

## Appendix

Table 1: Rousseau's extant herbaria

Place	Carnavalet (Paris)	Montmorency	MdAD (Paris)	Neuchâtel	Zürich
Institution	Musée Carnavalet	Musée Jean-Jacques Rousseau	Musée des arts décoratifs	Bibliothèque publique et universitaire	Zentralbibliothek
Provenance	Rousseau or Girardin <sup>1</sup>	Rousseau	Rousseau	Rousseau/Dombey <sup>2</sup>	Rousseau
Contents	8 specimens, incl. American species <sup>3</sup>	168 specimens	315 specimens, incl. mosses, algae and 11 lichens	350 specimens	100 plants, 1 alga, incl. all important families
Organisation	Not clear	Alphabetical	Not clear	Linnaean?	Linnaean
Recipient	Not known	Madelon Delessert <sup>4</sup>	Malesherbes <sup>5</sup>	Stanislaus Girardin	Julie Boy de la Tour
Dimensions	Quarto	23×16.4 cm	<i>portatif</i> , in-12, 15.8×10 cm	Folio & other paper sizes	21.6×10.6 cm
Year, if known		1774		1768	1772
Other Information	Doubts as to its authenticity	Letter to Mme Delessert, 28 May 1774 <sup>6</sup>		Part of the so-called 'grand herbarier'? See Table 2.	Letter to Julie Boy de la Tour, 16 April 1772 <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'L'écriture est indiscutablement celle du philosophe'. B. de Montgolfier and M. Gallet, 'Souvenirs de Voltaire et de Rousseau au Musée Carnavalet', *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet* 13/2 (November 1960), p.2-23 (p.14). On the other hand, '[i]t is suspected that this Herbarium is not from Rousseau, but was assembled by the Marquis de Girardin [Es wird vermutet, dass dieses Herbar nicht von Rousseau sondern von Marquis de Girardin zusammengestellt worden ist]'. R. Schneebeli-Graf, *Botanisieren mit Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Thun, 2003), p.137. This author believes that the incompleteness of the plant identifications and lack of strict Linnaean order might support the latter theory.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Dombey (1742-1794), a student of Antoine Gouan and explorer of South American flora, gave Rousseau 'un très grand nombre de plantes étrangères et rares parfaitement belles et bien conservées', inspiring him to add to it, making it his 'unique bibliothèque'. Rousseau to Du Peyrou, 10 June 1768 (CC, vol.35, p.307).  
<sup>3</sup> 'Species' refer to scientific classifications, while each 'specimen' is a member of a species; a given herbarium might contain duplicates or varieties, and therefore more specimens than species, as in the case of the 'grand herbarier'. See Table 2, p.36.

<sup>4</sup> Marguerite-Madeleine Delessert (1767-1839), daughter of Madeleine-Catherine Delessert, née Boy de la Tour (1747-1816), and recipient of Rousseau's course of instruction in *Lettres élémentaires sur la botanique*.

<sup>5</sup> This herbarium was possibly one of the *herbiers portatifs* offered to Malesherbes. See Rousseau to Malesherbes, 21 October 1771 (CC, vol.38, p.282-83) and 17 April 1772 (CC, vol.39, p.36-37).

<sup>6</sup> Rousseau to Mme Delessert, 28 May 1774 (CC, vol.41, p.252-54).

<sup>7</sup> Rousseau to Julie Boy de la Tour, 16 April 1772 (CC, vol.41, p.34-36).

Table 2: Rousseau's herbaria: missing or of dubious authenticity

Place	Berlin	Chaaalis	Paris	N/A	N/A
Institution or designation	Botanisches Museum	Musée Jacquemart-André	Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Laboratoire de Phanérogamie	Duchess of Portland	'Grand herbier'
Provenance	Rousseau	Fusée Aublet <sup>10</sup>	Fusée Aublet <sup>11</sup>	Rousseau	Dombey, Rousseau
Contents	11 vols; catalogue by Jansen; 153 species <sup>8</sup>	13 specimens, 2 or 3 possibly by Rousseau	1 annotation in Rousseau's hand; rest is Fusée Aublet's, 15 vols.	Unknown	Orig. nearly 2,000 specimens, 1500 species; Rousseau added 300 specimens, catalogue at Berlin (destroyed)
Organisation	Linnaean	Unknown	Linnaean	Unknown	Probably Linnaean <sup>9</sup>
Dimensions	Quarto	Various	Quarto	Unknown; possibly <i>portatif</i>	Folio
Year	1777	Probably 1778	1778	1772	1768
Other information	Destroyed by bombing in the Second World War	Probably acquired from Fusée Aublet	Probably acquired from Fusée Aublet	Letter to Duchess of Portland <sup>12</sup>	Given to D. Malthus; <sup>13</sup> a portion is perhaps at BPUN

<sup>8</sup> Albert Jansen, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau als Botaniker* (Berlin, 1885), p.277-92.

<sup>9</sup> The order would have been Linnaean because Dombey was a student of Antoine Gouan, a Linnaean botanist.

<sup>10</sup> Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Fusée Aublet (1720-1778), first explorer of the flora of French Guiana and author of *Flore de la Guiane française*, 4 vols (Paris, 1775), moved in the same 'group of enlightened magistrates, courtiers and authors which included Malesherbes, Rousseau [...] and several others', F. A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linnaeans: the spreading of their ideas in systematic botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht, 1971), p.282. Rousseau acquired part of one of Aublet's herbaria in May 1778. See also Cook, 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau and exotic botany', p.188-89.

<sup>11</sup> This appears to be the partial herbarium of Fusée Aublet that Rousseau acquired in May 1778.

<sup>12</sup> Rousseau to the Duchess of Portland, 22 October 1773 (CC, vol.39, p.203-204).

<sup>13</sup> This herbier 'a été donné presque en entier à M. Malthus qui a acheté mes livres de botanique'. Rousseau, *Dialogues*, OC, vol.1, p.832. The marquis de Girardin claimed that Rousseau sold his books and herbarium to Vincent-Louis Dutens (1730-1812). 'Notices bibliographiques: Herbiers', OC, vol.4, p.1888.