

Notes on the menagerie and zoological cabinet of Stadholder William V of Holland, directed by Aernout Vosmaer

BY FLORENCE F. J. M. PIETERS

Artis Library,
University of Amsterdam,
Plantage Middenlaan 45A, Amsterdam - C,
The Netherlands

INTRODUCTION

The Princes of Orange, Stadholders of Holland, were all more or less interested in animals. They possessed a menagerie, a cabinet, or both, but none of these collections was so famous as the museum and menagerie of Prince William V.¹ In this paper I first summarize briefly the history of this collection, and later discuss the most important printed source concerning it: the book written by Aernout Vosmaer with the engraved title *Regnum animale*.

THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The history of the menagerie actually starts in 1748, the year of William V's birth. In that year his father, William IV, bought an estate with the two country-houses Kleine Loo and Grote Loo.² This estate was situated at Voorburg, one km east of The Hague.³ The next year the construction of a menagerie was started there, though on a modest scale at the outset: first only a pheasantry was established.⁴ Very little has been published on the history of this menagerie, although much information about it can be found in the Koninklijk Huis Archief (Archives of the Royal Family)⁵ and in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (Dutch National Archives).⁶

After William IV's death in 1751, his widow Princess Anne of Hanover, daughter of the English King George II, acted as Governess for her nearly four year old son.⁷ This talented Princess was greatly interested in natural history. During her regency, which lasted from 1751 until her death in 1759, the menagerie was much extended. We know this from bills for material and wages from this period, on behalf of the estate Loo under Voorburg.⁸

Moreover, as early as 1751 insects were bought for the Prince from the well-known naturalist and collector Pierre Lyonnet (1707–1780), to the amount of f70.—⁹ This marked the modest beginning of the Prince's natural history cabinet¹⁰ a collection which grew slowly but surely. It is not known if the Princess bought animals at the auction of the famous cabinet of Albertus Seba in 1752; if she did, she must have obtained them through a broker.¹¹ One of the buyers then was the young fanatical collector Aernout Vosmaer (1720–1799). In 1756, Princess Anne not only bought Vosmaer's cabinet for the considerable amount of f8000.—¹² (and thus obtained a large part of Seba's collection), but she also appointed him director of the Prince's natural history cabinet.¹³

At first the collection was housed in five rooms in the Stadholder's quarters.¹⁴ Vosmaer was an ardent collector and under his directorate the collection gradually increased in size and importance as a result of his purchases at various auctions¹⁵ and by shipments sent from abroad, especially from the Dutch colonies. The shipments included also rare living animals,

presented by the Officers of the East and West Indian Companies to the Prince's menagerie. These curious animals mostly did not live very long, thus they always passed sooner or later from the menagerie into the cabinet.¹⁶

Of course, the museum was often visited and because of its richness described.¹⁷ Among the numerous visitors in 1765, I will here only mention Thomas Pennant and Peter Simon Pallas. In his travel journal, Pennant praises the Prince's cabinet, but not its director. I quote:¹⁸

Visited the Prince's Cabinet, under the direction of M. Vosmaer, a frenchified Dutchman, extremely ignorant. The curiosities are kept in five rooms and are very fine; the animals in spirits are numerous, among them Lizard with a fin on its back engraved in Seba.

There is a skeleton of a vast Antelope.

Among the birds is the male and female Cormorant; the former has a white spot on the chin and crest and a white spot on each thigh.

Anas adunca shot near the Hague is black except a white spot under the bill and the quill feathers, which are white.

In another room is the large skull of some beast; in the upper jaw are two Incisores, two Canine and five Molares, in the lower all the same except the Incisores, which are four in number. The minerals and shells in this cabinet are very good.

In the years between 1763 and 1767, Pallas took up residence in The Hague.¹⁹ He must have been a regular visitor to the Prince's cabinet, since he described many new species from it in his *Elenchus Zoophytorum* (1766), *Miscellanea zoologica* (1766) and *Spicilegia zoologica* (1767–1780).²⁰ The cabinet was open to the public during the morning, three times a week, but special guests got special facilities²¹ and apparently Pallas belonged to this category. He even filled Vosmaer's place temporarily and escorted visitors round the place, as we know from a letter from Pallas to Vosmaer dated 26 July 1765.²² That day there had been thirty-eight visitors, but no accidents had occurred in the overcrowded rooms, except for the shattering of a glass-bell covering a bird of paradise:

... Le Cabinet de S.A. a été visité aujourd'hui par au moins 38 personnes. Jugés quelle foule cela devoit faire. Il n'est pourtant pas arrivé d'accident, excepté qu'on a fracassé le verre qui couvroit un des oiseaux de Paradis rangés en haye devant la cheminée...

Due to the numerous acquisitions, shortage of space became more and more acute. In 1766 it was decided that the library and the whole cabinet of nature and art – this collection contained ethnographic objects, physical instruments and a numismatic collection as well – had to move within The Hague from the Binnenhof to a large house at the northern corner of the Buitenhof.²³ This was a decisive step: the collections of the Stadholder had always formed part of the Prince's household. Now the cabinet got loose from the conglomerate of the Stadholder's quarters and became a more or less independent institution,²⁴ like the menagerie.

Meanwhile, the menagerie had been enlarged and also embellished. In a bill from 1771 we find it designated for the first time as a zoological garden.²⁵ In the same year William V appointed Vosmaer director of his menagerie as well.²⁶ From that time onwards Vosmaer tried to walk in the footsteps of his great colleague and rival in Paris, Buffon, as we will see later, discussing in his book both the animals in the menagerie and in the cabinet.

It is a well-known story that the French brought everything of importance from The Hague to Paris in 1795. However, that story is only partially true. First of all, the menagerie was no longer situated near The Hague at the time. Due to political circumstances, the Stadholder had to sell the estate at Voorburg, popularly called Loo, in 1786.²⁷ It was decided then, that all the animals should be moved from Loo near The Hague to the estate Oude Loo near Apeldoorn. Oude Loo is still in the possession of the Royal Family, but it has always been

popularly called Loo too. Because of this similarity in name, the removal of Prince William's menagerie from the surroundings of The Hague to Apeldoorn has gone unnoticed to many authors.²⁸ At Oude Loo Prince William's father, William IV, and even his predecessor, King-Stadholder William III, had already kept a menagerie.²⁹ The transport of animals took place in the same year (1786), though not without difficulties, especially concerning the two young elephants which had arrived two years before as a gift from the East Indian Company.³⁰ It has to be admitted that the scientific importance of Prince William's menagerie decreased with its transfer to Apeldoorn.³¹ Due to political circumstances, after that time the supply of new rare animals was impeded. But Georges Cuvier later derived advantage from the transfer of the survivors to Paris,³² especially when dissecting the elephants after their death.³³

However, what happened to the Prince's cabinet in 1795? Vosmaer had continued enlarging the collection and its fame had spread all over Europe.³⁴ After the French had occupied Holland and the Stadholder had fled to England in 1795, his personal goods were considered war trophies by the invaders.³⁵ The botanist André Thouin (1747–1824) and the geologist Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond (1741–1819) were charged with the conveyance of the Stadholder's entire natural history cabinet. To this end, they used an inventory drawn up by Vosmaer.³⁶ On 14 March 1795, Faujas reported:³⁷

Le Stathouder n'a eu le temps d'enlever que les pierres précieuses et quelques riches échantillons de mines d'or, mais ce qui reste est admirable, et va rendre le Muséum d'Histoire naturelle de Paris le plus riche de l'Europe.

Thouin confirmed this statement on 9 May 1795:³⁸

Quoiqu'on eût enlevé beaucoup d'objets d'une valeur numérique assez considérable, nous trouvâmes encore un très grand nombre de choses précieuses pour les sciences et pour les arts.

It thus appears that the collection brought to Paris was not complete at that time. To make a long and intricate story short, I refer to Boeseman's (1970) article about the vicissitudes and dispersal of Seba's zoological specimens. Boeseman assumes that a part of the Stadholder's collection had been actually hidden by some adherents of the House of Orange and that this part of the collection ultimately came into the hands of Prof. Van Lidt de Jeude at Utrecht. Indeed, this is a plausible explanation for the fact that so many specimens having belonged to Seba turned up after the two auctions of the Museum Van Lidt de Jeude in 1858 and 1867. As early as 1892 Mr Oldfield Thomas recognized many of Seba's specimens in the material of the British Museum (Natural History) acquired from the second Van Lidt de Jeude auction.³⁹

I am tempted to support Boeseman's assumption that a part of the Stadholder's collection, especially the Seba specimens, was not accidentally overlooked by the French (as presumed by Thomas)⁴⁰ but actively hidden, and I presume that Vosmaer took an active part in concealing this material.⁴¹ We know that Vosmaer was especially interested in Seba specimens, since he bought a large part of Seba's collection in 1752, which came to the Prince's cabinet in 1756. Vosmaer even edited both the third and the fourth volume of Seba's *Thesaurus*⁴², thus he must have been well-informed about the scientific value of this particular part of the collection. Furthermore, it is curious that the descriptive catalogue of the Prince's cabinet never turned up. There must have been a detailed one, as Vosmaer refers to it in his inventory of the Prince's cabinet of 1759.⁴³ But the French only mentioned an inventory.⁴⁴ Perhaps Vosmaer hurriedly made a new inventory, and concealed the 'real' catalogue so well that it has been kept hidden up to the present?⁴⁵

In any case, the greatest part of the Stadholder's natural history collection was abducted by the French on behalf of the Paris Museum in 1795.⁴⁶ The first shipment, comprising about

half of the collection, was packed in ninety-five boxes and consisted, among other natural history objects, of 10,000 specimens of minerals, 3,872 botanical specimens, 5,000 insects, 9,800 shells, and 1,176 birds.⁴⁷

In 1815 the natural history Professor Sebald Justinus Brugmans (1763–1819) of Leiden University was charged with the recovery of the Stadholder's natural history collection.⁴⁸ This appeared to be a very cumbersome and delicate task. The Prince's collection had been integrated in the Paris Museum in such a way, that most of the specimens were no longer recognizable as having belonged to the Stadholder. Moreover, many mounted quadrupeds, birds, insects, etc. proved to have deteriorated, numerous specimens in spirit had served for dissection, many duplicates had been disposed of by exchange and many others had been spread among the Départements, because in each of these a natural history collection had to be built up.⁴⁹ After long negotiations, Brugmans finally succeeded in obtaining as compensation a collection composed of duplicates from the Paris Museum, altogether forming 'an uninterrupted series of natural history objects'.⁵⁰ He also got back a great part of the large and most conspicuous specimens from the former Stadholder's cabinet.⁵¹ This compensatory



Figure 1. Collective title page of the Dutch edition (publ. 1766–1804) of Vosmaer's book about the animals in the menagerie and cabinet of Stadholder William V.

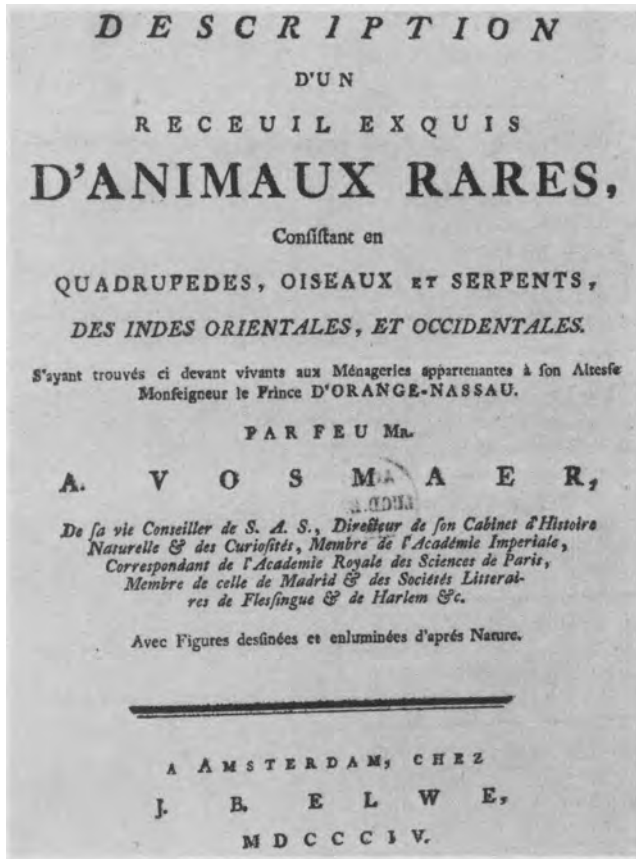


Figure 2. Collective title page of the French edition (publ. 1767–1805) of Vosmaer's book about the animals in the menagerie and cabinet of Stadholder William V.

collection consisted of 9,988 items altogether, packed in seventy-one boxes. It was presented by King William I of The Netherlands to Leiden University, and from there it ultimately came into the Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie at Leiden after its foundation in 1820.⁵²

VOSMAER'S BOOK

Vosmaer wrote a book about the rarest animals in the menagerie and cabinet of Prince William V. This was published in two editions, one in Dutch (collective title page reproduced in Figure 1) and one in French (collective title page reproduced in Figure 2) in thirty-four instalments during the years 1766–1805. Each part is separately paged and has a title page of its own, thus the work may be considered a collection of thirty-four booklets as well, especially since no collective title was published initially.

The book is often referred to under its engraved title *Regnum animale* (Figure 3) which was issued together with the collective title in 1804. In contemporary literature I have found

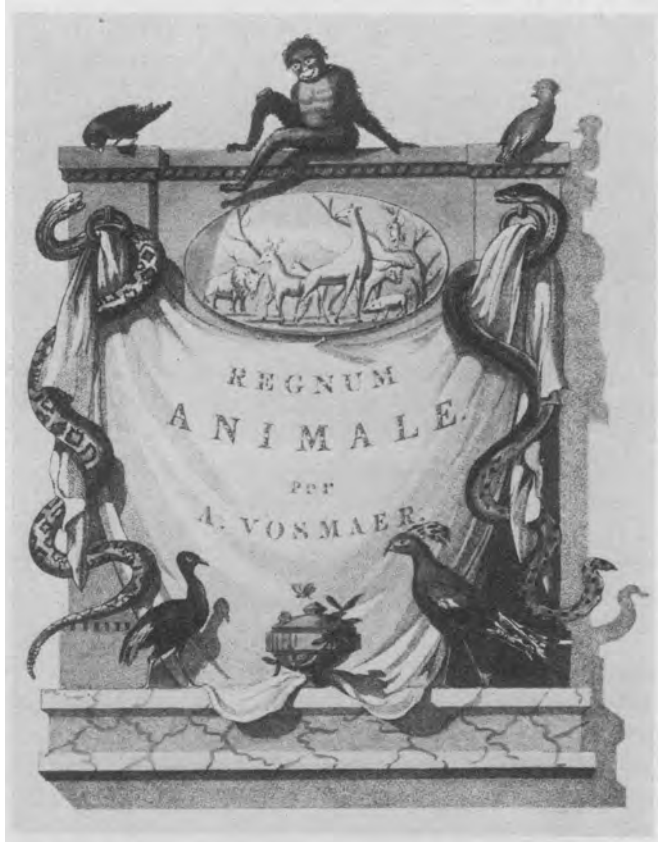


Figure 3. Engraved title of Vosmaer's book about the animals in the menagerie and cabinet of Stadholder William V. The depicted animals do not merely serve for decoration, they reappear in the book; for example the birds: upper left is Vosmaer's Eclectus Parrot (cf. fig. 7), upper right the Guianan Cock-of-the-rock (cf. fig. 6), lower left the Grey-winged Trumpeter (cf. fig. 4) and lower right the Secretary Bird (cf. fig. 8).

both French and Dutch “ghost titles”,⁵³ slightly different from the collective title published in 1804. This “ghost title” appears to be derived from the prospectus issued by the first publisher, Pieter Meijer.

Pieter Meijer's prospectus gives details about the planned scope of the work, and the prices of the instalments.⁵⁴ Furthermore, he declares that the format in grand 4to has been purposely chosen in order to equal in this respect the works of “Mrs. Buffon & Edwards”. The contents are advertized in the prospectus with special emphasis on the inclusion of only new discoveries in the realms of nature.

The final prospectus issued by the publisher J. B. Elwe in 1804⁵⁵ goes further into this subject. Here the inclusion of some rare animal species is stressed, descriptions of which have

never been given before, not even by Buffon. In the table of contents to Vosmaer's book, inserted in this prospectus, these descriptions are even indicated by an asterisk.⁵⁶

I am convinced that Vosmaer consciously restricted his description to new or hitherto imperfectly known species, as most well-known species had been recently amply described by Buffon. No wonder that Buffon is praised as 'the Aristotle of our age' in the preface to Vosmaer's book.⁵⁷ It thus seems likely that Vosmaer considered his *Regnum animale* as a kind of supplement to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*. The Leiden Professor Jean Nicolas Sébastien Allamand (1713–1787), who edited a new Buffon edition in French, published in Holland, often copied plates from Vosmaer's book and referred to Vosmaer's descriptions. Even Buffon himself often cited Vosmaer and published several copies of his plates.⁵⁸

It is disappointing that Vosmaer, like Buffon, did not use binominal nomenclature consistently and the few Latin names used in his book are therefore not available according to the rules of zoological nomenclature. Several of Vosmaer's new species have subsequently been given valid scientific names by other authors, e.g. Lacépède, Müller, Pallas, Schreber and Zimmerman.⁵⁹ In these cases the specimens described by Vosmaer and depicted mostly by the famous animal painter Aert Schouman (1710–1792)⁶⁰ should be considered as types. As the foregoing history of Prince William's collection has shown, it is unclear where these specimens now are and this makes the original drawings from which the engravings in Vosmaer's book are made, all the more valuable.⁶¹

The Artis Library of the University of Amsterdam, which is the former library of the Royal Zoological Society *Natura Artis Magistra* (founded 1838), owns several of these original drawings. It is known for certain that the greater part of this collection of drawings was acquired in 1866 at the Van Lidt de Jeude auction of books, including an 'Atlas de zoologie' of drawings and prints⁶² (the drawings for Vosmaer's book did not, however, originate from the Stadholder's "hidden" collection, but from Vosmaer's own collection).⁶³ It is known that the Royal Zoological Society bought the greatest part of Van Lidt de Jeude's zoological atlas, which is still extant in the Artis Library in the large collection of animal portraits (for the greatest part engravings) entitled sumptuously 'Iconographia zoologica Societatis Regiae Zoologicae Amstelodamensis *Natura Artis Magistra*.'

As the drawings of mammals for Vosmaer's book have been dealt with extensively by Tuijn and Van der Feen (1969) I discuss here only the birds. Before doing so I must stress the complexity of giving a true bibliographical description of Vosmaer's book including the plates. For the present we have to be content with the entries to both editions in the catalogue of the British Museum (Natural History) library.⁶⁴ Furthermore, it should be stressed that the book is not only interesting from a taxonomic point of view, but also from a historical one. It is a typical product of its time; for example the Linnaeus-Buffon controversy and the idea of the chain of beings are discussed in it.⁶⁵

VOSMAER'S BIRDS

There are ten instalments dealing with birds (cf. the above-mentioned catalogue). All ten bird plates are engraved by the famous copperplate engraver Simon Fokke (1712–1784).⁶⁶

1. 'Description du Trompette Americain, oiseau très-peu connu, doué d'une propriété singulière; apporté de Surinam; et se trouvant dans la ménagerie, & dans le cabinet de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1768), pp. 1–8, plate I.⁶⁷

Identified as *Psophia crepitans* Linnaeus, 1758, Grey-winged Trumpeter.



Figure 4. Grey-winged Trumpeter from the menagerie of Stadholder William V. Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for bird plate I, published 1768, of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale*. Reproduced from the original in the Artis Library, University of Amsterdam. Actual size: 196 x 149 mm.

An Indian ink painting signed A. Schouman f., of which plate I is an exact mirror-image copy, is present in the Artis Library (Figure 4).⁶⁸ The authenticity of this painting is not entirely clear (for example the signature differs, cf. Figs. 5–10).

2. 'Description d'un Alcyon d'Amerique, à longue queue, ayant deux doigts de devant, & deux de derrière, d'une espèce belle et rare, si ce n'est même inconnue, apporté de la Colonie Hollandoise, nommée Les Berbices; et qui se conserve dans le cabinet de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1768), pp. 1–9, plate II.

Identified as *Jacamerops aurea* (Müller, 1776), Great Jacamar. This was a new species described by Vosmaer. Philipp Ludwig Stätius Müller (1725–1776) proposed the binominal name *Alcedo aurea* in 1776, referring to Vosmaer's description in doing so (Miller, 1776: 94). Unfortunately, the original painting for plate II by Aert Schouman is wanting in the Artis Library.⁶⁹



Figure 5. Spangled Cotinga from the cabinet of Stadholder William V. Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for bird plate V, published 1769, of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale*. Reproduced from the original in the Artis Library, University of Amsterdam. Actual size: 195 x 152 mm.

3. 'Description d'un petit Alcyon d'Amerique, d'une beauté admirable, n'ayant presque point de queue, pourvû de deux doigts de devant, & de deux de derrière; apporté de la Colonie Hollandoise, nommée Les Berbices; et qui se conserve dans le cabinet de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1768), pp. 1–6, plate III.

Identified⁷⁰ as *Galbula galbula* (Linnaeus, 1766), Common Jacamar.

The original painting for plate III by Gerrit van den Heuvel⁷¹ is wanting in the Artis Library.

4. 'Description de deux petits Alcyons des Indes Orientales, très-beaux, à queue courte, ayant deux doigts devant, & un derrière; lesquels se conservent dans le cabinet de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1768), pp. 1–7, plate IV.

The upper bird is identified⁷² as *Ceyx erithacus* (Linnaeus, 1758), Black-backed Kingfisher; the lower bird as *Ceyx rufidorsum* Strickland, 1846, Rufous-backed Kingfisher.⁷³

The original painting for plate IV by Gerrit van Den Heuvel⁷⁴ is wanting in the Artis Library.

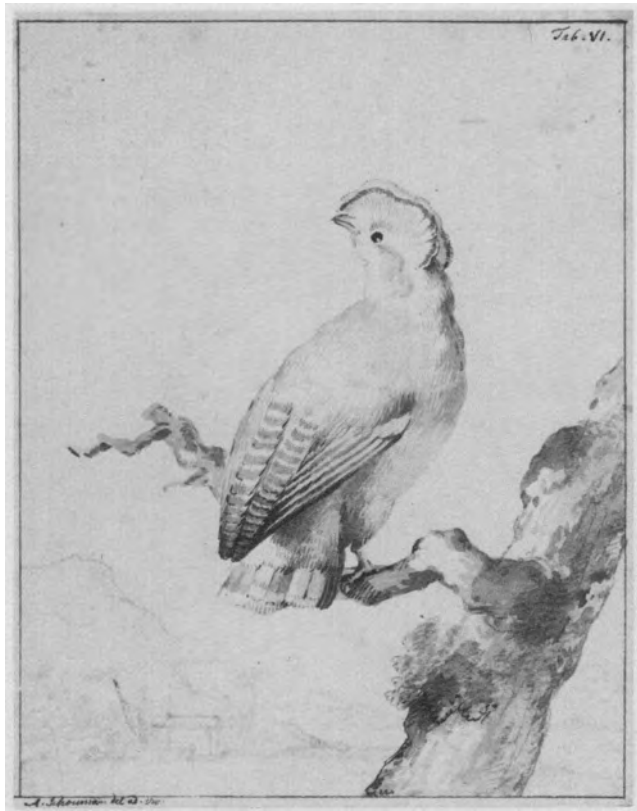


Figure 6. Guianan Cock-of-the rock from the cabinet of Stadholder William V. Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for bird plate VI, published 1769, of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale*. Reproduced from the original in the Artis Library, University of Amsterdam. Actual size: 200 x 156 mm.

5. 'Description d'une belle Grive d'Amerique, nommée Quereiva, qui vient du Bresil, et se conserve dans le cabinet de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1769), pp. 1–7, plate V.

Identified as *Cotinga cayana* Linnaeus, 1766, Spangled Cotinga.

The original Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for plate V is present in the Artis Library (reproduced in Figure 5). According to the Schouman expert Mr L. J. Bol, both signature and painting are authentic.

6. 'Description du Coq-des-roches americain, oiseau d'une merveilleuse beauté, très peu connu encore; apporté de Surinam, pour le cabinet de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1769), pp. 1–7, plate VI.

Identified as *Rupicola rupicola* (Linnaeus, 1766), Guianan Cock-of-the-rock.

An Indian ink painting for plate VI by Aert Schouman is present in the Artis Library (reproduced in Figure 6). We are not informed about the authenticity of this painting.



Figure 7. Electus Parrot from the museum of Stadholder William V. Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for bird plate VII, published 1769, of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale*, representing the type specimen of *Psittacus roratus* P. L. S. Müller, 1776. Reproduced from the original in the Artis Library, University of Amsterdam. Actual size: 197 x 159 mm.

7. 'Description d'une belle espèce de Perroquet des Indes, nommé le Grand Lory Rouge-pourpré, qui se trouve à Ceylan, et que l'on conserve dans le cabinet de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1769), pp. 1–10, plate VII.

Identified as *Eclectus roratus* (P. L. S. Müller, 1776), Eclectus Parrot. This is another new bird species of Vosmaer the scientific name for which was proposed by P. L. S. Müller (1776: 77). In 1922, Lord Rothschild even named the subspecies *Eclectus roratus vosmaeri* after Vosmaer.⁷⁵

The original Indian ink painting for plate VII by Aert Schouman, the "iconotype", is present in the Artis Library (here reproduced in Figure 7). According to Schouman expert Mr L. J. Bol, both signature and painting are authentic.



Figure 8. Secretary Bird from the menagerie of Stadholder William V. Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for bird plate VIII, published 1769, of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale*. Reproduced from the original in the Artis Library, University of Amsterdam. Actual size: 200 x 154 mm.

8. 'Description d'un oiseau de proie, nommé le Sagittaire, tout-à-fait inconnu jusqu'ici; apporté du Cap de Bonne Espérance, dans la ménagerie de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Meijer, 1769), pp. 1–8, plate VIII.

Identified as *Sagittarius serpentarius* (J. F. Miller, 1779), Secretary Bird. Although Vosmaer described this species first, Miller's description of 1779 is not based on Vosmaer's.⁷⁶

The original Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for plate VIII is present in the Artis Library (reproduced in Figure 8). According to Schouman expert Mr L. J. Bol, both signature and painting are authentic.

9. 'Description d'une espèce particulière de pigeon, nommée Pigeon Canelle de Ceilon. Ayant été conservée dans le muséum de Son Altesse Sérénissime...' (Amsterdam, chez J. B. Elwe, 1805) (1804 in Dutch edition), pp. 1–12, plate IX.

Identified as *Ducula aenea* (Linnaeus, 1766), Green Imperial Pigeon.

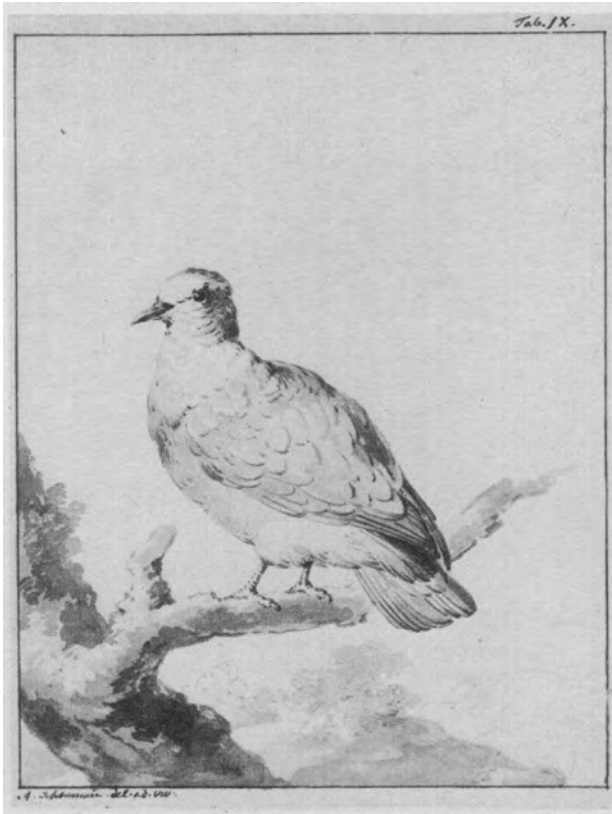


Figure 9. Green Imperial Pigeon from the cabinet of Stadholder William V. Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for bird plate IX of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale* (published 1804 in Dutch edition, 1805 in French edition). Reproduced from the original in the Artis Library, University of Amsterdam. Actual size: 195 x 152 mm.

The original Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for plate IX is present in the Artis Library (Figure 9). According to Schouman expert Mr L. J. Bol, both signature and painting are authentic.

10. 'Histoire naturelle du Courli Africain. Ayant été conservé dans le museum de Son Altesse Sérenissime...' (Amsterdam, chez J. B. Elwe, 1805) (1804 in Dutch edition), pp. 1–8, plate X.

Identified as *Geronticus calvus* (Boddaert, 1783), Bald Ibis. Vosmaer thought he had a new species before him, different from the 'Courlis à tête nuë' of Buffon, and named it (for the first time using Linnaean nomenclature correctly!) *Tantalus nudicollis* (p. 6 in French edition, p. 7 in Dutch edition). However, Vosmaer was mistaken in thinking his specimen differed from the one described by Buffon.⁷⁷



Figure 10. Bald Ibis from the menagerie of Stadholder William V. Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for bird plate X of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale* (published 1804 in Dutch edition, 1805 in French edition). Reproduced from the original in the Artis Library, University of Amsterdam. Actual size: 196 x 152 mm.

The original Indian ink painting by Aert Schouman for plate X is present in the Artis Library (Figure 10). According to Schouman expert Mr L. J. Bol, both signature and painting are authentic.

When comparing Buffon's picture of the Bald Ibis with Vosmaer's, it is striking that Buffon's plate typically represents a stuffed bird,⁷⁸ while Vosmaer's plate (the original design of which is reproduced in Figure 10) clearly represents a living bird. This is why Vosmaer's book excels among other zoological books of the time: its eminent plates were mostly drawn from living animals, not as so many others that were drawn from museum specimens only.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the kind help of many, these notes on the menagerie and zoological cabinet of William V would not have been as extensive as they are now, though many uncertainties still exist.

I am indebted to Dr P. J. H. van Bree, curator of mammals at the Institute of Taxonomic Zoology (Zoölogisch Museum), University of Amsterdam, for his general interest in the subject. I owe the idea to his predecessor in the same Institute, Drs P. J. van der Feen, and to my predecessor in the Artis Library, Drs P. Tuijn. Furthermore, I want to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr J. H. Stock, Director of the Committee in charge of the Artis Library, who allowed me a few days of study leave to work on the paper and even discharged me from editorial work temporarily; without this help the lecture would never have been completed in time. At the same time, I like to thank Mrs L. F. Dix-Bunck and Mr J. A. M. van Waard for their assistance in the Artis Library. Mr L. A. van der Laan of the Institute of Taxonomic Zoology made the colour slides for the lecture and the photographs for the present paper. Dr I. R. Ball of the same Institute kindly polished the English. My research was stimulated by Mr L. C. Rookmaaker of Amsterdam and Prof. Dr P. Smit of the Bio-historical Institute of Utrecht University.

In the historical section, I am indebted to Prof. Dr W. Vervoort, Director of the Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden, for bringing some important articles to my attention. Drs J. A. A. Bervoets of the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, traced the important Brugmans letter and kindly supplied me with a photocopy of it.

Without the Library of the Dutch Booksellers and Publishers Association, Amsterdam, many questions in the bibliographical part would have been kept unsolved; I thank the librarians Mr G. J. Brouwer and Mr F. van den Bosch for their repeatedly offered assistance. A copy of the French edition of Vosmaer's book was kindly lent to me by the library of the Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. In the University Library of Amsterdam, Drs Margreet Kollis has been most helpful to me.

As for the ornithological part, I owe many thanks to Mr C. S. Roselaar of the ornithology department of the Institute of Taxonomic Zoology, Amsterdam, for his assistance in identifying Vosmaer's birds. Dr J. Wattel, curator of birds at the same Institute, encouraged me in my research. Mr L. J. Bol, former director of the museums at Dordrecht, was so kind as to give us his opinion on the authenticity of the Schouman drawings in the Artis Library. Mr M. D. Haga of the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, and Mr J. H. van Borssum Buisman of Teyler's Museum, Haarlem, made fruitless attempts to trace the three missing original bird paintings for Vosmaer's book in their collections.

During the Conference, I could share my enthusiasm about the subject with Mr R. E. R. Banks, Mr S. P. Dance, Mrs Judith A. Diment, Mr A. P. Harvey, Mr. M. J. Rowlands, Mr Ph. J. Weimerskirch, Dr P. J. P. Whitehead, and many others. I was greatly surprised of the exhibition in the Rare Book Room of the British Museum (Natural History) Library to see the Seba specimen in its typical glass jar with red wax top.

NOTES

¹ Engel, 1939: 300–301.

² Gorris *et al.*, 1961: 162; De Vink, 1903: 358, 400.

³ Engel, 1939: 291 no. 512; Loisel, 1912: 32.

⁴ Gorris *et al.*, 1961: 162.

⁵ Not yet consulted by me; quoted from Engel, 1939: 301.

⁶ Gorris *et al.* (1961: 299) and Evers (1912: 534; 1914: 201) mention the archives of the Nassause Domeinraad in the Algemeen Rijksarchief.

⁷ Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 18, 20.

- ⁸ Gorris *et al.*, 1961: 163.
- ⁹ Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 20.
- ¹⁰ In an earlier publication (Pieters, 1978: 54) I mentioned the year 1756 as the starting point of both menagerie and cabinet, after Engel (1939: 328 no. 941). That statement appears to be wrong: both menagerie and cabinet were of an earlier date, but Vosmaer was only appointed director of the cabinet in 1756. Later I came across the publications of Gorris *et al.* (1961) and Lunsingh Scheurleer (1967), who derive their information directly from the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague and from Vosmaer's correspondence in the University Library at Leiden. Lunsingh Scheurleer (1967: 44, note 35) also consulted an autobiography of Aernout Vosmaer in the archives of the Vosmaer family at Leiden.
- ¹¹ Cf. Engel (1961) and Boeseman (1970: 178–179).
- ¹² Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 21.
- ¹³ Stresemann (1951: 117) alleged that Vosmaer's appointment was an error on the part of the Princess; I would not endorse this statement entirely (cf. note 18). If nothing else Vosmaer was a very keen collector (Van Benthem Jutting, 1939: 207).
- ¹⁴ Pennant, 1948: 156; Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 21–22.
- ¹⁵ E.g. Lunsingh Scheurleer (1967: 25) mentions the auctions of A. Vroeg in 1764 (mounted birds) and of J. Noortberg in 1765 (diverse minerals and other natural history products).
- ¹⁶ Engel, 1939: 301; Vosmaer, 1766–1804; 1767–1805.
- ¹⁷ Engel (1939: 301–302) gives an extensive list of visitors and their descriptions. A revised, much enlarged edition of Engel's alphabetical list of Dutch zoological cabinets and menageries will soon be published in the series *Acta et capita selecta biohistorica*.
- ¹⁸ Pennant, 1948: 155–156. Pennant's view of Vosmaer influenced Stresemann's (cf. note 13). Of course, compared to the scientist Pallas (cf. another quotation from Pennant's diary in note 60) Vosmaer was only a keen amateur, but a clever one.
- ¹⁹ Stresemann, 1951: 67; Van der Meché-Jacobi, 1968 (unpublished).
- ²⁰ Cf. Engel, 1939: 301 and Van der Meché-Jacobi, 1968 (unpublished).
- ²¹ Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 25.
- ²² University Library Leiden, Department of Manuscripts, BPL 246.
- ²³ Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 25.
- ²⁴ *Id.*: 26.
- ²⁵ Gorris *et al.*, 1961: 163.
- ²⁶ *Id.*: 163–164; Witkamp (1872: ix) mentions the year 1770, cited by Gijzen (1938: 24) and Engel (1939: 291 no. 512).
- ²⁷ De Vink, 1903: 358–359, 400; Evers, 1914: 201.
- ²⁸ E.g. Witkamp (1872: x; 1888: 314), Stricker (1879: 27–28), Loisel (1912: 34), and Engel (1939: 219 no. 512).
- ²⁹ Evers, 1912; Engel, 1939: 291–292 no. 513.
- ³⁰ Evers, 1914: 203.
- ³¹ *Id.*: 204.
- ³² In 1796 (Loisel, 1911: 268), but the two elephants arrived in Paris only in 1798 (Loisel, 1911: 268; Evers, 1914: 211). Houel (1803) even devoted a large quarto volume to the vicissitudes of both elephants.
- ³³ Cuvier, 1804. Cuvier thereby followed in the footsteps of Petrus Camper (1722–1789) who had dissected another elephant from the Prince's menagerie (Camper, 1774). Camper's folio work about this dissection was published after his death by his son Adriaan Gilles in 1802 (with a dedication to Prince William V, in spite of its publication in France!). Georges Cuvier and Adriaan Gilles Camper corresponded with each other; letters of Cuvier to A. G. Camper are extant in the University Library Amsterdam. Petrus Camper even contributed to Vosmaer's book about Prince William's animals: he wrote the 'observations on the skeleton of the *Camelopardalis*' in the instalment about the giraffe (last instalment of the quadrupeds, published 1787). This famous Dutch anatomist had observed the two young elephants (which were to be dissected later by Cuvier) closely in 1786. He made three red chalk drawings of them, which are present in the Artis Library (two of them are reproduced in Pieters, 1978: 63 fig. 7).

34 Engel, 1939: 301–302; Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 28.

35 Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 31–32; Boyer, 1971: 392.

36 Boyer, 1971: 397.

37 Id.: 396, note 14 (cited from the Archives nationales in Paris).

38 Id.: 396, same source.

39 On the occasion of the present International Conference on the History of Museums and Collections in Natural History, an exhibition was arranged in the Rare Book Room of the British Museum (Natural History) Library. A mammal specimen having belonged to Albertus Seba, preserved in alcohol in its typical "Seba jar" with red wax top, was displayed there together with Boeseman's (1970: 202) scheme of the principal lines of dispersal of Seba's zoological specimens and one of the four volumes of Seba's *Thesaurus* (Anon., 1979: 16).

40 Thomas (1892: 311) stated: 'Indeed, such specimens as these animals in spirit would not have been very attractive to the French military and unscientific collectors, and they therefore, no doubt, remained in Holland, but in whose hands I cannot trace'. However, the French had not charged just anybody with the conveyance of the Stadholder's natural history cabinet, on the contrary the famous scientists Thouin and Faujas were charged with this mission (Boyer, 1971).

41 Lunsingh Scheurleer (1967: 35) relates how Vosmaer succeeded in smuggling several important objects from the cabinet into the Stadholder's hands after his flight from the country. De Vink (1933: 64) likewise assumes that the original atlas of plates to the cabinet of antiquities of Frederik, Count of Thoms, belonging to the Prince's library since 1770, was put in safety by Vosmaer personally.

42 Holthuis, 1969: 244–245.

43 I quote from Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer (1974: 735) in my own translation: 'I the undersigned declare, in my quality as director of the above-mentioned cabinet of nature and art, having drawn all the aforementioned from the exact and specific catalogue, a copy of which is deposited in the described cabinet. Actum at The Hague, 10 February 1759. A. Vosmaer'

44 Boyer, 1971: 397. Cf. the 'Liste des animaux envoyés de la Haye l'an III de la République Française' reproduced by Thomas (1892: 317).

45 Vosmaer died at The Hague in 1799, the country being still occupied by the French. In 1800 his extensive private collections were sold by auction. I could not trace the catalogue of the Stadholder's cabinet of nature and art in the auction catalogue (Vosmaer, 1800), only on p. 34 no. 153 a catalogue of a small cabinet of shells, minerals etc. is mentioned, made by A. Vosmaer at the request of H.R.H. the Princess of Orange and Nassau in the year 1778. Lunsingh Scheurleer (1967: 44 note 35) mentions an introduction to a description of the Prince's cabinet, presumably started 1785, present in the archives of the Vosmaer family at Leiden, but not the catalogue proper.

It is extremely unfortunate that this extensive and detailed descriptive catalogue appears to be lost. Presumably, it only existed in handwriting, having never been published.

46 The same fate befell the Stadholder's extensive and important collections of books, art, antiquities, ethnographic objects and other curiosities (Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 31–32).

47 Archives Nationales, Paris, AJ–15–836, dossier 19, and F/17^a–1277, dossier 1 (not seen, cited from Boyer, 1971: 397).

48 Gijzen, 1938: 25; Van der Klaauw, 1926: 8.

49 Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague), Arch Binnenl, Zaken na 1813 no. 4036, letter of Brugmans to Zijne Excellentie den Heer Commissaris Generaal van Wetenschappen en Kunsten dated 8 November 1815 (cf. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 39–40, 49 note 98; inv. no. 2699 appears to be changed in 4036).

50 Engel (1961: 130) states: 'The collections of the Stadholder were, in 1795, transferred to Paris, and therefore most probably the Paris Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle contains many of Seba's natural curiosities. For, though Professor Brugmans later on went to Paris to recover the confiscated objects, the museum authorities there managed to send him back with a 'general collection'. Brugmans was a 'general zoologist' and had no idea of the value of special museum specimens.'

51 Letter of Brugmans 8 November 1815 (see note 49). In this important letter the progress of the negotiations in Paris is reported and some examples of specimens from the former Prince's cabinet, to be brought back to The Netherlands, are roughly enumerated (e.g. 'many birds'). A copy of the definitive act, framed in the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle dated 24 October 1815 and signed by Brugmans, Thouin,

Geoffroy St Hilaire and De Jussieu, is included in the same letter. In this act all claims to the original Stadholder's collection have been certified as nullified.

⁵² Gijzen, 1938: 5–21, 26–27, 46. The objects put in safety by William V before and after his flight in 1795 ultimately found their way to several national collections in The Netherlands as well (Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1967: 41; few natural history specimens involved). For the fate of the hidden part of the collection I refer to Boeseman, who concludes (1970: 200) that the most important items from the Museum Van Lidt de Jeude (i.e. those from the concealed part of the Stadholder's collection) were about equally divided between the British and the Leiden Museum, and must still be in their custody.

⁵³ 'Description des animaux les plus rares &c. du cabinet & de la menagerie de S.A.S. le Prince d'Orange & de Nassau. &c. &c. &c. Amst. 1767.' (Vosmaer, 1800: 33 no. 151).

The Dutch ghost title 'Algemeene natuurkundige en historische beschrijving der zeldzaamste en verwonderingswaardigste schepselen . . .' can be found in Van Abkoude and Arrenberg (1788: 557), Vosmaer (1800: 33 no. 150), Van der Aa *et al.* (1876: 120) and De Vink (1933: 122 note 21).

⁵⁴ The contents of P. Meijer's prospectus is published in full by Tuijn and Van der Feen (1969: 79).

⁵⁵ Up to now, I could only trace a Dutch version of Elwe's prospectus. This very rare, perhaps unique, copy consists of four pages and is present in the Bibliotheek van de Vereniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels (Library of the Dutch Booksellers and Publishers Association, on loan to University Library, Amsterdam), signature: Cahais archive no. F 86. According to this prospectus, the complete work, consisting of 36 hand-coloured plates with descriptive text, was sold at the (at the time considerable) price of *f* 32.10. Single instalments with one coloured plate could be obtained until ultimo April 1805 at 18 stivers each. Except the double-instalment Quadrupeds no. 14–15 about the Orang Utan, one instalment contained two plates, viz. the last Quadruped instalment (no. 21) about the Giraffe. The preface with collective title and engraved title was counted in as a separate instalment. Furthermore, ten instalments with one plate each deal with birds, and three instalments with one plate each deal with snakes (cf. Woodward *et al.*, 1915: 2238–2239). In contrast with Meijer's prospectus (see Tuijn and Van der Feen, 1969: 79) prices of uncoloured copies are not mentioned in Elwe's prospectus.

⁵⁶ The instalments indicated by an asterisk in Elwe's prospectus are: Quadrupeds nos. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20; Birds nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; Snakes no. 3. The contents of the above instalment numbers correspond exactly to the numbers given in the entry to the French edition of Vosmaer's book in the British Museum (Natural History) Library catalogue (Woodward *et al.*, 1915: 2238–2239).

⁵⁷ Vosmaer, 1766–1804: v; 1767–1805: v.

⁵⁸ Tuijn and Van der Feen (1969) enumerate such copies of mammal plates from Vosmaer's book in the first Buffon edition and in the edition edited by Allamand extensively. Copies of bird plates from Vosmaer's book are, however, not met with in these editions (Buffon *et al.*, 1770–1783; 1795–1799) nor in the edition with the *planches enluminées* drawn by Martinet under the supervision of E. L. Daubenton (Buffon *et al.*, 1770–1786).

⁵⁹ Cf. Tuijn and Van der Feen, 1969. Philipp Ludwig Stadius Müller adapted two of Vosmaer's new bird species to Linnaean nomenclature (see below).

⁶⁰ Van der Aa *et al.*, 1874: 145; Scheen, 1970: 320–321. During his tour on the continent in 1765, Thomas Pennant met Aert Schouman and wrote very enthusiastically about him in his diary. I can not miss the opportunity to quote from Pennant's diary again, especially since he visited the Stadholder's menagerie the same day (Pennant, 1948: 162): '[July] 30th [1765]. Accompanied Doctor Pallas, a very ingenious young man from Berlin, to Mr Schouman's, an excellent painter of beasts and birds in oil and water colors. Took a list of several which I want, Great Owl. Sort of Nightingale. Young Cuckoo. Ruffe and Reeve. Kol end a Duck, male and female. Teal. Hook bill Duck. Een Zee Coot. My new Guillemot. Wild Goose. Brent Goose. Bernacle. Three small Divers. Ermine. Tragulus. Little Goat. Grey Squirrel. Two black Monkeys. Paca. Mungos Civet Cat. Little Antelope at the Menagery. Boar at d[itt]o.

Doctor Pallas dined with me; after dinner he took me in a chaise to little Lo, a small house belonging to the Prince of Orange. Near it is the Menagery; saw in it the Psophia Linnaei, the Touraca. Antelopes from Bengal, the females of which have no horns; they breed in the Menagery. A very small Antelope with strait horns. The Axis or spotted Deer with Trifurcated horns, a sort of Stag from Bengal; a larger made Doe of the fallow Deer from Greenland. A very odd Hog with a very callous broad snout, and vast warts under its eyes, and callosities on its cheeks.'

It should be noted that several of these animals are described in Vosmaer's book, e.g. the first one mentioned from the menagerie is *Psophia crepitans* Linnaeus, 1758 (an Indian ink painting of this bird by Aert Schouman, from which the engraving in Vosmaer's book is made, is reproduced in the present paper in Figure 4); the last one mentioned is the Wart Hog, *Phacochoerus aethiopicus* (Pallas, 1766) (original water colour by Schouman, representing the type specimen, is reproduced in Tuijn and Van der Feen, 1969: fig. 1 and Pieters, 1978: 60 fig. 5). For the other mammals mentioned, cf. Tuijn and Van der Feen (1969).

In the end Pennant did not use any work by Schouman for the first and second edition (1771 and 1781, respectively) of his *History of quadrupeds*, but his new edition of 1793 contains several engravings which are easily recognizable as reversed copies of Fokke's engravings after Schouman for Vosmaer's book (not checked by me, cited from Tuijn and Van der Feen, 1969: 69).

⁶¹ Cf. Edwards, 1978.

⁶² Van Lidt de Jeude, 1866: 71–86. On p. 72, no. 7 of this book-auction catalogue is mentioned: '28 planches de l'Orang et du Chimpanzé, parmi lesquels se trouvent les dessins originaux de Haag, appartenant à la Monographie de A. Vosmaer, avec envoi de J. Vosmaer. 1820.' These original drawings of the Orang Utan from the Stadholder's menagerie (which, according to Koller, 1949: 17, was the first Orang Utan that ever attained Europe alive) by Prince William's court-painter Tethart Philipp Christian Haag (1737–1812) are still extant in the Artis Library. They are reproduced in Tuijn and Van der Feen (1969: figs. 10–11).

On p. 79 of Van Lidt de Jeude's book-auction catalogue is mentioned under no. 263: '4 figures d'Oiseaux en sepia par Schouman'. These figures most probably represent four of the seven bird paintings by Aert Schouman reproduced in the present paper (Figures 4–10). Schouman's name is often spelt Schouwman (Van der Aa *et al.*, 1874: 145).

⁶³ They are mentioned in his auction catalogue (Vosmaer, 1800: 33 no. 152). I quote this entry in my own translation: 'Original drawings for the greater part by the able hand of A. Schouman, and a few other prominent masters, as Van Cuik, Haasbroek, Marot etc. being all those drawings, from which the plates in the works of A. Vosmaer are engraved, principally those of the above-mentioned work no. 150 [Dutch edition of Vosmaer's book] as well as a few, descriptions or plates of which have not yet been made up to the present. Long format. morocco. between blue paper.'

Numerous Schouman drawings must have been in the collection of G. J. van Klinkenberg who, as we know from Boeseman (1970) was the intermediate owner of the Stadholder's "hidden" collection. Van Klinkenberg's animals went to Van Lidt de Jeude, but his books, drawings etc. were sold by auction in 1841. The auction catalogue records (Van Klinkenberg, 1841: 19):

'Dessins par A. Schouman.

No. 1. 161 pièces d'Oiseaux d'Europe.

„ 2. 126 — — exotiques.

„ 3. 56 — de Mammifères.

N.B. Cette magnifique Collection contenant en tout 343 pièces, dessinés d'après nature pour la plupart selon des exemplaires de la Ménagerie de feu son altesse le Prince d'Orange Guillaume V, par A. Schouman est recueillie pendant nombre d'années par feu Monsieur G. J. van Klinkenberg et mérite avec droit d'être nommée unique.'

According to Van der Aa *et al.* (1874: 145) a large number of Schouman bird paintings was bought at the Van Klinkenberg auction in 1841 by H. de Kat van Barendrecht, to the amount of f 1000.—. I have not tried to trace the fate of this collection, as collections of Schouman paintings are numerous, scattered among several museums in The Netherlands (cf. Scheen, 1970: 320–321) and in Paris (cf. Anon., 1960: 38–44).

⁶⁴ Woodward *et al.*, 1915: 2238–2239. Here even the name of (one of?) the translator(s?) into French, Mr. Renfer, is mentioned. I cannot add any information about this translator here, except that a letter addressed to Vosmaer by him, signed without initials, is present in the Department of Manuscripts of Leiden University Library (Anon., 1935: 119).

⁶⁵ Cf. Stregels, 1974 (unpublished).

⁶⁶ Scheen, 1969: 343.

⁶⁷ In the three copies of Vosmaer's book present in the Artis Library (two in Dutch edition, one in French edition), the first three bird plates bear no plate numbers, but they are referred to as plates I, II and III in the accompanying text, except plate I in the Dutch edition (referred to as "Tab."). Indeed,

several states can be distinguished in the plates from different copies, e.g. no legends, legends in Dutch (even if the accompanying text is in French), legends in French, etc. (Woodward *et al.*, 1915: 2238–2239).

68 A reversed, but not exact copy of bird plate I in Vosmaer's book can be found in Pallas, 1767–1780 (IV, 1767): pl. I.

69 As collections of Schouman paintings are numerous (cf. note 63), it will be difficult to locate this painting. At any rate, the three original bird paintings for Vosmaer's book which are wanting in the Artis Library (the present one for plate II, by Aert Schouman, and the next two for plates II and III, by Gerrit van den Heuvel) are neither present in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, nor in Teyler's Museum at Haarlem (see acknowledgements).

70 Mr C. S. Roselaar of the Ornithology Department of the Institute of Taxonomic Zoology (Zoölogisch Museum), University of Amsterdam, kindly assisted me in identifying Vosmaer's birds. Most of them proved to present no difficulties, but this one did. After considerable study we came to the conclusion that this mounted specimen from the Stadholder's museum 'n'ayant presque point de queue' must have lost its tail before or during its stuffing. So we came to its identification as *Galbula galbula* (Linnaeus, 1766), which matches Vosmaer's description except for the tail.

71 Born ca 1725, died 1809 (Scheen, 1969: 475). Though the copperplate reads (below, left) 'A. Schouman, del.', in the accompanying text is stated (p. 4): 'Le Graveur a mis, par abus, au bas de la Figure, le nom de Mr. A. Schouman, au lieu de Mr. G. van den Heuvel, qui l'a dessinée.'

72 The two kingfishers described in Vosmaer's bird instalment no. 4 presented some identification problems as well. We had three copies of Vosmaer's book at our disposal, bird plates no. IV of which were all a little differently coloured, thus we relied on Vosmaer's description in the text and compared this with a large series of *Ceyx* specimens from the Zoölogisch Museum. In this way we came to our identifications as *Ceyx erithacus* and *Ceyx rufidorsum*. Of course we were hindered by the absence of the original paintings in both cases (cf. note 70), but since the originals are most probably uncoloured, like the other models for plates in Vosmaer's book known to us, their presence would not have helped us much further.

73 In his description, Strickland (1846: 99–100) refers to Pallas's *Spicilegium zoologica* (1769, part VI: 13). As Pallas saw this specimen in the museum of the Prince of Orange (*op. cit.*: 11), the lower specimen figured in Vosmaer's bird plate IV probably represents the same as the one examined by Pallas.

74 Though the engraving reads (below, left): 'G. vanden Heuvel, ad viv. del.' it is clear from the text that both specimens were drawn after mounted specimens from the Prince's cabinet. *Ad vivum delineavit* has lost its literal sense here, it only means that the artist has seen his object and not merely made a copy of another picture (Tuijn and Van der Feen, 1969: 72). The same applies to bird plates V, VI, IX and perhaps to plate VII (according to the accompanying text (p. 4) the parrot had lived for a few months at the court). The original paintings for these plates are signed 'A. Schouman del. ad viv.' as well (see figs. 5, 6, 7 and 9 in the present paper).

75 Rothschild, 1922: 412.

76 Deduced from another edition of Miller's *Icones animalium*, entitled *Cimelia physica* (Miller and Shaw, 1796: 56–57, pl. xxviii).

77 Boddaert's description (1783: 52) is based on plate 867 in Buffon *et al.*, 1770–1786 (vol. VIII, 1783).

78 A copy of a German copy of Buffon's plate of the Bald Ibis is reproduced in Kumerloeve's article about the history of the research into the Hermit Ibis, *Geronticus eremita* (Linnaeus, 1758), and the Bald Ibis, *Geronticus calvus* (Boddaert, 1783), up to the present situation (Kumerloeve, 1978: plate 5, fig. 9). Due to the rarity of Vosmaer's book, I presume that Schouman's plate was unknown to Kumerloeve at the time, otherwise he would certainly have mentioned Schouman's excellent portraiture of the Bald Ibis.

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ADDENDUM

A correctly numbered brief description of the Dutch edition of Vosmaer's *Regnum animale* is given by John Landwehr in his *Studies in Dutch books with coloured plates published 1662–1875. Natural history, topography and travel, costumes and uniforms*; Dr W. Junk B.V., publishers, The Hague, 1976 (: 252–254, no. 204). Unfortunately, in the British Museum (Natural History) Library copy of the Dutch edition the separate papers have been arranged chronologically instead of in the systematic order of the index (Woodward *et al.*, 1915: 2238). Therefore, in order to check copies of the Dutch edition of *Regnum animale* it is more convenient to use Landwehr's description, though the entry in the BM (NH) Library catalogue is more extensive. However, for the edition in French, the BM (NH) Library catalogue (Woodward *et al.*, 1915: 2238–2239) remains the best reference work.