inspired other scholars to explore the ownership and trajectory of other famous books, for example Vesalius' *Fabrica*.<sup>9</sup>

Another recent example is the census of copies of the 1705 edition of Maria Sibylla Merian's *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium*.<sup>10</sup> The list was published as an appendix to a facsimile of the book, totals 67 copies worldwide, and makes an interesting comparison with our census of the HNB. First, because both publications cover natural history in roughly the same geographical area, but arguably even more so because the context wherein these books were published could not have been more different. Whereas Merian had to publish the first edition of her *Metamorphosis* as a private undertaking at her own expenses, the publication of the HNB was a highbrow project, edited by the established scholar Johannes de Laet, printed and published by the renowned houses of Hackius and Elzevier, and of course a direct result of the expedition that was initiated by Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen.

A general overview of the results of our census shows straight away that there are relatively many surviving copies of the HNB. So far, we have identified 305 copies of the original edition from 1648, and there is little doubt that more copies are to be found in the stacks of small provincial libraries, museum libraries, and private collections across the world. There is no undisputable evidence on the extent of the original print run. Hoftijzer showed that the printing office of Hackius was capable of producing up to 2100 copies for three volume octavo editions, but without additional information on quantities of paper or production costs for the HNB it is not possible to project these numbers directly on this treatise.<sup>11</sup>

The setup of our census involved three basic steps: locating as many copies as possible, getting them confirmed either through autopsy or with the help of local experts, and gathering information concerning the coloring, binding, and provenance of the copies. Since the HNB was printed in the Netherlands, we started our search for copies simply by checking the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (STCN), which is the Dutch retrospective bibliography for books published before 1801. Then, we listed all copies we could find through search shells such as Worldcat and the Karlsruher

Virtueller Katalog, followed by the copies we came across in national union catalogues, and, occasionally, in local library catalogues.<sup>12</sup> This amounted to a list of approximately 150 copies and a number of epistemological and practical problems connected to the list.

Most importantly, we needed to figure out how we could be sure that these copies on our list actually existed. In the case of the copies that are derived from the STCN, we know that a trained bibliographer described them on the basis of autopsy. That is however not the case for copies found in virtual search engines, such as Worldcat and the Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog, and as a result of data entry from old card catalogues, even local library catalogues have their surprises. It turned out that there are several “ghost copies” of the HNB listed in databases, that is, copies that are accounted for as paper copies but only exist as access to a digitized copy. In other cases, copies were lost or damaged to such an extent that they are no longer available for consultation. The most telling example is a copy in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar, which was severely damaged in the fire of 2004. The copy was replaced with another copy, bought at an auction in 2007, but this does not erase the fact that the blackened remains of the earlier copy, with specific material evidence connected to it, are in a depot somewhere. Naturally, we listed both the original and the replacement copy in the census. A completely different problem are the copies that are not listed in any online catalogue but undoubtedly exist somewhere in the stacks of a library, museum, or in the collection of a private collector. How do you find books that are not accounted for in any catalogue, bibliography, or inventory? There is, in fact, no better answer than to look systematically and make use of your network of scholars and librarians in different countries.

We sent out a survey to all libraries of which we expected, either on the basis of existing catalogue records or the profile of their collection, that they might own a copy. We examined as many copies as possible ourselves, foremost the copies in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Sweden, with the help of close colleagues who traveled around in Great Britain and Brazil, and through photos and descriptions of local experts and librarians in the other countries. This eventually led to a detailed list of approximately 250 confirmed copies. A final call through the mailing lists of the Consortium of European Research Libraries, the European Botanical and Horticultural Libraries Group, and the Council on Botanical and Horticultural Libraries in June 2018, as well as the decision to include six copies that were, at the time, in possession of antiquarian booksellers, brought the total to more than 300.

Our census was not just intended to locate and identify the copies but also to record the material evidence connected to the copies. Two issues that remained throughout the census were the level of detail that we would apply to the entries and the uniformity of the terminology that we use. When it came to provenance data, we decided not to leave out any information. Every initial, removed bookplate, or illegible name that we know of has



been accounted for in the census. We did, however, restrict ourselves when describing the content of annotations throughout the text. One of our initial questions was whether marginal annotations included Linnaean or other forms of taxonomy. Several respondents replied that they were not qualified to answer that question, and since we had no option to check every tome ourselves, we had to drop that from the survey. Uniformity of terminology was particularly problematic when describing the bindings. Some terms, such as parchment and vellum, are used indifferently in catalogues even though they are not the same. The same applies to the difference between gold tooling and stamping and the use of ornaments, fillets, rolls, and so on. Furthermore, descriptions in other languages, such as *pasta española* and *veau blanc*, lose their connotation when replaced by English equivalents. We decided to rely on local expertise where possible and use preferred terms from the Language of Bindings thesaurus in other cases.

## Manufacture

One significant outcome of the census is that there are very few printing errors and textual divergences throughout the tome. The fingerprint of the STCN shows that there are no discrepancies at edition level. All known copies have the same collation and the same typesetting. Moreover, there is no evidence of major editorial corrections at the press or typical print-shop accidents that may have required resetting the type for one sentence, paragraph, or an entire page. Even if we zoom in to individual words and characters, we could not find any divergences other than the occasional poorly inked punctuation mark or misprinted page number. In fact, after we had spent days comparing digital and physical copies, we concluded that most of the anomalies we had found were the result of poor digitization standards rather than the printing itself.

The uniformity of the text demonstrates that the tome was produced with great care, devotion, and skill in a single print run. It underlines that the publication of the HNB was a prestigious project for which only experts and the best craftsmen were hired. The tome was printed on the presses of François Hackius (1605?–1669) in Leiden. Hackius was a typical academic printer and bookseller from Leiden who almost exclusively produced Latin language editions.<sup>13</sup> He had an international clientele and was a regular attendee at the Frankfurt book fair from 1640 onwards. According to Elzevier scholar Alphonse Willems, “the Hackius” – he refers to the family of printers as a whole – were the only Dutch printers who could withstand the comparison with the Elzeviers.<sup>14</sup> In fact, it is likely that François Hackius was trained in the Elzevier company. Relations between the two printing houses were strong ever since, and this is reflected in the publications that were co-produced by both firms. The STCN lists 18 editions that have both the names of Hackius and the Elzeviers in the imprint. There is little doubt that Hackius printed other works for the Elzeviers that were not accounted for in the imprint.

If there ever was any doubt, typographical features prove that the HNB was indeed printed in Leiden by François Hackius. The work contains four head pieces and one tail piece. One head piece that is found in the HNB, depicting a crowned lion surrounded by other animals and a floral pattern, was used in most other folio publications by Hackius after 1648, such as *Monumentum Holmiæ positum Renato Des Cartes* of 1650, Jean Mercier's *Commentarii, in Iobum, et Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum* of 1651, and Johannes Calvin's *Institutionvm Christianæ Religionis Libri Quatuor* of 1654. It is found neither in any publication before 1648, nor in publications of other printers, so it may well have been designed for and only used by Hackius. Of the three other head pieces used in the HNB, one is found predominantly in Elzevier publications from the 1630s to the 1650s, as well as in the only folio edition published by Hackius before 1648, namely Antonius Walaëus' *Opera Omnia* of 1643. The other two head pieces have so far been traced in only one other publication, not surprisingly, printed by Elzevier. The only tail piece found in the HNB is used in numerous publications of the Leiden Elzeviers, probably first appearing in the 1625 edition of *Nieuuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* by Johannes de Laet (Figure 3.1).

Wood blocks and type material were of course constantly exchanged between printers. Claims based on typographical evidence should always be made with some reservations, but it is a safe assumption that Hackius had at least three blocks that were originally used by the Leiden Elzeviers in his possession for some time. The exchange of wood blocks confirms that close connections between Hackius and the Elzeviers had existed at least since 1643. The cooperation for the production of HNB was thus completely in line with standing business relations between both printing houses.

When we look at the other illustrations in the tome, it is striking that the dominant technique is woodcut. The well-known engraved title page, depicting Tapuya Indians in a Brazilian forest, is a copper engraving, but the illustrations of plants, animals, and the peoples of northeastern Brazil throughout the work are all woodcuts. The HNB was published at the time of a technical transition in the use of illustrations. In the first half of the seventeenth century, most publications in the field of natural history were illustrated with woodcuts. This changed in the second half of that century, when engraving became the dominant technique. The transition in technique is reflected in the production and use of illustrations in the HNB. The cultural-historical background of this transition falls outside the scope of this chapter; however, it is important to keep in mind that while engraving provided more detailed illustrations, the cost of an engraving in the first half of the seventeenth century was up to ten times that of a woodcut illustration.<sup>15</sup> There is no indication that the use of engravings was considered at a certain point. Even for a highbrow project as the HNB, the production costs were probably too high.



Figure 3.1 Four head pieces (A–D) and one tail piece (E) used throughout the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (Piso and Marcgraf, 1648). Leiden University Libraries (copy 1407 B 3).

Little is known about the afterlife of the woodblocks in the seventeenth century, but at least some of them have survived much longer. The Rijksmuseum holds four catchpenny prints from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which were printed from the original woodblocks from 1648.<sup>16</sup> One print from late eighteenth century shows the Indigenous people depicted on page 248 in the Marcgraf part of the HNB, with the imprint Johannes Bouwer and David le Jolle. The same print was reissued by Clement, De Vri, and Van Stegeren in Zwolle in the early nineteenth century. Other catchpenny prints make use of different woodblocks, showing the original illustrations in new contexts with added paratexts. So far, we have identified just one animal: the woodblock of the llama on page 243 of the HNB was reused on a print that further holds animals from Conrad Gessner's sixteenth-century encyclopedic work *Historiae Animalium*.

## Distribution

Apart from the business relations between Hackius and Elzevier, there might have been a practical reason to print the HNB in Leiden. Editor Johannes de Laet was based in the city so he could monitor the process at the workshop of Hackius from close range. De Laet had worked with the Elzeviers since 1625 and was the editor of several volumes of the celebrated Elzevier *Republics*. The inclusion of Louis Elzevier III in the imprint, arguably as the publisher of the book, was undoubtedly motivated by the international network and reputation of the Elzevier family. Louis, who just like François Hackius started his own business in 1638, had traveled to Denmark in 1632, 1634, and 1637, and to Italy in 1636. This had helped him to build up relations with scholars such as Johannes Meursius, Isaac Vossius, Ole Worm, Jean and Arnold Corvinus, and Lucas Holstenius, next to the vast network of the family business that he could already rely on. The Elzeviers served the international scholarly community on a grand scale and had their agents in all corners of the continent.

The HNB is first listed in the retail stock catalogue of Elzevier in Amsterdam in 1649. In the same year, the treatise is also mentioned in a catalogue of Melchior Martzan, who was the caretaker of Johannes Janssonius' office in Copenhagen. Somewhat later, in 1659, the title appears in the catalogue of the Frankfurt office of Joan Blaeu. The census shows that the Moretus family had a copy at least since 1675. From auction catalogues we can derive that booksellers such as Johannes (I) Janssonius van Waesberge, Pieter Niellius, and Johannes Verhoeve also had a copy in stock. It is hardly surprising that the HNB was instantly available across Europe, but it is worth noting that it was for sale in the shops of Janssonius and Blaeu, two of the traditional Amsterdam competitors of Elzevier.

When we take a closer look at the early stages of the distribution of the HNB, four groups of early possessors of a copy stand out in the census:



the libraries of religious orders, such as abbeys and Jesuit colleges, medical doctors and naturalists, European royals and aristocrats, and finally collectors from a civic elite. The census includes seventeenth-century provenances for Jesuit orders in Ghent, Vienna, Cologne, Lyon, Münster, and possibly Naples, the Barefoot Carmelites in Barcelona, and the abbeys of Ninove, Grimbergen, Afflighem, and Elwangen. The provenances for most of these copies date from the first 20 years after the treatise was published. One of the copies that is now in the National Library of Belgium was, according to a manuscript annotation, already in the possession of the Jesuit College in Ghent in 1648. The copy now at Jesus College Library in Oxford was bequeathed by Edward Herbert of Cherbury, who died in the year the HNB was published. The relation between the Elzeviers and Jesuits has been recognized before, while the practice of medical science at Jesuit schools and in monasteries and abbeys is of course well-known.<sup>17</sup>

The second group of early owners includes the English physicians John Goodyer and Christopher Merret, French medical doctor Louis Morin de Saint-Victor, the Italian court physician Romolo Spezioli, and the Germans Emanuel Brigel, Lukas Schröck, and Martinus Fogelius. From correspondence with Elzevier, we know that Danish naturalist and collector Ole Worm anxiously waited for the arrival of his copy in 1649, while auction catalogues reveal that Anchises Andla, court physician to William Frederick, Prince of Nassau-Dietz, Leiden professors of medicine Johannes Walaeus and Adolphus Vorstius, Harderwijk professor of medicine Franciscus Jacobus Cochius, doctors of medicine Samuel Coster, Gerard Calf, Wolfius Schonevelt, and Johannes de Vogelaer all had a copy in their possession. The data that we have taken from auction catalogues (Brill Book Sales Catalogues Online) shows that this information is complementary to the material evidence that we recorded from the tomes. It also poses the question: where are these copies now? None of these names that we derived from auction catalogues are listed in the census. This does not necessarily mean that these copies have been lost. It is not unlikely that several early possessors left no traces in their copies. They may well have survived in a collection without any material evidence of their initial owners.

Furthermore, we can identify a number of copies that were part of the collections of the European aristocracy. Gaston d'Orléans owned a copy, as did Cardinal Jules Raymond Mazarine, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and Johann Friedrich von Braunschweig-Lüneburg. There is a copy with the supralibros of King James II, and one with the wax seal of Swedish commander Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. The colored copy in the Royal Library in Copenhagen was probably donated by Johan Maurits to King Frederick III of Denmark.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence that Johan Maurits sent other copies to European royals as a gift, but it is certainly imaginable that he did.

In the Dutch Republic, stadtholder William Frederick, Prince of Nassau-Dietz, gave a copy to Franeker University in 1649, with an additional folium containing a printed dedication (Figure 3.2), while the States of Groningen



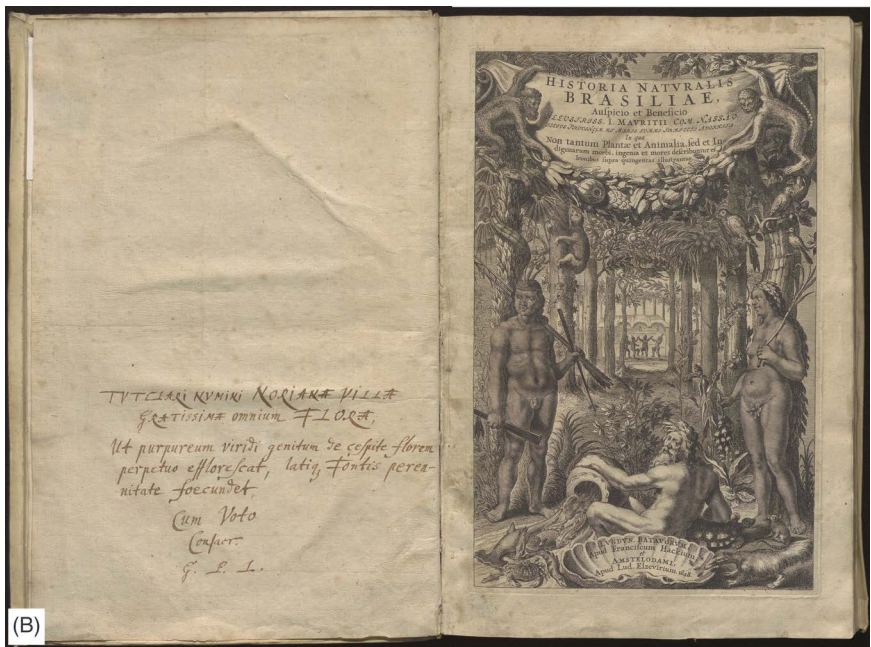


Figure 3.2 (A) Printed dedication of William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz to Franeker University Library. Tresoar (copy 700 Ntk fol). (B) Unidentified manuscript annotation. Uppsala University Library (copy Leufsta Collections F 92).

donated one to the University of Groningen in 1668. Both donations underline the prestige connected to the treatise. Other copies can be connected to the collections of the Fagel family, Grand Pensionary of Holland Adriaan Pauw, and collector Johannes Thysius. Furthermore, auction catalogues show a range of other possessors from various backgrounds, such as Leiden minister Jacobus Derramoud, commander of Purmerend castle Jacobus Franciscus Hinlopen, Leiden minister and president of the Theological College of the States of Holland of Leiden University Martinus Ubbenius, Leiden jurist and town clerk of Breda Janus Vlitijs, Leiden magistrate Arnold Wittens, and Leiden professor of oriental languages and mathematics Jacob Gollius.

The diversity of people who owned a copy of the HNB in the first decades after its publication, ranging from a civic elite, medical professionals, book collectors, universities, Jesuit schools, and kings and princes, suggests that the scope of the publication was broad. It was a treatise for the natural and medical sciences, for geography and a more general interest in travel and exploration, but certainly also for collecting and prestige. This is furthermore reflected in the contemporary bindings that have survived. The dominant binding seems to have been Dutch parchment, which was typical for the time, with the ratio between parchment and leather being approximately 70 to 30. Many copies have some form of gold tooling or blind stamping. Several copies that were bound in leather have an elaborate panel design. A small minority of copies has been personalized with a coat of arms. These are often the copies with a royal or aristocratic provenance.

## Coloring

Next to the binding and decoration, coloring of the images was one of the most noticeable adaptations that an owner could make to his copy. Coloring was, however, expensive and time-consuming and not necessarily appreciated as it is today. There are in fact very few colored copies of the HNB and little is known about the process. A specific question in the survey was whether the illustrations in the copy held by the institution were colored or not. Before the conducted census, six colored copies were known. In their pioneering work *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil*, Peter Whitehead and Marinus Boeseman identified colored copies in the Library of Congress (Washington), the collection of the late Joaquim de Sousa-Leão (Rio de Janeiro), Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leiden), Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie (Leiden), Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen), and the Staatsbibliothek (West Berlin).<sup>19</sup> The names of some of these institutions were altered over the years, but not much changed concerning the location of the copies. The Rio de Janeiro copy is the exception: it was relocated to São Paulo when the collection of Joaquim de Souza-Leão (1897–1976), a diplomat and Brazilian ambassador in the Netherlands in the 1950s, was acquired by Banco Itaú in 2002 and transferred to the Instituto Itaú Cultural.

Following the census, we can now name eight more copies with colored illustrations, namely in the Universiteitsbibliotheek (Ghent), Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Landesbibliothek (Oldenburg), Trinity College Library (Dublin), British Library (London), Royal College of Physicians (London), Public Library (New York), and Missouri Botanical Garden Library (St. Louis). Furthermore, there are two copies of which only the engraved title page is colored: one at the McGill University Library (Montréal) and the other at the Natural History Museum (London). This brings the number of colored copies to 14 on a total of just over 300 copies. What statements can be made and what questions should be asked based on these findings? Can we say anything in particular about where, when, and how the coloring was done? Autopsy and detailed analysis of all colored copies falls outside the scope of this census, but there are certainly some remarks to be made about the findings.

First, we will discuss the colorists of the tomes, in Dutch called “afsetters.” According to art historian Truusje Goedings, the study of the profession, production, and identification of individual colorists is still largely unexplored territory, owing to the fact that early modern book coloring has been looked down upon for a very long time.<sup>20</sup> From the middle of the eighteenth century, the coloring of book illustrations had a more industrial character and more is known about the relationship between publishers, printers, and colorists. For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, information and sources are scarce. The profession of colorist was not bound to rules of an organization, such as a guild. Anyone could express himself as colorist and it was one of the few career opportunities open to women. Colorists were considered artisans, not artists, and most carried out their work anonymously. Only a few gained such reputation that their names are known, some even were considered “meester afsetter,” or master colorist. It is, however, unclear whether they had to pass a test to receive this title, which would suggest some form of organization, or that it was given as token of respect for excellent craftsmanship.

One such master colorist was Amsterdam-based Frans Koerten (1599/1600–1668). When he died, his stock of books and prints was auctioned. The printed auction catalog reveals that Koerten possessed a colored and uncolored copy of the HNB 20 years after the treatise was published.<sup>21</sup> This suggests that Koerten was the colorist for at least some of the copies, and that the coloring took place over a period of several decades. Several books in the same catalogue are partially colored, indicating that Koerten was working on them. The entry for the HNB in the catalogue holds the remark that the colored copy was “curiously colored after the princely original” (“volgens ‘t Prinselijck Originael, curieus afgeset”). It is uncertain though what the original copy is and to whom the title of “prince” refers. It is very tempting to designate a master copy of the HNB which functioned as example for other copies. It is likewise very tempting to consider Johan Maurits as the prince whose copy was the referred to as the “princely original,” but is there

a historical basis for this consideration? In 1652, the count was ennobled and was since entitled to be addressed as prince.<sup>22</sup> In that case, the colored copies in Berlin and Copenhagen have a provenance that goes back to Johan Maurits and would be possible candidates. It is very questionable though whether the auctioneers followed this line of thought. Auction catalogues were often compiled in haste, and the auctioneers seized every opportunity to praise the books and prints for potential buyers.

Even though we have not examined all 14 colored copies in detail, it is clear that there are notable differences between them. Already on the title pages, it is striking that different colors have been used for the birds in the right top corner. On the other hand, there are some striking similarities in all copies that we have seen. The vase at the bottom of the title page, for instance, appears to be red and yellow in every copy. Moreover, the animals coming from the vase show a high level of resemblance in every examined copy. This cannot be coincidental. More research is needed about the detail and quality of the coloring of individual copies, arguably in combination with the *Libri Picturati* that hold the original drawings by Eckhout, before anything conclusive can be said about the coloring. However, if we focus on the similarities rather than the differences, there is reason to assume that the majority of copies were colored after a master copy, and given the quality of the coloring in the copies that we have seen, presumably by Frans Koerten in Amsterdam.

Minor variations, especially on the title page, might be explained by preferences of the patron or even the colorist. More comprehensive variations throughout the tome might be an indication that the coloring was not done after a master copy, probably not even by Frans Koerten. Not all colored copies were necessarily handled by professional colorists. It was a fully accepted pastime for early modern book owners to color the illustrations themselves. Instructional coloring manuals which contained recipes for preparing pigments and watercolor were highly popular.<sup>23</sup> The copies at the McGill University Library and the London Natural History Museum, with only the engraved title page in color, could very well be the work of enthusiast book owners. It might also be a stub from colorists who owned a copy and did not want to risk coloring the whole work without a guaranteed resale. By coloring the engraved title page, they could tempt interested buyers to buy a fully colored copy.

One of the well-known features of early modern coloring of book illustrations is color bleeding. There are several reasons why colors bleed. It was advised to not directly apply the colors on the paper but pre-process it with a glue-like substance. Another, rather obvious, reason for bleeding is the quality of the paints used. Lesser talented and beginning colorists did not have the financial means to invest in high-quality pigments. Paint that was applied too quickly tended to clump together. This is exactly what happened with a colored copy from the collections of the Library of Congress. In the process of opening the pages, the illustrations were damaged.

Finally, can we say anything conclusive about the early owners of the colored copies? Two of the colored copies have a provenance that may be traced back to Johan Maurits. The colored copy that is now in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin might have been his own, while the copy in the Royal Danish Library was presumably a gift by him to Frederick III. Most other colored copies lack a clear provenance in the seventeenth century. The copy at Trinity College Library that belonged to the Dutch Fagel family might qualify, though it is uncertain when the Fagels acquired it. The copy at the Royal College of Physicians came from the English collector Henry Pierrepont in 1680. The trajectory of most other colored copies only becomes apparent once they are in the hands of bibliophiles, such as Gilles-Jean Rooman, Georg Friedrich Brandes, James Carson Brevoort, and Ferdinand Casper Koch. Also, the copy in the British Library, owned by Hans Sloane, shows no traces of use and seems to have been a copy for presentation rather than for study.

Looking at the coloring from a different perspective, that is, by looking at the uncolored copies rather than the colored ones, we can state that copies that evidently left the Dutch Republic right after publication are all uncolored. This supports the idea that copies were colored in Amsterdam in the first two decades after publication. The same arguably applies to the copies in royal and aristocratic collections throughout Europe, which were generally uncolored. Surely it can be interpreted as a conscious decision by the custodians and librarians of these collections to acquire an uncolored copy, but it would have been hard to color these copies even if they had wanted to. Atlases and emblem books could be colored according to preferences. But how were you supposed to color all these exotic plants and animals “*ad vivum*” without original drawings, a master copy, or any indication what their natural colors were?

## Redistribution

How soon the process of redistribution began is obvious when we bring to mind that Edward Herbert of Cherbury bequeathed a copy in 1648, the year the HNB was published, and that professor of medicine Johannes Walaeus’ copy was auctioned in the following year. The copy of Edward Herbert of Cherbury was bequeathed to Jesus College Library in Oxford, where it is still today. Other copies, however, transferred ownership multiple times. The census brings forth hundreds of these second, third, or later generations of owners. We will give two examples from the eighteenth century: the naturalists and the bibliophiles.

Since the HNB remained the principal scientific text on the natural history of Brazil throughout the eighteenth century, it seems only logical that several notable naturalists from that era were among the new owners. Carl Linnaeus was one of them. He included some descriptions by Piso and many more by Marcgraf in his *Systema Naturae*. Linnaeus’ own copy is now in

the library of the Linnean Society of London and has generic identification of some botanical figures in Marcgraf's section. The copy of his good friend and court physician Abraham Bäck is now in the Hagströmerbibliotek in Stockholm. The same library also holds a letter from Daniel Rolander, dated 20 May 1756, where he thanks Bäck for the loan of "Piso" and some other books on his trip to Suriname. It is a fascinating thought that Linnean apostle Rolander had a copy of the HNB in his baggage when he was collecting plants and insects in roughly the same geographical area. The census shows that there were many more in Swedish naturalist circles that owned a copy, such as entomologist Charles De Geer and the Bergius brothers.

Naturalist interest in the HNB was of course not restricted to Sweden. In England there are copies that bear the names of James Petiver, Hans Sloane, and Joseph Banks, in France there is a copy of Georges Cuvier, in Italy there are copies connected to the botanical gardens of Padua and Bologna, as is the case in Edinburgh, Amsterdam, and Brussels. In general, the copies with a clear naturalist provenance show traces of intensive use, even if it is not always clear who was responsible for them. The copy that is now at Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp) has a bookplate from the Reformed School in Frederica, Denmark. The copy is annotated throughout and has five inserted illustrations. One of them is instantly recognizable as the lemming from Ole Worm's *Museum Wormianum*. At first glance, it seems out-of-place to include the image of a Nordic animal in a book on Brazilian nature, even though it is inserted in a section with small quadruplets. The Danish provenance makes it comprehensible why and at what point the treatise was studied in relation to the works of Danish naturalist Worm.

The census further shows a rise of bibliophile interest in the HNB in the eighteenth century. The concept "bibliophile" is ambiguous, since the word was not used in English until the nineteenth century, but collectors have been around as long as there have been books. Nonetheless, the increasing interest in antiquarian books for other purposes than the study of their content, in combination with the availability of great quantities of old books due to the dissolution of monastic libraries, paved the way for the grand collectors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A textbook example of this history is the copy of the legendary Belgian bibliophile Charles van Hulthem, that came from the Abbey of St. Cornelius and St. Cyprianus in Ninove.

## Heritage, Patrimony, and Survival

The census is instrumental in demonstrating the life cycle of the typical copy of the HNB. After private ownership in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a large part of the copies was acquired by societal or academic libraries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This process of mass transition of book ownership, from the private to the (semi) public sphere, has only recently been given proper attention. Book historian Pierre



Delsaerd uses the French term “la patrimonialisation” to describe the process of transition where book collections were taken from their original point of collection and incorporated into larger, mostly national, inventories, such as National State Libraries or University Libraries.<sup>24</sup> The term is not new, Delsaerd argues, but mainly used by French cultural historians in museum studies to describe the more known transitions in art and architecture. The mass transitions with books, which took place in the same period, have long been overlooked but show very similar patterns. Likewise, books became heritage objects, losing their original function as reference works or objects of study. In the case studied by Delsaerd, which concerns the acquisition of the library of the abbey of Tongerlo by the government of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1827 for the sum of 8,000 guilders, the transition was “friendly,” although some persuasion was needed to convince the Tongerlo clergy.

More often, though, these mass transitions of book collections had a hostile character, especially in times of crises, such as the French Revolution or the successive Napoleonic Wars, which not only shook Europe politically, militarily, and economically but also culturally. In their attempts to open royal, private, and monastic libraries for the benefit of the nation, the French revolutionaries could not foresee the devastation of previous book networks and inventories, carefully structured over time. The same is true for the so-called “artistic conquests” against defeated, occupied, and annexed countries in the years following the Revolution.<sup>25</sup> According to Dominique Varry, millions of books were dispersed, raided, or otherwise jumbled up in the 14 years from 1789 until 1803. In even less time, from 1782 until 1787, the ecclesiastical reforms under Austrian emperor Joseph II had a devastating effect for the monastic libraries in the Habsburg lands.<sup>26</sup> The closures of monasteries led to the confiscation of their libraries. Although the Court Library (Hofbibliothek) in Vienna had the right to select the most precious books of the closed monasteries, the staff could not handle the mass transitions, leading to the auctioning or downright destruction of centuries old collections. Medieval manuscripts and incunables were sold to paper buyers who had no eye for their contents. These kinds of hostile confiscations took place all over Europe and with more or less the same argument: the invaluable collections should no longer be in the exclusive hands of the clerical, economic, or political elite but accessible to anyone.

Patrimonization was not just a process of confiscation. Several important private book collections that had been carefully built up in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were either donated or sold to national or university libraries. In the census, we find examples of this process throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some copies have a rare combined history of confiscation and legal acquisition. The copy in the National Library of Belgium that belonged to the Jesuit College in Ghent was first confiscated by the French in 1795, transferred to the Ecole Centrale du Département de la Dyle (Central School of the Dyle

Department) in 1797, and subsequently donated to the City of Brussels in 1803. That library was acquired by the Belgian State for the Royal Library of Belgium in 1843.

The transfer of copies from private to (semi) public ownership meant that the use of the tome altered. Copies that were acquired by libraries and museums became heritage objects and were no longer in circulation. One would expect that this is the end of the material history of the tome. However, typically a library stamp was added to the tome, sometimes the tome was restored, or a new binding was made. Moreover, the decision in most libraries to place the tome in a special collections department, to take it out of regular circulation, to put it on display, or to lend it to a museum are all examples of heritagization. Some copies, moreover, defy the typical life cycle by returning to private ownership. The fact that the copy of the *Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle* with annotations by Georges Cuvier is now for sale at an antiquarian bookseller is illustrative. Other copies transferred from one institution to the other as a result of the merge, dissolution, or renaming of libraries. We will highlight some copies of the HNB to illustrate the dynamics of institutional life.

### The Copy of Boudewijn Büch at Teylers Museum

The Teylers Museum is an art, natural history, and science museum, located in the Dutch city of Haarlem. It was originally founded in 1778 after the wealthy cloth merchant Pieter Teyler van der Hulst (1702–1778) donated his fortune for the advancement of contemporary art and scientific studies. The acquisition and storage of a book collection was thought necessary for reference and inspiration. The Teylers Museum holds two copies of the HNB, one in a contemporary binding, the other in a later, possibly eighteenth century, green morocco binding. The first copy was probably acquired very early in the museum's existence. No provenance can be ascribed to this copy, but the nineteenth-century library stamp shows that it has been in the collection for quite some time. The other copy portrays a long list of interesting owners and seems to defy the general trajectory of most HNB copies.

The last owner was Boudewijn Büch (1948–2002), a renowned Dutch novelist and television presenter who collected many objects of natural history, ranging from naturalia to rare books. At the time of his death, his library was estimated to hold 100,000 books. The auction catalogue, effectuated by auction house Bubb Kuypers, consisted of three volumes. Before his library, known as *Bibliotheca Didina et Pinguina*, went to auction, Teylers Museum was able to acquire some volumes which the museum did not already possess. Among the volumes that were picked by former curator Bert Sliggers was a copy of the HNB. Due to time pressure, Sliggers was unaware of the fact that the Teylers Museum already possessed a copy of the HNB and thus selected the Büch copy for the museum.<sup>27</sup>



The copy includes three book plates of previous owners, the first being that of the Polish poet and chamberlain to the Polish court Thomas Catejan Wegierski (1755–1787). Because of his satire and licentious lifestyle, he had to leave the court and traveled to Italy and France before arriving in Philadelphia. It is not known what happened to the tome after the premature death of Wegierski, but the booksellers' ticket of Rey et Gravier suggests that it must have been sold by these Paris book dealers between 1815 and 1839. A manuscript annotation states that it was in the possession of American physician and professor of medicine Walter Channing (1786–1876) on 11 April 1840. He sent it as gift to Amos Binney (1803–1847) and included a two-page handwritten letter to accompany the donation. Binney was an American physician and malacologist and co-founder of the Boston Society of Natural History in 1830. The Society replaced the Linnaean Society of New England which only existed between 1814 and 1822. After his death, the widow of Amos Binney bestowed his book collection to the Boston Society of Natural History.

With this transaction, the tome went from private to institutional hands. Normally, this would mark the final stage in the circulation of the tome. But this HNB copy remained in motion, because of declining public interest in the outmoded presentation of natural history collections and, subsequently, the poor financial situation of the Society in the 1940s. The Boston Society of Natural History changed its name to the Boston Museum of Science in 1951 and shifted its focus completely from propagating and facilitating scientific research to popular education. Five years before, in 1946, the extensive library collection was sold.<sup>28</sup> This is how this particular copy of the HNB recurred on the market. It is unknown who owned the copy between 1946 and 1993. In that year, the Nürnberg-based German art and bookseller Kistner offered the HNB for the sum of 12,000 DM. It was Boudewijn Büch who eventually purchased the tome. He would loan it for an exhibition about his extensive collection at the Natuurhistorisch Museum Rotterdam in 2001, less than a year before his untimely death.

### **Three Copies at Naturalis Biodiversity Center**

The library of Naturalis Biodiversity Center (Leiden, The Netherlands) holds three copies of the HNB, one of them being a colored copy. Naturalis was founded in 1820 by royal decree under the name 's Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie (National Museum of Natural History) and one would expect that the HNB copies were part of the collections from the beginning. This was not the case: the first copy was only acquired in 1975. The acquisition was research-driven, fulfilling the explicit wish of the museum staff to own a copy for reference, after a large-scale investigation into the zoological taxonomy of the depicted and described "Brazilian" animals in the HNB was carried out.

The story of the iconography of Dutch Brazil and its complex examination by many scientists over the years has been extensively written about elsewhere. In short, and as far as it concerns the staff of Naturalis, the iconographical search started when professor Enrico Schaeffer (1907–1979), an art historian from Rio de Janeiro, contacted the Leiden museum to help him with the identification of species in the HNB. Schaeffer was the organizer of an exhibition about the visual legacy of Johan Maurits' governorship. This exhibition took place in 1968 and truly exceptional loans of animal drawings from the Russian Academy of Sciences were displayed. As an art historian, he felt insecure in identifying the animals on the drawings and by 1972 he decided to contact the Leiden staff.

This call for assistance sparked a prolonged iconographical and taxonomical study, led especially by ichthyology curator Marinus Boeseman (1916–2006). Over the course of several decades, this would lead to many publications.<sup>29</sup> Boeseman would find a companion in Peter Whitehead from the natural history department of the British Museum. Together, they are responsible for pioneering work in the field of the iconography of Dutch Brazil, combining their thorough investigations to find traces in archives and libraries that, considering Cold War policies, were difficult to access, like the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg and the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, Poland. In 1977, this library confirmed strong assumptions that it was in possession of the *Libri Picturati*, a large set of botanical and zoological drawings which was presumed missing since the Second World War.

Boeseman and Whitehead cooperated with many colleagues in the field of natural history, one of them being the Leiden curator of crustacea Lipke Bijdeley Holthuis (1921–2008). Boeseman could make extensive use of Holthuis' library for reference. In an article on the overlooked information about Brazilian zoology in Caspar Barlaeus' *Rerum per Octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper Gestarum sub Praefectura* (1647), Boeseman clearly acknowledged his indebtedness. He stated that “it would have been impossible to achieve the present result” if he had not been able to consult the “valuable items in the extremely rich library of my colleague Dr. L.B. Holthuis, emeritus curator of Crustacea in the Leiden museum, kindly put at my disposal.”<sup>30</sup> This “extremely rich library” comprised some 8,000 book volumes. As a devoted collector, Holthuis had very good relations with antiquarian booksellers worldwide.

In 1974, Boeseman mentioned the possibility of acquiring a colored copy of the HNB to the museum's management. To possess a copy of the tome was considered a welcome asset for the ongoing iconographical and taxonomical research conducted on Dutch Brazil. In order to hastily obtain the financial means for this purchase, the museum decided to sell a duplicate set of P. Bleeker's *Atlas Ichtyologique des Indes Orientales Néerlandaises* (1862–1878). The copy of the HNB that the museum acquired came from the collection of the Rotterdam politician, amateur historian, and book collector Ferdinand Casper Koch (1873–1957). After his death, his collection

was sold by the German auction house Hauswedell & Nolte. In 1959, a first, rather small, auction was organized, to be followed by a proper auction of the entire collection in December 1974.

The colored copy has been extensively used for research ever since its acquisition, but the tome also served another purpose, namely as heritage, cultural memory, and consequently to facilitate the public outreach of the museum. As one of the few colored copies, it is an interesting object to put on display. In 2014, the tome was loaned to the Mauritshuis in The Hague as part of the reopening exhibition, following a long renovation period, of the fine arts museum. The tome was part of a section of the exhibition that recounted the first owner of the museum building: Johan Maurits.

Naturalis Biodiversity Center also possesses two uncolored copies of the HNB that came to the library much more recently. The first one was part of the aforementioned library of Holthuis. He bequeathed not only his book collection but also his complete scientific archive to the museum in 2008.<sup>31</sup> This archive is a rich and largely untapped source of how research in the field of natural history was conducted in the second half of the twentieth century. The Holthuis copy contains an unclear manuscript name dated 1791 and the signature of the Irish physician Sir Thomas Molyneux (1661–1733). In 2014, a third copy was added to the collections of Naturalis when the Netherlands Entomological Society (*Nederlandse Entomologische Vereniging*) moved its library to Naturalis as a long-term loan. This particular copy contains a signature from the Prussian-born botanist Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773–1854) and a library stamp of Dutch entomologist Hartog Heys van Lier (1821–1870).

### **The Brazilian Copies**

One of the arguably surprising results of the census is that there are at least 20 copies of the HNB in Brazil today. Most of them were acquired by libraries in the course of the twentieth century or even more recently. It shows that the history connected to the HNB is not just that of Johan Maurits, the West India Company, and seventeenth-century European medicine, but also that of Indigenous people, their knowledge systems, and the history of Brazil. The recognition of Indigenous cultural memory in the text, and arguably the importance of the treatise for present-day Brazil, is omnipresent in the material history of the copies that are now in Brazil. The copy at Campinas, for example, was acquired by Unicamp upon the foundation of the university in the 1960s, at the specific insistence of its first rector magnificus professor Zeferino Vaz (1908–1981). Copies in Brasília and Belo Horizonte were bought by their respective libraries in 1963 and 1979. Half a century before, Brazilian industrialist Julio Benedito Ottoni (1857–1926) donated a copy to the national library in Rio de Janeiro. Brazilian bibliophile and specialist in Tupi-Guarani language Frederico Edelweiss (1892–1976)

donated his copy to the Universidade Federal da Bahia in Salvador. Recent donations include the copy of entomologist Johann Becker (1932–2004) to the Biblioteca do Museu Nacional and the copy of Brazilian journalist and bibliophile José Mindlin (1914–2010) to the Universidade de São Paulo.

Only listing the trajectory of these copies implies that the tome has long been considered an important cultural object for Brazil. At first, the importance was arguably more its practical application. As we have seen, Daniel Rolander took a copy with him on his journey to Suriname in the eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century naturalists who operated in Brazil, such as the German Theodor Peckolt (1822–1912), naturally owned a copy. They needed it as reference material. It would be interesting to find out whether this still was the case with Brazilian medical doctor and professor at the School of Medicine of Bahia Egas Moniz Barreto de Aragão (1870–1924), who also owned a copy. More research is needed about the motives of benefactors, but it seems that later donations and acquisitions were not just driven by the practical applications of the treatise, but by an understanding that the tome represents an important part of the cultural memory of Brazil. It is illustrative that the census shows dozens of active acquisitions of the HNB in Brazil, as well as in the United States, over the last decades, and hardly any in Europe.

The current geographical dispersion of HNB copies raises more questions. Looking at the list of all locations where a copy of the HNB is present, one cannot help but notice that, to our knowledge, no copies are present on the African continent. The text has been recognized as holding all sorts of information on language and the natural world, not only of Indigenous people in Brazil but also of enslaved African people. This is a relatively new approach to the treatise that is not yet reflected in the results of the census. We have seen, however, that copies continue to be transferred between collectors and institutions, and it is only logical that a future census will mirror new approaches to the tome.

## **Conclusion**

Sidney Lee's census of Shakespeare's first folio copies was published in 1902, but copies have been added to the list ever since. In 2014, a copy was found at the public library in St. Omer, near Calais; two years later, another one was discovered at a stately home on the Scottish Isle of Bute. The fact that copies of the most sought-after book in the world still turn up more than a century after the search began reminds us that copy censuses are, by nature, imperfect. The 305 copies of the HNB that have been listed in this census probably make up some 20–30 percent of the entire print run. It is highly implausible that the remaining three-quarters of the print run have been lost. Unrecorded copies are bound to turn up in town libraries, at stately homes, or in the vault of a private collector sooner or later.

The copies that we have listed so far can be connected to the different stages of the life cycle of the tome and the multiple histories connected to it. Every copy has a unique history that is partially revealed by the material evidence connected to the copy. Book plates and inscribed names give away some of the former owners, faint numbers on the spine might be shelf marks from an earlier collection, bindings might tell if the tome was a work copy, meant to be annotated, or a luxurious copy that was placed in an aristocratic or bibliophile collection. The stories connected to the material evidence of individual copies are seemingly endless, however, it is not until we list hundreds of these copies that we begin to see patterns. One copy with a seventeenth-century Jesuit provenance is interesting, but if you find seven or eight of them, you start asking broader questions. Conversely, the census can also be used to study what is not listed. Why are there no tomes in a certain library, country, or continent? Or why is the name of a specific naturalist or collector not listed, even though it is hard to believe that they did not own a copy?

In this chapter, we have highlighted some of the basic characteristics that came forth from the census. We are hopeful that other scholars that study the treatise from other perspectives will notice entirely different things. Not only to find new copies, record material evidence, and identify more names, but especially to connect it to other forms of research. One of the interesting options for future study would be to combine the evidence from the census with information from auction catalogues. This might reveal some of the histories that are now nothing but an auction number on the inner boards of a copy somewhere in the special collections of a library. If the census holds one promise, it is that every detail is important in uncovering the story of the book from cover to cover.

## Notes

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- 2 Peter J.P. Whitehead and Marinus Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil: Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1989); Marinus Boeseman, Liepke B. Holthuis, Marinus S. Hoogmoed, and Chris Smeenk, "Seventeenth Century Drawings of Brazilian Animals in Leningrad," *Zoologische Verhandelingen* 267 (1990): 1–189.
- 3 See Alsemgeest and Bos, "Appendix," in this volume.
- 4 Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* (Summer 1982): 65–83 reprinted in Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette. Reflections in Cultural History* (New York, NY: Norton, 1990); Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society: The Clark Lectures 1986–1987*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London, UK: British Library, 1993), 5–43.

- 5 Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*. 7 volumes (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992); Françoise Choay, *L'Allégorie du Patrimoine* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1992); Pierre Delsaert, “De Verzegelde Kisten van de Vrouwe Adriana: De Abdijbibliotheek van Tongerlo en de Patrimonialisering van het Boek in het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden,” *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 25 (2018): 129–149.
- 6 David Pearson, “The Importance of the Copy Census as a Methodology in Book History,” in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects: Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, Munich, 19–21 August 2009*, ed. Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), 321–328.
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- 8 Owen Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus (Nuremberg, 1543 and Basel, 1566)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- 9 Daniel Margócsy, Mark Somos, and Stephen N. Joffe. *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius: A Worldwide Descriptive Census, Ownership, and Annotations of the 1543 and 1555 Editions* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
- 10 Marieke van Delft, “Exemplaren Wereldwijd van *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium* 1705 = Worldwide Copies of *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium* 1705,” in *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium: Verandering der Surinaamsche Insecten = Transformation of the Surinamese Insects: 1705* (Tiel: Lannoo, 2016), 187–189.
- 11 Paul Hoftijzer, “Zo Vergaat de Roem: Het Einde van de Officina Hackiana,” in *Van Pen tot Laser: 31 Opstellen over Boek en Schrift Aangeboden aan Ernst Braches*, ed. T. Croiset van Uchelen and H. van Goinga (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1996), 160–167.
- 12 Databases consulted were: “Book Sales Catalogues Online (BSCO),” Brill, accessed 20 May 2022, <https://brill.com/view/db/bsco>; “Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI),” CERL, accessed 20 May 2022, [https://data.cerl.org/mei\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/mei_search); “KVK - Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog,” *Karlsruher Institut für Technologie*, accessed 20 May 2022, <https://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/>; “Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN),” *KB Nationale Bibliotheek*, accessed 20 May 2022, <https://www.kb.nl/over-ons/diensten/stcn>; “Language of Bindings Thesaurus (LoB),” University of the Arts London, *Ligatus*, accessed 20 May 2022, <https://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/>; “Worldcat,” OCLC, accessed 20 May 2022, <http://www.worldcat.org/>.
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- 14 Alphonse Willems, *Les Elzevier: Histoire et Annales Typographiques* (Bruxelles: G.A. van Trigt, 1880), CCXII.
- 15 Sachiko Kusakawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 50–61.
- 16 Rijksmuseum, object numbers: RP-P-OB-200.099, RP-P-OB-84.391, RP-P-OB-84.392, and RP-P-OB-200.099. We thank Erik Hinterding for bringing this to our attention.
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- 18 Jan Storm van Leeuwen, “De Introductie van het Stempelen à Petits Fers en de Nederlandse Boekband tussen ca. 1620 en ca. 1665,” in *Opstellen over de Koninklijke Bibliotheek en Andere Studies* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1986), 262–263.
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- 20 Truusje Goedings, ‘Afsetters en Meester-afsetters’: *De Kunst van het Kleuren 1480–1720* ([Nijmegen]: Vantilt, 2015), 19.
- 21 *Catalogus van een Menighete Treffelijcke Boecken [...] Naergelaten by Wijlen Frans Koerten [...]* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaijle, 1668).
- 22 Abraham J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, Bevatende Levensbeschrijvingen van Zoodanige personen, die zich op Eenigerlei Wijze in Ons Vaderland Hebben Vermaard Gemaakt IX* (Haarlem: Brederode, 1860), 152–159.
- 23 Goedings, *Afsetters*, 25.
- 24 Delsaerd, “De Verzegelde Kisten,” 146–147.
- 25 Dominique Varry, “Revolutionary Seizures and Their Consequences for French Library History,” in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity*, ed. James Raven (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 182.
- 26 Friedrich Buchmayr, “Secularization and Monastic Libraries in Austria,” in Raven, *Lost Libraries*, 145.
- 27 Bert Sliggers, *Herkomst: Boudewijn Büch* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 2005), 89–91.
- 28 Richard I. Johnson, “The Rise and Fall of the Boston Society of Natural History,” *Northeastern Naturalist* 11, no. 1 (2004): 81–108.
- 29 Boeseman et al., “Seventeenth Century Drawings.”
- 30 Marinus Boeseman, “A Hidden Early Source of Information on North-Eastern Brazilian Zoology,” *Zoologische Mededelingen* 68 (1994): 124.
- 31 Alex Alsemgeest and Charles Franssen, *In Krabbengang door Kreeftenboeken: De Bibliotheca Carcinologica L.B. Holthuis* (Leiden: Naturalis Biodiversity Center, 2016).

# Appendix

## Census of the Copies of Willem Piso and Georg Marcgraf's *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (Leiden and Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1648)

*Alex Alsemgeest and Jeroen Bos*

### Australia

*Sydney, State Library of New South Wales*

**Copy 1:** Collection: David Scott Mitchell Collection. Shelf mark: DSM/F508.8/P. Binding: Eighteenth-century parchment, spine with red title label. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: George Bennet (1804–1893 | Australian physician and naturalist, fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, England), pasted over old bookplate with name “Gosling.” Donated to the State Library of New South Wales by David Scott Mitchell (1836–1907 | Australian book collector).

**Copy 2:** Collection: Richardson Collection. Shelf mark: RICHARDSON/F287. Binding: Nineteenth- or early twentieth-century red leather, tooling on outside of binding and gold embossed decoration on inside of binding. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: No, lacks title page, illustrations have been cut from pages 141–2, 191–2, 193–4, 215–16, 223–4, 227–8, 269–70. Provenance: Donated to the State Library of New South Wales by Nelson Moore Richardson (1855–1925) and Mrs. Richardson of Weymouth, England in 1926.

### Austria

*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken. Shelf mark: BE.4.H.2.Alt-Prunk. Binding: Eighteenth-century ocher moroccan leather, supralibros of Prince Eugene of Savoy on front and back boards, marbled endpapers, edged gilt. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the Bibliotheca Eugenia, the private library of Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736 | Austrian aristocrat, statesman, and military commander). Acquired by the library in 1736.



**Copy 2:** Collection: Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung. Shelf mark: 273.802-D.FID. Binding: Half-leather with marbled boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of Francis II (1768–1835 | Holy Roman Emperor, from 1804 Francis I, the first Emperor of Austria). Transferred to a Fidei commiss Library in 1835. In 1921, the Fidei commiss Library was taken over as the property of the Republic and joined to the Austrian National Library. Note: Mentioned by the librarian of the emperor Peter Thomas Young in his “Schätzkatalog” from 1806 with the current number 5002.

### *Vienna, Universitätsbibliothek*

Shelf mark: III-258.287. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Leopoldini Societatis Jesu in Austria 1668. Library stamp: Biblioth. Universit. Vindebonensi [=Vienna University Library]. Transferred to the university library after the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773.

## **Belgium**

### *Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus*

Shelf mark: Prentenkabinet B 227. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamps on title page and last page: Museum Plantin Moretus 1876. In the library of the Moretus family at least since 1675.

### *Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/ Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: VB 4.040 C RP. Binding: Contemporary brown calf, blind stamped with rolls and filets. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Coll: Soc: Jesu Gand: 1648 [Collegium Societatis Jesu Ghent]. Ville de Bruxelles: library created by the French in 1795, transferred to the Ecole Centrale du Département de la Dyle (Central School of the Dyle Department) in 1797, donated to the City of Brussels in 1803. That library was acquired by the Belgian State for the Royal Library of Belgium in 1843.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Müller 3.461 C. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library of Johannes Peter Müller, Berlin (1801–1858 | German anatomist). Acquired as a whole by the Royal Library of Belgium in 1861.

***Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek***

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: BIB.HN.000105. Binding: Contemporary parchment, red edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks title page. Provenance: Blue Minerva stamp. Confiscated from an unknown East Flemish monastery library by the French Revolutionary Army between 1793 and 1797. Given to the Departementale School, and consequently part of the University Library since 1818.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: BIB.HN.000251. Binding: Eighteenth-century calf, gilded edges, marbled endpapers. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Red Minerva stamp. Manuscript annotation: f56.0.0, Rooman [Gilles-Jean Rooman] (1696–1789 | Flemish magistrate and book collector). Acquired by the library in 1818 from Pierre Philippe Constant Lammens (1762–1836 | Belgian book collector). Note: This copy is mentioned in the auction catalogue: *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu monsieur G. J. Rooman* (Gant, P.F. de Goesin, 1791), no. 1414.

***Liège, Bibliothèque Universitaire***

Shelf mark: R551D. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Bibliothecae Ninivensis, dono D. Amandi Fabij Monrij SS. Cornelij et Cypriani Canonici Presbyteri [Abbey of St. Cornelius and St. Cyprianus, Ninove], 1648 or 1649. Ex libris: C. Van Hulthem [Charles (Karel) Joseph Emmanuel Van Hulthem] (1764–1832 | Belgian bibliophile).

***Meise, Botanic Garden Meise***

Shelf mark: VALD 90. Binding: Later red leather, decorated in gilt with rolls and filets, marbled endpapers. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Note: Property of the Belgian State, on permanent loan to the Botanic Garden Meise.

**Brazil**

***Belo Horizonte, Biblioteca da Universidade  
Federal de Minas Gerais, UFMG***

Shelf mark: 1648 502.2 P678g. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: No, lacks title page. Binding: Rebound in the 1980s by the Library of the Museum of Natural History and Botanical Garden of the UFMG. Provenance: Bought by the UFMG on 20 June 1979 for the Library of

the Museum of Natural History and Botanical Garden. In 2001 it was transferred to the Rare Books collection.

*Brasília, Biblioteca Central da Universidade de Brasília, UnB*

Shelf mark: 502(81) P678h. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bought at the São José Bookstore in 1963 for 120 thousand cruzeiros, probably by Ricardo Xavier da Silva, whose other books relating to Dutch Brazil were acquired at the same place and later given to the UnB library.

*Campinas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Unicamp*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Coleção Paulo Duarte. Shelf mark: 500.981 P676h 1648 OR/PD. Binding: Early twentieth-century leather. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Reformert skole i Fredericia [Reformed school in Fredericia, Denmark]. From the collection of Paulo Duarte (1899–1984 | Brazilian archaeologist and humanist). Acquired by Unicamp University at the foundation of the university in 1970, specifically bought by its first rector magnificus, Prof. Zeferino Vaz (1908–1981). Note: Annotated in at least three different hands throughout. Contains five added engraved plates.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Coleção Oswaldo Peckolt. Shelf mark: 500.981 P676h 1648 OR/OP. Binding: Twentieth-century black half-leather with marbled boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of Theodor Peckolt (1822–1912 | German naturalist, botanist, phytochemist, and pharmacist who worked in Brazil from 1847 to 1912).

*Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Livros Raros – 025A,004,002. Ex. 1. Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp Da Real Bibliotheca [Royal Library].

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Livros Raros – 025A,004,002. Ex. 2. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Ex libris: Francisco José da Serra.

**Copy 3:** Collection: Coleção Benedicto Ottoni. Shelf mark: Livros Raros – 025A,004,002. Ex. 3. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Ex libris: Arnold Wittens. Donated to the library by Julio Benedito Ottoni (1857–1926 | Brazilian industrialist) in 1912.

**Copy 4:** Shelf mark: Livros Raros – 025A,004,002. Ex. 4. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 5:** Shelf mark: Livros Raros – 025A,004,002. Ex. 5. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bibl. Nac. e Publ. da Corte. [Probably Real Biblioteca Pública da Corte, the former name of the current National Library of Portugal].

*Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca do Museu Nacional, UFRJ*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: In folio 168 OR. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: In folio 168 OR ex.2. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Donated by the descendants of Prof. Dr. Johann Becker (1932–2004 | entomologist of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro) on 14 September 2007.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: In folio 168 OR ex.3. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Donated by Prof. Dr. Amélia Lúcia on 14 November 2008.

*Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Fiocruz – Biblioteca de Manginhos*

Shelf mark: BR15.1 0007 1648 OBRA RARA – ARM. Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Bibliotheca Hafflighemensis [Library of the Abbey of Affligem] 1783.

*Salvador, Universidade Federal da Bahia*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: 58/59 H673 (LM). Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Ex libris: Le Comte de Carburil. Donated to the UFBA library by professor Frederico Edelweiss (1892–1976 | Brazilian bibliophile and specialist in Tupi-Guarani languages) in 1974.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Bibliotheca Gonçalo Moniz; School of Medicine. Shelf mark: OR 94(81) P678 (BGM). Binding: Rebound, modern binding. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks pages 3–6. Provenance: From the collection of Dr. Egas Moniz Barreto de Aragão (1870–1924 | Brazilian medical doctor, professor at the School of Medicine of Bahia in 1911).

*São Paulo, Biblioteca Mario de Andrade*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Felix Pacheco. Shelf mark: INg 1648. Binding: Modern parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Acquired by José Felix Alvez Pacheco (1879–1935 | Brazilian journalist, translator, poet, and politician) at the Maggs House in London in the 1920s.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Felix Pacheco. Shelf mark: LR 1 e 4. Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of José Felix Alvez Pacheco.

*São Paulo, Instituto Itaú Cultural*

Shelf mark: 23000822.031. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Baron Horace de Landau (1824–1903 | French banker and collector; representative of the French house of the Rothschild family in Turin and Florence); then Collection of Joaquim de Souza-Leão (1897–1976 | Brazilian diplomat, Ambassador in the Netherlands in the 1950s); subsequently acquired by Banco Itaú in 2002.

*São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Biblioteca Brasileira Guita e José Mindlin. Shelf mark: M1v 1258. Binding: Mottled calf, spine with six raised bands, ligature Æ in six compartments. Gilded supralibros on front cover with motto “non est mortale quod opto.” Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Ex libris: Rubens Borba Alves de Moraes (1899–1986 | Brazilian librarian, historian, and bibliophile). Donated to the University of São Paulo by José Mindlin (1914–2010 | Brazilian journalist and bibliophile) in 2006.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Museu Paulista. Shelf mark: OR 0598. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Note: Label with handwritten text in ink reads: “Historiae Naturalis e Medicae Indiae Occidentalis, Amsterdam, 1658”, the 5 has been crossed out and substituted with a 4.

**Canada***Montréal, McGill University Library*

Location: Osler Library. Shelf mark: Folio P678h 1648. Coloration: Title page colored; other illustrations black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Jabez Cay (1666–1703 | medical doctor in Newcastle upon Tyne), 16 shill., Lugd. Bat, 3-12-1687.

*Montréal, Université du Québec*

Shelf mark: LAR F 1648 QH117. Binding: Rebound in the 1980s. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp on title page: Bibliothecae Majoris Collegii S.J. Sae Marie Marianapoli. Stamp on title page: Ex Bibliotheca J. Richard (first half nineteenth century | French medical doctor).

*Québec, Bibliothèque de l'Université Laval*

Shelf mark: QH 41 P678 1648.

**Czech Republic**

*Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: 16 A 000012. Binding: Contemporary blind-stamped parchment with panel design over wooden boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: 18 A 000142. Binding: Brown leather, endpapers decorated with geometrical patterns in green, red, and gold. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on folium \*2: [Illegible name].

**Denmark**

*Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: 15, 458 02542. Binding: Green morocco with gilt decoration, stamps à petits fers, presumably bound in The Hague. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: In possession of the Royal Library since 1654. Donated by Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen to Frederick III (1609–1670 | King of Denmark).

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Fol. N. Hist. 13970. Binding: Eighteenth-century parchment, spine with red title label. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Finland**

*Helsinki, National Library of Finland*

Collection: A.E. Nordenskiöld Collection. Shelf mark: N. 509. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete:

Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: [Removed]. Manuscript annotation: "... vendu 20-30 f." From the library of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901 | Finnish polar explorer). Acquired as a whole by the former Helsinki University Library in 1902.

## France

### *Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès*

Copy 1: Shelf mark: In Fol. 0203.

Copy 2: Shelf mark: In Fol. 0212.

### *Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale*

Shelf mark: Fol. 1798.

### *Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale*

Shelf mark: 10926. Binding: Contemporary calf, gilded and decorated with filets.

Provenance: Ex libris [not identified]. Manuscript annotations.

### *Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale*

Shelf mark: C 6177.

### *Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine*

Collection: Collection d'Inguibert. Shelf mark: E 1794. Provenance: Donated to the library by Joseph-Dominique Malachie d'Inguibert (1683–1757 | French prelate and librarian, bishop of the Diocese of Carpentras).

### *Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibliothèque Municipale*

Shelf mark: in-2 245.

### *Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux*

Shelf mark: S 824. Binding: Nineteenth-century half-leather. Provenance: Library stamp: l'Académie Royale de Bordeaux. Library stamp: Bibliothèque de la Ville de Bordeaux.

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*Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale*

Shelf mark: 11023.

*Grenoble, Bibliothèque d'Etude et du Patrimoine*

Shelf mark: A.712.

*Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon*

Shelf mark: SA F\* 1423.

*Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Rés 22720. Binding: Contemporary parchment, gilded coat of arms on front cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Coat of arms is of M.A. Mazanot. Manuscript annotation on folium \*2: Jésuites de Lyon 1660. Library stamp: Colleg. Lugdun. Library stamp: Bibliothèque de la ville de Lyon.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Rés 30656. Binding: Eighteenth-century mottled calf, marbled endpapers. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Armorial bookplate: Petrus Adamoli [Pierre Adamoli] (1707–1769 | French bibliophile), dated 1733. Library stamp: Acad Scient. Litt. et Art. Lugd. [L'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyon].

*Marseille, Bibliothèque Municipale à Vocation Régionale*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Bibliothèque des Bernardines. Shelf mark: Xb3884.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Xb3885.

*Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire*

Shelf mark: Hist. Médecine, Da 33 in-fol.

*Nancy, Bibliothèque Stanislas*

Shelf mark: 101642. Binding: Parchment.



*Nantes, Bibliothèque Municipale*

Copy 1: Shelf mark: 13289A. Provenance: Ex libris: Jos. Arnoult.

Copy 2: Shelf mark: 13289B.

*Nice, Bibliothèque Patrimoniale et d'étude Romain Gary*

Shelf mark: XVII-4049. Binding: Contemporary natural calf.

*Paris, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé*

Copy 1: Location: Pôle médecine-odontologie. Binding: Blind stamped pigskin over wooden boards. Shelf mark: 903-1. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Collegii Soctis Jesu Coloniae 1668.

Copy 2: Location: Pharmacie. Shelf mark: RES 75. Binding: Modern binding to replace a defective blind-tooled binding. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks folium 2F4.

*Paris, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de la Sorbonne*

Shelf mark: SND 3= 13. Binding: Contemporary mottled calf. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the Bibliothèque du Prytanée. Library stamp: Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris. Acquired by the library from the legacy of Jean-Gabriel Petit de Montempuis (1676(?)–1763 | French philosophy professor).

*Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine*

Shelf mark: 2° 4029. Binding: Contemporary natural calf. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the library of Cardinal Jules Raymond Mazarine (1602–1661 | Italian cardinal, diplomat, and politician).

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*

Copy 1: Collection: Réserve des livres rares. Shelf mark: S-851. Binding: Contemporary Dutch vellum with gold tooling. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Réserve des livres rares. Shelf mark: RES-S-258. Binding: Contemporary natural calf with coat of arms of Gaston d'Orléans. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of Gaston d'Orléans (1608–1660 | Duke of Orléans). Included in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale through legacy of the Royal collections.

**Copy 3:** Collection: Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal. Shelf mark: FOL-S-437. Binding: Contemporary brown calf. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: J.-B. Chomel D.M.P. [Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chomel] (1671–1740 | botanist). From the Bibliothèque de La Vallière, sold in 1786 (catalogue Nyon, no. 5108).

**Copy 4:** Collection: Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal. Shelf mark: FOL-S-438. Binding: Contemporary marbled brown calf. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Carolus Feron.

**Copy 5:** Collection: Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal. Shelf mark: FOL-S-439. Binding: Contemporary natural calf, with ex dono of Léonard Tardi (d.1671 | auditor at the Chambres des Comptes). Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks title page. Provenance: From the library of Léonard Tardi, donated in 1671 to the Bibliothèque des Grands Augustins.

*Paris, Collège France, Bibliothèque Générale*

Collection: Bibliothèque patrimoniale. Shelf mark: XV Fol 25. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Paris, Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers*

Shelf mark: Fol. Y 13. Binding: Contemporary calf over wooden boards, blind stamped oval medallion with the coat of arms of Vincenty de Vischer on front cover, decorated with geometric and floral motifs, traces of clasps. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Ex dono Vincenty de Vischer (mid-seventeenth century | Abbey of Grimbergen).

*Paris, Institut de France*

Collection: Collection Benjamin Delessert. Shelf mark: Fol DM 192. Binding: Contemporary natural calf. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate [not identified]. Acquired by the library in 1869.

*Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle*

Copy 1: Collection: Bibliothèque centrale. Shelf mark: Fol Bn 91.

Copy 2: Collection: Bibliothèque centrale. Shelf mark: 24 698.

*Périgueux, Médiathèque Pierre Fanlac*

Shelf mark: SA-III-1 B 803. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Abbatia Beata Maria de Cancellata catal.inscript. From the Abbaye Notre-Dame de Chancelade.

*Rennes, Les Champs Libres*

Shelf mark: 3633.

Rochefort, Bibliothèque de Rochefort Musée national de la Marine  
Shelf mark: 44 H.

*Strasbourg, Bibliothèques Universitaires de Strasbourg*

Location: Bibliothèque Huet-Weiller. Collection: Sciences Magasin Sous-sol. Shelf mark: HR 8. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp on title page: Pharmaceutisches Institut Universität Strassburg.

**Germany***Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek*

Shelf mark: 2° Nat 109. Binding: Seventeenth-century parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Lukas Schröck (1646–1730 | German medical doctor). Bequeathed to the Stadtbibliothek Augsburg in 1730. Note: Copy bound with *De Indiæ utriusque re naturali et medica libri quatuordecim* (Amstelædami, apud L. and D. Elzevirios, 1658).

*Bad Arolsen, Fürstlich Waldecksche Hofbibliothek Arolsen*

Shelf mark: III 1a 1. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: [illegible] 4/14 Nov. 1649 J. Dillenburg [Possibly from the family of Johannes Wilhelmus Dillenburg (1646–1696 | medical doctor)]. From the Schaumburgische Bibliothek of Schloss Schaumburg bei Diez an

der Lahn. Acquired through heritage and purchase by George Victor (1831–1893 | Prince of Waldeck and Pymont) and subsequently entered in the Fürstlich Waldeckische Hofbibliothek.

***Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek***

Shelf mark: 22/H.n.f.16.

***Berlin, Staatsbibliothek***

**Copy 1:** Location: Unter den Linden, Abteilung Historische Drucke. Shelf mark: 2” Lh 11450. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Ottho L.B. à Schwerin (1645–1705 | diplomat). Manuscript annotation: Karl Asmund Rudolphi (1771–1832 | Swedish naturalist). Note: According to Martin Hinrich Lichtenstein (1780–1857 | German naturalist) this copy, brought in by Rudolphi, was owned and annotated by Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen. If so, this copy might have been part of the sale of the original drawings by Albert Eckhout to Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg in 1652.

**Copy 2:** Location: Unter den Linden, Abteilung Historische Drucke. Shelf mark: Bibl. Diez fol. 196. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Societatis Scient. [with old shelf mark] im Buchdeckel: Fol: Phys. n 42 T 1.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: 2” Lh 11450. Note: Not available for consultation, this copy was probably lost in the Second World War.

***Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek***

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Qa 2’ 109. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: One of the copies in Bonn is from the collection of Karl Wilhelm Nose (1753–1835 | German medical doctor), donated in two parts in 1819 and 1827. It cannot be verified if this is copy 1 or 2.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Qa 2’ 109 #1. Binding: Restored with a new binding in 1992, originally parchment or half-parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: No, lacks page 293–294. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Sum ex Bibliotheca Immanuelis Brigelii [probably Emanuel Brigel? (fl. 1663 | German naturalist)]. Crossed out manuscript annotation on title page: [illegible]. Bookseller’s ticket: Antiquarisches Lager der F.F. Autenriethschen Buchhandlung in Stuttgart.

***Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg***

Shelf mark: H00/MED-III 4. Binding: Contemporary parchment, with a supralibros of Universitas Altorfina on front and back cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the library of the University of Altdorf. After the university was closed in 1809, the collection was transferred to the University Library of Erlangen in 1818.

***Frankfurt am Main, Goethe-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek  
Johann Christian Senckenberg***

Shelf mark: 2° 8. Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp on title page: Senckenbergische Bibliothek Frankfurt am Main. Stamp: Mr. Carl von Heyden (1793–1866 | German politician and entomologist, co-founder of the Senckenbergischen Naturforschenden Gesellschaft). Note: Manuscript marginalia, probably by Carl von Heyden.

***Freiberg, TU Bergakademie Freiberg, Universitätsbibliothek***

Shelf mark: V 343 2.

***Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek***

Shelf mark: 2 HNAT III, 5806. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp: Ex bibliotheca Regia Acad. Georgiae Aug. [University Library Göttingen].

***Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt***

Shelf mark: Oc 6177, 2°. Binding: Parchment (defective). Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bibliotheca Leucorea. Universitätsbibliothek Wittenberg.

***Hannover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek***

Shelf mark: Gp-A 10051. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Martini Fogeli Hamburg [Martinus Fogelius] (1634–1675 | German medical doctor). Collection of Fogelius was acquired as a whole by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716 | German philosopher) for Johann Friedrich von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1625–1679 | duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg) in 1678.

***Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek***

Shelf mark: O 5300 Gross RES. Binding: Leather over paper boards, gilded adornment lines, gilded emblem of Iac. Aug. Thvanvs on front cover and back cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

***Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek***

**Copy 1:** Collection: Herbarium Haussknecht. Shelf mark: M2PISO. Binding: Contemporary blind-tooled parchment (defective). Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: No, lacks title page, page 47–48 defective, replaced in manuscript.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: 2 Hist.nat.VI,11. Binding: Contemporary parchment, edges gilt. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: 2 Hist.nat.VI,12. Note: Copy is missing.

***Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek***

Shelf mark: Allg.N.W.69. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: K. Leineker D. Manuscript annotation: f 5, 1707. Manuscript annotation: Emi in Auct. Wittweriana [Auction of the collection of Philipp Ludwig Wittwer (1752–1792 | medical doctor) in 1794].

***Mannheim, Universitätsbibliothek***

Shelf mark: Sch 106/332. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: [illegible name] 1738. Library stamp: Bibliothek Desbillons Mannheim. From the library of François-Joseph Terrasse Desbillons (1711–1789 | French Jesuit and author), transferred to Mannheim in 1764 after the suppression of the Jesuits in France.

***Müncheberg, Senckenberg Deutsches Entomologisches Institut***

Location: Entomologische Bibliothek. Shelf mark: B 966. Binding: Later half-cloth. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

***Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek***

Location: BSB/Handschriftenabt. Magazin. Shelf mark: Rar. 2208. Binding: Contemporary parchment over paper boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp: Ex bibliotheca

Academiae Julia Carolina Helmstadii [Library of the University of Helmstad, dissolved in 1810].

*Munich, Bibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität*

**Copy 1:** Location: Zentralbibliothek. Shelf mark: 0014/W 2 H.nat. 15. Binding: Contemporary pigskin over wooden boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Christoph Jacob Trew (1695–1769 | medical doctor, botanist). The collection of Trew was originally incorporated by the University of Altdorf. After the university was closed in 1809, the collection was transferred to the University Library of Erlangen in 1818. This copy was given as a doublet to the University of Landshut, a predecessor of Ludwig-Maximilians University.

**Copy 2:** Location: Georgianum. Shelf mark: 0017/2 Hist.prof. 65. Binding: Contemporary leather. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Oldenburg, Landesbibliothek*

Shelf mark: NW II 1 325. Binding: Contemporary leather, gilded stamp of an angel reading a book, with the letters B.E.R.P. on front and back cover. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Acquired in the eighteenth century by Georg Friedrich Brandes (1709–1791 | German jurist, art collector, and bibliophile). Bought by Herzog Peter Friedrich Ludwig (1755–1829 | Regent of the Duchy of Oldenburg) in 1790. Subsequently included in the Landesbibliothek Oldenburg.

*Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek*

Shelf mark: 28-RAR:Na-8. Binding: Half-leather with marbled boards, spine decorated with gold. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek*

Shelf mark: Nat.G.fol.436. Binding: Contemporary brown calf, gold embossing on front cover, edges gilt, marbled endpapers. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Fo XXVIII 1.2. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: On paste-down: Ad Bibliothec. Aulic. Elvacensem [Library of Ellwangen Abbey]. Acquired by the library in mid-nineteenth century.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Bg 15.2. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Title page with manuscript dedication to Theodorus Quingerus[?].

*Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Scha BS 1 C 05098 (1). Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Konrad Samuel Schurzfleisch (1641–1708 | German historian, librarian) 1707. Note: Not available for consultation, this copy was damaged in the fire of 2004.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: 19 C 12817. Binding: Contemporary pigskin over wooden boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Gaming 1653. Acquired through an auction at Reiss & Sohn, Königstein im Taunus in 2007.

*Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek*

Shelf mark: A: 6.6 Phys. 2° (1). Note: Mentioned in the Bücherradkatalog on page 1001.

**Ireland**

*Dublin, National Library of Ireland*

Shelf mark: LBR 591981. Binding: Rebound at the National Library of Ireland on 6 February 1896. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp: National Library of Ireland.

*Dublin, Trinity College Library*

Collection: Fagel collection. Shelf mark: Fag. M.1.6. Binding: eighteenth-century sprinkled calf, with edges of front and back boards rolled in gold; spine, with seven raised bands, stamped and rolled in gold, with black calf shelf mark label, lacking matching title-label; marbled edges and endpapers. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Purchased from Hendrik Fagel “the younger” (1765–1838 | Dutch greffier of the States General 1790–1795) for Trinity College as part of the Fagel Collection in 1802. Previously owned by other members of the Fagel family.

**Italy**

*Bassano del Grappa, Biblioteca civica*

Shelf mark: REC 5.D.6. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookseller’s ticket: Presso



Pietro Agnelli Librario, e Stampatore in Milano Santa Margherita. Donated to the library by Giambattista Brocchi (1772–1826 | Italian naturalist, mineralogist, and geologist).

***Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio***

Shelf mark: 527, 32. I.00 00017. Binding: Half-leather.

***Bologna, Università di Bologna***

**Copy 1:** Location: Biblioteca del Dipartimento di scienze biologiche, geologiche e ambientali. Shelf mark: BOV 1032, Irnerio Bertoloni 008 A 009. Provenance: Library stamp: Orto botanico di Bologna. Manuscript annotation: F. Giovannini (custodian of the garden).

**Copy 2:** Location: Biblioteca del Dipartimento di scienze biologiche, geologiche e ambientali. Shelf mark: BOV 2096, Irnerio Bertoloni 004 A 003. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Dedication by Johannes de Laet (1581–1649 | Dutch geographer, editor of *Historia Naturalis Brasiliæ*) to Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657 | Italian scholar, book and arts collector). Library stamp: Biblioteca Albani.

***Catania, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria***

Shelf mark: LC 4.219. Binding: Parchment (defective).

***Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana***

Shelf mark: H 003 007 011. Provenance: Lodovico Caldesi (1821–1884 | Italian botanist). Caldesi donated his library as a whole to the Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana.

***Fermo, Biblioteca Civica Romolo Spezioli***

Shelf mark: 1 O 9/9113. Binding: Contemporary parchment, spine with five raised bands, manuscript title in second compartment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Old shelf mark: F 7/14; 209. Manuscript annotation on paste-down: Ex libris Romuli Spetioli Firmani. From the collection of Romolo Spezioli (1642–1723 | Italian medical doctor and the personal physician of Queen Christina of Sweden, Cardinal Decio Azzolino, and of Pope Alexander VIII). Donated by Spezioli to the library in 1705, or through legacy in 1723 as part of his collection of 12.000 volumes. Note: Engraved title page mutilated with ink to cover the naked parts of both figures.

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*Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea*

Shelf mark: N 9.11.13. Binding: Parchment. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Libreria de Capuccini di Ferrara.

*Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*

Copy 1: Shelf mark: MAGL.1.\_.90.

Copy 2: Shelf mark: PALAT.2.6.6.11.

*Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova*

Shelf mark: Rari XIV 34. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Held by Regia Università di Genova since 1853.

*Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense*

Shelf mark: C. 17. 09607. Binding: Parchment.

*Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III*

Copy 1: Collection: Fondo Farnese. Shelf mark: Sala Farnese XXIX G 13. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: [Illegible, probably of Jesuit origin]. Probably acquired at the end of the eighteenth century with the suppression of religious orders.

Copy 2: Collection: Fondo Doria. Shelf mark: F.Doria IV 330. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the legacy of Gino Doria (1888–1975 | Italian journalist and historian).

*Padua, Biblioteca civica*

Shelf mark: E. 1384.

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova*

Shelf mark: 101.A.10. Binding: Cardboard. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp of the Republic of Venice era; entered the library before 1797.

***Padua, Università degli Studi di Padova***

Collection: Biblioteca dell'orto botanico. Shelf mark: APL.291. Binding: Eighteenth-century brown leather, gold stamping on back cover, marbled endpapers. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the library of Giovanni Marsili (1727–1795 | Italian botanist, prefect of the botanical garden of Padua from 1760 to 1794); present in the manuscript catalogue of the collection of Marsili as number 1817. Purchased as a whole by Antonio Bonato (1753–1836 | Italian botanist, prefect of the Botanical garden of Padua from 1795 to 1835). Bequeathed as a whole to the University in 1835.

***Pavia, Biblioteca della Scienza e della Tecnica***

Collection: Fondo Santo Garovaglio. Shelf mark: Orto Botanico SALA.28.D.7 20. Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Purchased by Santo Garovaglio (1805–1882 | Italian botanist, prefect of the Botanical garden of Pavia).

***Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense***

Shelf mark: O I 23. Binding: Contemporary blind-tooled parchment over boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Not mentioned in the index of printed books of Girolamo Casanate that was compiled around 1682–1687 but listed in the nineteenth-century manuscript catalogue. Probably acquired in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

***Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma***

Collection: Fondo Antico. Shelf mark: 68. 3.H.5. Binding: Rebound in leather by A. Lombardi in 1972. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Gesuiti Collegio Romano: Preposto generale. Library stamp: Biblioteca Nazionale.

***Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria***

Shelf mark: 1-659871. Binding: Contemporary leather, decorated in gold.

***Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana***

Shelf mark: D 200D 018. Binding: Eighteenth-century leather, decorated in gold, marbled edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Book plate on verso engraved title page: Ex libris Marciano

(Bragaglia 512), made in 1722 on behalf of librarian Girolamo Venier (1650–1735 | Italian composer and librarian of Marciana from 1709 until 1735) to mark parts of the collection. Note: Old shelf mark: XX.3.

*Venice, Ca' Foscari Fondo Storico*

Shelf mark: BG 11.B.10.

*Venice, Museo di Storia Naturale di Venezia*

Shelf mark: C 24 Q MSNVE. Binding: Eighteenth-century leather. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Contarini [Italian noble family, one of the founding families of Venice]. Bookplate: Museo Civico Correr; placement D 9.

*Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana*

Shelf mark: X 023 008 022 MAGAZZINO.

**Mexico**

*Biblioteca Nacional de México*

Collection: Fondo de Origen. Shelf mark: 94-43944.

**The Netherlands**

*Amsterdam, Bibliotheek Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*

Shelf mark: 24 G 10. Binding: Contemporary brown leather, decorated spine with six raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Nederlandsch Tydschrift voor Geneeskunde.

*Amsterdam, Scheepvaartmuseum*

Shelf mark: Me-0506. Binding: Eighteenth-century marbled boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of Anton Mensing (1866–1936 | Dutch art dealer and collector). Originally on loan to the Scheepvaartmuseum from Mensing. Permanently acquired by the museum at the Mensing auction hosted by Sotheby's in 1936. Reference: *The Mensing Library Catalogue of the very valuable and important library ... first portion*, Lot. no. 462. London: Sotheby, 1936.

*Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek*

**Copy 1:** Location: Artis Bibliotheek. Shelf mark: AB 090:18. Binding: Contemporary parchment with gold tooling. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Joh[annes] Bon (ca. 1720–1802 | medical doctor). Ex libris: Cornelis Henricus à Roy (1750–1833 | medical doctor). Library stamp: Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap Natura Artis Magistra. Note: The man and woman on the engraved title page are covered with a leaf.

**Copy 2:** Location: Allard Pierson. Shelf mark: OTM: KF 61-4353. Binding: Contemporary parchment, gilded text on front cover: Hortus Medicus Amstelodamensis. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collections of the Hortus Botanicus in Amsterdam. Transferred to the City Library, which would later become the University Library, no later than 1861.

*Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit*

Shelf mark: XQ.05049. Binding: Contemporary marbled brown leather, gilded coat of arms on front cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Groningen, Rijksuniversiteit*

Shelf mark: MF1. Binding: Contemporary brown leather, panel design with gold tooling on front cover, spine with five raised bands and gilded floral decoration. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation (Latin): Donated to Groningen University Library by “the consul and senators” of the States of Groningen in 1668. Library stamp on title page: Groninganae Bibliotheca Academiae.

*Haarlem, Teyler’s Museum*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: 5G 5. Binding: Contemporary brown leather, panel design with blind tooling on front cover, spine with five raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp: Bibliothèque Musée Teyler Harlem.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: 113 AB21300. Binding: Eighteenth-century green morocco, rebacked gilt decorated spine with floral motifs and six raised bands, all edges gilt, marbled endpapers. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Ex Bibliotheca Com: Thomae Cajetani de Węgry Węgiński [Tomasz Kajetan Węgiński] (1756–1787 | Polish poet). Booksellers’ plate: Rey et Gravier, quai des Augustins,

no. 55, Paris. Manuscript annotation: Dr. Walter Channing (1786–1876 | American physician and professor of medicine), 11 April 1840; sent as a gift to Amos Binney, includes a two-page handwritten letter to accompany the donation. Manuscript annotation: Amos Binney (1803–1847 | American physician and malacologist). Bookplate: Boston Society of Natural History, from the library of Dr. Amos Binney, deposited by Mrs. M.A. Binney. Manuscript annotation: Col. Büch. Acquired by Boudewijn Büch (1948–2002 | Dutch author and book collector) from Kistner and Ackerman (Nürnberg/München | Antiquarian bookdealers) in January 1993.

*The Hague, Gemeentearchief*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Bibl. de Cocq fo 42. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Bibl. de Cocq fo 49 (CPh). Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation (Latin): M[ichiël] Boudewijns (1750–1833 | medical doctor | Antwerp).

*The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek*

Shelf mark: 36 C 3. Binding: Contemporary parchment, gilded capital Y on front and back cover, spine restored. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the library of the Friars house, affiliated with the Latin School in Delft.

*Leeuwarden, Tresoar*

Shelf mark: 700 Ntk fol. Binding: Contemporary brown calf over wooden boards, panel design with blind stamped coat of arms, two metal claps. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Added folium with printed text (Latin) on both sides: Donated by Willem Frederik van Nassau-Dietz (1613–1664 | Stadtholder of Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe) to Franeker University Library in 1649. Library stamp on title page: P.B.v.F. [Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland].

*Leiden, Naturalis Biodiversity Center*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: RBR D00545. Binding: Contemporary parchment with gold embossing, all edged gilt, spine with six raised bands. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Ex libris: Ferdinand

Casper Koch, Rotterdam (1873–1957 | Dutch jurist and book collector). Blind stamp: Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie. Purchased by the Museum in 1974.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: RBR Holt 00563. Binding: Rebacked brown leather, black label on spine, five raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on folium A1: Tho[mas More] Molyneux (1661–1733 | Irish physician). Manuscript annotation on title page: [Illegible] 1791. Library stamp: [Faded]. From the collection of Lipke Bijdeley Holthuis (1921–2008 | Dutch carcinologist and book collector). Bequeathed as a whole to the museum in 2008.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: mus-nev 61651. Binding: Contemporary brown leather, spine with six raised bands, red title-label and decoration in gold. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp: [Hendrick] Hartogh Heijs van de Lier, Delft (1821–1870 | Dutch entomologist). Library stamp: Nederlandse Entomologische Vereniging. Donated by the widow of Hartogh Heijs van de Lier to the Nederlandse Entomologische Vereniging in 1870.

### *Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Bibliotheca Thysiana. Shelf mark: THYSIA 2274. Binding: Contemporary parchment, blind tooling, spine with six raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: “sum J. Thijs.” Johannes Thijs (1622–1653 | Dutch book collector).

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: 1407 B 3. Binding: Contemporary brown leather, gold tooling on front cover. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp on title page and edges: Acad Lvgd Bat [Leiden University].

**Copy 3:** Collection: KITLV Shelf mark: M 3t 54. Binding: Blind tooled contemporary parchment, spine with six raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp on title page: Indisch Genootschap. From the collection of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, transferred to Leiden University Library in 2014.

**Copy 4:** Shelf mark: VDSAND 236 A 12. Binding: Contemporary brown leather, gilded coat-of-arms on front cover: two shamrocks and two fleur-de-lis in a cartouche. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Faded text (Danish) in old hand on front cover and

on pastedown: [illegible]. Bookplate: Bibliotheca Pharmacia Van de Sande. Acquired by J.M.H. (Jaap) van de Sande (1916–2001 | Dutch pharmacist) from Norlis Antikvariat, Oslo.

*Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek*

Shelf mark: R fol 13. Binding: Contemporary blind-stamped parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: No, lacks pages 259–262. Provenance: Library stamp: Academia Rheno-Traiectina [Utrecht University]. Note: Annotated throughout in old hand, contains a handwritten index.

*Wageningen, University & Research, Library*

Shelf mark: Forum Library, R333A03. Binding: Contemporary leather over wooden plates, gilded decoration on back cover. Binding restored in 1984. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp: Bibliotheek der Landbouwhoogeschool [used from 1918 to 1990].

**Poland**

*Gdansk, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska*

Shelf mark: Uph. f. 1483. Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Monogrammed: A.K.D. Ex Bibliotheca Uhliana [Uhl Tobias Christian] (1743–1795 | Polish clerk). Johann Uphagen (1731–1802 | Polish bibliophile).

*Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: BJ St. Dr. Przyr. 258. Binding: Green-brown marbled paper boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: “Ex Libris Valen[...] Francisci Gientu [= Walenty Franciszek?] Consulis Tarno [viensis].

**Copy 2:** Collection: Księgozbiór Kamedułów. Shelf mark: BJ Cam. L. XV. 2. Binding: Parchment. Complete: Lacks frontispiece. Provenance: From the library of the Camaldolese Priory in Bielany, Kraków.

**Portugal**

*Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Duarte de Sousa. Shelf mark: D.S. XVII – 77. Binding: Eighteenth-century red morocco, gold tooling, coat of arms,



and floral decoration on front and back cover, spine with five raised bands. Book restorer's ticket on pastedown: Frederico D'Almeida, Encadernador, Lisboa. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: António Alberto Marinho Duarte de Sousa (1896–1950 | Portuguese bibliophile).

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: ELZ. 345. Binding: Parchment with traces of old ribbons. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Note: Contains an additional folium with manuscript annotations in English, possibly nineteenth century, attached to pastedown, with a synthesis of the history of “William Piso.”

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: ELZ. 348. Binding: Paper boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp on last page: D. Franc. Manuel. From the library of D. Francisco de Melo Manuel (Cabrinha) (1773–1851 | Portuguese bibliophile).

**Copy 4:** Shelf mark: ELZ. 349. Binding: Blind stamped parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp on last page: D. Franc. Manuel. From the library of D. Francisco de Melo Manuel (Cabrinha) (1773–1851 | Portuguese bibliophile).

**Copy 5:** Shelf mark: ELZ. 392. Binding: Brown leather. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

### *Coimbra, UC Biblioteca Geral*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Biblioteca de São Pedro. Shelf mark: S.P.-O-7-3. Binding: Sheepskin over paper boards, spine with six raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp and manuscript annotation: Real Colégio de São Pedro de Coimbra.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Biblioteca Joanina. Shelf mark: 4-10-38-6 c.2. Binding: Parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

### **Russia**

#### *Moscow, Russian State Library*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: МК [Музей книги] Amsterdam Elzevier 1648 2°. XVII-1223.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: МК [Музей книги] Amsterdam Elzevier 1648 2°. МК VIII-11695.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: МК [Музей книги] Amsterdam Elzevier 1648 2°. МК VIII-11696.

*Saint Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences Library*

Binding: Restored binding. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp on title page, indicating that this copy was probably acquired before 1741–1744.

**Spain**

*Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, CRAI Biblioteca de Reserva*

Shelf mark: 07 C-195/1/13. Binding: Contemporary limp vellum, manuscript capital P on spine, paper restored in 1999. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of Josep Jeroni Besora (d. 1665 | Catalan cleric and bibliophile). Bequeathed to the library of the Barefoot Carmelites of the convent of Saint Joseph of Barcelona. Entered in the library of the university after the suppression of the religious orders in 1835.

*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España*

Shelf mark: 3/49075. Binding: Leather. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: “Os justi meditabitur sapientiam.” “Es del Doctor Fernando Ynfante de Auriolos [Fernando Infante de Auriolos] (seventeenth century | Spanish medical doctor) costole 88 Res. Año 1653.” Library stamp: BR [Biblioteca Real].

*Madrid, Museo Naval*

Shelf mark: M-MN, CF-343. Binding: Mottled calf (Pasta Española).

*Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia*

Shelf mark: M-RAH, 5/2111. Binding: Parchment.

*Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Biblioteca*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: BH MED 3257. Binding: Contemporary parchment over paper boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp: Real Colegio de Cirugía de San Carlos de Madrid. Manuscript annotation on endpaper: Du Moulinis. Manuscript annotation: faint text on back cover. Manuscript annotation: crossed out name on title page and folium \*2.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: BH FG 2751. Binding: Contemporary parchment over paper boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the library of Francisco Guerra (1916–2011 | Spanish medical historian). Bequeathed to Complutense University in 2006.

*Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: BG/47074. Binding: Mottled calf (Pasta Española), spine with golden decorations and a red label with title in gold, edges in red. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: BG/41020. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation (Spanish) on title page: From the library of the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca. Acquired by the library early nineteenth century.

*Valencia, Universidad de Valencia. Biblioteca Histórica*

Shelf mark: BH Y-28/004. Binding: Parchment.

**Sweden**

*Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket*

Shelf mark: Fol Utl Naturv geogr [Brasilien]. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on folium \*2: [Illegible].

*Norrköping, Stadsbibliotek*

Collection: Finspongssamlingen Shelf mark: 1464 Fol. Binding: Contemporary parchment, five raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library Stamps on flyleaf and title page: Finspongs Bibliotek and Finspongs Bibliothec. From the collection of the family De Geer (Family of industrialists from Walloon origin, belonging to Dutch and Swedish nobility. Probably acquired at an auction in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

*Stockholm, Karolinska Institutet, Hagströmerbiblioteket*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Hylla 38, 61. Binding: Contemporary calf, six raised bands, double gilt fillet border around sides. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Ex libris: C.D. Carlsson. Donated by C.D. Carlsson to Apotekarsocietetens Bibliotek.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Fol. -1800 54 KIB. Binding: Contemporary vellum, fillets around the boards, stamped cartouches on upper and lower boards, stamped spine decorations. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation by Anders Johan Hagström[er] (1753–1830) on title page: “Tillhör Carolinska Medico Chirurgiska Institutet. 1a 17 Sk: 1 hyll.” Part of the collection that was donated by Abraham Bäck (1713–1795 | Swedish archiater) to Collegium Medicum where Bäck was president. Note: Annotated in two old hands. This is probably the copy that belonged to Abraham Bäck and was borrowed and possibly annotated by Daniel Rolander (1725–1793 | Swedish naturalist) when he went on his trip to Suriname, mentioned in a letter from Rolander to Bäck on 20 May 1756.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: Fol Rundet Eugenia. Binding: Contemporary alum-tawed pigskin over laminated boards, five raised double bands. Blind-tooled frames with center and corner pieces. Red edges. Traces of two paired ties of green textile at fore-edge. A leaf tab marker indicates the beginning of Marcgraf’s work (parchment strip pasted at fore-edge). Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate on pastedown: Werner Olsson. Stamp on pastedown: Föreningen Medicinhistoriska Museets vänner. Owner’s signature on flyleaf: H.A. Eurén.

### *Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: RAR: 148 A Fol. Historia. Binding: Contemporary parchment, gilded coat of arms on front and back cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Elz. 524 Fol. Binding: Nineteenth-century half parchment, marbled boards with monogram GJB. Binding identical to Elz. 525 Fol. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: Elz. 525 Fol. Binding: Nineteenth-century half parchment, marbled boards with monogram GJB. Binding identical to Elz. 524 Fol. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

### *Stockholm, Universitetsbiblioteket*

Collection: Bergianska Biblioteket. Shelf mark: H.V:2.2.n.1. Binding: Contemporary calf, gold tooling. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Wax seal: Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622–1686 | Swedish statesman and military commander). From the collection of Bengt Bergius (1723–1784 | Swedish book collector) and Peter Jonas Bergius (1730–1790 | Swedish medical doctor). Bequeathed to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1790. Deposited at Stockholm University Library.

*Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Nat.vet. Allm. Fol. [Piso] (Ex.: 1). Binding: Half-parchment with paper boards (defective), paper title-label with printed text on spine, which reads G.Pisonis | et. G.Marc. | Gravi. Histor | Natur. Brasiliae. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks pages 281–293. Provenance: Ex libris: Johan Lindestolpe (1678–1724 | Swedish medical doctor and botanist).

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Nat.vet. Allm. Fol. [Piso] (Ex.: 2). Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 3:** Collection: Leufsta collection. Shelf mark: Leufstasaml. F 92. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on flyleaf, which reads: Tutciari numina Noriana Villa | Gratissima omnium flora | ut purpureum viridi gentium de cespite florem | perpetuo efflorescat, latiquer fontis peren- | nitate foecundet | cum voto | Confaer. | G.P.I. From the collection of Baron Charles De Geer (1720–1778 | Swedish industrialist and entomologist). Bookplate: Uppsala Universitets Bibliotek, Leufsta samlingen.

**Switzerland***Basel, Universitätsbibliothek*

Shelf mark: Hx I 1. Binding: Contemporary leather, traces of ribbons. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: [illegible name] 1650. Manuscript annotation on half-title: J.J. d'Annone. 1753. From the collection of Johann Jacob d'Annone (1728–1804 | Swiss jurist, archeologist, collector of books and naturalia).

*Bern, Universitätsbibliothek*

Location: Bibliothek Münsterergasse. Shelf mark: MUE Gross W 49. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookseller's ticket on front pastedown: Huber & Comp. (Hans Körber) Buch- u. Kunsthandlung in Bern, Kramgasse 141. Probably acquired by the Municipal Library of Bern between 1864 and 1892.

*Zürich, Zentralbibliothek*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: NNN 64 | F. Binding: Contemporary parchment with gilded supralibros of Der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in

Zürich. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of Der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich, founded in 1746, and probably its predecessor the Physikalische Gesellschaft.

Copy 2: Shelf mark: TZ 61 | G.

## United Kingdom

### *Aberdeen, University Library*

Copy 1: Shelf mark: SB f590 Pis.

Copy 2: Shelf mark: f KCx 59 Pis.

Copy 3: Shelf mark: FL f Zeta 2.49.

### *Blickling, Blickling Hall National Trust Library*

Shelf mark: 5513. Binding: Eighteenth-century sprinkled calf; gilt double fillet border; gold-tooled spine, with gilt title. Red and brown sprinkled edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of: Sir Richard Ellys (1682–1742 | English politician and book collector). Manuscript initial on front flyleaf: “M.” [i.e. catalogue code of John Mitchell (ca. 1685–1751 | librarian to Sir Richard Ellys). Manuscript annotation: Eighteenth-century annotations relating to purchase on flyleaf. Acquired in 1940 with the whole of the Blickling Hall estate by gift in the bequest of Philip Kerr, 11th Marquis of Lothian (1882–1940 | British politician, diplomat, and newspaper editor).

### *Cambridge, Balfour & Newton Library*

Shelf mark: 5 folio 80. Provenance: Bookplate: Bequeathed by Alfred Newton (1829–1907 | English zoologist and ornithologist) to the Museum of Zoology.

### *Cambridge, Gonville & Caius: Lower Library*

Shelf mark: L.19.11.

### *Cambridge, St. Catharine's College Library*

Shelf mark: Addenbrooke.L.2.1. Provenance: Donated to the library in 1718 by John Addenbrooke (1680–1719 | English medical doctor).

*Cambridge, St. John's College: Upper Library*

Shelf mark: Mm.1.24.

*Cambridge, University Library*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Part of the “Stars” (historic collection). Shelf mark: N\*.1.30(B). Binding: Seventeenth-century sprinkled calf, blind ruled lines to the boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bequeathed by Henry Lucas (c. 1610–1663 | English clergyman and politician) in 1664.

**Copy 2:** Collection: The “Royal” Library. Shelf mark: L.1.9 (OS). Binding: Seventeenth-century leather, gold tooling to the boards. Rebacked. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the collection of John Moore, Bishop of Ely (1646–1714 | English clergyman and bibliophile), purchased and given to Cambridge University Library by King George I in 1715.

*Durham, University Library*

Collection: Ushaw College. Shelf mark: Ushaw XVIII.E.5.15. Binding: Eighteenth-century calf over boards, gold fillets; front board missing. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: No, lacks engraved title page. Provenance: Illegible circular purple ink stamp on letterpress title page.

*Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland*

Shelf mark: Am.1.17. Complete: no, second part only.

*Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Library*

Shelf mark: JY493.

*Edinburgh, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh*

Shelf mark: F P.4. Binding: Contemporary vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate on front paste-down: John Hope M.D. (1725–1786 | Scottish physician and botanist). Bookplate on verso of title page: Jo. [John] Stevenson, M.D. (Scottish medical doctor, father-in-law of John Hope).

*Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*

Collection: Strong room. Shelf mark: SS 2.21. Binding: Blind-tooled boards.

*Leeds, University Library*

Location: Brotherton Library Special Collections. Shelf mark: Strong Room for. fol. 1648 PIS.

*London, British Library*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: 443.k.7. Binding: Rebound in green half leather with green cloth boards. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Bibliotheca Sloanianæ Min: 114. From the collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753 | Anglo-Irish physician, naturalist, and collector). Note: No annotations, probably a presentation copy.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: 443.k.8. Binding: Rebound in half calf with brown cloth boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Ex Libris Jacobi Petiver Pharm. London [James Petiver] (c. 1665–1718 | English apothecary). Acquired by Sir Hans Sloane in 1718. Note: Annotated throughout, contains inserted letters addressed to or written by James Petiver.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: 452.g.8. Binding: Rebound in half calf with brown cloth boards, spine with six raised bands, blind stamped on front cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp: Joseph Banks (1743–1820 | English naturalist and botanist).

**Copy 4:** Shelf mark: 37.g.18. Binding: Half-leather with marbled boards and marbled edges, supralibros of King George III that was used between 1801 and 1816. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the Royal collection of George III (1738–1820 | King of Great Britain and Ireland).

*London, Kew Gardens Library*

Shelf mark: PRE-LINN-C PIS. Binding: Leather. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Royal Gardens Kew, presented by George Bentham (1800–1884 | English botanist) 1854.

*London, The Linnean Society of London*

Shelf mark: T13661. Binding: Contemporary parchment with later printed green title-labels. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Ex bibl. Linn. 1784 J.E. Smith. The library of Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778 | Swedish botanist and taxonomist) was bought as a whole by James Edward Smith



(1759–1828 | English botanist and founder of the Linnean Society) from the widow of Linnaeus in 1784. Note: Generic identification to some botanical figures and a manuscript annotation on front flyleaf by Linnaeus.

### *London, Middle Temple Library*

Shelf mark: BAY L529. Binding: Probably eighteenth-century leather, gold tooling. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes, title page defective.

### *London, Natural History Museum*

**Copy 1:** Location: South Kensington. Collection: Botany Special Collections. Shelf mark: Special Books 581.9(81) PIS F. Binding: Modern black buckram binding with black leather spine and corners. Coloration: title page: colored; other illustrations: Black-and-white. Complete: no, 2nd section by Marcgraf lacks pages 3–6. Provenance: Armorial bookplate: [not identified].

**Copy 2:** Location: South Kensington. Collection: General Special Collections. Shelf mark: 4 f PIS. Binding: Contemporary vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: [illegible name].

**Copy 3:** Location: Tring, Hertfordshire. Collection: Rothschild Collection. Shelf mark: ROTHSCHILD LIB. 81/F. Binding: Contemporary vellum with tooling and raised bands on the spine. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks title page. Provenance: Lionel Walter Rothschild, 2nd Baron Rothschild, Baron de Rothschild (1868–1937 | British zoologist).

### *London, Royal College of Physicians*

**Copy 1:** Location: Dorchester Library. Shelf mark: D1/28-e-3. Binding: Leather with a simple panel design and gold tooling, rebacked, red-speckled edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Royal College of Physicians. Possibly from the library of Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester (1606–1680 | English peer), bequeathed as a whole to the college in 1680. Note: Fragment of original front flyleaf with old shelf number “E4;” pencil annotation Christopher Merret (1614/5–1695 | English physician and scientist, first librarian of the Royal College of Physicians) suggests that this copy was in the library before the Great fire of 1666, yet this contradicts with the attribution of this copy to the legacy of the Marquis of Dorchester.

**Copy 2:** Location: Dorchester Library. Shelf mark: D1/9-f-2. Binding: Contemporary blind-stamped parchment with double panel design. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Royal College of Physicians. From the library of Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester, bequeathed as a whole to the college in 1680.

*London, Royal Society Library*

Shelf mark: Medicine-large. Binding: Twentieth-century half-leather, buckram. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*London, Wellcome Library*

Shelf mark: 41391/D. Binding: Twentieth-century leather. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: [illegible]. Acquired by the Wellcome Library around 1947.

*London, Zoological Society of London Library*

Shelf mark: 2ICP. Binding: Nineteenth-century half-leather with marbled boards, brown-speckled edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Manchester, University Library*

Location: John Rylands Library. Shelf mark: 1943.

*Oxford, Bodleian Library*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Locke 16.5. Binding: Calf with gold rules. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: John Locke (1632–1704 | English philosopher).

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Lister D 68. Binding: Calf. Complete: Yes. Note: Folium L2 missigned L3.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: Vet. B3 b.26. Binding: Half calf with marbled paper boards. Rebacked. Complete: no, lacks folia \*2-3. Provenance: Bookplate: Radcliffe Library. Note: Large-paper copy.

**Copy 4:** Shelf mark: R 1.16 Med. Binding: Mottled calf with blind rules. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 5:** Shelf mark: M 1.6 Med. Binding: Sprinkled calf with blind rules. Complete: Yes.

*Oxford, Jesus College Library*

Collection: Fellows' Library. Shelf mark: L.7.10 Gall. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: "Hunc librum olim suum Collegio Iesu legavit Eduardus Herbert Baro De Cherbury A.D. MDCXLVIII" on inside of upper board [Edward Herbert of Cherbury] (1583–1648 | Anglo-Welsh soldier, diplomat, historian, poet, and religious philosopher).

*Oxford, Magdalen College Library*

Collection: Old Library. Shelf mark: R.18.4. Binding: Tight-back binding; tanned medium-brown calf over pasteboard. Decoration: blind-tooled, triple-fillet outer frame. Spine: five raised bands: (panel 2) gold-tooled leather: MAURITII HIST. NAT. BRASILIAE; (panels 1 and 6) blind-tooled hatching/fillets; (panel 5) gold-tooled 1648; (panel 6) gold-tooled Goodyer canting crest and gold-tooled no. 53. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Donated to the library by John Goodyer (c.1592–1664 | English botanist and physician). Manuscript annotation: price in the hand of John Goodyer: 1l.-2s.

*Oxford, Museum of Natural History Library*

Collection: Hope Library (Entomology). Shelf mark: Folios: E.37.

*Oxford, Sherardian Library*

Collection: Herbarium store. Shelf mark: Sherard 665/BT.

*Oxford, St John's College Library*

Shelf mark: Y.1.2. Binding: Seventeenth or eighteenth-century stiffened parchment. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: STJ type 4 (foliate facsimile). Manuscript annotation on flyleaf: J. [John] Merrick (1670–1757 | English medical doctor).

*Windsor, Eton College*

Shelf mark: Ac.2.13. Binding: Contemporary gilt leather. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Label recording bequest to Eton by Nicholas Mann (d. 1753 | British antiquary and Master of the Charterhouse) in 1754 on front pastedown. Previous shelf marks: Dd.1.6 and Aa.2.09.

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*Wroughton, Science Museum Library*

Shelf mark: F O.B. PIS PISO.

**United States**

*Baton Rouge, LA, Louisiana State University Library*

Collection: McIlhenny Natural History Collection. Shelf mark: McIlhenny Flat QH117 .P67. Binding: Brown leather over boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Paper label on flyleaf with manuscript annotation: 10 dec. 1682, 14. H. Lud. Morin. D.M.P. [Louis Morin de Saint-Victor] (1635–1715 | French medical doctor and botanist). From the collection of Edward Avery McIlhenny (1872–1949 | American businessman and conservationist). Purchased by the library from a rare book dealer in 2010.

*Bethlehem, PA, Lehigh University Libraries*

Location: Linderman Library. Shelf mark: 574.981 P678h.

*Bloomington, IN, Indiana University*

Location: Lilly Library. Collection: Mendel collection. Shelf mark: QH117 .P67. Binding: Mottled calf with speckled edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: From the library of Charles Ralph Boxer (1904–2000 | British historian of Dutch and Portuguese colonial history).

*Boston, MA, Boston Public Library*

Shelf mark: RARE BKS XfL.648 .P67H pt.1-2. Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation (Dutch): Given by Maria Bevelot of Terschelling (d. 1713? | Dutch governess of Terschelling) to Jacob Grevenstein (c.1670–1711 | Dutch medical doctor). Bookplate: Property of the Public Library of Boston, from the Bates fund, added Feb. 5, 1862.

*Cambridge, MA, Harvard Library*

Copy 1: Location: Gray Herbarium. Shelf mark: Botany Gray Herbarium Oversize Ka P67h 1648. Binding: Probably contemporary vellum, tooling on front and back cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp: Adl. Dominium Metgethen. Accessioned 25 February 1911.

**Copy 2:** Location: Arnold Arboretum. Shelf mark: Botany Arnold (Cambr.) Oversize Ka P67h 1648. Binding: Vellum, rebound with the original cover affixed to the newer binding, tooling on front and back cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 3:** Location: Houghton Library. Shelf mark: Typ 632.48.695.

**Copy 4:** Location: Houghton Library. Shelf mark: F 5390.10.5.

**Copy 5:** Location: Dumbarton Oaks. Shelf mark: RBR K-3-2 PIS. Provenance: Bookplate: Waldemar Schwalbe, 1937.

**Copy 6:** Location: Ernst Mayr Library of the Museum of Comparative Zoology. Shelf mark: Spec. Coll.

### *Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina*

Shelf mark: QH117 .P67. Binding: Contemporary brown calf, gold and blind fillets around front and back, gold lines at bands (sewn on double cords), small center tool on each panel, title in gold on second panel. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate, front flyleaf and verso contained within decorative paper borders applied by unknown persons. Supplemental materials included in pocket on rear pastedown. Page of manuscript tipped in preceding title page.

### *Chicago, IL, Field Museum Library*

Collection: Ayer collection. Shelf mark: Ayer add.2 1648.1\*. Binding: Eighteenth-century mottled calf, blind tooling to the boards, spine restored. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Part of the donation by Edward E. Ayer (1841–1927 | American business magnate and philanthropist) to the Field Museum in 1926.

### *Chicago, IL, Newberry Library*

Shelf mark: Ayer 1269 .B8 P67 1648. Binding: Eighteenth century half-leather. Gilt letterpress text on burgundy and black leather title-labels. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: No, lacks pp. 102–104. Provenance: Engraved title-page: Paris Novemb: 25 1669. Manuscript name at the end of the text: Pa. Moray. Bookplate: presented to the library by Edward Everett Ayer, 1911. Purchased by the library for the Edward A. Ayer collection in May 1951. Note: botanical sections annotated in old hand throughout, probably second half eighteenth century (binominal nomenclature). Half-title Georgi Marcgravi de

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Liebstad ... *Historiæ rerum naturalium Brasiliæ*, libri octo with two pencil portrait sketches at the bottom of the page.

*Chicago, IL, University of Chicago*

Location: John Crerar Collection of Rare Books in the History of Science and Medicine. Shelf mark: f QH117.P670 c.1. Binding: Twentieth-century library binding. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bought by the library in the twentieth century.

*Cincinnati, OH, Lloyd Library and Museum*

Shelf mark: QH117 .P67 1648 RBR (ff). Binding: Paper-covered boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks title page.

*Columbia, MO, University of Missouri*

Shelf mark: MU Ellis Special Collections Rare Vault QH117 .P67. Binding: Vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Hartford, CN, Trinity College, Watkinson Library*

Shelf mark: Special Quarto QH117 .P67. Binding: Rebound in the twentieth century, quarter bound in red morocco. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bought by the library from Henry Stevens (1819–1886 | American bibliographer and book agent), London, in 1868.

*Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Library*

Shelf mark: QH117 .P67.

*Kansas City, MO, Linda Hall Library of Science, Engineering and Technology*

Shelf mark: QH117 .P5 1648 folio. Binding: Contemporary vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Library stamp: Manuscript annotation: Bornius. Ex libris Edinensis Medicæ Societatis [Royal Medical Society, Edinburgh]. Bought by the library from a bookdealer in 1983.

*Lawrence, KS, University of Kansas, Kenneth  
Spencer Research Library*

Collection: Solon E. Summerfield Collection. Shelf mark: Summerfield G196. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bought by the library from bookseller HP Kraus in March 1968.

*Los Angeles, CA, Getty Research Institute*

Shelf mark: QH117 .P67. Binding: Eighteenth-century brown calf, marbled endpapers. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: C.J.L. [Charles Jacques Louis] Coquereau (1744–1796 | French medical doctor). Bookplate: Theodore [Deodatus Nathaniel] Besterman (1904–1976 | researcher, bibliographer, and collector).

*Los Angeles, CA, University of California Library*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: BIOMED \*QH 117 P676h 1648 RARE. Binding: Vellum over boards, with yap edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: [illegible]. Manuscript annotation on upper free endpaper: “Tho White” and “Fol. 102.” His monogram bookplate on upper paste-down.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Clark Library. Shelf mark: f QH117 .P67 \*. Binding: Sprinkled calf, rebaked. Provenance: Armorial bookplate: Ormathmaite[?].

*Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin*

Shelf mark: 762187 noncurrent oversize. Binding: Contemporary vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Purchased by the library in 1951.

*Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota*

Collection: James Ford Bell Library. Shelf mark: 1648 fPi. Binding: Contemporary limp vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Purchased by the library from a rare book dealer in 1976.

*New Haven, CT, Yale University Library*

Shelf mark: S61h O58.

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*New Orleans, LA, Tulane University*

Collection: Howard Tilton Memorial Library. Shelf mark: Latin American Library (Rare Oversize) QH117 .P67.

*New York, NY, American Museum of Natural History*

Shelf mark: C-6. Binding: Rebound in twentieth-century red buckram. Originally bound in mottled boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Accessioned in 1932, acquisition before that time.

*New York, NY, Columbia University Libraries*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: BookArt Z232.EL9 1648 P67 (copy one). Binding: Eighteenth-century brown leather, marbled endpapers, gold tooling to the spine. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Purchased with the library of the American Type Founders Company, 1941.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: BookArt Z232.EL9 1648 P67 (copy two). Binding: Modern library binding, rebound in 1949. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: no, lacks several folia. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: [illegible]. Purchased from Bangs, 10 March 1891.

*New York, NY, New York Botanical Garden*

Location: LuEsther T. Mertz Library. Shelf mark: fQH117 P5. Binding: Rebound in buckram in 1942, edges gilded. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Purchased by the library in 1902.

*New York, NY, New York Academy of Medicine*

Shelf mark: Folio Vault. Binding: Contemporary limp vellum with yapped edges. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation on title page: Conventus Andreoviensis.

*New York, NY, Public Library*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: \*KB+ 1648 (Piso, W. *Historia natvralis Brasiliae*)  
Copy 1. Binding: Contemporary vellum over pasteboard. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: I.M.W. Baumann. Bookplate: C.E. [Christian Erhard] Kapp (1739–1824 | German medical doctor and translator).



**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: \*KB+ 1648 (Piso, W. *Historia natvralis Brasiliae*)  
Copy 2. Binding: Later, probably nineteenth-century, calf over pasteboard with scoring and damage. Rebacked. Coloration: Colored. Complete: Yes.

*Notre Dame, IN, Hesburgh Library*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: Special Coll. Rare Books XLarge QH 117 .P676 1648. Binding: Marbled paper boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: Special Coll. Rare Books XLarge QH 117 .P676 1648. Binding: Modern binding. Original brown leather board with gold tooling enclosed in box. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotations in margins by Edward Lee Greene (1843–1915 | American botanist).

*Philadelphia, PA, Academy of Natural Sciences of Drexel University Library & Archives*

Shelf mark: Wolf Room Folio QH117 .P67. Binding: Vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Donated to the library by Academy member John Howard Redfield (1815–1895 | American botanist) between 1861 and 1881.

*Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Libraries*

**Copy 1:** Location: Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection: Elzevier Collection Shelf mark: Elz F 3631. Binding: Full leather, boards detached, gold tooling on spine and gold double lines made with a fillet on edges of boards. Provenance: Donated to the University as part of the Elzevier Collection by E.B. [Edward Bell] Krumbhaar (1882–1966 | American pathologist).

**Copy 2:** Location: Pennsylvania Hospital Library.

*Pittsburgh, PA, Carnegie Mellon University, Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation*

Shelf mark: +BD4 P678m. Binding: Seventeenth- or eighteenth-century mottled brown morocco with metal clasps, metal corners on the bottom, edges mottled green, red, and brown. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation: Collegij Societatis Jesu Monasterij Westph. 1677. Library stamp: Ex. Bibl.

Paulina Monast. Library stamp: Ausgeschieden aus der Universitäts-Bibliothek Münster. Acquired by the Jesuit College in Münster in 1677. Transferred to the library of the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in 1780 after the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773. Later removed from the collection of that library. From the private collection of Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt (1882–1963 | American bookbinder and collector), donated as a whole to Carnegie Institute of Technology, now Carnegie Mellon University. Reference: This copy is no. 244 in the *Catalogue of Botanical Books in the Collection of Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt* (Pittsburgh, PA: Hunt Botanical Library, 1958). Note: The man and woman on the engraved title page are covered with a leaf.

*Providence, RI, Brown University*

**Copy 1:** Location: John Carter Brown Library. Shelf mark: 2-SIZE F648 .P678h. Binding: Contemporary vellum. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773–1843). Library stamp on folium \*2: John Carter Brown.

**Copy 2:** Location: John Hay Library, Lownes room. Shelf mark: 2-SIZE QH117.P67.

*San Francisco, CA, California State Library*

Collection: Sutro Library. Shelf mark: 508.8 P67h. Note: Copy is missing.

*St. Louis, MO, Missouri Botanical Garden Library*

**Copy 1:** Collection: Sturtevant Pre-Linnean collection. Shelf mark: QH117 .P57 1648 c.1. Binding: Twentieth-century half-leather with red stained text blocks edges. Coloration: Colored. Complete: no, lacks folia †4 and 2K3.

**Copy 2:** Collection: Sturtevant Pre-Linnean collection. Shelf mark: QH117 .P57 1648 c.2. Binding: Contemporary pigskin. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Donated to the library in 1892 by Edward Lewis Sturtevant (1842–1898 | American agronomist and botanist). Manuscript annotations by Sturtevant. Manuscript annotation: Johann Heinrich[?]. Manuscript annotation: [illegible].

*Urbana, IL, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign*

Shelf mark: Q570.981 P676h. Binding: Leather, tooling to the boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*Washington, DC, The Catholic University of America*

Collection: Oliveira Lima Library. Shelf mark: RBK 1129 1648. Binding: Contemporary vellum over boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate on front paste-down: M. de Oliveira Lima. Donated to the library by Manoel de Oliveira Lima (1867–1920 | Brazilian diplomat, journalist, and historian) in 1920.

*Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library*

Shelf mark: 245- 321f. Binding: Half vellum over marbled paper boards, gold-stamped label and gold tooling on spine, marbled endpapers; edges stained red. Modern manuscript leaf with bibliographical note affixed to front free endpaper. Provenance: Bookplate: Ex libris Jacobi P.R. [James Patrick Ronaldson] Lyell (1871–1948 | British book collector). Bookplate: Mary P. Massey. Donated by Massey as part of collection of over 300 herbals to the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1994.

*Washington, DC, Library of Congress*

**Copy 1:** Shelf mark: QH117 .P67 Jefferson Exhibit Coll fol. Binding: Stamped in gilt on cover: Ober Rath. Coloration: Black-and-white. Note: The book is missing.

**Copy 2:** Shelf mark: QH117 .P67 fol. copy 2. Binding: Later buckram. Coloration: Colored (some of the pages with colored images were accidentally glued to each other because of the paint; in the process of opening those pages, the images were damaged). Complete: Yes. Provenance: Gift from James Carson Brevoort (1818–1887 | American book collector) of Brooklyn, NY, to the Smithsonian Library between 3 and 5 October 1885. The Smithsonian Library gave it to the Library of Congress, where it was accessioned on 17 October 1885.

**Copy 3:** Shelf mark: Rosenwald 1433 Rosenwald Coll. Binding: Contemporary vellum, arabesque medallion. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate: Richard Joseph Sullivan Esquire (1752–1806 | British MP and writer). Bookplate: LJR [Lessing Julius Rosenwald] (1891–1979 | American businessman, book collector, and philanthropist). Bequeathed by Rosenwald to the Library of Congress in 1979.

**Copy 4:** Shelf mark: QH117 .P67 Pre-1801 Coll fol. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Bookplate.

**Copy 5:** Shelf mark: QH117 .P67 Kislak Coll fol. Binding: Contemporary vellum, arabesque medallion. Decorated paper pastedowns and endpapers. Coloration: Black-and-white. Provenance: Purchased at a Christie's

auction on 17 March 1999. Donated to the library by the Jay I. Kislak Foundation. Note: Accompanying material laid in.

*Washington, DC, Smithsonian Libraries*

Location: Joseph F. Cullman 3rd Library of Natural History. Shelf mark: QH117 .P67X folio SCNHRB. Binding: Nineteenth-century half morocco (black) with single blind fillet, and marbled paper over boards; spine plain with five raised cords, lettering in gilt. Coloration: Black-and-white. Provenance: Bookplate: Jonathan Dwight (1858–1929 | American ornithologist). Bookplate: Smithsonian Institution Libraries. Gift of Marcia Brady Tucker (1884–1992 | American ornithologist). Mrs. Tucker acquired Dwight’s ornithological library in the 1930s and donated it and her own bird books to SIL in 1970.

**Vatican**

*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*

Copy 1: Shelf mark: Stamp.Barb.EEE.VII.26.

Copy 2: Shelf mark: R.G.Sienze.S.38.

**Antiquarian Booksellers**

Six copies were offered by antiquarian booksellers in 2018–2019 when this copy census was initially set up. Three years later, in June 2022, the listed copies of Antiquariaat Junk and Richard C. Ramer Old and Rare Books are no longer available and have probably been sold. A previously unlisted copy is now offered by Antiquariat Winfried Kuhn. At least eight copies, all of them uncolored, were auctioned in the past 25 years, we mention the copies sold at Christies (1999, 2003, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2015) and at Bubb Kuyper (2019, 2020). The antiquarian copies have been added to the copy census, because their thorough descriptions generally allow future identification with copies that may appear elsewhere on the market or in institutions. The auctioned copies have been discarded from the copy census, since provenance data is often left out of the description and consequently the copy cannot always be identified indisputably.

*Amsterdam, Antiquariaat Junk*

Binding: Contemporary calf, gilt ornamented spine in seven compartments, sides with large gilt English Royal coat of arms of James II and the motto of the English chivalric Order of the Garter “Honi soit qui mal y pense,” and two gilt borders. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

Provenance: Supralibros of James II (1633–1701 | King of England and Ireland as James II and King of Scotland as James VII) as Duke of York, thus part of his collection before 1685. Bookplate: John Henry Gurney (1819–1890 | English banker, book collector, and ornithologist). Armorial bookplate: John Roland Abbey (1894–1969 | English book collector).

*Berlin, Antiquariat im Hufelandhaus GmbH*

Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: North Library (dated 1860).

*Berlin, Antiquariat Winfried Kuhn*

Binding: Contemporary parchment. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*New York, Arader Galleries*

Binding: Contemporary calf, spine in seven compartments, with six raised bands. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Stamp: G[eorges] Cuvier (1769–1832 | French naturalist). With marginal annotations by Cuvier in the sections on fish and birds. Stamp: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris. Auctioned at Christies, 19 November 2014.

*New York, Richard C. Ramer Old and Rare Books*

Binding: Contemporary morocco, eight-pointed star design in gilt with red straight-grained morocco inlay on front cover. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes. Provenance: Manuscript annotation in upper blank margin of engraved title page: “Bibliothèque N.° 26.” Manuscript annotation of a Benedictine monastery, dated 1664, on second leaf recto. Bookplate removed from front pastedown.

*Paris, Librairie Camille Sourget*

Binding: Contemporary blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.

*West Newbury, MA, Barberr Hill Books*

Binding: Half-parchment with blue paper boards. Coloration: Black-and-white. Complete: Yes.