

RARE BEAUTIES: JOHANNES FORTUIJN'S HAND-COLORED *HORTUS CLIFFORTIANUS* AT DUMBARTON OAKS AND AT THE *BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE*

FERNANDO E. VEGA¹

Abstract: In 1735, Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus, at just 28 years old, traveled to the Netherlands, where he swiftly earned a medical degree and soon after began working for George Clifford, a wealthy Dutch patron with a deep interest in botany. Linnaeus's appointment as curator and personal physician at Clifford's Hartekamp estate resulted in the publication of *Hortus Cliffortianus*, one of his most significant contributions to botanical literature. This illustrated botanical work documented Clifford's extensive living plant collection and herbarium, featuring contributions from renowned artists Georg Dionysius Ehret and Jan Wandelaar. The *Hortus Cliffortianus* project was completed in nine months and privately published at Clifford's expense, with only a limited number of copies distributed. Its significance is profound: approximately 10% of the type species in Linnaeus's later *Species Plantarum*—the foundational text for modern plant nomenclature—are based on specimens from Clifford's herbarium. Among the most distinctive surviving copies of *Hortus Cliffortianus* are two examples hand-colored by the relatively unknown 18th-century artist Johannes Fortuijn, one housed at the Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Washington, D.C.) and the other at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. These copies, signed by Fortuijn, represent a unique intersection of scientific documentation and artistic achievement. Despite the book's immediate acclaim and enduring legacy in botanical literature, Linnaeus himself later criticized the high cost of such illustrated volumes, which limited accessibility for many aspiring botanists. Today, the hand-colored editions by Fortuijn stand out not only for their scientific and typographical excellence but also as masterpieces of botanical art, underscoring the collaborative spirit and cultural richness of Enlightenment-era science. The digitization and public accessibility of the rare hand-colored copies would further illuminate their historical and artistic value for future generations.

Keywords: botanical illustrations, Ehret, George Clifford, Linnaeus, Wandelaar

Resumen. En 1735, el botánico sueco Carl Linnaeus, con tan solo 28 años, viajó a los Países Bajos, donde obtuvo rápidamente un título en medicina y, poco después, comenzó a trabajar para George Clifford, un acaudalado mecenas holandés con un profundo interés en la botánica. El nombramiento de Linnaeus como curador y médico personal en la residencia de campo de Clifford, Hartekamp, resultó en la publicación del *Hortus Cliffortianus*, una de sus contribuciones más significativas a la literatura botánica. Esta obra ilustrada documenta la extensa colección de plantas vivas y el herbario de Clifford, con aportes de los renombrados artistas Georg Dionysius Ehret y Jan Wandelaar. Linnaeus escribió el libro en nueve meses y fue publicado de forma privada a expensas de Clifford, con una distribución muy limitada de ejemplares. Su importancia es profunda: aproximadamente el 10% de las especies tipo en *Species Plantarum* (1753)—el texto fundamental para la nomenclatura moderna de las plantas—se basan en especímenes del herbario de Clifford. Entre los ejemplares más distintivos que se conservan del *Hortus Cliffortianus* se encuentran dos copias coloreadas a mano por el relativamente desconocido artista del siglo XVIII Johannes Fortuijn; una se encuentra en el Rare Book Collection de Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, en Washington, D.C., y la otra en la *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. Estas copias, firmadas por Fortuijn, representan una intersección única entre documentación científica y logro artístico. A pesar del reconocimiento inmediato del libro y su legado perdurable en la literatura botánica, el propio Linnaeus criticó más tarde el alto costo de estos volúmenes ilustrados, ya que limitaban su accesibilidad para muchos aspirantes a botánicos. Las dos copias coloreadas a mano por Fortuijn se destacan no solo por su excelencia científica y tipográfica, sino también como obras maestras del arte botánico. La digitalización y el acceso público a estas raras copias coloreadas a mano permitirían una mayor apreciación de su valor histórico y artístico para las generaciones futuras.

Palabras clave: Ehret, George Clifford, ilustraciones botánicas, Linnaeus, Wandelaar

¹ 14609 Pebblestone Dr., Silver Spring, Maryland 20905, USA. Trainofstories@gmail.com

In mid-1735, at the age of 28, the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) traveled to the Netherlands and obtained his medical degree from the University of Harderwijk in just one week (Pulteney, 1805, p. 43; Strandell, 1973, p. 8). Soon after, his career took a decisive turn. On 13 September 1735, Linnaeus began working for the wealthy Dutchman George Clifford (1685–1760), serving both as his personal physician and as curator of his estate, Hartekamp, located south of Haarlem (Jackson, 1923, p. 150; Broberg, 2023, p. 114).¹ On sheets of paper interleaved with a 1735 Swedish almanac, Linnaeus recorded two significant events related to his appointment at Hartekamp: on August 18, he recorded being “appointed Praefectus Horti Cliffortiani,” and on September 13, “took charge of praefectura horti Clifford” (Wallich, 1848, p. 12), meaning he assumed responsibility for managing Clifford’s Garden.

Who was George Clifford? Given the many often repeated but inaccurate descriptions of him, it is essential to base our understanding on carefully documented and credible sources. In the dedication of *Hortus Cliffortianus*, Linnaeus refers to George Clifford as *Juris utriusque doctori* (Linnaeus, 1738a), a Latin phrase translated by Heller (1968, p. 667) as “Doctor in Civil and Canon Law.” The designation indicates that Clifford had attained a degree in both religious and secular law. Linnaeus uses the abbreviation “J.U.D.” (short for *Juris utriusque doctori*) in the preface to *Hortus Cliffortianus* and on the frontispiece of *Flora Lapponica* (Linnaeus, 1737a), which is also dedicated to Clifford. In the preface to *Musa paradisiaca* (Linnaeus, 1736) and *Viridarium Cliffortianum* (Linnaeus, 1737b), he refers to Clifford as *Juris consulto*, a Latin term translated by Heller (1968, p. 678) as “Counsellor-at-Law,” suggesting Clifford’s recognized expertise or formal training in legal matters. These titles used by Linnaeus can be considered as reliable, as Clifford obtained his doctorate degree in 1706 (Clifford, 1706; Zuidervaart, 2020, p. 97).

Regarding Clifford’s financial standing, Fries (1919, pp. 146–147) describes Clifford’s father (George Clifford II, 1657–1727) as a “powerful banker” who “left behind a considerable fortune to his son,” adding that he was “one of Amsterdam’s richest men.” Linnaeus described Clifford as “the third in rank among the greatest capitalists in Holland” (Broberg, 2023, p. 113). The English translation of Dietrich Heinrich Stoever’s biography of Linnaeus (Stoever, 1794, p. 81) describes Clifford as “Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and one of the Directors of the Dutch East

India Company.” This claim, later repeated by others, is factually incorrect. A systematic review of De Naamen der heeren Burgermeesteren (“The Names of the Mayors”) from 1710 to 1756 confirms that Clifford does not appear among the burgomasters of Amsterdam.² Similarly, a careful examination of the “Minute Resolutions of the Ordinary and Extraordinary Meetings of the Lords XVII for 1720–1760” reveals no mention of Clifford among the directors of the Dutch East India Company.³ It can therefore be stated with confidence that he held neither position.

While at Hartekamp, one of Linnaeus’s main responsibilities was to document Clifford’s extensive collection of living plants and herbarium, a task that culminated in the publication of *Hortus Cliffortianus*, or “Clifford’s Garden.” As indicated on the *Hortus Cliffortianus* title page: In Hortistam vivis quam siccis Hartecampia in Hollandia, meaning “Presenting the plants, both living and dried, from the Hartekamp garden in Holland” (Fig. 1). One of Linnaeus’s two personal copies of *Hortus Cliffortianus*, housed at The Linnean Society of London, features a handwritten note on the verso of the half-title page indicating that Clifford’s herbarium contained 2,536 plant specimens, while his garden included 1,251 living plants (Linnaeus, 1738a; Wijnands and Heniger, 1991, p. 141). As stated on the last page of the preface, Linnaeus completed the project in nine months: “. . . I was struggling to complete this work, such as it is, before my return to my own country of Sweden, in a period of three quarters of a year . . .” (Heller, 1968, p. 677). In the penultimate paragraph of the dedication, he re-emphasizes this fact: “. . . I have spent these three quarters of a year, not exactly at my leisure – as You can testify – in composing this Garden, which I offer to you” (Heller, 1968, p. 675).

For his work at Hartekamp, Clifford offered Linnaeus “free board and lodging, and a pecuniary allowance of one ducat a day, or 1000 florins per annum” (Stoever, 1794, p. 82). According to Coxe (1802, p. 202), one ducat per day was “about 9 s. 6d.”⁴ Clifford gave him, in addition to his salary, an extra 100 ducats for completing *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Jackson, 1923, p. 162). The 450-page volume (Strandell, 1973, p. 10) features 36 copperplate engravings, with 34 illustrating various plant species described in the text, and two depicting the morphology of leaves. Twenty of the 36 engravings are based on the artwork of the renowned German botanical artist Georg Dionysius Ehret (1708–1770), “the greatest flower painter of his age” (Blunt, 1971, p. 107). In

1 Strandell (1973, p. 10) translated Hartekamp as “the deer pasture.” As Linnaeus remarked in the preface to *Hortus Cliffortianus*, it was at Hartekamp that “its Distinguished Owner, relaxes the spirit and at the same time delights his mind with his charming Flora” (Heller 1968, p. 675).

2 The records for 1757–1760 are missing, and Clifford passed away in 1760 (<https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/15030/path/2.9.5.29>).

3 “1.04.02 Inventory of the Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), 1602–1795 (1811),” <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/1.04.02>.

4 The National Archives’ “Currency converter: 1270–2017” indicates that 9s. 6d. in 1740 had a purchasing power of one stone (14 lb.) of wool or four days’ salary for a skilled tradesman (<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>).

a brief memoir penned in 1758, Ehret recounts that Clifford “kept me more than a month at Haarlem; and in that time I completed all the figures which came out in the ‘*Hortus Cliffortianus*,’ *Collinsonia*, *Turnera*, etc., which I had brought from England” (Ehret, 1894, p. 51). This indicates that some illustrations featured were based on specimens he had made earlier in England. Seven of the illustrations in the book were created by the Dutch engraver Jan Wandelaar (1690-1759), who also engraved 29 of the copper plates.⁵ Another seven engravings were not signed, either by artist or engraver. Wandelaar is best known as the engraver for the anatomical illustrations in Andreas Vesalius’s (1514-1564) *Opera omnia anatomica & chirurgica* (Vesalius, 1725). The vignette on the *Hortus Cliffortianus* title page was created by the Dutch engraver A. van der Laan (1684-1755), who also produced engravings of Clifford’s banana plant and its fruits (van der Laan, 1736a, 1736b), published in Linnaeus’s *Musa Cliffortiana* (Linnaeus, 1736). Van der Laan also created the famous frontispiece in Linnaeus’s *Flora Lapponica* (Linnaeus, 1737a).

Hortus Cliffortianus, published in Amsterdam at Clifford’s expense, does not name a printer and was privately distributed by Clifford (Stearn, 1957, p. 49). Although the title page bears the date 1737 and Linnaeus’s dedication is signed 30 July 1737, two letters from Clifford to Linnaeus dated 15 and 27 December 1737 express his dissatisfaction with Wandelaar’s progress (Clifford, 1737a, 1737b), indicating that the work was still incomplete at the end of that year. Wandelaar’s frontispiece is dated 1738, and the book was not fully completed until ca. September 1738 (Stearn, 1957, p. 49; Stevenson, 1961, p. 173).

In a letter dated 20 April 1739, Clifford informed Linnaeus that he had distributed more than 200 copies of the book (Clifford, 1739). According to Stoever, “The few copies which were left to the booksellers, were sold by them at twenty-three crowns per copy” (Stoever, 1794, p. 97).⁶ Surprisingly, many more copies were left. In his last will, Clifford (referred to as “testator”) mentions his copies of *Hortus Cliffortianus*: “And he, Mr. Testator, bequeaths or prelegates to his youngest son Mr. Pieter Clifford the book bound in a red binding, in which the coats of arms of the Clifford family have been drawn; as well as all the testator’s printed copies of his *Hortus Cliffortianus*, provided that each of the testator’s other children or grandchildren may take for themselves for each branch 12 copies” (translated from the Dutch).⁷ Clifford and his wife, Johanna Bouwens,

had five sons and one daughter (van der Aa, 1855, p. 145). At the time of his death, four children were still alive. Based on the last will, a total of 48 copies of *Hortus Cliffortianus* were to be distributed.

In 1737, Linnaeus published *Viridarium Cliffortianum* (Linnaeus, 1737b) as a *vade mecum* for the living plants in Clifford’s Garden (Linnaeus, 1738a, preface). After spending just over two years at Hartekamp, Linnaeus departed on 7 October 1737 (Jackson, 1923, p. 162), unaware that *Hortus Cliffortianus* would later be recognized as a landmark publication in botanical history. Why is this significant? The book “has an extremely important bearing upon the typification of names in *Species Plantarum*” (Stearn, 1957, pp. 46–47). *Species Plantarum* (Linnaeus, 1753) is considered the official starting point for the scientific naming of plants under the International Code of Nomenclature. The two-part Latin names (i.e., the binomial nomenclature consisting of genus and species) in *Species Plantarum* replaced the previously used long Latin polynomial descriptive names. Thus, the ca. 6,000 scientific plant names included in *Species Plantarum* are considered valid and the plants used for the description are known as type specimens. A total of 9.4% of the type species in *Species Plantarum* are based on specimens in Clifford’s herbarium included in *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Jarvis, 2005). “The remarkable number of species growing in the Clifford gardens helped to make the *Species Plantarum* possible” (Stevenson, 1961, p. 173). In addition, *Hortus Cliffortianus* provides synonyms for about 2,500 plant species (Junk, 1902, p. 6). As stated by Linnaeus in the preface to *Hortus Cliffortianus*, he also rejected “several thousand” varieties (see English translation in Heller, 1968, p. 676).

Upon its publication, *Hortus Cliffortianus* was added to Clifford’s library, which comprised 295 botanical titles, all of them discussed in the *Bibliotheca Botanica Cliffortiana* section of the work. When Clifford’s library of 2,595 books and manuscripts was auctioned in Amsterdam in November 1760 (Zuidervaart, 2020, p. 101), *Hortus Cliffortianus* appeared on page 5 of the catalog (Anonymous, 1760), with no hand-colored copies mentioned. Hartekamp was sold in 1788 (Wijnands and Heniger, 1991, p. 131) and the Clifford family archives, housed at Ankum House in Daltsen, where relevant information on *Hortus Cliffortianus* might once have been found, were destroyed during the Second World War (Wijnands and Heniger, 1991, p. 145).⁸

This discussion focuses on two copies of *Hortus*

5 A letter from an unnamed source in Leiden, used in a *Hamburgische Berichte* review of *Hortus Cliffortianus*, noted that each Wandelaar engraving cost 24 Dutch guilders (Anonymous, 1738, p. 93).

6 Twenty-three crowns in 1738 were equivalent to £5.75 or £5 15s. Using the “Currency converter: 1270–2017” (op. cit.), £5 15s. in 1740 was equivalent to 57 days’ salary for a skilled tradesman.

7 Clifford’s last will is held at *Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief*: <https://archief.amsterdam/indexen/deeds/a3cb51cc-1062-50ee-e053-b784100a6caf?person=e6f0ae93-b268-88f0-51aa-60462b944120>.

8 In 1960, a Clifford descendant donated documents related to her ancestors to the Amsterdam City Archives, where they are now held: <https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/236/keywords/George%20Clifford>.

HORTUS CLIFFORTIANUS

Plantas exhibens

QUAS

In Hortistam VIVIS quam SICCIS,
HARTECAMPI in Hollandia,

COLUIT

VIR NOBILISSIMUS & GENEROSISSIMUS

GEORGIUS CLIFFORD

JURIS UTRIVSQUE DOCTOR,

Reductis Varietatibus ad Species,

Speciebus ad Genera,

Generibus ad Classes,

Adjectis Locis Plantarum natalibus

Differentiisque Specierum.

Cum TABULIS ÆNEIS.

AUCTORE

CAROLO LINNÆO,

Med. Doct. & Ac. Imp. N. C. Soc.



AMSTELÆDAMI. 1737.

FIGURE 1. *Hortus Cliffortianus* title page. Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.



J. Fortuijn. f. sculp.

FIGURE 2. *Hortus Cliffortianus* frontispiece. Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.



FIGURE 3. The first plant engraving in *Hortus Cliffortianus*: *Kaempferia* (Tab. III; *Kaempferia galanga* L.; Linnaeus 1753, p. 2). Drawn and engraved by Wandelaar, hand-colored and signed by Fortuijn (*pinx. ad: vivum. Leida*). Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.



FIGURE 4. *Bauhinia caule aculeato* (Tab. XIV; = *Bauhinia aculeata* L.; Linnaeus 1753, p. 374). Drawn by Ehret, engraved by Wandelaar, hand-colored by Fortuijn. Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Cliffortianus, both hand-colored by Johannes Fortuijn (fl. 18th century): one housed at the Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C. (henceforth referred to as Dumbarton Oaks), and the other at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.

JOHANNES FORTUIJN

In March 2025, while examining a copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* housed at Dumbarton Oaks, the author noticed a signature in the lower right corner of the hand-colored frontispiece: *J. Fortuijn f. Leida* (Fig. 2). The artist was Johannes Fortuijn; the *f* is an abbreviation of the Latin *fecit*,

meaning “made” or “created by,” and *Leida* refers to Leiden, indicating where the work was executed. The first plant engraving (*Kaempferia*; Fig. 3) is also signed by Fortuijn followed by the inscription *pinx. ad: vivum. Leida*. This indicates that the image was painted from life in Leiden, i.e., based on direct observation of a living specimen. It is likely that Fortuijn selected the colors for the plant engravings based on live specimens at the Hortus Botanicus Leiden. Figures 4 and 5 show two additional hand-colored plants. All 34 engravings in the book were hand-colored by Fortuijn. The two Fortuijn signatures are undated, but the copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, dated by Fortuijn in 1761, is also recognized by



FIGURE 5. *Cliffortia foliis lanceolatis integerrimis* (Tabl. XXXI; = *Cliffortia ruscifolia* L.; Linnaeus 1753, p. 1038). Artist and engraver not identified, hand-colored by Fortuijn. Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

him as his first hand-colored copy (discussed below). This suggests the Dumbarton Oaks copy was likely completed afterward.

Scholarly references to Fortuijn are notably scarce, and we haven't found information on who might have commissioned the hand-coloring of the two *Hortus Cliffortianus* copies. However, it's plausible that George Clifford commissioned them. He paid for the entire print run of *Hortus Cliffortianus* and the first hand-colored copy was completed in 1761, one year after his death in 1760.

An invoice preserved in the National Archives of the Netherlands documents a "Deed of obligation of delivery of the work of Seba by Joh. Fortuijn to Mr. Cornelis van Heemskerck, colored by the former, with a note regarding the finishing. 1769–1770 1 piece" (Schutte, 1974). The

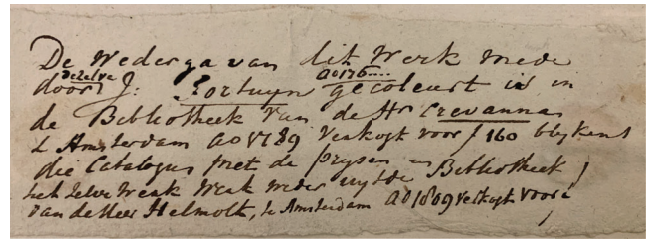


FIGURE 6. Handwritten note in Dutch, affixed to the pasted-down endpaper of *Hortus Cliffortianus*. Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

commission pertained to the hand-coloring of Albertus Seba's (1665–1736) four-volume *Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri accurata description*, commonly known as the "Cabinet of Natural Curiosities" (Seba, 1734–1765). The invoice documenting this commission is particularly noteworthy: it specifies Fortuijn's first name as "Johannes" or "Johann," and, crucially, confirms his participation in a prestigious undertaking. This suggests that Fortuijn was a recognized and reputable artist, which makes the lack of scholarly references to him especially surprising.

The first plate in the fourth volume of Seba's copy, held at the National Library of the Netherlands, is signed by Fortuijn (Seba, 1734–1765; van Gelder, 2022). His signature is followed by "Hague," indicating that he was working in The Hague at the time. On 10 March 2000, Christie's auctioned a complete four-volume set of Seba's work for USD \$442,500 (Christie's, 2000). In that set, the first plate in each volume was hand-colored and signed by Fortuijn, with the inscription f. Hague Com., indicating the work was done on commission in The Hague. The Latin abbreviation com. stands for commissum, meaning the work was done on commission.

HAND-COLORED *HORTUS CLIFFORTIANUS*: SALES HISTORY AND PROVENANCE

What appears to be the earliest known record of a hand-colored copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* occurs in the second volume of Pietro Antonio Crevenna's (1736–1792) library catalog (Anonymous, 1776, p. 150). Crevenna was a wealthy Italian merchant in Amsterdam who published a six-volume catalog of his library, widely regarded as "one of the finest private collections of its time" (Hutton, 1935, p. 433). Translated into English, the record reads as follows: "*Hortus Cliffortianus* by Carl Linnaeus. Amsterdam, 1737 in folio, with the figures perfectly painted from nature. Copies of this highly esteemed work are becoming rare and precious, especially those in which the figures are illuminated, like the one we have the satisfaction of owning" (Anonymous, 1776, p. 150).

In 1789, Crevenna published a five-volume catalog of his library (Anonymous, 1789a), with the objective of selling

at auction “most of his books” (Hutton, 1935, p. 433). At this time, *Hortus Cliffortianus* with *figures coloriées* (colored figures) was still in his possession (Anonymous, 1789b, p. 169). The book’s binding is described as *Cart. d. de v.*: cardboard covers with a calfskin spine. *Cart.* is short for *cartonné*, the French term for cardboard covers. The French abbreviation *d. de v.* stands for *dos de veau*, with *dos* being French for spine and *veau* the French word for calf. The remaining books in Crevenna’s collection were sold in 1793, a year after his death in Rome, at which time another auction catalog was published (Anonymous, 1793). The catalog does not list *Hortus Cliffortianus*; therefore, it seems likely the hand-colored copy was sold between 1789 and 1793.

The next documented reference to a hand-colored *Hortus Cliffortianus* is dated 1809, when the library of the late Jacob Helmolt (1747–1808) was sold at auction (Anonymous, 1809). Helmolt was a former Alderman and Councillor of the city of Haarlem. The auction catalog lists a copy described in Latin as *cum figuris coloribus depictis, Lig. Gall.*, i.e., “with figures painted in color” (Anonymous, 1809, p. 11). *Lig. Gall.* is an abbreviation for *Ligatura Gallica*, also known as *Franschen band*. *Ligatura Gallica* denotes a luxurious binding of full calf leather with five raised, decorated, and gilt bands on the spine (Sorgeloos, 2002, p. 155).

A handwritten note in Dutch is affixed to the paste-down endpaper in the Dumbarton Oaks copy (Fig. 6). The note, translated into English, reads as follows: “The same as this work [that is, another copy], also colored by the same J. Fortuyn in the year 176 . . . was sold in [as part of] the library of Mr. Crevanna in Amsterdam in 1789 for 160 f. [florins], according to the sales catalog and the same work [here it means the same copy as the one just mentioned] was sold again from the library of Mr. Helmolt, in Amsterdam, in 1809 for . . .” (Fig. 6). The note ends mid-sentence, but is significant because it confirms the existence of two hand-colored copies of the book. It also indicates that the copy once owned by Crevenna is the same one later held by Helmolt, and that this Crevenna/Helmolt copy is distinct from the Dumbarton Oaks copy. The original cardboard binding of the Crevenna copy must have been replaced with the *Ligatura Gallica* binding found on the Helmolt copy. Thus, even though the Crevenna binding description corresponds to the Dumbarton Oaks copy—which features marbled cardboard covers (partially restored at some point) and a leather spine partially covered with red paper—this case highlights a significant limitation in using bindings to trace provenance: bindings are not permanent and may be altered or replaced over time.

In 1810, a record of a hand-colored copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* appeared in the second volume of French bibliographer Jacques-Charles Brunet’s (1780–1867)

Manuel du libraire et de l’Amateur de livres (Brunet, 1810, p. 46). Brunet’s entry lists the prices paid (in francs) for copies in bookshops or for books auctioned when the library owner had passed away. One of the entries quotes 320 francs as the price paid for the hand-colored copy in the Crevenna library. These prices were reiterated by Psaume (1824, p. 81), while Grässe (1863, p. 215) and Amsterdam bookseller Frederick Muller (1864, p. 37) list the price paid as 145 florins.

In June 1864, Muller listed an “extremely rare” copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* with “superbly colored plates” (Muller, 1864, p. 37). Muller described his copy as *veau plein*, indicating full calfskin leather, though he did not mention raised bands on the spine. In November 1864, a hand-colored copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* was auctioned in Zwolle, a city in the northeastern Netherlands, as part of the collection of Cornelis Backer (1798–1864). Due to its significance, the auction catalog description is reproduced here in full, translated into English:

697 LINNAEUS. CAR., *Hortus Cliffortianus*, plants exhibited in Hartecampi by Georgius Clifford. Amstel. 1737. in fol. with 36 engraved plates and a frontispiece. SOUGHT-AFTER WORK, FOLIO, FINE PAPER WITH PAGE EDGES UNTRIMMED, WITH COLORED FIGURES. Sold for 145 florins Crevenna. See Brunet III, 1087. Brunet only mentions 32 plates and a frontispiece; in this copy, however, there are 36 plates beside the frontispiece, all colored by J. Fortuijn. This copy is from Mr. Clifford’s own library, and a note attached to the book mentions that only two copies of this work are colored. (Willink 1864, p. 22)

Willink did not describe the binding, but his reference to “a note attached to the book”—which, as previously discussed, is found in the Dumbarton Oaks copy—suggests that this is the copy he described. The note attached to the Dumbarton Oaks copy (Fig. 6) refers to Helmolt’s 1809 library sale (Anonymous, 1809), and Willink’s 1864 description of the book notes the presence of this annotation (Willink, 1864, p. 22). Together, these references indicate that the note was affixed to the Dumbarton Oaks copy sometime between 1809 and 1864.

Willink’s statement, “This copy is from Mr. Clifford’s own library,” remains unclear, as no additional context or details are provided. The description in the catalog (Willink, 1864, p. 22) does not specify how it was established that this copy originated in Clifford’s library. No information could be found indicating whether books in his personal collection bore bookplates or other distinctive markings. The copy held at Dumbarton Oaks shows no sign of having belonged

to Clifford.

In 1871, a hand-colored copy described as *rarissime* (extremely rare) appeared in a book auction conducted in Utrecht by Jan Leendert Beijers (Beijers, 1871, p. 42). The binding is described simply as *veau* (calfskin leather). It is unclear whether this refers to just the spine (*dos de veau*) or the entire book (*veau plein*). The book had previously belonged to F. A. W. Miquel (1811–1871), a Dutch botanist at the University of Utrecht. It is possible that Beijers's book is the same one advertised by Muller (1864, p. 37) seven years earlier.

Notably, three catalog descriptions mention the book as having been sold at the Crevenna sale (Muller, 1864, p. 37; Willink, 1864, p. 22; Beijers, 1871, p. 42); however, this should not be regarded as definitive proof that the copy offered is the one previously owned by Crevenna. Both hand-colored copies sold in 1864 include this claim, yet they are distinct copies of the book. It is also worth noting that none of the catalog descriptions—Anonymous (1789b, p. 169), Anonymous (1809), Muller (1864, p. 37), Beijers (1871, p. 42)—mention the book as having been colored by Fortuijn. This omission may reflect a cataloging practice that was possibly in use at the time, which considered the hand-colorist less significant than the author, title, or binding of the work. It is also possible that some of the descriptions refer not to either of Fortuijn's two hand-colored copies, but to a different hand-colored copy.

The Dumbarton Oaks copy also includes a small photograph of the “note attached to the book,” which was originally affixed to the lower portion of the paste-down endpaper. It is now loosely inserted between the paste-down and free endpapers. The reverse of the photograph bears the inscription “Foto-Seitz C863 Nürnberg.” Foto-Seitz is a photography studio still active in Nuremberg. The back is also marked “Agfa” (short for *Aktiengesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation*), indicating the German manufacturer of the photographic paper. These details suggest the book might have been photographed in Nuremberg by an owner who resided in Germany at some point.

In April 1955, Mildred Barnes Bliss (1879–1969) acquired Fortuijn's hand-colored *Hortus Cliffortianus* from F. & G. Staack Booksellers in Camden, Maine.⁹ Mrs. Bliss and her husband, Robert Wood Bliss (1875–1962), resided at their Washington, D.C., estate, known as Dumbarton Oaks, where they assembled notable collections of Byzantine and Pre-Columbian art, as well as a research library and a remarkable rare book collection (Carder, 2011). In 1940, the Blisses donated Dumbarton Oaks to Harvard University, thereby founding the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

According to *The Hunt Botanical Catalogue*, a copy with *planches enluminées* (i.e., hand-colored plates) is owned by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Stevenson, 1961, p. 174). It was perhaps based on this information that Stafleu and Cowan (1981, p. 81) also listed a copy with “coloured plates” at the same institution. A librarian at the *Réserve des livres rares* at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* has confirmed the existence of this copy and provided a partial photograph of the frontispiece signed by Fortuijn in Leiden and dated 1761.

The half-title page in the copy at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* bears a handwritten inscription. However, several letters or words at the end of three lines are missing, as the page has been bound too tightly along the right margin, rendering those portions illegible. Translated into English, the inscription reads: “All these plants have been depicted by me from life, and this is the genuine first copy by J Fortuijn.” The inscription was likely written in 1761 by Fortuijn, assuming it was created at the same time as the frontispiece, which he signed and dated that year. In the note, Fortuijn explicitly identifies the book as the first copy he colored. The note confirms the existence of a second hand-colored copy, presumably the one also signed by him and now housed at Dumbarton Oaks.

We were unable to examine the binding of the copy held at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, which might have offered valuable insights into the copies referenced in the literature discussed above. However, a partial photograph of the lower section of the frontispiece—provided by library staff—revealed an oval stamp bearing a crown above the letters “B.R.” (an abbreviation for “*Bibliothèque Royale*”). According to staff at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, this stamp was used during the July Monarchy (1830–1848), specifically as part of a systematic stamping campaign carried out between 1833 and 1848, primarily on volumes acquired through Revolutionary confiscations (Josserand and Bruno, 1960). Therefore, if a Fortuijn hand-colored copy was already housed at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* by 1848—most likely the Crevenna/Helmolt copy—and if the book listed by Willink (1864, p. 22) corresponds to the one now at Dumbarton Oaks, then the copy offered by Muller (1864, p. 37) may represent a third hand-colored example. The artist responsible for this version remains unidentified.

A comparison of the coloring in the photograph of the lower section of the frontispiece in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* copy (not shown) to that of the Dumbarton Oaks copy (Fig. 2) shows that the former is far superior. The Dumbarton Oaks copy displays unusual and inconsistent coloring in several areas, including the *putti* in the lower right corner, Cybele's left arm, Apollo's left

⁹ <https://www.doaks.org/library-archives/garden-archives/biographies/f-g-staack>.

leg, and the back of the American Indian figure (Fig. 2).¹⁰ These anomalies may result from pigment degradation over time, potentially caused by interactions between different pigments, detachment of pigment layers, chemical reactions triggered by environmental factors such as pollutants, and fluctuations in relative humidity, among other factors (see Saunders and Kirby, 2004; Stillo, 2016; Carvalho et al., 2018).

UPPSALA UNIVERSITY COPY

A hand-colored *Hortus Cliffortianus* frontispiece reproduced in William Blunt's "*The Compleat Naturalist: A Life of Linnaeus*" (Blunt, 1971, p. 128) is attributed to "the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford" (Blunt, 1971, p. 252). To verify the frontispiece's origin and whether it was signed by the colorist, we contacted the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Oxford. However, staff could find no evidence of the frontispiece in their holdings or of having supplied an image to Mr. Blunt. A comparison between the image in Blunt's book and the unsigned hand-colored frontispiece at Uppsala University (Linnaeus, 1738b) reveals that they are identical. Blunt's attribution is therefore incorrect.

Stafleu and Cowan (1981, p. 81) mention a copy with "coloured plates" at Uppsala University. However, staff at the Uppsala University Library have confirmed that the frontispiece is the only hand-colored engraving in that copy. Strandell (1973, p. 33) provides further context, stating that the volume was "a gift from a Swede who had found it in Paris in the beginning of the century." Soulsby (1933, p. 34) is more specific, identifying the donor as Ernst Philipson, the Swedish Consul General at Amsterdam, who presented the book to Uppsala University Library in 1917. Soulsby (1933, p. 34) described the book as "Clifford's Edition de Luxe of this work, printed on Fine Paper. The title page is all in gold letters, and the first 27 pages have the capital letters in gold. The frontispiece and the portrait of Linnaeus by P. Tanjé, are also ornamented in gold." The coloring on the Uppsala University frontispiece (Linnaeus, 1738b) differs markedly from that in the hand-colored copies by Fortuijn at Dumbarton Oaks and the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, suggesting it was done by a different artist.

CONCLUSION

Hortus Cliffortianus has long been celebrated for its exceptional quality and lavish production, establishing itself as a landmark in botanical literature. Its significance was immediately recognized. In a 1738 letter, prominent Dutch botanist Jan Frederik Gronovius (1690-1762) declared

it "one of the most curious books that was ever printed" (Turner, 1835, p. 367). A 1739 review of the book published in *Nova Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig) captured the essence of its dual impact, remarking: "We cannot but have the highest regards for this magnificent work, so full of diverse learning, and it remains in doubt whether we should praise more the noble spirit of the most excellent Collector, his passion for the sciences, and the considerable expenses he lavishly devoted to establishing the memory of his Garden, or rather the singular industry and remarkable talent of the illustrious Author, the Dioscorides of our times for his exceptional industry and the wondrous brilliance of his genius" (translated from the Latin; Anonymous, 1739, p. 256).

It was perhaps the warm reception the book received that led to the possibility of a second edition. In a letter dated 24 October 1756, Linnaeus wrote to the French botanist Louis Gérard (1733–1819) in Cotignac, France, noting that the Dutch botanist Johannes Burman (1707–1780) in Amsterdam was planning to publish a second edition of *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus, 1756a; Bryx, 1923, p. 11). Linnaeus wrote: "Clifford's Garden still shines as far as walkways, topiary works, statues, and decorations are concerned; but today there are no plants except those in the greenhouses, which are common everywhere. When I left, the more curious (rare) plants left with me. The book is no longer in print. Burman, professor of botany at Amsterdam, will publish a new edition of the book; he has asked me for additions, which I will send early next spring so that it may be published anew" (translated from the Latin). It is unfortunate that a second edition never came to fruition.

Over the years, *Hortus Cliffortianus* has continued to earn high praise for various reasons. Peignot (1812, p. 157) described it as "the most magnificent work of this famous author" (translated from the French), while Jackson (1881, p. 440) referred to it as "a sumptuous privately printed book." Callmer and Gertz (1953, p. 82) called it "the only magnificent work that Linnaeus has published" (translated from the Swedish), while Johnston (1992, p. 355) regarded it as "the most elaborate illustrated work by Linnaeus." Perhaps most notably, Stearn (1957, p. 44) underscored its transformative influence. He observed that it is "Typographically ... the most impressive of Linnaeus's publications." Later on the same page, he noted that "it marks the beginning of a new era in botanical illustration and foreshadows the golden century of great flower-book production which extended from about 1760 to 1860." Collectively, these assessments affirm the enduring legacy of the work.

In light of the glowing reviews, it is somewhat ironic to consider Linnaeus's own criticism of costly botanical books featuring copperplate illustrations: "Their use, however,

¹⁰ The symbolism featured in the frontispiece has been discussed by Callmer and Gertz (1953) and Stearn (1957, p. 46). Notably, the face of Apollo is modeled after Linnaeus.

has so increased the price of the books that not a few Sons of Botany who are reared in modest circumstances are compelled to do without such high-priced books” (Linnaeus, 1756b; translation in Heller, 1976, pp. 33–35). It is striking that Linnaeus could overlook the fact that 20 of the 36 engravings in *Hortus Cliffortianus* were based on Ehret’s artwork, and 29 of the copperplates were engraved and signed by Wandelaar, reflecting both a significant artistic collaboration and considerable production costs.

The critical acclaim the work has received historically is based on uncolored copies. Ideally, the hand-colored volumes held at Dumbarton Oaks and the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* should be digitized and made publicly accessible. Doing so would not only broaden access to these rare and exceptional examples but also serve as an important introduction to Fortuijn’s work. These copies are remarkable not only for their typography, imposing folio format, and Linnaeus’s authorship, but also for the personal artistry of Johannes Fortuijn, who hand-colored each botanical engraving and the frontispiece, transforming an already significant scientific work into a true visual masterpiece.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges Yota Batsaki, Executive Director of Dumbarton Oaks, for her generous invitation to visit, engage with her team, and explore the topic of coffee within the framework of the Dumbarton Oaks Plant Humanities Initiative. The invitation led to a brief encounter with *Hortus Cliffortianus*, which unexpectedly served as the inspiration and starting point for this paper. Special thanks are also due to Anatole Tchikine and Hanna Middlebrook at the Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Collection. The author also expresses gratitude to Caroline Parker and Rosanna van den Bogaerde (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford); Jef Schaeps and Tessa Philippa (Leiden University Libraries); Marguerite Sablonnière (*Bibliothèque nationale de France*); Ester van Gelder and Daan Westerheide (National Library of the Netherlands); Claes Andersson and Jens Gustavsson (Uppsala University Library); Alan Moss (Dutch National Archives); Jay Moschella and Pierre Battiste (Boston Public Library); Will Beharrell (The Linnean Society of London); Chuck Tancin and Leslie Shaver (Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, Carnegie Mellon University); Charlotte Birkett (Natural History Museum, London); Reineke Ponsioen (*Nederlands Genootschap van Burgemeesters*); Eric Heijelaar (Amsterdam City Archives); Nicoline van der Sijs (Radboud University); Peter Schrijver (Utrecht University); Michael North (Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress); Roxali Bijmoer (Naturalis Biodiversity Center, Leiden); Rolf H.

Bremmer Jr. (Leiden University); and Laura Albiero (*Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes*, France). Comments by Wendy S. Higgins, Maura C. Flannery, and two anonymous reviewers are greatly appreciated.

LITERATURE CITED

- ANONYMOUS. 1738. *Hamburgische Berichte von den neuesten gelehrten Sachen auf das Jahr 1738*. 12: 90–93. [N.B.: Transcribed in Bryx 1919, pp. 143–147.]
- ANONYMOUS. 1739. *Hortus Cliffortianus, plantas exhibens . . . Nova Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig), pp. 256–265. .
- ANONYMOUS. 1760. *Catalogus van een considerable groote welgeconditioneerde bibliotheek, in allerlye taalen en faculteiten . . . nagelaaten by wylen den Heere Mr. George Clifford. Alle het welke verkogt zal werden, direct naar de verkoop der kabinetten met rariteiten, bepaalt tegens den 4 November 1760*. . . Amsterdam: Hendrik de Leth.
- ANONYMOUS. 1776. *Catalogue raisonné de la collection des livres de M. Pierre Antoine Crevenna, négociant à Amsterdam. Vol. II. Jurisprudence, philosophie, histoire naturelle et arts*. [Amsterdam: s.n.].
- ANONYMOUS. 1789a. *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. Pierre Antoine Bolongaro-Crevenna*. Five volumes. Amsterdam: D. J. Changuion & P. den Hengst.
- ANONYMOUS. 1789b. *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. Pierre Antoine Bolongaro-Crevenna. Vol. II. Jurisprudence, et sciences et arts*. Amsterdam: D. J. Changuion & P. den Hengst.
- ANONYMOUS. 1793. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu Mr. Pierre Antoine Bolongaro Crevenna*. . . Amsterdam: D. J. Changuion, L. v. Hulst & P. d. Hengst.
- ANONYMOUS. 1809. *Catalogue d’une magnifique collection de livres français, anglaise, latins, allemand et hollandais . . . délaissés par feu Monsieur Jacob Helmolt . . .* Amsterdam: H. Gartman, J. W. Smit & l’Héritier de C. N. Guerin et Changuion et den Hengst.
- BEIJERS, J. L. 1871. *Catalogue d’une belle collection de livres délaissée par MM. le Dr. F. A. W. Miquel, Professeur de Botanique à l’Université d’Utrecht, le Dr. K. H. B. Hazelhoff Roelfsema . . . , A. Voormolen . . .* Utrecht: J. L. Beijers.
- BLUNT, W. 1971. *The Compleat Naturalist: A Life of Linnaeus*. With the assistance of W. T. STEARN. London: Collins.
- BROBERG, G. 2023. *The Man Who Organized Nature. The Life of Linnaeus*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- BRUNET, J.-C. 1810. *Manuel du libraire et de l’amateur de livres, contenant 1.^o un nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique . . . 2.^o une table en forme de catalogue raisonné . . .* Vol. II. Paris: Brunet; LeBlanc.
- BRYX, F. 1919. *Linnaeus im Auslande: Linnés gesammelte Jugendschriften autobiographischen Inhaltes aus den Jahren 1732–1738*. Stockholm: [self-published], pp. 143–147.
- BRYX, F. 1923. *Bibliotheca Botanica. Vol. 2*. Stockholm: [self-published].
- CALLMER, C. AND O. GERTZ. 1953. *Om illustrationerna till Hortus Cliffortianus. Svenska Linnésällsk. Årsskr.* 36: 81–88.
- CARDER, J. N., ED. 2011. *A Home for the Humanities. The Collecting and Patronage of Mildred and Robert Wood Bliss*.

- Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- CARVALHO, I., C. CASANOVA, R. ARAÚJO, AND A. LEMOS. 2018. Colour identification, degradation processes and findings in a fifteenth-century Book of Hours: the case study of *Cofre n.º 31* from Mafra National Palace. *Herit. Sci.* 6: 9.
- CHRISTIE'S. 2000. Live Auction 9326: Books and Manuscripts. Lot 18.
- CLIFFORD, G. 1706. *Dissertatio juridica inauguralis de nuptiis*. Leiden: Abrahamum Elzevier.
- CLIFFORD, G. 1737a. 15 December 1737, George Clifford to Carl Linnaeus. Linnaean Correspondence LC/3/29. The Linnean Society of London.
- CLIFFORD, G. 1737b. 27 December 1737, George Clifford to Carl Linnaeus. Linnaean Correspondence LC/3/30. The Linnean Society of London.
- CLIFFORD, G. 1739. 20 April 1739, George Clifford to Carl Linnaeus. Linnaean Correspondence LC/3/32. The Linnean Society of London.
- COXE, W. 1802. Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark; Illustrated with Charts and Engravings. Vol. IV. The Fifth Edition. London: T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies.
- EHRET, G. D. 1894. A memoir of Georg Dionysius Ehret . . . Written by Himself, and Translated, with Notes, by E. S. Barton. *Proc. Linn. Soc. London*, session 1894–1895, pp. 41–58.
- FRIES, R. E. 1919. *Linné i Holland. Svenska Linnésällsk. Årsskr.* 2: 141–155.
- GRASSE, J. G. T. 1863. *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique . . . Vol. IV, K–N*. Dresden: R. Kuntze.
- HELLER, J. L. 1968. Linnaeus's *Hortus Cliffortianus*. *Taxon* 17: 663–719.
- HELLER, J. L. 1976. Linnaeus on sumptuous books. *Taxon* 25: 33–52.
- HUTTON, J. 1935. The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800. Cornell Studies in English XXIII. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- JACKSON, B. DAYDON. 1881. Guide to the Literature of Botany; Being a Classified Selection of Botanical Works, Including Nearly 6000 Titles not Given in Pritzel's 'Thesaurus.' London: Published for the Index Society by Longmans, Green & Co. and Dulau & Co.
- JACKSON, B. DAYDON. 1923. Linnaeus (Afterwards Carl von Linné). The Story of His Life, Adapted from the Swedish of Theodor Magnus Fries, Emeritus Professor of Botany in the University of Uppsala, and Brought Down to the Present Time in the Light of Recent Research. London: H. F. & G. Witherby.
- JARVIS, C. 2005. From Siberia to South Africa; Surinam to Sri Lanka – Linnaean names and their types. *Symb. Bot. Upsal.* 33: 23–33.
- JOHNSTON, S. H., JR. (Compiler). 1992. The Cleveland Herbal, Botanical, and Horticultural Collections. A Descriptive Bibliography of Pre-1830 Works from the Libraries of the Holden Arboretum, the Cleveland Medical Library Association, and the Garden Center of Greater Cleveland. The Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.
- JOSSELAND, P. AND J. BRUNO. 1960. *Les estampilles du Département des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale*, pp. 261–298 in *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot, conservateur en chef honoraire de la bibliothèque de l' Arsenal*. Paris: Librairie d'Argences.
- JUNK, W. 1902. *Bibliographia Linnaeana. Verzeichniss der Schriften Karl von Linné's*. Berlin: W. Junk.
- LINNAEUS, C. 1736. *Musa Cliffortiana florens Hartecampi 1736 prope Harlemum*. Leiden: [s.n.].
- LINNAEUS, C. 1737a. *Flora Lapponica*. Amsterdam: S. Schouten.
- LINNAEUS, C. 1737b. *Viridarium Cliffortianum, in quo exhibentur plantæ omnes, quas vivas aluit hortus Hartecampensis annis 1735. 1736. 1737. Indicatæ nominibus ex horto Cliffortiano depromptis*. Amsterdam: [s.n.].
- LINNAEUS, C. 1738a. *Hortus Cliffortianus: plantas exhibens quas in hortis tam vivis quam siccis, Hartecampi in Hollandia, coluit . . . Georgius Clifford . . . reductis varietatibus ad species, speciebus ad genera, generibus ad classes, adjunctis locis plantarum natalibus differentiisque specierum. Cum tabulis aeneis*. Amsterdam: [s.n.] [N.B.: Linnaeus's personal copy at The Linnean Society of London. Reference #: BL.1186]
- LINNAEUS, C. 1738b. *Hortus Cliffortianus*. Amsterdam: [s.n.] [N.B.: Shelf mark for copy with colored frontispiece at Uppsala University Library: s.v. Linnésaml. 5026 fol.]
- LINNAEUS, C. 1753. *Species plantarum, Vols. I, II*. Stockholm: Laurentii Salvii.
- LINNAEUS, C. 1756a. Letter 24 October 1756, Uppsala to Louis Gérard, Cotignac. L2098. Shelfmark at the University of Uppsala Library: G 152 i.
- LINNAEUS, C. 1756b. *Incrementa botanices . . . Proposuit Jacobus Buiur. Amoenitates academicae, Vol. III*, pp. 377–393. Stockholm: Laurentii Salvii.
- MULLER, F. 1864. *III. Catalogue de livres d'histoire naturelle, d'ethnologie, d'anthropologie, de craniologie, etc. Contenant e. a. les oeuvres de Baird, Bleeker, Blume, . . .* Amsterdam: [s.n.]
- PEIGNOT, G. 1812. *Répertoire bibliographique universel: contenant la notice raisonnée des bibliographies spéciales publiées jusqu'à ce jour, et d'un grand nombre d'autres ouvrages de bibliographie, relatifs à l'histoire littéraire, et à toutes les parties de la bibliologie*. Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard.
- [PSAUME, E.] 1824. *Dictionnaire bibliographique, ou nouveau manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres . . . Vol. II*. Paris: Ponthieu.
- PULTENEY, R. 1805. A General View of the Writings of Linnaeus. The Second Edition; with Corrections, Considerable Additions; and Memoirs of the Author, by William George Maton . . . London: J. Mawman.
- SAUNDERS, D. AND J. KIRBY. 2004. The effect of relative humidity on artists' pigments. *Natl. Gall. Tech. Bull.* 25: 62–72.
- SCHUTTE, O. 1974. *Nationaal Archief. Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap. Nummer Toegang: 3.20.59. Inventaris van het archief van de familie Teding van Berkhout, 1578–1994 (–2015)*. Version: 16-11-2021. Item 1123.
- SEBA, A. 1734–1765. *Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri accurata descriptio, et iconibus artificiosissimis expressio, per universam physices historiam . . .* Amsterdam: J. Wetstenium, Gul. Smith, & Janssonio-Waesbergios. [N.B.: Published in four volumes. National Library of the Netherlands shelf number: KW 394 B 26-29. The four hand-colored volumes are reproduced in "Albertus Seba. Cabinet of Natural Curiosities," Taschen GmbH, 2024.]
- SORGELOOS, C. 2002. *Praesim ut proxim: les livres de Guillaume-*

- Philippe de Herzelles (1684–1744), abbé de Sainte-Gertrude à Louvain, évêque d'Anvers, et la vente Guillaume-Antoine-Joseph de Bezerra en 1750. De Gulden passer* 80: 131–181.
- SOULSBY, B. H. 1933. A Catalogue of the Works of Linnaeus (and Publications More Immediately Relating Thereto) Preserved in the Libraries of the British Museum (Bloomsbury) and the British Museum (Natural History) (South Kensington). Second Edition. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- STAFLEU, F. A. AND R. S. COWAN. 1981. Taxonomic Literature: A Selective Guide to Botanical Publications and Collections with Dates, Commentaries and Types. Volume III: Lh-O. Utrecht: Bohn, Scheltema & Holkema; The Hague: Dr. W. Junk b.v., Publishers.
- STEARNS, W. T. 1957. An Introduction to the *Species Plantarum* and cognate botanical works of Carl Linnaeus. VI. The *Hortus Cliffortianus*. Pages 44–50 in C. LINNAEUS, *Species Plantarum*. A Facsimile of the First Edition 1753. Volume I. With an Introduction by W. T. Stearn. Dorking: Printed for the Ray Society by Adlard and Son Bartholomew Press.
- STEVENSON, A. (Compiler). 1961. Catalog of Botanical Works in the Collection of Rachel McMasters Hunt. Volume II. Part I. Introduction to Printed Books 1701–1800. Pittsburgh: The Hunt Botanical Library.
- STILLO, S. E. 2016. Putting the world in its “proper colour”: exploring hand-coloring in early modern maps. *J. Map Geogr. Libr.* 12: 158–186.
- STOEVER, D. H. 1794. The Life of Sir Charles Linnaeus . . . to Which is Added, a Copious List of his Works, and a Biographical Sketch of the Life of his Son. Translated from the Original German by Joseph Trapp. London: E. Hobson.
- STRANDELL, B. 1973. An introduction to Linnaeus. Pages 3–45 in *A Linnean Keepsake*: Issued to Commemorate the Opening of the Strandell Collection of Linnaeana at The Hunt Botanical Library, Carnegie-Mellon University. Pittsburgh: Hunt Botanical Library.
- TURNER, D. 1835. *Extracts from the Literary and Scientific Correspondence of Richard Richardson of Bierley, Yorkshire; Illustrative of the State and Progress of Botany and Interspersed with Information Respecting the Study of Antiquities and General Literature, in Great Britain, During the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*. Yarmouth: Charles Sloman.
- VAN DER AA, A. J. 1855. *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt. Vol. II*. Haarlem: J. J. van Brederode.
- VAN DER LAAN, A. 1736a. Engraving of *Musa paradisiaca* plant for Linnaeus's *Musa Cliffortiana*. Reference number: LM/PF/HOF/2, The Linnean Society of London.
- VAN DER LAAN, A. 1736b. Engraving of *Musa paradisiaca* fruits for Linnaeus's *Musa Cliffortiana*. Reference number: LM/PF/HOF/3, The Linnean Society of London.
- VAN GELDER, E. 2022. *Het 'Schatryke kabinet der voornaamste seldzaamheden der natuur'* van Albertus Seba. National Library of the Netherlands.
- VESALIUS, A. 1725. *Opera omnia anatomica & chirurgica*. Edited by Hermann Boerhaave and Bernhard S. Albinus. Leiden: Johannes du Vivie, Johannes and Herman Verbeek. Two volumes.
- WALLICH, N. 1848. Almanac notes for the year 1735, by Charles von Linné. Translated from the Swedish by Nathaniel Wallich. *Proc. Linn. Soc. London* 2: 5–12.
- WIJNANDS, D. O. AND J. HENIGER. 1991. The origins of Clifford's Herbarium. *Bot. J. Linn. Soc.* 106: 129–146.
- WILLINK, W. E. J. T. 1864. *Catalogus eener keurige verzameling van boeken en plaatwerken, meerendeels nagelaten door den Hoog WelGeb. Heer Jhr. Mr. C. Backer, Commissaris des Kinings in Overijssel* . . . Zwolle: W. E. J. Tjeenk Willink
- ZUIDERVAART, H. J. 2020. *De vroegmoderne buitenplaats als knooppunt van kennis. De casus van George Cliffords 'De Hartecamp.'* Pages 96–102 in W. V. ANROOIJ, A. DLABAČOVÁ, E. GELEIJNS, J. SCHAEPS, G. WARNAR, AND S. V. ZANEN. *Om het boek. Cultuurhistorische bespiegelingen over boeken en mensen*. Hilversum: Verloren.