

# **An early (1850) 'handwritten' shell exchange catalogue of the Leiden Museum, with notes on the collectors Rethaan Macaré and Tischbein**

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A 'handwritten' (lithographed) shell exchange catalogue of the National Museum of Natural History, Leiden (The Netherlands), dated 1850 and containing 864 nominal taxa (861 molluscs and 3 brachiopods), is discussed in the context of the history of the museum. This catalogue must have been distributed in a limited edition to shell collectors interested in the exchange of specimens. Among the exchange partners of the museum were the well-known 19th century Dutch collector Lady (later Dowager) F.J.M. Rethaan Macaré née Ontijd (1812-1887; first published portraits included) and the German P.F.L. Tischbein (1813-1883; first published portrait included); their contacts with the museum are discussed, mainly as regards this catalogue.

## **Introduction**

The history of the Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie (National Museum of Natural History) in Leiden, The Netherlands, founded in 1820 and the oldest predecessor of Naturalis Biodiversity Center, is, on the whole, well documented, although most of the major relevant literature is in Dutch (Gijzen, 1938; Holthuis, 1995). The history of the various departments of the museum is less well-covered. The Mollusca section is somewhat poorly documented – the only references traced by the present author are Bayer (1950, in French), Van Bruggen (1977: 10-19; 1992, both in English; 1994), Gijzen (1938, numerous data in a general treatise), Gittenberger (2009), and Holthuis (1995, numerous data in a general treatise), all, however, except for the first three, in Dutch. In addition, Fransen, Holthuis & Adema (1997, in English) contains numerous data on pre-1900 collectors of Crustacea, many of whom also contributed mollusc material to the museum's collections.

Exchange of shells has always been a feature of shell collecting and has played a major role in the building of collections. Gijzen (1938: 190-194) devotes a chapter to the exchange policies of the Leiden Museum. In her list of museum correspondents in the period 1820-1915, on pp. 300-335, there are at least 46 names of correspondents engaged in shell exchange at that time, including the leading conchologists of the day (around 1850), such as Beddome, Cuming, Jay, Krauss, Newcomb, Pfeiffer, Say, Troschel, etc.

## **The 1850 catalogue**

Recently a curious, seemingly handwritten, document surfaced in the mollusc reprint collection of the author. It measures 205 × 127 mm (fig. 1), contains 60 pp. with cover

(altogether making up 64 pp.), on thin (somewhat foxed) paper, so that the text of the next page is usually visible through the paper. It is sewn together in a simple way with a single strand of cotton. Its full title is "Lijst der Schelpdieren die tot ruil voorhanden zijn bij 's Rijks Museum van Natuurlijke Geschiedenis te Leiden MDCCCL" [List of shells being available for exchange at the National Museum of Natural History at Leiden 1850].

The catalogue is written in a beautiful copperplate hand. In fact, this made the search for an author extraordinarily difficult. At that time Dr J.A. Herklots (1820-1872) was curator of invertebrates inclusive of molluscs (1846-1872). There is a lot of Herklots material in the archives of the museum and it is at once clear that the list is not written by him. Herklots may have supplied the data, but the handwriting is probably that of an administrative employee.

The cover shows an outline drawing of a shell of *Polydontes imperator* (Montfort, 1810) ('Camaenidae', now Pleurodontidae, Cuba; vide González Guillén, 2008) (34 × 55 mm, fig. 1) and the back cover features *Ellobium scheepmakeri* (Petit de la Saussaye, 1850), s.n. "*Auricula Scheepmakeri* Petit." (Ellobiidae, SE. Asia; vide Raven & Vermeulen, 2007) (79 × 40 mm, fig. 2). This species was described in the year shown on the cover of the catalogue and at that time no published figures were available. Both outlines depict land snail shells representing species that are far too rare for an exchange programme. In both cases the shells are shown 'upside-down' as was the custom in the middle of the 19th century.

Unfortunately and much to the regret of the author the origin of this copy of the catalogue can no longer be established. In the late sixties and early seventies of the last century the antiquarian bookseller Junk deposited large numbers of reprints and brochures in the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie. Staff and researchers connected to the museum were given free reign to extract what they wanted after the museum had taken its share, in exchange for sorting work. This was probably the source from which the author obtained the catalogue under discussion. It now rests in the archives of Naturalis Biodiversity Center.

The following abbreviations for localities have been found; translations (between square brackets) are only supplied when not or hardly evident:

Adriat.Z.	= Adriatische Zee [Adriatic Sea]				[Mediterranean Sea]
Amb.	= Ambon	Makass.	= Makassar		
Amer.	= Amerika	Mark. Eil.	= Markiezen-Eilanden		
Antill.	= Nederlandse Antillen				[Marquesas Is., Pacific]
Archip.	= (Indische) Archipel	N.G.	= Nieuw-Guinea [New Guinea]		
	[Netherlands East Indies]	N.Z.	= Noordzee [North Sea]		
Cum. Riv.	= Cumberland River (U.S.A.)	O.I.	= Oost-Indië [East Indies]		
Frankr.	= Frankrijk [France]	Philip.	= Philippijnen		
Groenl.	= Groenland [Greenland]	R.Z.	= Rode Zee [Red Sea]		
Jap.	= Japan	Sard.	= Sardinië		
K.d.g.H.	= Kaap de Goede Hoop	Sumat.	= Sumatra		
	[Cape of Good Hope]	Surin.	= Suriname		
K.v.G.	= Kust van Guiné	Trip.	= Tripoli		
	[Coast of Guinea, West Africa]	Zara	= Zadar [Dalmatia]		
Mol.	= Molukken [Moluccas]	Zanzib.	= Zanzibar		
M.Z.	= Middellandse Zee	Z.Z.	= Zuid-Zee [South Sea = Pacific]		

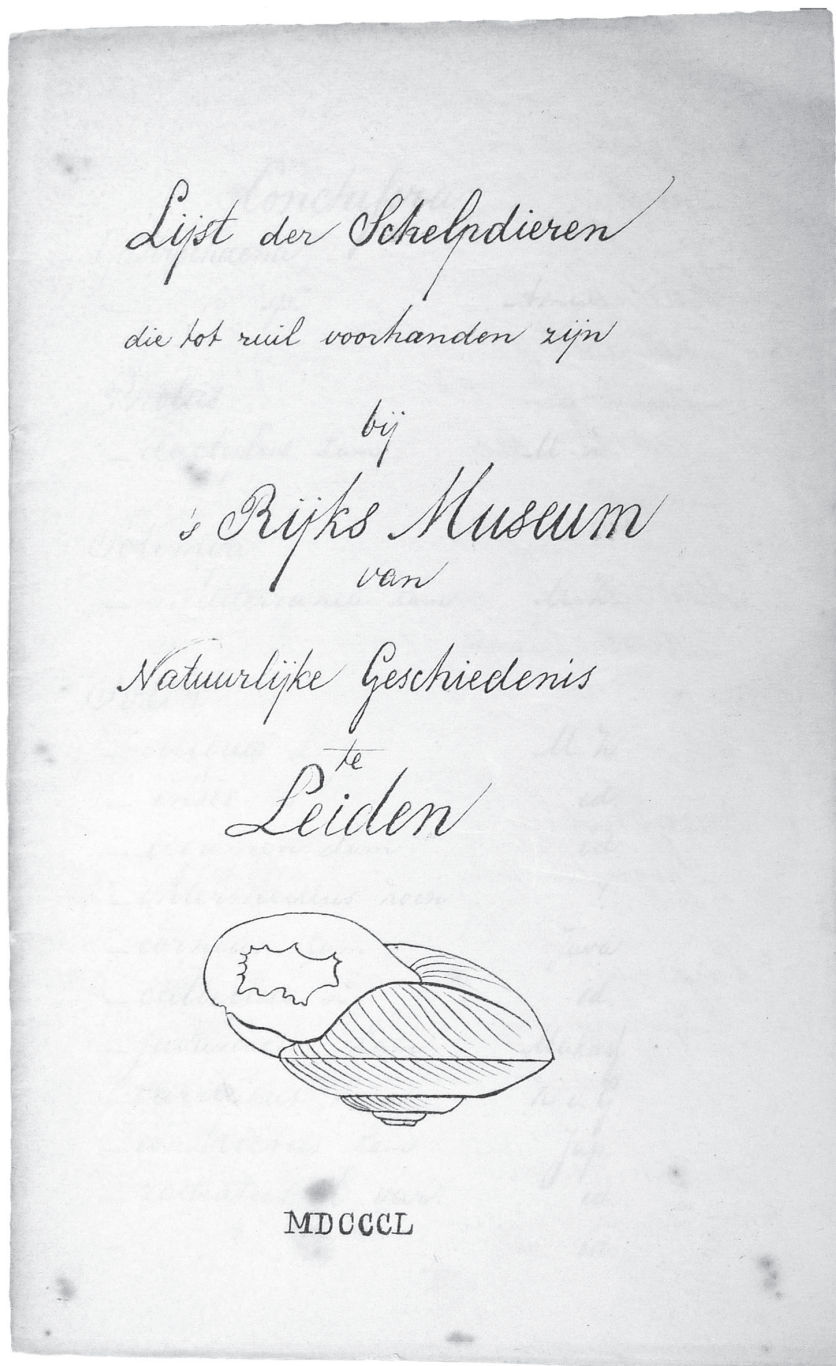


Fig. 1. Front cover of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden (somewhat reduced, original size 205 × 127 mm). Figs 1-11 refer to the copy formerly owned by the present author. The shell depicted is *Polydonte imperator*.

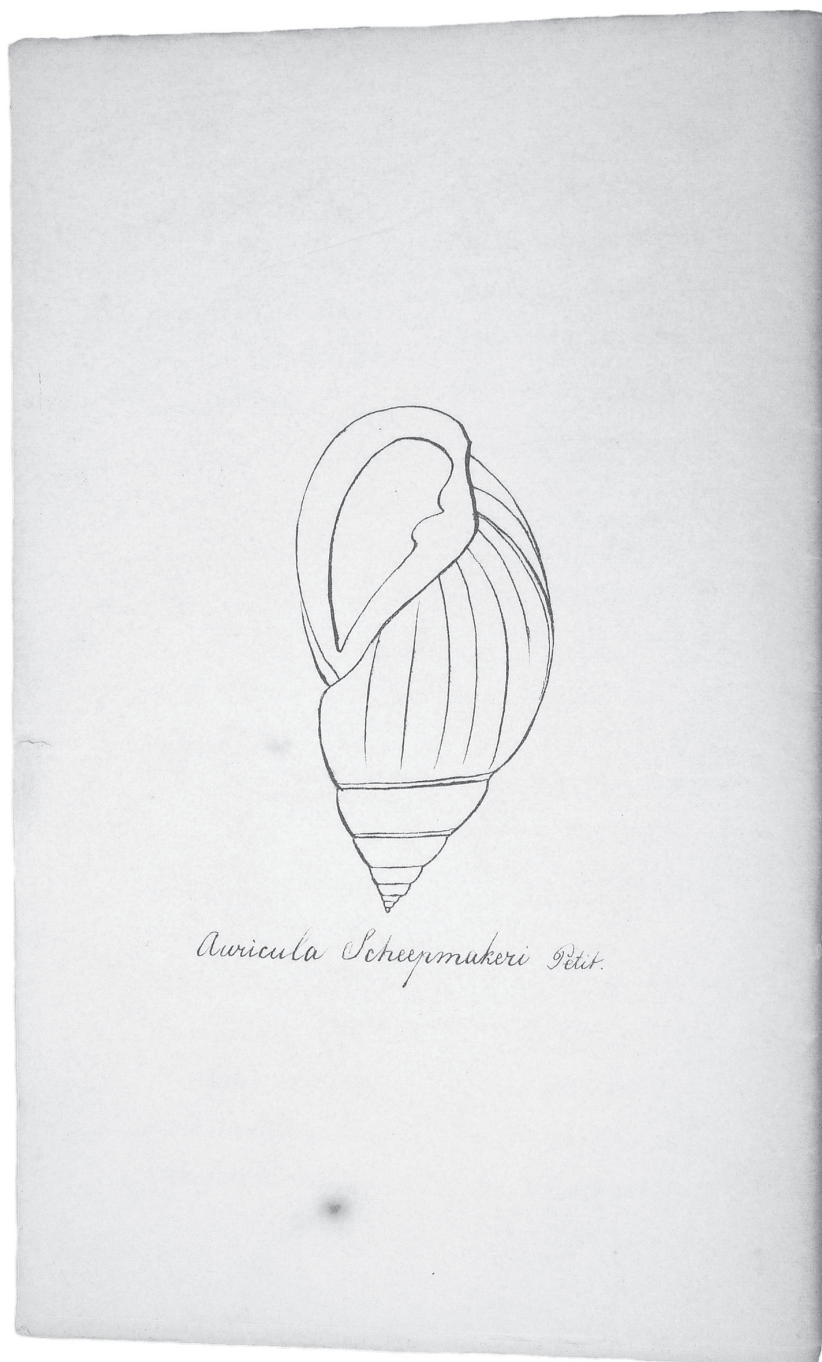


Fig. 2. Back cover of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden.



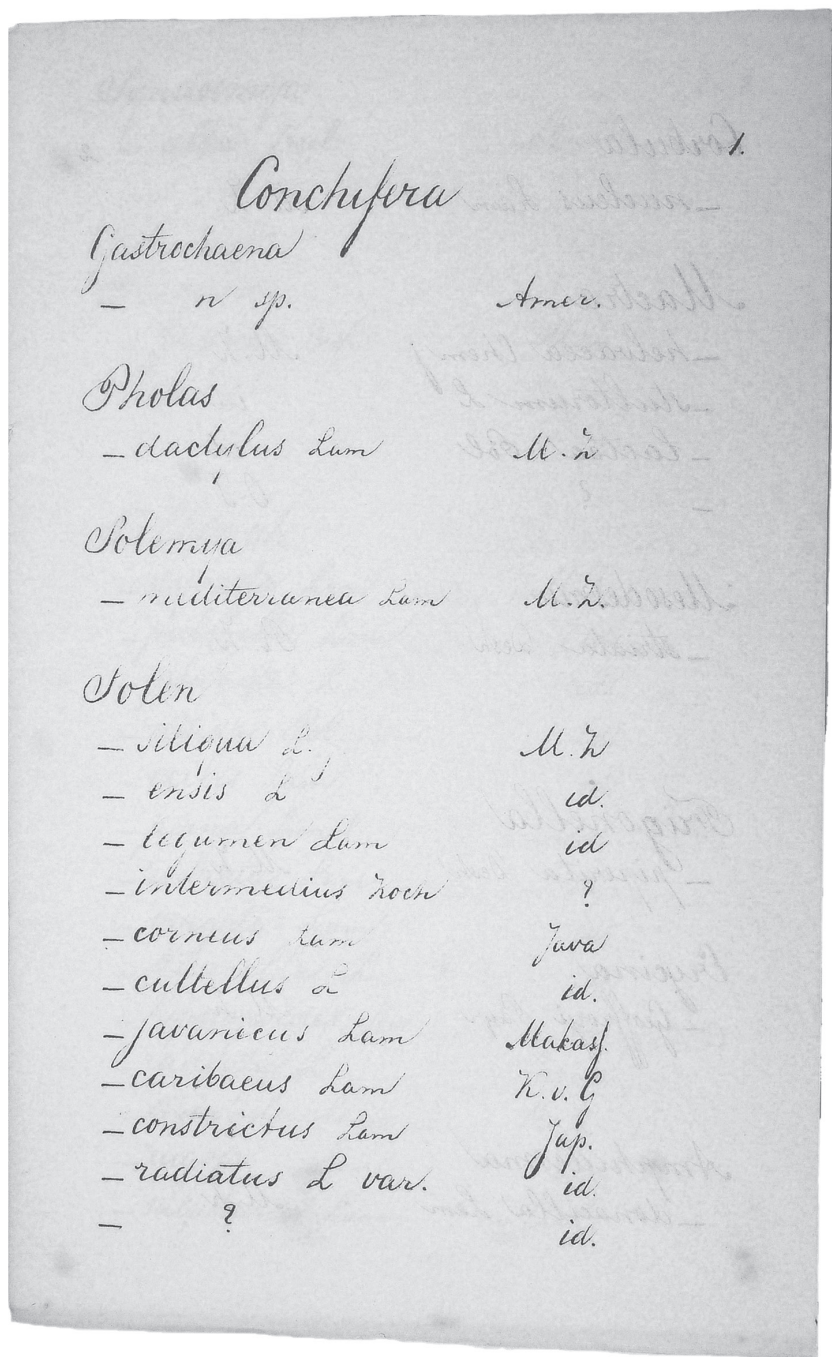


Fig. 3. First page of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Note new species on offer for exchange.

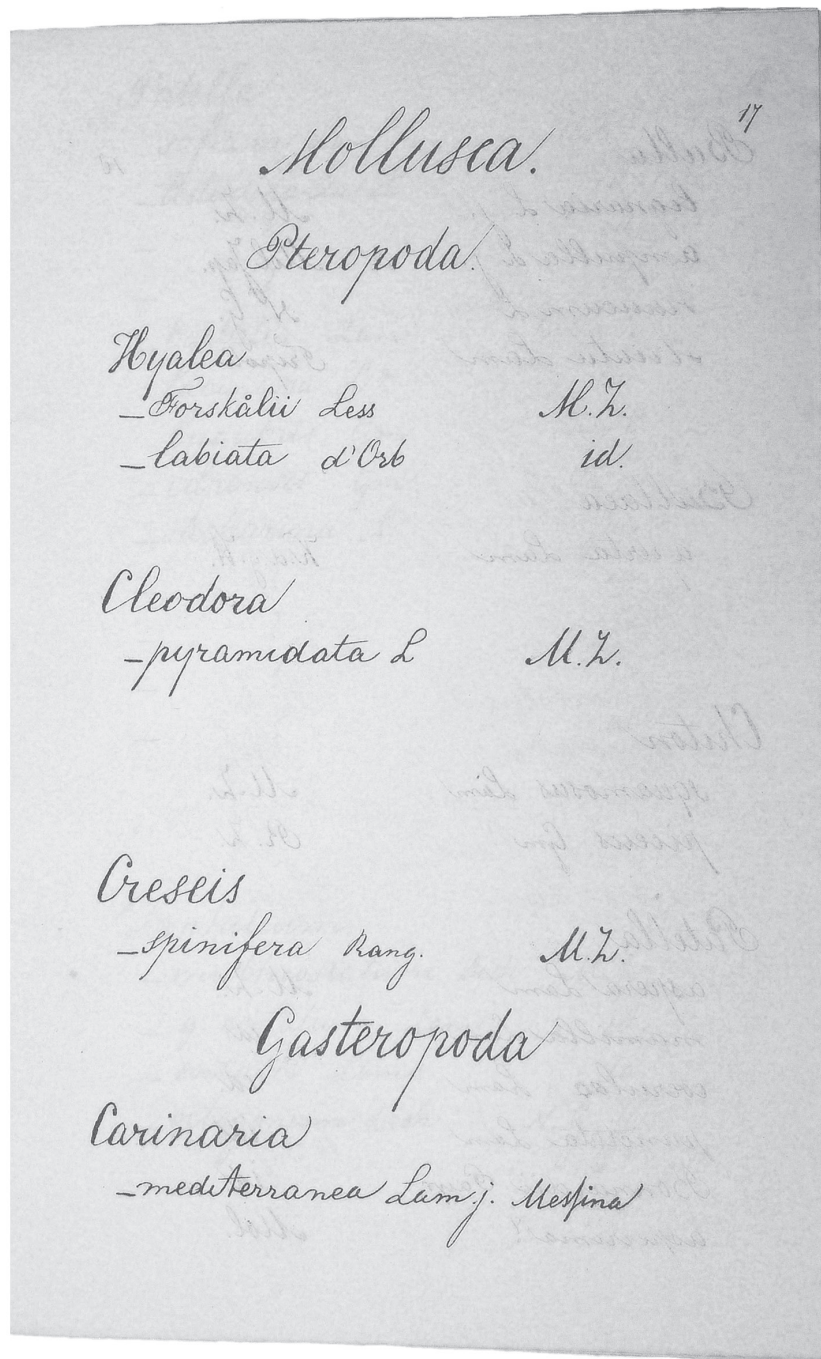


Fig. 4. Page 17 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden.

<i>Bulla</i>		18
<i>lignaria</i> L. j.	M. Z.	
<i>anquilla</i> L. j.	Mol. Jap.	
<i>naucum</i> L.	N. G.	
<i>striata</i> Lam	Tricoli	
<i>Bullaea</i>		
<i>aurata</i> Lam	N. G. H.	
<i>Chiton</i>		
<i>squamosus</i> Lam	M. Z.	
<i>piceus</i> Gm	R. Z.	
<i>Patella</i>		
<i>aspera</i> Lam	M. Z.	
<i>mamilla</i> Lam	id.	
<i>coerulea</i> Lam	id.	
<i>punctata</i> Lam	id.	
<i>Bonnardii</i> Payr	id.	
<i>asprima?</i>	Mol.	

Fig. 5. Page 18 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Note two species of coat-of-mail shells.



<i>Patella</i>		19
- <i>safiana</i> Lam	Mol	
- <i>testudinaria</i> L	id	
- ?	id	
- ?	id.	
- <i>barbata</i> Lam	N. G. h	
- <i>laciniosa</i> L?	id	
- <i>lugubris</i> Gm	N. G.	
- <i>carensis</i> Gm	Gr. h	
- <i>saccharina</i> L	Jap	
- ?	id	
- ?	id	
- ?	id	
- ?	id	
<i>Dentalium</i>		
- <i>multicostatum</i> Desh	M. h	
- <i>9-costatum</i> Lam	id.	
- <i>entalis</i> Lam	id.	
- <i>octogonum</i> Desh	N. G. - Jap.	

Fig. 6. Page 19 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Note four species of Scaphopoda, one of which is offered from two different localities.



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<i>Melania</i>		
-	<i>crenulata</i> Desh.	Java
-	<i>Temminckiana</i> n. sp. Petit	id.
-	<i>glans</i> v.d. B.	id.
-	?	id.
-	<i>spinulosa</i>	Timor.
-	<i>spinulosa</i> var. <i>nodosa</i> costata Mons	Java
-	<i>Winteri</i> v.d. B.	id.
-	<i>setosa</i> Smains	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	Borneo
-	sp. ?	Timor
-	sp. ?	id.
-	sp. ?	Celebes
-	sp. ?	id.

Fig. 7. Page 32 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Note unidentified species of *Melania*.

<i>Murex</i>		36
- <i>erinaceus</i> L.	Aduat. L.	
- <i>tetrapterus</i> Born	M. L.	
- <i>hemitripterus</i> Lam?	id.	
- <i>distinctus</i> T. & G.	id.	
- <i>trunculus</i> L.	id.	
- <i>Blainvillii</i> Payr	id.	
- <i>naustellum</i> L.	Mol.	
- <i>brandaris</i> L.	id.	
- <i>crassispina</i> Lam	Mol. & R.	
- <i>brevispina</i> Lam.	Mol.	
- <i>ramosus</i> L.	id.	
- <i>adustus</i> Lam.	id.	
- <i>capucinus</i> Lam	id.	
- <i>uncinarius</i> Lam	R. d. g. h.	
- <i>anguliferus</i> Lam	R. L.	

Fig. 8. Page 36 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Note 15 nominal taxa of *Murex* s.l., always a group popular with collectors. Note that one species is offered from both the Moluccas and the Red Sea.

<i>Conus</i>		44
-mediterraneum Brug	M. L.	
-arenatus Brug	R. L.	
-testellatus Brug	id.	
-taeniatus Brug	id.	
-erythroensis Reeve	id.	
-quercinus Brug	Mol	
-virgo L	id.	
-raphanus Brug	id.	
-omaria Brug	id.	
-hebraeus L	id.	
-litteratus Brug	id.	
-marmoreus L	id.	
-nocturnus Brug	id.	
-betulinus L	id.	
-vitulinus Lam	id.	
-miles L	id.	
-generalis L	id.	
-capitaneus L	id.	
-figulinus L	id.	
-minimus L	id.	
-imperialis L	id.	
-catus Brug	id.	
-glans Brug	id.	

Fig. 9. Page 44 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Note many nominal taxa of *Conus* s.l., always a group popular with collectors.



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<i>Cypraea</i>	
- <i>tigris</i> L	Mol.
- <i>tigrina</i> Lam	R. L.
- <i>mauritiana</i> L	Mol
- <i>argus</i> L	id.
- <i>arabica</i> L	R. L.
- <i>stercoraria</i>	K. v. G.
- <i>vittellus</i>	Mol
- <i>cameleopardalis</i> Lam	R. L.
- <i>lunx</i> L	Mol
- <i>carneola</i> L	R. L. id.
- <i>talpa</i> L	id.
- <i>variolaris</i> Gm	id.
- <i>olivacea</i> Lam.	id.
- <i>arellus</i> L	id.
- <i>isabella</i> L	id.
- <i>caput-serpentis</i> L	Jap. id.
- <i>caurica</i> L.	R. L. Zambid.
- <i>erosa</i> L	R. L. id.
- <i>turdus</i> Lam	R. L.
- <i>helvola</i> L	K. v. G. Zambid
- <i>pallida</i> Gray	Jap.
- <i>pulex</i> Gray	M. L.

Fig. 10. Page 49 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Note many nominal taxa of *Cypraea* s.l., always a group popular with collectors; also, five species are offered from two different localities.



<i>Auricula</i>		53
- judae Lam	Mol	
- nucleus Gm	id.	
- nitens Lam	Surin	
- fasciata Desh	Java	
- myosotis Drap	Sicilie	
<i>Succinea</i>		
- amphibia Drap	Italie	
- verrata Say	Amer.	
<i>Gyra</i>		
- tridens Drap	Provengo	
- frumentum Drap	id.	
- variabilis Drap	id.	
- secale Drap	Frankr.	
- avena Drap	id.	
- granum Drap	Livorne	
- cinerea Drap	id.	
- hordeum Fer	Triest	
- 5 plicata Muhl.	Dalmatie	
- minutissima Hartm	id.	

Fig. 11. Page 53 of the 1850 shell exchange catalogue of the then Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden. Numbers of sometimes small shells of land snails were also on offer for exchange.

The abbreviation “id.” stands for “idem” in the sense of “ibidem”, i.e. with the same provenance. There are also many question marks, which imply that the locality is unknown.

A lot of marine material offered is from Japan [probably duplicates from the Ph.F. von Siebold (1796-1866) & H. Bürger (1806-1858) collections; vide Fransen, Holthuis & Adema, 1997] and there is also a not inconsiderable number of freshwater species from the United States, which may be derived from the material sent by the famous collector G. Troost (1776-1850; vide Fransen, Holthuis & Adema, 1997). The indication “Mark. Eil.”, here interpreted as the Marquesas Is., French Polynesia, in the Pacific Ocean, occurs only once (p. 23) and is remarkable for that time, because these islands were not easily accessible. Of course, the same applies to other exotic localities, such as New Guinea, Haiti, etc. In those days material from New Guinea was hard to come by; the specimens in the list may derive from the expedition of H.M.S. “Triton” (Fransen, Holthuis & Adema, 1997: 272) – a total of 14 marine species from “N.G.” is offered for exchange. “Mol.”, Moluccas, is perhaps the most frequently occurring locality. Species from Europe are a minority and material from The Netherlands is not on offer. In a number of cases material is offered from more than one locality.

Of course, the nomenclature represents the state-of-the-art of the middle of the 19th century. Therefore all genera should be considered *sensu lato*.

One wonders what kind of material was used for exchange: was every second shell considered a duplicate? Evidently unidentified specimens (e.g., fig. 7) and even new species were on offer. It all starts on p. 1 with “*Gastrochaena* n. sp. Amer.” (fig. 3). For a long time, far beyond the middle of last century, there existed a separate, more or less parallel, collection in the museum with shells for exchange. The last curator of molluscs (1965-2008), Dr E. Gittenberger, finally abandoned this policy during his tenure.

Bivalves are featured on pp. 1-16, 195 nominal species altogether, which is considerable for this group (e.g., fig. 3). On p. 17 four species of “Pteropoda” are shown (fig. 4), followed by the Gastropoda inclusive of Polyplacophora and Scaphopoda (pp. 17-59). The number of species of Gastropoda amounts to 660. The Polyplacophora (p. 18, fig. 5) are represented by two species, i.e., “*Chiton squamosus* Lam M.Z.” and “*C. piceus* Gm R.Z.”, and the Scaphopoda (p. 19, fig. 6) by four species of *Dentalium*. No Cephalopoda are offered for exchange. On p. 16 three Brachiopoda are mentioned. Brachiopods have in the past been considered molluscs, so that it is only normal for species of that phylum to turn up among the bivalves in an 1850 catalogue.

The total number of mollusc species offered for exchange, inclusive of unidentified material (e.g., fig. 7) and new species (e.g., fig. 3) is 861 (see table 1). This, indeed, is a quite considerable number of nominal taxa, an exchange list worthy of a major museum in the middle of the 19th century.

Applying modern names to the two coat-of-mail species is difficult and in this case also somewhat controversial. The nominal taxon *Chiton piceus* Gmelin, 1791,

Table 1. Number of nominal taxa offered for exchange in the 1850 National Museum of Natural History shell catalogue under discussion.

Polyplacophora	2
Scaphopoda	4
Bivalvia	195
Gastropoda	660
Cephalopoda	0
[Brachiopoda	3]
Total molluscs	861

is now considered a synonym of *Acanthopleura granulata* (Gmelin, 1791), which, however, is a Caribbean species (Kaas & Van Belle, 1998: 144). The name *Chiton squamosum* L., 1764, is still being used, but, again, for a West Indian species. According to Kaas & Van Belle (1998: 176) this taxon has an intricate synonymy and the combination *Chiton squamosus* has also been used in the literature for other species. There are two conclusions here, (a) the specimens were either correctly identified, but bear the wrong localities, or (b) the specimens were incorrectly identified, but bear correct locality labels. Indeed, this may apply to all material offered for exchange. In view of the history of the museum, the present author prefers the second option. Incidentally, this case is exemplary for every trial to convert the given names to modern usage.

Popular marine collectors' groups such as *Murex* (p. 36, 15 nominal taxa; e.g., fig. 8), *Conus* (pp. 44-45, 27 nominal taxa; e.g., fig. 9), and *Cypraea* (pp. 49-50, 31 nominal taxa; e.g., fig. 10) are well represented, but series of sometimes quite small land snails are also available (e.g., fig. 11).

A large number of unusual species is also on offer. Many najades (unionoids) are featured, i.e., 34 nominal species, of which 25 from the U.S.A., 5 from the Nile R., 2 from South Africa, and 1 each from Europe and Java. Fragile shells such as *Pinna* (4 species) and the then fairly recently described *Carinaria mediterranea* De Blainville, 1825, are also listed, as are small shells such as *Rissoa* (5 spp.). Numerous freshwater species are found throughout the list. Attention is drawn to 39 taxa of *Melania* (pp. 31-33, fig. 7) of which 16 unidentified, mainly from Indonesia (Java, Borneo, Celebes, Timor), but also species from the Nile, Japan and the U.S.A. Incidentally, *Melania* s.l. (Thiaridae) are unspectacular (sub)tropical freshwater snails and, therefore, not a group appealing to ordinary collectors, but rather of interest to museums and really sophisticated collectors.

### The context

Initially only a single copy of this catalogue was available, but further search has revealed the existence of a few more. According to Mr Jeroen Goud (collection manager Mollusca of the Leiden Museum), who has considerable expertise as regards printing techniques, it appears that this 'handwritten' catalogue was lithographed so that a number of copies could be printed. Indeed, in the archives of the Mollusca Department of the museum he found seven more copies, i.e.

- (a) Two copies identical to the copy discussed above;
- (b) One copy marked by a capital "M" on the outside and with a number of names crossed out and some added (it includes 4 pp. sewn in between pp. 44 and 45 with 4 names of *Conus* spp.; in addition there is a loose sheet with names and numbers both in pencil and in ink);
- (c) One copy with a number of names marked in red and a note on the front cover in red ink "Die mit rother Tinte angestrichenen Arten kann ich für meine Sammlung gebrauchen. Tischbein" [The species marked with red ink can be used for my collection. Tischbein]. The name Tischbein is repeated in pencil here, albeit wrongly spelled as Fischbein. A number of species has been added in pencil and also some corrections have been made, e.g. on p. 39 sub *Strombus*. *S. urceus* has been replaced by *elegans*, *tricornis* has been deleted, and four species have been added);

- (d) One copy with the date on the front cover emended to MDCCCLVI (1856 instead of 1850) with many names marked in ink in the left margin with what looks like a letter p (for 'present?'), and some additions and deletions in pencil;
- (e) One copy with the date on the front cover emended to MDCCCLVIII (1858 instead of 1850) with some additions and deletions in ink – the main character of this copy is the addition of Roman numerals for certain genera (many genera are skipped): on p. 1 *Pholas* is no. I, on p. 3 *Tellina* is no. II, on p. 5 *Lucina* is no. III, and so on, ending with “XLI, II” for *Helix* on p. 56;
- (f) One tatty copy, unpagged and dog-eared, very probably genuinely handwritten, but in a slightly different hand.

Looking at this material we may draw the following conclusions. The two copies sub (a), plus the one described above in detail, probably were stock. Copies (b) and (c) obviously are returned copies with desiderata marked; copies (d) and (e) are updated versions of the original. Copy (f) may be the original from which the final version was produced, i.e. copied in a better handwriting with page numbers added, etc.

Copies (b) and (c) will be discussed below.

A question that now arises is, why is it in Dutch rather than e.g., French, the then language of international communication in polite society and science. Sometimes a few localities are shown in French rather than Dutch, e.g. “Livorne” instead of Livorno (fig. 11), and “Ceylan” for Ceylon. In 1850 there were few Dutch shell collectors with a sufficiently important collection to warrant an exchange catalogue in Dutch. In Gijzen's above-mentioned list of correspondents for the period 1820-1915 (Gijzen, 1938: 300-335) with 46 persons engaged in shell exchange, there are only 13 names of Dutch collectors.

Was this catalogue purposely printed on flimsy paper because it was expected to be thrown away after completed exchanges? Indeed, a scrutiny of this fascinating mid-19th century document raises more questions than can be answered, which was one of the reasons to publish the above data.

This catalogue must have been distributed in a limited edition to shell collectors interested in exchange of specimens. Two of these have been traced and are treated in more detail below.

### Lady Rethaan Macaré as an exchange partner

Copy (b) of the above catalogue with the initial M was returned with desiderata marked – but who was M? There were very few shell collectors in the 1850s whose name starts with the letter M. Of course, the most famous of these was Lady Florentine Jacobine Martina Rethaan Macaré née Ontijd (1812-1887). In the period 1.VIII.1855-11.IV.1888 (Gijzen, 1938: 169, 320<sup>1</sup>), when she was resident in Utrecht, she had contacts with the Leiden Museum for the exchange of shells (see also Van Benthem Jutting, 1939, and Van der Bijl, Moolenbeek & Coomans, 1994). After the death of her husband (1792-

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<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion here as regards dates. Gijzen (1938: 320) states that the last contacts with Lady Rethaan Macaré were on “11-IV-1888”, i.e. after her demise. There are no letters in the above-discussed file to corroborate this – the last letter dates from 30.IX.1885. Of course, it is possible that there had been contacts with the estate of the late Dowager, but this is not evident in this file.



12



13



14



Fig. 12. Drawing in colour on paper (pastel), octagonal, 455 × 365 mm, attributed to Heinrich Siebert (I), 1861; courtesy Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, No. IB 32721 (data base RKD Portraits).

Fig. 13. 'Carte de visite', from a glass negative, 105 × 65 mm, photographer unknown, undated (after 1860); photograph courtesy Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, No. IB 1007291 (data base RKD Portraits).

Fig. 14. Water colour caricature on paper, 211 × 210 mm (height × width), by Pieter van Loon (1801-1873), undated (after 1842); courtesy Centraal Museum, Utrecht, No. 7357.

1862) she signs her letters as Dowager Rethaan Macaré: "Douairière Rethaan Macaré" (fig. 18; for earlier signature see fig. 17). In various data bases she is indicated as an amateur painter or water colourist.

There are no published portraits of Lady Rethaan Macaré; however, an extensive search revealed the existence of three portraits (figs 12-14). Next to two proper portraits, a caricature is also featured (fig. 14), because depictions of this renowned shell collector are decidedly rare and also, because, in the opinion of the present author, it more or less concurs with the picture that arises from her letters (slightly pompous, very blue-blooded although not a lady in her own right, and prone to gossip). In addition, Reitsma (2012: 157) features a colour photo of one of her shell cabinets, bought by the Zoölogisch Museum Amsterdam at the auction of her collection in 1888 (now in Naturalis Biodiversity Center).

Lady Rethaan Macaré was one of the leading shell collectors in The Netherlands in the second half of the 19th century. She was actively involved in exchange of specimens with a number of persons and institutions throughout Europe. In the archives of the National Museum of Natural History there is a file ("Macaré, F.J.M. Rethaan"), containing five letters from Mrs Rethaan Macaré to the museum covering the period 1856-1885 (i.e., 18.X.1856, fig. 13; 14.XI.1856; 1.II.1858; 25.VII.1885; 30.IX.1885, fig. 14) and a folio list of specimens sent to her in Utrecht in exchange on 15 August 1855 (i.e., before the above letters were received). Lady Rethaan Macaré's letters are in a firm and neat hand-writing (figs 13-16) on paper embossed with a crowned crest bearing the letters F R M; this, obviously, is not the family crest. Apart from at times interesting personal details (also with regard to other collectors such as Van Heukelom, Voorhoeve, Menke, Louis Pfeiffer), these letters mainly cover exchange of shells with the museum. The contents of these letters make it quite clear that the copy of the catalogue marked "M" was the one that was returned by Mrs Rethaan Macaré. In the letters of 1885 she mentions that she is eager to receive a copy of the new edition. Apart from typical collectors' groups (*Conus*, *Cypraea*, etc.), her preference for genera such as *Nerita* and *Neritina* is clearly shown.

The letter of 1st February 1858 also refers to *Conus macaræ* Bernardi, 1857, an Indo-Pacific species named after Lady Rethaan Macaré – obviously she was very proud of this eponym and, indeed, did mention that she had not yet acquired this novelty. However, the sale catalogue of her collection (1888) shows that she later succeeded in obtaining two specimens (nos. 2048 and 4626, fide Van Benthem Jutting, 1939: 215-216).

It is not always quite clear to whom these letters were addressed. In those days the Leiden Museum did not have a separate curator of molluscs. In most cases the letters must have been addressed to the director who, we assume, passed this correspondence on to the curator involved. In the period here covered (1856-1885) there were three directors, C.J. Temminck (1778-1858, director 1820-1858), Dr H. Schlegel (1804-1884, director 1858-1884), and Dr F.A. Jentink (1844-1913, director 1884-1913). The scientists in charge of the molluscs were generally curator of invertebrates non-insects and did not necessarily work on molluscs. In the period under discussion these were the following: Dr J.A. Herklots (1820-1872; in charge of molluscs, etc.: 1846-1872); Dr C.K. Hoffmann (1844-1903; in charge of molluscs, etc.: 1872-1875); Dr J.G. de Man (1850-1930; in charge of molluscs, etc.: 1875-1883); Dr R. Horst (1849-1930, in charge of molluscs, etc.: 1883-1923).

The first two letters, both dated 1856, should have been dealt with by Herklots. However, the next one (1.II.1858) enquires whether Herklots has returned to Leiden as a resident and also whether the health of his spouse now allows him to get back to work with vigour. According to Holthuis (1995: 35) Herklots himself was frequently ill and died early, only 52 years old. The final two letters (25.VII.1885 and 30.IX.1885) from the Dowager Rethaan Macaré are addressed to "WelEdel Zeer Geleerde Heer!" [Most Noble and Learned Sir!] – it is likely that this would refer to Horst, but may also refer to the director. Apparently she did visit the museum occasionally; she at times refers to the entomologist Dr S.C. Snellen van Vollenhoven (1816-1880, on the museum staff 1854-1873) and asks the recipient to convey her compliments to him. Probably he acted as her host in the museum in the absence of the person in charge.

The personal details usually refer to family affairs; the Dowager apologizes for delays in replying to letters because of having to deal with minor crisis situations of her offspring. In the final letter (30.IX.1885) she joyfully announces the birth of a grandson

Utrecht  
den 18 October  
1856

... Weldele Heer!

Sedert de toezending van uwe  
Catalogus heb ik steeds verzeind  
u daarvoor dank te zeggen, maar  
verschillende redenen hebben  
mij daarin verhinderd, en vooral  
het schrijven van mijn reisje van  
Parijs dat mij nog al tijd gekost  
heeft, en gemaakt heeft dat ik  
wen<sup>de</sup> zeer weinig aan de horend gedaan  
heb, nu echter dat ik een bericht  
van den Heer van Hemelom  
gekad heb, en dat de Heer Failland  
uit Nantes mij bericht heeft,  
ben ik weder daarmede druk  
 bezig geweest, en was mijn voor

Fig. 15. First page of the letter of Lady Rethaan Macaré of 18 October 1856 (original size 212 × 135 mm) to the museum. The letter opens with "Sedert de toezending van uwe Catalogus" [Since the dispatch of your Catalogue], obviously referring to the here discussed document.

WelEdel Zeer Geleerde Heer!

Ik durf waarlijk de pen niet op-  
 -vatten, om u dank te zeggen voor  
 het gerondene, wat hebt gij wel van  
 mijn Stilverwijgen gegerpt aan  
 -dankbaarheid moet gij het niet  
 wefschrijven, dat ik uw lieve mij  
 zoo welkomen, letteren zoo lang  
 onbeantwoord liet; maar ik wilbe  
 u ook gaarne wat zenden, en van  
 dankbaarheid door ook wat te  
 zenden doen blijken; maar om  
 horen uitte zoeken, of lijken op  
 te maken, wat mij vanmogelijk  
 ik meende nu dat de Catalogus  
 wel spoedig konde uitkomen,  
 van de haren in uw besit. of  
 liever het Ryks Museum

Fig. 16. First page of the letter of Lady Rethaan Macaré of 30 September 1885 to the museum. The letter is addressed to "WelEdel Zeer Geleerde Heer!" [Most Noble and Learned Sir!].



17  
*Uw. dienstwillige dienaar*  
*F.J.M. Rethaan Macaré*

18  
*Uwe toegenegene*  
*en verplichte*  
*Douairière Rethaan*  
*Macaré*

Figs 17-18. Signatures of Lady Rethaan Macaré. 17 (top), Signature on the letter of 18 October 1856 – she signs “Uw. dienstwillige dienaar” [Your obedient lady servant F.J.M. Rethaan Macaré]; 18 (bottom), Signature on the letter of 30 September 1885 – she signs “Uwe toegenegene en verplichte Douairière Rethaan Macaré” [Your affectionate and obliged Dowager Rethaan Macaré].

after five granddaughters – he appears to be the family heir so that the family and title are preserved for posterity. Nevertheless, the family became extinct in 1960.

The above-mentioned list is entitled “Gezonden aan Mevrouw Rethaan Macaré te Utrecht 15 Augustus 1855. –” [Sent to Mrs Rethaan Macaré in Utrecht 15 August 1855]. It contains 22 species of marine and terrestrial gastropods with a total of 34 specimens, usually 1, in 9 cases 2, and in 1 case 4 (*Oliva undata*, “Mer rouge”). The land molluscs consist of 8 species of ‘*Helix*’, among which *Helix* “*pisanna*” [*Theba pisana* (Müller, 1774)] from Italy, *Helix muralis* from “Messine” [*Marmorana (Murella) muralis* (Müller, 1774), Sicily], and *Helix candidissima* [*Sphincterochila (Albea) candidissima* (Draparnaud, 1801)], also from Italy. A comparison of this list with the 1850 catalogue [copy (b) with the initial M] shows that all species sent are shown in this catalogue – it is therefore clear that this copy of the catalogue was returned by Lady Rethaan Macaré resulting in the desired exchange of shells.

### Tischbein as an exchange partner

Copy (c) of the above catalogue refers to the German collector Peter Friedrich Ludwig Tischbein (1813-1883, fig. 19), a senior forestry officer (“Oberforstmeister”) in western Germany (Birkenfeld, Rheinland-Pfalz). With regard to malacology, not much is known about this shell collector who must have had an important collection, parts of which were bought in 1877 for the Senckenberg-Museum, Frankfurt am Main (Zilch, 1967: 42, see below). However, there is no additional published information on the whereabouts of the bulk of the Tischbein shell collection. Coan et al. (2012) only refer to

Kobelt (1883, merely an announcement of the death of Tischbein) and Zilch (loc. cit.). Gijzen (1938: 332) records Tischbein as an exchange partner of the Leiden Museum (10.XII.1867 to 6.III.1869); the groups involved are "Hymenoptera, conchylien", perhaps a somewhat unusual mixture of animal groups.

On the other hand, among entomologists Tischbein is quite well-known. Dr C. van Achterberg, the Hymenoptera specialist of the Leiden Museum, states (in litt., 5.XI.2012) that Tischbein was a noted amateur who worked and published on parasitoid wasps belonging to the family Ichneumonidae. He contributed material of Ichneumonidae and Braconidae to the museum collections, although it is not always clear whether these specimens represent exchange material or were donated to the museum. Gilbert (1977: 383) in her compendium of deceased entomologists records three obituary notices, all without portrait, all dated 1883.

In the archives of the National Museum of Natural History there is a file ("Tischbein, P.F.L."), containing five letters from this collector to the museum. The letters are in a smallish but neat and easily read handwriting (see also Horn et al., 1990: plate 38 fig. 30, for a sample of his insect labels) and are always simply signed "Tischbein". The first two of the five letters from Tischbein to the Leiden Museum clearly belong together (10.XII.1867 and 1.I.1868) and the same applies to the last three (4.I.1869, 26.II.1869, 6.III.1869). In between there may have been correspondence that is no longer available in the museum's archives.

Apart from details about Hymenoptera specimens, Tischbein mentions in the first letter (10.XII.1867, fig. 20) that he is interested in shells from the "niederländischen Besitzungen in Ostindien" [Dutch possessions in the East Indies]. He asks whether they know about a person who has such shells for exchange. The museum must have positively reacted because the second letter (1.I.1868), which contains long lists of local Hymenoptera material for exchange and data about the species mentioned, is concluded with an important postscript with regard to shells. Tischbein writes that he prefers shells from the Kei, Aru and Tenimbar Islands over those from Java and Amboina, but states specifically that he does not want to exclude non-marine shells, because he has little material from there, not even Java and Amboina. For packing the insects to be

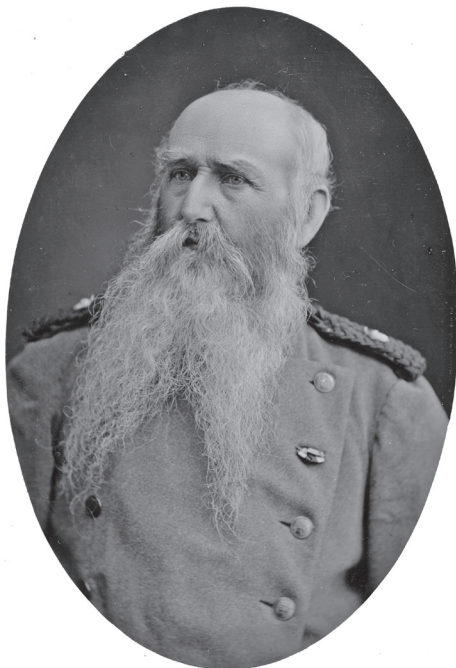


Fig. 19. Portrait of Peter Friedrich Ludwig Tischbein. He very probably wears the uniform of an "Oberforstmeister" [Senior Forestry Officer]. Undated, photograph courtesy Senckenberg Deutsches Entomologisches Institut (SDEI, vide Groll, 2012).



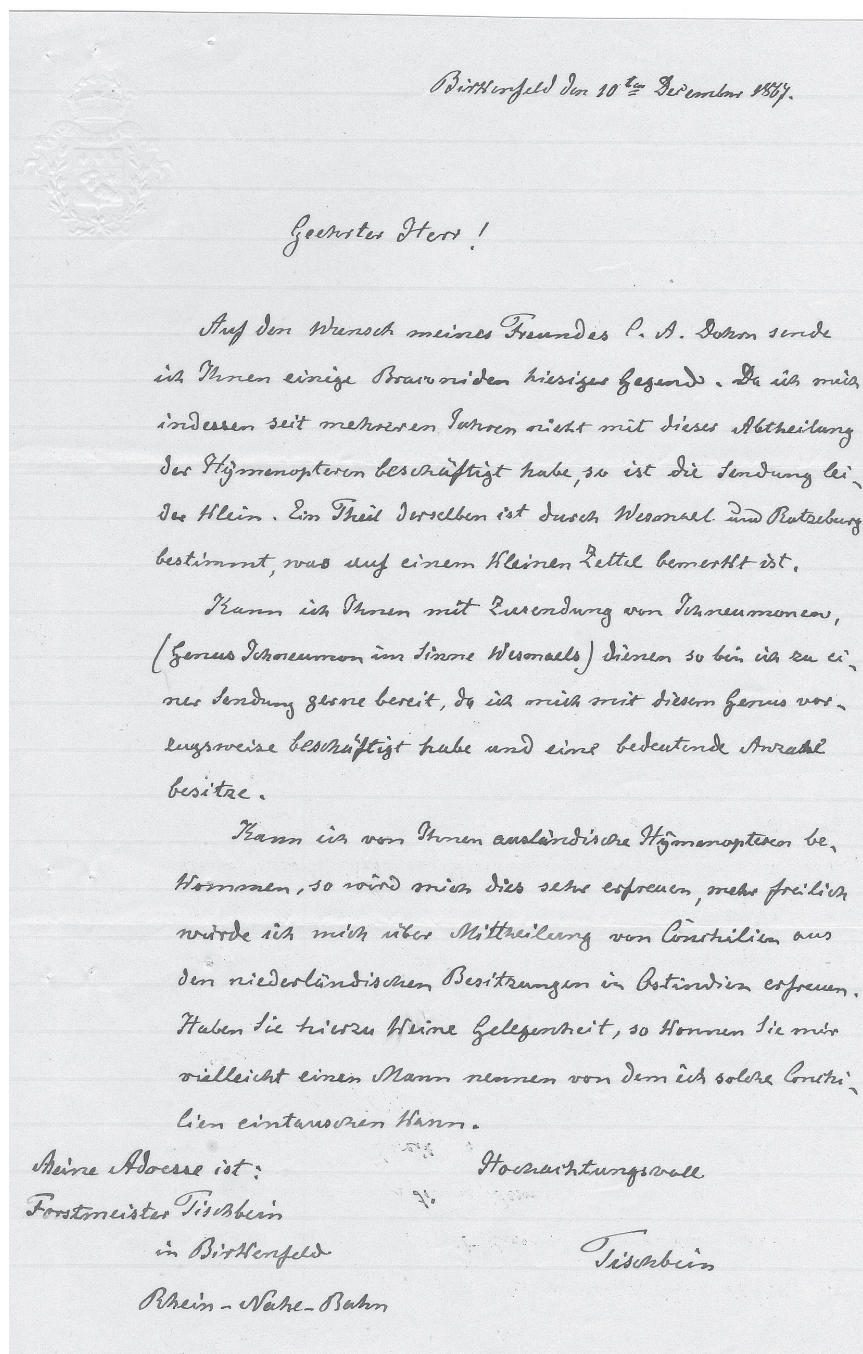


Fig. 20. First page of Tischbein's letter of 10.XII.1867 (original size 222 × 142 mm) to the museum. Note final paragraph with the request for shells of the "niederländischen Besitzungen in Ostindien" [Dutch possessions the East Indies].



dispatched he even had to rifle through some material from his wife's dressing table (little boxes, etc.): "um die beifolgenden Braconiden zu verpacken habe ich meiner Frau einige Toiletten-Kästchen abschwindeln müssen" [in order to pack the enumerated braconids I had to craftily convince my wife to part with some boxes on her dressing table]. There is also a vertically written note on the first page that the Dutch customs authorities (Emmerich) do not allow sealed letters inside parcels, so that he has to send this letter, returned by the customs people, separately. And, horror of horrors – from this note it is quite clear that the customs authorities routinely open parcels to check on their contents!

The first letter of the last bunch (4.I.1869) is a short note announcing that a parcel of shells, valued at "100 Gulden", a very considerable sum in those days, still had not arrived. Obviously the dispatch of this parcel was announced in a letter of 23.XI.1868 with the remark that it should arrive by 1st December 1868. Meantime he had received the empty insect boxes, but these would not compensate for the loss of the valuable shells. In the next letter (26.II.1869) Tischbein writes that the parcel has at last arrived but he apologizes for replying only after having incorporated the shells in question. He has been busy selecting ichneumonids for the museum, but this has not progressed as well as he wished because of interference of professional matters. Meantime he has looked through the shell exchange catalogue and found many desiderata for his collection. He ends with asking to express his thanks to Dr Herklots. In the final letter (6.III.1869) the first page-and-a-half are devoted to Hymenoptera material sent to the museum. After that Tischbein writes about the shell exchange catalogue where he has indicated with red ink the species he considers desiderata. He asks the recipient to pass this on to Dr Herklots and feels so obliged to him that he offers to reciprocate by sending live local snails, Tertiary marine mollusc fossils or even minerals – finally returning to the Braconidae and *Ichneumon*, closing the letter with, once again, complaints about the postal services. It is clear that some parcels cannot be sent post-paid and he proposes that parcels from Leiden should also be sent to him with carriage to be paid by the recipient.

Tischbein's returned exchange catalogue [copy (c)] shows that he was a discerning collector with an obviously quite extensive collection. He asks for few species of the popular marine groups, such as *Murex* (only 2), *Oliva* (none at all, although 15 species are on offer with an additional 5 added in pencil), *Conus* (7, although 27 species are on offer with an additional 10 added in pencil), *Cypraea* (1). On the other hand, he is interested in the large number of *Melania* (39 species) on offer, most of which are Tischbein desiderata. These data emphasize that it is a pity that what happened to most of his shell collection after his death is not known.

According to Horn et al. (1990: 393) Tischbein's Hymenoptera, an important collection (fide Lenz, 1884), went to the Hamburg Museum where they were destroyed in the conflagration of 1943 (confirmed by Dr F. Wieland, Zoologisches Museum der Universität Hamburg, in litt., 6.XII.2012). This implies that only the insect specimens he sent in exchange to various institutions are still available for the student of today.

With regard to the shell collection, Zilch (1967: 42) states sub Tischbein "1877 wurden aus seiner Slg. die *Oliva*-Arten angekauft, die Weinkauff als Grundlage seiner Monographie dieser Gattung im Martini-Chemnitz'schen Conch. Cab. gedient hatten." [In 1877 the *Oliva* species that had served as the base of Weinkauff's monograph of this genus in the Conchylien-Cabinet of Martini-Chemnitz were purchased from his [Tischbein's] collection. Heinrich Conrad Weinkauff (1817-1886) published his monograph of

*Oliva* s.l. in 1840, when he was 23 years old and Tischbein 27. This treatise must have been in preparation for some time, when Weinkauff was even younger. This implies that Tischbein at that time, when he was about 25 years of age, had already assembled a world-wide collection of the marine circumtropical Olividae worthy of a comprehensive treatment. In the first half of the 19th century people generally lived shorter lives than today and perhaps at the same time they peaked prematurely, at least in our view. Tischbein's Olividae were only acquired by the Frankfurt Museum 37 years after Weinkauff published his review. Is this a credible story? The author has vainly tried to find corroboration of this. There is no mention of Tischbein in Weinkauff (1840) and we must defer to the superior knowledge of the late Dr A. Zilch of the intricate history of the mollusc collections of the Senckenberg-Museum.

### Envoi

Data above show that shell exchange in the Leiden Museum was obviously a well-established way of increasing the collections by dealing with private collectors, and possibly also with kindred museums. Those in charge of the molluscs must have spent a lot of time in conducting this business, which is not lightly undertaken. Shells from Lady Rethaan Macaré and from Tischbein have been received in Leiden as exchange specimens; some material of the former was also obtained later from the sale of her collection. All specimens from these two collectors have found a final resting place in what is today called Naturalis Biodiversity Center, with regard to molluscs now encompassing the collections of the former Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie in Leiden (1820) and the Zoölogisch Museum Amsterdam (1838). The fact that Tischbein's shell collection has seemingly been lost altogether implies that only the specimens sent in exchange to various institutions are still extant.

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