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JEAN-BAPTISTE BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT'S SET OF *PLANTAE CRYPTO GAMICAE ARDUENNA* AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MENTORS AND MODESTY IN MARIE-ANNE LIBERT'S CRYPTO GAMIC CAREER

by

Sara MAROSKE ¹, Susan JANSON ² and Tom W. MAY ³

Abstract

A set of Marie-Anne Libert's cryptogamic exsiccata, *Plantae cryptogamicae quas in Arduenna collegit*, is held at the National Herbarium of Victoria (MEL), Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria, Melbourne, Australia. Associated with this set is a letter from Libert presenting the third fascicle to 'My dear Colonel'. This article will situate Libert's cryptogamic botany in the context of key male friendships, including with Alexandre Louis Simon Lejeune, Jean Baptiste Henri Joseph Desmazières, Augustin Pyramus de Candolle, and the 'Colonel', who is identified as Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent, and highlight their shared use of the trope of female modesty to advance Libert's career. It will also explain how Bory's set of Libert's exsiccata came to be in the southern hemisphere.

¹ Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria, Private Bag 2000, Birdwood Avenue, South Yarra, Victoria 3141, Australia. E-mail: saramaroske@optusnet.com.au

² Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

³ Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

INTRODUCTION

The holdings of the National Herbarium of Victoria (MEL),⁴ Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria, Melbourne, Australia are divided into ‘Australian’ and ‘extra-Australian’ specimens, with the research focus of resident scientists being overwhelmingly on the Australian material. Nevertheless, the founder of the herbarium, German-educated Baron Ferdinand von Mueller (1825–1896), built up significant extra-Australian holdings, with the cryptogams i.e. ferns, fungi, mosses, lichens, liverworts and algae, being especially well represented (Home *et al.* 1998, 2002, 2006). In recent years, MEL has allocated increased resources to curating the extra-Australian specimens and this has led to the identification of a large number of type specimens, many included in exsiccatae issued by northern-hemisphere scientists (e.g. May 1992; Sinkora 2018).

Marie-Anne Libert’s *Plantae cryptogamicae quas in Arduenna collegit* is notable among the exsiccatae held at MEL, because her specimens are over 150 years old and rich in types, and because Libert was a rare female presence among early nineteenth-century cryptogamic collectors and taxonomists (Fig. 1). Her interest in plant parasitic fungi also made her a pioneer in phytopathology, including a role in the study of the spread of the terrible epidemic of potato late blight (Maroske & May 2017).

In addition to her specimens, the library at MEL also contains a copy of the printed text accompanying the first fascicle of her exsiccata, and located within this material is an original manuscript letter signed by Libert concerning the donation of her exsiccata to ‘Monsieur le Colonel’, who is not otherwise identified.

⁴ Abbreviations for herbaria follow Index Herbariorum (Thiers, continually updated).



FIG. 1. – Marie-Anne Libert. Frontispiece to *La Belgique Horticole*, vol. 18, accompanying Morren (1868) (downloaded from Biodiversity Heritage Library).

Libert is now recognised as only the second woman to coin a novel mycological taxon in the modern scientific era, and the first woman to name new species and genera of fungi (Maroske & May 2017).⁵ She went on to more than equal the taxonomic output of contemporary male mycologists, describing over 200

⁵ The first woman formally to describe a new fungal taxon was German governess Catharina Dörrien (1717–1795) who described two infraspecific taxa in the genus *Lichen* (Maroske and May 2017).

novel taxa. Having only one female taxonomic mycologist as a predecessor makes it seem as though Libert sprang from nowhere, but her productivity as a cryptogamist also emphasises how successfully she was able to fit herself into the prevailing male scientific culture as a figure of authority. Libert's major work was her *exsiccata*, and the sale and distribution of its sets undoubtedly helped to create and strengthen her relationships with male peers. Beyond her own time, sets continued to be bought and sold, including that of the 'Colonel's', which eventually found its way to Melbourne in the southern hemisphere.

In this article we situate Libert within a French-speaking circle of mentors in the first half of the nineteenth-century, including the 'Colonel' (who we identify as Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent, Fig. 2) and explore how this circle helped her to crystallise and to achieve her scientific ambitions. In her own public writings, and those of her mentors, Libert superficially conformed to feminine stereotypes of humility and a lack of pretension, but these were not qualities well-suited to claiming the right to discover and name new taxa. The use of 'modesty tropes' by women as 'authorial alibis' is well-recognised in literary history (e.g. Pender 2012, DelRosso *et al.* 2007; Yeazell 1991), but has only recently begun to be discussed in the history of science (e.g. Cavazza 2014; Kohlstedt & Opitz 2002). Maroske & May (2017) note the persistence of the rhetoric of modesty in the mycological careers of Élise-Caroline Bommer née Destrée (1832–1910) and Mariette Rousseau née Hannon (1850–1926), other Belgian (s.l.) female mycologists. Maroske *et al.* (2018) highlight the negative effects of overt expressions of confidence and ambition on the mycological career of Australian-born Flora Martin née Campbell (1845–1923).



FIG. 2. – Jean Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent. Stipple engraving by A. Tardieu after himself, 1826 (Wellcome Collection <<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/x9ztk7xk>>. CC BY).

Libert's surviving letter to Bory, reproduced (Fig. 3), transcribed and translated here for the first time, can be seen as a classic example of a woman using a formal voice of inferiority. Nevertheless, Libert herself reveals the limitations of the modesty strategy in a letter to another mentor, the botanist and physician, Alexandre Louis Simon Lejeune (1779–1850). Also translated into English here for the first time, this text indicates that Libert could be assertive and self-protective in a way that had the

capacity to shock and perplex her supporters, and require them to explain and downplay her seeming lack of modesty.

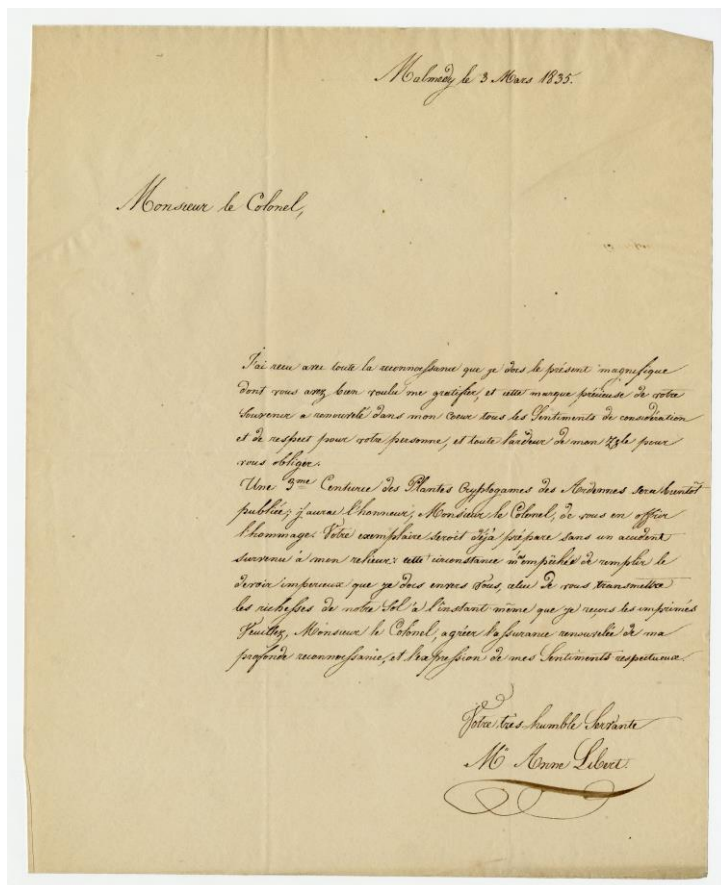


FIG. 3. – Letter from Libert to Bory, 3 March 1835 (Reproduced with permission from the Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria).

BACKGROUND

Born in 1782, Marie-Anne Libert grew up in a large French-speaking family in Malmedy, then part of the church principality of Stavelot-Malmedy, within the Holy Roman Empire. Later on Malmedy had a complex history, becoming French in

1794, Prussian in 1815 and Belgian after the First World War. Her father, Henri-Joseph, owned property and managed a tannery. From an early age, Libert showed academic potential, and her family supported her education, initially by S epulcrine nuns then, from the age of eleven, at a girls' boarding school at Pr um.

On returning home, Libert was destined for a middle-class girl's life of domesticity, but with some ingenuity she was able to divert this pathway to botany. According to the botanist Charles Morren (1807–1858), Libert's study of botany began with an attempt to make a recipe for '*d'un de ces rem edes compos es uniquement de plantes sauvages*' (one of those remedies composed only of wild plants). Her parents gave her a folio book in Latin by Flemish botanist Rembert Dodoens (1518–1585) – likely an edition of *Stirpium historiae pemptades sex* (1583). Although this work contained illustrations, Libert wanted to understand the text, and taught herself Latin, thereby gaining a key to unlock other volumes on natural history in the family library (Morren 1838). There is also evidence that she taught herself Ancient Greek.⁶

She also owned a copy of *Le botaniste sans ma tre, ou Mani re d'apprendre seul la botanique au moyen de l'instruction commenc e par J.J. Rousseau. Contin e et compl t e dans la m me forme par M. de C.* (1805).⁷

The country around Malmedy offered the budding naturalist a rich variety of flora, fauna and minerals to investigate among the densely forested hills and valleys, the heaths and the mossy bogs. Using Dodoens and a volume by an even more venerable botanist, Otto Brunfels (1488–1534),⁸ Libert attempted to put

⁶ In her exsiccata, for No. 272, *Aulographum hederæ* Lib., there is a label for the species, and also a label for the genus *Aulographum* Lib., for which the derivation is provided: "Α Αυλαξ et Γραφε".

⁷ That copy (identified by a handwritten note of Libert) forms part of the federal collections of the Meise Botanic Garden (Belgium) (inv. no. 15007).

⁸ We have not been able to identify this work. Stafleu and Cowan (1976, pp. 382–384) list several works on botany by Brunfels.

names to the plants that she found on her exploratory walks. The impression that she created for herself at this time was of a dedicated, but poorly resourced, autodidact.

Alexandre Louis Simon Lejeune

By her early twenties, Libert had established a sufficient reputation as a naturalist to attract the attention of her first botanical mentor, Alexandre Louis Simon Lejeune (1778-1838). After studying medicine in Paris and fulfilling military service, Lejeune established a practice at his home town of Verviers, about 20 km northwest of Malmedy. The government of the First French Empire commissioned Lejeune to compile a list of plants in the Department of Ourthe, which included Malmedy, and he asked Libert to communicate the species of her area (Kickx 1870; Morren 1868, pp. 6–7). The list (cited in Kickx 1860) became Lejeune's first botanical publication, and Libert's first contribution to a botanical publication.

Augustin Pyramus de Candolle

Four years later, Lejeune widened Libert's circle of mentors with a personal introduction to the famous Swiss botanist Augustin Pyramus de Candolle (1778–1841). Candolle had been commissioned by the government of the First French Empire to prepare an imperial vegetation survey, and spent his summers in field work in various Departments. On 25 August 1810, Lejeune took Candolle to visit Libert at Malmedy and the trio botanised together.

Candolle recorded his impressions of Libert both in a manuscript journal and in his official report. Although the historian Joseph Beaujean has noted that Candolle's assessment of individuals tended to be more candid in private than in public (Beaujean 2008), this was not the case with Libert. After meeting Libert, Candolle wrote in his journal that she was 'une femme assez remarquable' (a quite remarkable woman). He went on to add:

Sans autre secours que l'Encyclopédie et la flore française elle est parvenue à déterminer presque toutes ses plantes même les lichens avec assez de précision; au moment où nous sommes allés la voir nous l'avons rencontrée revenant d'une herborisation escortée d'un domestique; elle cultive ses plantes dans un petit jardin et joint à cette activité une modestie et une simplicité remarquables (Lawalrée *et al.* 1965, p. 10, Beaujean 2008, pp. 41-42).

Without any help other than the encyclopedia and flora of France she has managed to determine almost all her plants even lichens with sufficient precision; when we went to see her we encountered her returning from collecting plants escorted by a servant; she cultivates these plants in a small garden and brings to this activity remarkable modesty and simplicity.

In an official report on his excursion to Belgium, Candolle more-or-less repeated his private assessment:

Mademoiselle Libert, de Malmédy, qui, dans un séjour si éloigné de toute instruction, s'est livrée à l'étude de l'histoire naturelle de son pays avec un zèle et un talent d'autant plus dignes d'éloges, que ses succès n'ont nullement altéré la modestie et la naïveté de son esprit (Candolle 1811, p. 219).

Miss Libert of Malmedy, who, in a place so distant from all instruction, devoted herself to the study of the natural history of her country with a zeal and a talent all the more worthy of praise, as her success in no way altered the modesty and naivety of her mind.

In this way Candolle introduced three key aspects of Libert's character into the public sphere that were echoed by other mentors and biographers—she was talented, self-taught and modest. Moreover, it was the final characteristic that allowed her to

express the first two openly without undermining her femininity or respectability.

Candolle is also credited with directing Libert's attention to the cryptogamic flora of Malmedy that he noticed was particularly rich in ferns, lichens, mosses, liverworts and fungi, and had been little studied (Morren 1868, pp. 405–406; Appendix 1). According to the botanist Barthélemy Charles Joseph Dumortier (1797–1878), Libert's meeting with Candolle '*détermina sa vocation et ses succès*' (determined her vocation and her success) (Dumortier 1865, p. 406).

Spa flora

Over the next decade, Libert dedicated herself to the study of the cryptogams, carrying out extensive fieldwork while outfitted in the peasant costume of the Ardennes. According to Dumortier, this choice of clothing was to avoid attracting attention (Dumortier 1865, p. 406), although it was also a highly practical form of dress. While not yet publishing any of her discoveries herself, she contributed to Lejeune's major botanical work: the two volume *Flore des environs de Spa* (1811–1813). In an advertisement in the first volume, Lejeune indicated that he was, in effect, expecting Libert to write the cryptogamic section, and added in the second volume, by way of explanation for this decision:

La cryptogamie qui offre tant de difficultés dans le signalement des espèces, présente dans ce pays de quoi exercer toute la sagacité d'un habile Botaniste. La pratique de la Médecine exigeant la majeure partie de mon temps, j'ai renoncé à l'étude de cette branche curieuse de la Botanique, de sorte qu'elle sera totalement décrite par Mlle. Libert (Lejeune 1813, p. 4).

Cryptogamy, which presents so many difficulties in the description of species, in this country tests all the skills

of a clever botanist. The practice of medicine requiring most of my time, I gave up the study of this curious branch of botany, so that it will be fully described by Miss Libert.

Libert is duly acknowledged as supplying the section on vascular cryptogams (ferns) in volume two of the Spa flora (Libert 1813, pp. 272–285; Stafleu & Cowan 1981, p. 7), although Lawalrée *et al.* (1965, p. 117) consider that the section was in fact authored by Lejeune.

Lejeune published an updated version of the Spa flora in *Revue de la flore des environs de Spa* (1824), but did not add any new information on the cryptogams. In an advertisement at the beginning of this volume Lejeune lamented:

Mlle. M. A. Libert, qui depuis quinze ans ne cesse de récolter et d'étudier les cryptogames d'une petite partie de cette région, prouve par les nombreux végétaux qu'elle a rassemblés dans son herbier, ce que peut promettre la Flore de toute la chaîne monticuleuse des Ardennes; il est à regretter qu'elle ne se décide pas encore à publier ses découvertes (Lejeune 1825, p. 8).

Miss M. A. Libert, who for fifteen years has not ceased to collect and study the cryptogams of a small part of this region, proves by the many plants that she has collected in her herbarium, what the Flora of the mountainous chain of the Ardennes can promise; it is to be regretted that she has not yet decided to publish her discoveries.

While Lejeune did not give any reasons for Libert's decision, botanist Édouard Morren (1833–1886), son of Charles Morren, made full use of the rhetoric of modesty in his account of the matter:

Mlle Libert était d'un caractère modeste et timide: elle communiquait volontiers ses découvertes aux savants qui

l'encourageaient et qui lui semblaient seuls capables de les apprécier et de les publier. Elle ne croyait pas, tant sa réserve était profonde, qu'elle put elle-même prendre rang parmi les auteurs: elle aimait la science pour les émotions intimes qu'elle fait naître, comme on aime le bien pour éprouver le bonheur de le pratiquer (Morren 1868, p. 9).

Miss Libert was of a modest and shy disposition; she readily communicated her discoveries to the scholars who encouraged her, and who alone seemed to her capable of appreciating and publishing them. She did not believe, so deep was her reserve, that she herself was able to rank among the authors: she loved science for the intimate emotions to which it gives birth, just as one can experience happiness by doing good.

Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent

Libert maintained her reserve in regard to publishing until 1820, when she received another eminent botanical visitor at Malmedy, the Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent (1778–1846) (Fig. 3). As a young man, Bory was a member of Nicolas Baudin's (1754–1803) exploring expedition to Australia in 1798 (although he left the expedition in Mauritius). On his return to France, Bory supported Napoleon and, as a consequence, was proscribed after the Bourbon Restoration in 1815.

Moving frequently to avoid being captured by authorities, Bory was finally given permission to reside in Brussels, where he became gravely ill. In August 1820 he was advised to '*aller prendre les eaux*' (take the waters), and opted for Chaudfontaine, between Liège and Spa, an area that he knew would also offer him opportunities to botanise, and to meet Libert. Afterwards he was happy to write to a friend that the trip had eased his gout, yielded a rich store of rare plants, and added that, '*Ces fanges de Malmedy sont bien curieuses*' (the bogs of Malmedy are very curious) (Lauzun 1908, p. 224).

Lejeunea

According to Édouard Morren, Bory had been especially taken with the liverworts around Malmedy. Responding to this interest, Libert showed him a manuscript description of a new genus in this group that she had named for her first mentor, Lejeune (*Lejeunia* Lib.—now conserved with the spelling *Lejeunea*)⁹ (Morren 1868). As a co-editor of *Annales générales des sciences physiques* in Brussels, Bory was in a position to reassure Libert that her description was worthy of publication and to facilitate its appearance in his journal.

In explaining the eponymy of the new genus, Libert was careful to emphasise her own unpretentiousness, as much as Lejeune's worth as a botanist:

Je dédie au savant et modeste auteur de la Flore de Spa, M. le docteur Lejeune de Verviers. J'ose espérer que les botanistes daigneront, en confirmant ce genre que je ferai connaître ici par anticipation, lui conserver un nom déjà distingué dans la science des végétaux (Libert 1820, pp. 373–4).

I dedicate [the genus] to the learned and modest author of the Flore de Spa, Dr. Lejeune of Verviers. I dare to hope that botanists will deign, by confirming this genus that I will make known here in advance, to keep a name already distinguished in the science of plants.

⁹ The spelling as used by Libert, *Lejeunia* is allowable under the *Code* (Turland *et al.* 2018), because it was based on the latinization *Lejeunius*. Nevertheless, the name was altered to *Lejeunea* by most botanists from the late nineteenth century, and this latter spelling has also been used to form compounded names for more than 80 genera, as in *Amblyolejeunea* Jov.-Branch. This situation prompted Grolle (1973) to propose conservation of the name with the spelling *Lejeunea*, which was accepted.

Nevertheless, as Pender observes in the context of early modern women authors, Libert's words can be seen as 'a calculated display of modesty' (Pender 2012). In venturing into print she was, in fact, daring to offer an original scientific opinion, and to associate her discovery with the name of an eminent scientist.

Eponymy

Bory does not mention Libert in his published letters (Bonnet 1901; Lauzun 1908; Sauvageau 1908; Bonnet 1909; Lauzun 1912),¹⁰ but his high opinion of her abilities is indicated by his involvement in commemorating her name in a new taxon. In an entry on the genus *Leptomitus* in the *Dictionnaire classique d'histoire naturelle*, Bory explained how the phycologist Carl Adolph Agardh (1785–1859) came to name *Leptomitus libertiae* C. Agardh¹¹ in Libert's honour:

Mademoiselle Libert en a découvert une espèce fort élégante dans les environs de Malmédy; nous l'avons communiquée à Agardh qui lui a conservé le nom de *Libertiae* par lequel nous la désignâmes le premier (Bory de Saint-Vincent 1826).

Mademoiselle Libert discovered a very elegant species of algae in the neighbourhood of Malmedy; we have communicated it to Agardh, who has kept the name of *Libertiae*, by which we first designated it.

Most novel names coined by Libert among fungi were based on the host, but other eponyms named by her include the liverwort *Jungermannia dumortieri* Lib., for Barthélemy Charles Joseph Dumortier, and the fungal genus *Dezmazierella* Lib. for Jean Baptiste Henri Joseph Desmazières. By honouring collea-

¹⁰ Further research is required to establish whether or not Bory mentions Libert in his unpublished letters (Lacroix 1916, p. LVI).

¹¹ *Leptomitus libertiae* C. Agardh is now known as *Leptomitus lacteus* C. Agardh, a fungus-like organism in the Kingdom Chromista.

gues in new names, and being honoured in return, Libert was participating in a tradition of eponymy that had been established by Linnaeus at the commencement of modern binomial nomenclature (Garrison 1915; Maroske & May 2017, p. 72).

The Ardennes exsiccata

While Libert did not publish another article for seven years, she was nevertheless fully occupied with cryptogamic research in the 1820s. Rather than publishing her work as a book or an article in a learned journal, Libert collected and prepared herbarium specimens for what would be her major work on the cryptogams of the Ardennes region, the exsiccata *Plantae cryptogamicae quas in Arduenna collegit*. In making this choice, she cited the examples of three recent authors of cryptogamic exsiccatae: Jean-Baptiste Mougeot (1776–1858) and Chrétien Géofroy Nestler (1778–1832) (Mougeot *et al.* 1828–1892), and Jean Baptiste Henri Joseph Desmazières (1786–1862) (Desmazières 1825–1851) with whom she had regular exchanges of correspondence and herbarium specimens (Lawalrée 1955, p. 231)¹². In the introduction to the first fascicle she also quoted Candolle as an esteemed colleague and expert who approved of the use of authentic specimens in the study of botany:

Les descriptions les plus exactes et accompagnées des figures les plus parfaites laissent encore quelque chose à désirer à celui qui veut connaître complètement un être naturel. Ce quelque chose, que rien ne peut suppléer, ne s'obtient que par l'*autopsie* ou la vue de l'objet lui-même ... (Candolle 1819, p. 316; Libert 1830).

¹² Libert had also received a copy of the *Mémoire sur les lichens calicoïdes. Première partie. Description des genres limboria et cyphelium. Par Erik Acharius. Traduit du suédois par Auguste Le Prevost* from Desmazières, with the following dedication “A Melle Libert, de la part de son dévoué serviteur et ami, H. Desmaziere [sic]” (To Miss Libert, from her devoted servant and friend) (Federal collection Meise Botanic Garden, inv. no. 5324).

The most exact descriptions, accompanied by the most perfect figures, leave something to be desired for anyone who wants to fully know a natural being. This something, which cannot be supplied, is obtained only by *autopsy* or by sight of the object itself ...

Conflict with Lejeune

Keen to encourage Libert, Lejeune either agreed, or offered, to edit the *exsiccata*, an arrangement she was initially very pleased to countenance in order '*pour voir encore une fois nos noms figurer ensemble*' (to see our names once again appearing together) (see Appendix 1). In December 1829, she sent him the manuscript of the first fascicle for feedback, and with a view to having him write a prospectus to advertise the work.

In 1880, the botanist and mycologist Casimir Roumeguère (1828–1892) published two letters from Libert and Lejeune's exchanges about the first fascicle (Roumeguère 1880), and these are translated into English here for the first time. Those letters were also published by Lawalrée (1957), together with several other letters and documents. The first letter, written by Libert, constitutes a powerful contradiction of her carefully curated public image. In place of the language of deference, she rejects Lejeune's critique of her work as '*capable ... de déplaire extrêmement*' (extremely disagreeable). She accuses him of drawing attention to how little she knew a decade ago, suggesting that self-education and isolation may have led her to make mistakes, and that her specimens were vulnerable to plant-eating insects. In effect, her letter can be read as chiding Lejeune for taking the rhetoric of modesty too literally. '*Je le demande à tout homme sensé*' (I ask any sensible man), she declared, abandoning her ground as a woman, '*pourrait-on parler d'un auteur, que l'on veut mépriser, sur un ton plus ironique*' (could one speak of an author, whom one wants to despise, in a more ironic tone?).

In reply, Lejeune expresses astonishment at Libert's emotional outburst, but responds in kind:

Il faut convenir que vous êtes d'une susceptibilité accablante pour un ami qui vous confie ce qui lui passe par la tête, à la vérité peut être trop brusquement, mais pensez donc qu'un homme qui pendant toute une journée épuise ses moyens physiques et moraux près des malades et de leurs alentours peut bien écrire à un ami philosophe, mais doit se garder dans cette disposition d'esprit d'écrire à un prince qui le protège, s'il ne veut courir les risques d'entrer en disgrâce! (Appendix 2).

It must be acknowledged that you are excruciatingly sensitive towards a friend who sends you what passes through his mind, to tell the truth [,] perhaps too bluntly, but think however that a man, who every day expends all his physical and emotional energies in the presence of the sick and their surroundings, cannot well write to a scientific friend, but must put himself in the spirit of writing to a prince patron, if he does not wish to risk falling into disgrace.

In publishing these two letters Roumeguère insisted that Libert's expression of forceful rhetoric was an aberration in a relationship with Lejeune that lasted nearly half a century: '*On est étonné de voir sortir de sa plume un tel flot de mauvaise humeur, qu'un écart regrettable de langage, qu'une restriction injuste et trop hatée semblent cependant très-bien excuser.*' (One is astonished to see such a flow of bad humour come out of her pen, which a regrettable difference of language and which an unfair and too hasty judgement [by Lejeune] seem however to excuse) (Roumeguère 1880). This statement, however, is contradicted by Lejeune himself who hints at ongoing tensions in his letter: '*Depuis 15 ans, vous m'accablez chaque fois que vous me donnez une de vos découvertes en me recommandant de ne pas vous tromper, de garder cela en silence*' (For fifteen years, each time that you give me one of your discoveries, you importune

me not to deceive you, [and] to keep them secret.) (Appendix 2). Moreover, Roumeguère's decision to publish Libert's angry letter meant that doubts about her modesty were now on the public record.

Establishing the impact of Roumeguère's disclosures on the private opinions of cryptogamic colleagues about Libert's character is beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, the historian Joseph Beaujean found enough evidence during his researches into Belgian botanists to conclude that Libert had many disputes with Lejeune, attributing them to her not having an easy personality (Beaujean n.d.). Libert's letter in Appendix 1, however, suggests that she was angry with Lejeune because his emphasis on her isolation from scientific centres and her lack of formal education had the potential to undermine her reputation for being talented and sales of her exsiccata. A letter from Libert to Desmazières, written end 1828, already showed the sometimes tense triangular relationships between the Malmedian botanist, and her mentors (Lawalrée 1955).

A significant but unfinished work

Between 1830 and 1837, Libert issued four fascicles of her exsiccata *Plantae cryptogamicae Arduenna*, each with one hundred specimens. In these published fascicles, Libert introduced more than 200 new taxa, including numerous new species and the genera *Ascochyta* Lib. (in which she introduced 34 species), *Aulographum* Lib., *Cheilaria* Lib., *Discosia* Lib. and *Dothichiza* Lib., and consequently many of the sheets in the exsiccata are type specimens. We have located 25 sets of her exsiccata (Table 1); with MEL being the only repository in the southern hemisphere.

Table 1. Locations of sets of Libert's *Plantae cryptogamicae Arduenna*

TL2 = Stafleu & Cowan (1981). For locations indicated by Mel'nik (2000), species of *Ascochyta* from Libert's exsiccata are

cited as being in the respective herbaria, but confirmation is required that the whole set is present. Because her exsiccata contains a mixture of taxonomic groups, some sets may be split between present-day botanical and mycological institutions, as appears to be the case for DAO and DAOM, and possibly for US and BPI.

Location	Reference
B	TL2 - destroyed
BM	TL2
BPI	Farr & Rossman (2018)
BR	TL2 - including a second set, property of the Society "Malmedy Folklore" (R. Fabri, pers. comm. 2018)
COI	Mel'nik (2000)
DAO	TL2- more than 300 of the collections are in DAOM (S. Redhead, pers. comm. 2018)
FH	Pfister (1985), Sayre (1969), TL2
G	Sayre (1969), TL2
GENT	Anon. (n.d.b)
HBG	Pfister (1985) - partial
K	Sayre (1969), TL2
KRA	Ociepa <i>et al.</i> (2012)
L	TL2
LE	Mel'nik (2000)
LEP	Mel'nik (2000)
LG	TL2
MEL	this work
MPU	Faure (2011)
NAM	R. Fabri & Ph. Martin (pers. comm. 2018)
PAV	TL2
PC	Sayre (1969), TL2
S	Pfister (1985), TL2
US	Anon (n.d.c)
W	TL2

The new taxa are accompanied by descriptions on the labels, meaning that the new names are published in the exsiccata. Scanned images of collections from *Plantae cryptogamicae Arduenna* are available at JSTOR Global Plants (Anon n.d.d), for a limited number of sheets from the sets at G, MEL and US. Labels usually include, along with the name and description, the name of the exsiccata as printed text, along with the fascicle number and date, but for collections of the first three fascicles in MEL, there is a pencil annotation 'Ardenne, M.A. Libert' and the date, also in pencil (Figs 4, 5).

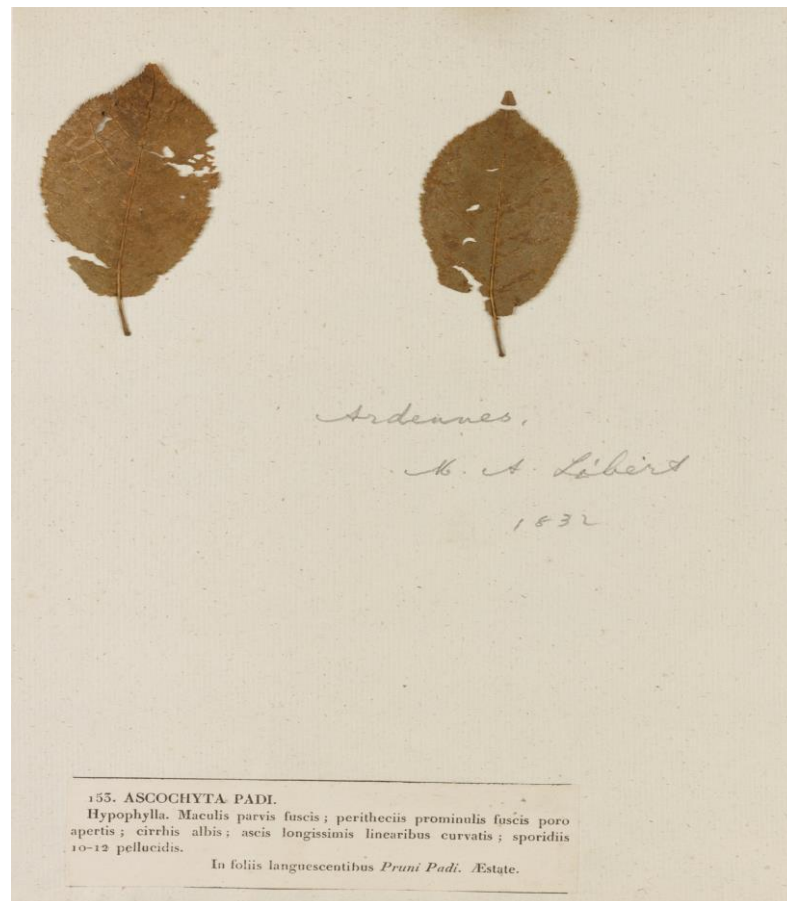


FIG. 4. – MEL specimen of *Ascochyta padi* Lib., *Pl. Crypt. Arduenna*. No. 153 (Reproduced with permission from the Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria).

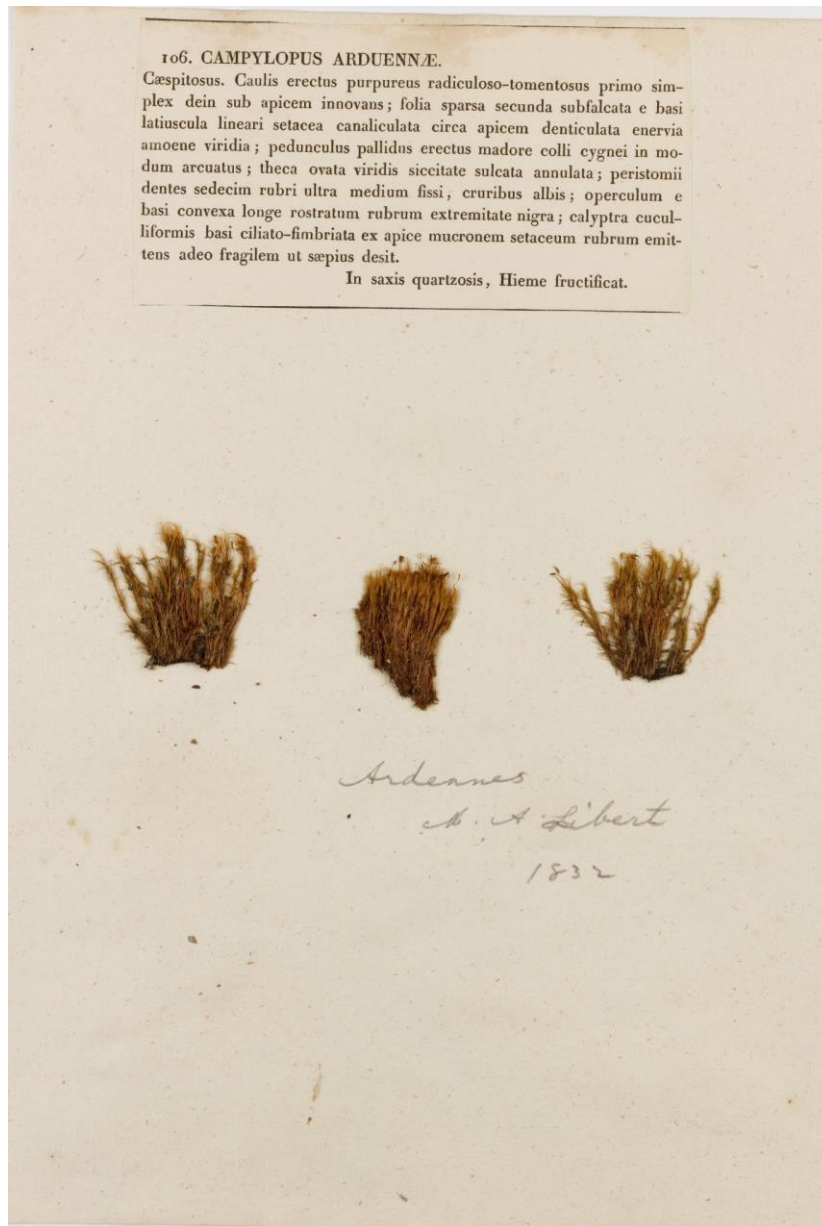


FIG. 5 – MEL specimen of *Campylopus arduennae* Lib., *Pl. Crypt. Arduenna*. No. 106 (Reproduced with permission from the Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria).

Specimens from the last fascicle at MEL have the name of the exsiccata on the printed label (Fig. 6). We note that there is some variation in the printed labels, with two examples of No. 43, *Sphaeria asteromorpha* Lib., held at G (G 266344 and G 266345) differing in the layout of the text of the description.



FIG. 6 – MEL specimen of *Ascochyta quercicola* Lib., *Pl. Crypt. Arduenna*. No. 358 (Reproduced with permission from the Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria)

Libert is known to have collected material for further fascicles, preparing descriptions under unpublished names, but these fascicles did not eventuate. Libert's obituarists lamented her inability to complete the *Plantae cryptogamicæ Arduenna*, but did not offer any explanation (Dumortier 1865, p. 407; Roumeguère 1880). Libert's herbarium is now at BR, from which remaining specimens were distributed as 'Reliquæ Libertianæ' (see Stafleu and Cowan 1981, p. 6). Many of the remaining novelties in Libert's herbarium were subsequently described after her death by Casimir Roumeguère (1828–1892), Pier Andrea Saccardo (1845–1920) and Felix von Thümen (1839–1892) in a series called *Reliquæ Libertianæ* (see Roumeguère 1880). There were sufficient duplicates for von Thümen to include Libert material in his exsiccata *Mycotheca Universalis*.

Bory de Saint-Vincent's set

As well as offering her exsiccata for sale, Libert gave away sets to friends as gifts. One such she presented to Bory. A letter from Libert bestowing the third fascicle on Bory is transcribed and translated into English here for the first time (Fig. 3, Appendix 3).¹³ The letter is written in carefully formed copperplate handwriting, and in a highly formal tone. Thanking Bory for a '*présent magnifique*' (magnificent present) which she does not identify, Libert claims that the fascicle is a token of her esteem and respect for Bory, and '*toute l'ardeur de mon zèle [sic] pour vous obliger*' (all my desire to oblige you). So anxious was Libert to fulfill what she saw as a duty to Bory, that she apologises for not sending the fascicle sooner owing to '*un accident survenu à mon relieur*' (an accident that occurred to my bookbinder).

Libert does not name Bory in her letter, referring to him only as '*Monsieur le Colonel*'. We have identified 'the Colonel' as Bory on the basis of Libert's known contacts with him, and because Bory held the rank of 'Colonel' in the French army under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte (Lauzun 1908).

Bory's set at MEL

Bory's set of Libert's exsiccata probably remained in his personal herbarium during his lifetime. In 1847, a year after his death, *Botanische Zeitung* announced the forthcoming sale of Bory's herbarium, exclaiming '*Plus riche ni plus belle collection cryptogamique n'a jamais été offerte aux amateurs*' (a richer or more beautiful collection of cryptogams has not been offered to amateurs) (C. M. 1847, p. 216). The main purchasers of the herbarium were the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Paris and Gustave Adolphe

¹³ Sayre (1969) gives the date on the title page of the third fascicle as 1834, but also notes that the first known review did not appear until 1835. This letter from Libert establishes that the third fascicle was published after 3 March 1835.

Thuret (1817–1875), a botanist and founder of the Jardin botanique de la Villa Thuret. Other known purchasers were; for fungi, Jean Pierre François Camille Montagne (1784–1866); for mosses, Jacques Nicolas Ernest Germain de Saint-Pierre (1815–1882); and for *Marsileaceae*, Michel Charles Durieu de Maisonneuve (1796–1878) (Biers 1924).

In 1880, Alphonse de Candolle (1806–1893), son of Augustin de Candolle, provided an update on the dispersal of Bory's herbarium in a general account of descriptive botany titled *La phytographie*. Candolle claimed that Bory's specimens from the 'Expédition de Morée' (Morea expedition), 1828–1833, were in the herbarium of Jules Paul Benjamin Delessert (1773–1847), and that the algae and lichens acquired by Thuret had now passed on to Jean-Baptiste Édouard Bornet (1828–1911) (Candolle 1880, p. 398).

Alphonse de Candolle was a long-time correspondent of Ferdinand von Mueller in Melbourne. In August 1880, Mueller obtained a copy of *La phytographie* and sent a letter of complaint to Candolle about the book's omission of his (i.e. Mueller's) institution's collections. According to Mueller, the Phytologic Museum of Melbourne was the largest herbarium in the southern hemisphere, and contained about 180,000 extra-Australian specimens that he had collected himself or obtained through purchases and exchanges. Mueller went on to list the main collectors represented in his herbarium and did not name either Bory or Libert (Mueller 1880). Thus, we conclude that Bory's set of Libert's exsiccata was not yet lodged in the Melbourne herbarium.

Three years later, in 1883, Mueller acquired several hundred thousand additional extra-Australian specimens via the purchase of the herbarium of Otto Wilhelm Sonder (1812–1881), a botanist and pharmacist in Hamburg. A personal friend of Mueller's, Sonder is reputed to have amassed one of the largest private herbaria in the world in the nineteenth century (Saadebeck 1882; Anon. n.d.a). We believe that it is most likely that Bory's set of Libert's exsiccata was included in the 1883 acquisitions.

No lists of the contents of Sonder's herbarium survive, and much research is required to elucidate the chronology of his acquisitions. Like Mueller, Sonder is known to have built up his herbarium with purchases and through exchanges (Short 1990). Examples of other significant collectors represented in the Sonder herbarium include: Carl Adolph Agardh, William Henry Harvey (1811–1866), Otto Carl Berg (1815–1866), Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1794–1868), Johann Wilhelm Karl Moritz (1797–1866), Anders Fredrik Regnell (1807–1884), Friedrich Sellow (1789–1831), Johan Fredrik Widgren, Alexander Philipp Maximilian of Wied (1782–1840), Johann Georg Christian Lehmann (1792–1860), Christian Friedrich Ecklon (1795–1868), Wilhelm Gueinzus (1813–1874), Carl Ludwig Philipp Zeyher (1799–1858), Johann Christoph Wendland (1755–1828), Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), Johann August Ludwig Preiss (1811–1883), Franz Wilhelm Sieber (1789–1844), and Wilhelm Gottlieb Tilesius von Tilenau (1769–1857) (Anon. n.d.a).

CONCLUSION

Marie-Anne Libert was a major but unexpected contributor to nineteenth-century cryptogamic botany. As a woman she had restricted access to education and sought to establish herself as a taxonomic mycologist at a time when it was unseemly for a woman to express scientific ambition or to seek publication (Maroske and May 2017). Nevertheless, Libert was able to overcome these disadvantages to a remarkable degree with the assistance of a circle of mentors. We argue that Libert's success was at least in part due to her, and her mentors', shared use of an enduring strategy to apply the rhetoric of female modesty in order to circumvent charges of impropriety that were typically levelled against women authors (Pender 2012).

The high point of Libert's cyptogamic career was her production of *Plantae cryptogamicae quas in Arduenna*, an exsiccata that was widely admired and sought after by public and private collectors. Although Libert offered her exsiccata for sale she also gave sets to mentors as tokens of gratitude. Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent was a recipient of one of these sets that is now lodged

in the National Herbarium of Victoria, the only known set in the southern hemisphere.

In her 1835 letter to Bory, Libert used a formal voice of inferiority such as is consistent with tropes of female modesty. This is in stark contrast to the tone in her 1829 letter to Alexandre Louis Simon Lejeune. Historians who have investigated the rhetoric of modesty, indicate that it is important to look beyond the face value of female expressions of inferiority, especially when these expressions are inherently contradicted by the fact of highly erudite publications (Pender 2012). We argue that the differences between Libert's letters to Bory and Lejeune indicate that she was a self-conscious participant in a calculated display of public modesty.

When Libert met Bory, he was an established botanist and cryptogamist who had travelled widely and had been part of Baudin's voyage to Australia as far as Mauritius. Bory was responsible for Libert's first publication under her own name and for her commemoration in a species of algae published by Carl Adolph Agardh. After Bory's death the main parts of his herbarium were acquired by the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Paris and Gustave Adolphe Thuret. We conclude that Bory's set of *Plantae cryptogamicae quas in Arduenna* was probably acquired by pharmacist and private collector, Otto Wilhelm Sonder, much of whose herbarium was bought by the colony of Victoria and lodged at the Phytologic Museum of Melbourne (MEL).

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Appendix 1: Libert to Lejeune, 16 December 1829 (Roumeguère 1880, 11–12).

Malmedy, le 16 décembre 1829.

Monsieur et cher ami,

J'ai appris par votre lettre datée de hier, que mon travail pour le premier fascicule des plantes cryptogames des Ardennes, vous avait causé beaucoup de plaisir et qu'il devait exciter vivement l'intérêt des botanistes. L'impression qu'il a fait d'abord sur votre esprit, aurait dû vous inspirer pour me répondre avec plus de grâce et de ménagement que vous n'avez fait. Quelques-unes de vos remarques sont précieuses sans doute, mais il en est qui sont capables de blesser l'amour-propre et de déplaire extrêmement.

Votre observation sur mon *Erysibe pannosa* que vous n'avez pas encore vu, me donne la mesure de la grande confiance que vous avez en M. Desmazières, mais il est bon que vous sachiez que c'est moi qui ai tiré ce savant d'erreur sur la production qu'il a nommée *Oidium leucoconium* dans laquelle il trouvait tous les caractères des *Erisyphe*, en me demandant s'il pouvait la rapporter à l'*E. pannosa*; que c'est moi enfin qui l'ai nommée *Oidium moniloïdes*, Lk., parce que je n'avais trouvé aucun caractère qui pût distinguer cette plante de la première (1). J'ai des pièces authentiques en mains qui prouvent ce que j'avance ici.

Vous croyez donc qu'il serait bon de retoucher mon travail, de le refaire entièrement pour le rendre semblable à celui de Delisle. Je vous avoue que je ne me sens pas le courage de détruire pour reconstruire, ce serait une vraie torture pour moi que de travailler ainsi sans motif; un auteur ne doit suivre que ses goûts.

Quant au projet de prospectus, je ne peux, je ne dois pas y mettre la main, mais je suis désolée que mon ouvrage ne vous ait pas mieux inspiré en faveur de son auteur. Je crois que vous avez raison. N'en faites pas. Vous avez eu tort d'attendre jusqu'au dernier instant pour me faire des observations sur les frais que vous seriez obligé de faire en votre qualité d'éditeur, pour la patente et le timbre du prospectus. Vous deviez connaître cela quand vous vous présentâtes à Spa, pour être mon éditeur. Je fus enchantée de vous recevoir, pour voir encore

une fois nos noms figurer ensemble. Vous avez lu chez moi mon discours d'introduction; vous l'avez approuvé sans faire la moindre observation sur ce sujet qui vous inquiète. Vous devez avouer qu'on ne peut plus rien ajouter au titre. Je suis bien aise cependant que vous m'ayez manifesté vos intentions encore à temps. On peut mettre remède à la chose.

Permettez que je vous parle maintenant de quelques passages de votre notice. J'avais toujours pensé qu'un prospectus ne devait avoir pour objet que de relever le mérite et les beautés de l'ouvrage pour lequel on le fait, et de rappeler les talents et les connaissances par lesquels un auteur se recommande; j'étais donc dans l'erreur, car ici vous me ravalez jusqu'à la simplicité la plus niaise, vous déclarez «que le grand éloignement des capitales et le peu de correspondance que j'ai entretenue m'exposeront peut-être à présenter quelquefois comme nouveau ce qui aura été déjà dénommé par d'autres cryptogamistes, mais les sujets variés, la beauté des échantillons et leur *rareté* compenseront bien ce *léger* désagrément.» Je le demande à tout homme sensé, pourrait-on parler d'un auteur, que l'on veut mépriser, sur un ton plus ironique (2). Pour comble de calamité, vous parlez avec une certaine complaisance des insectes phytophages dont les ouvrages de ce genre deviennent trop souvent la proie, ce qui peut dégoûter ceux qui auraient envie de les acheter.

Pour ce qui était du temps où je ne connaissais pas les cryptogames de nom, je crois qu'il était fort inutile d'en parler. C'est à M. De Candolle que nous avons dû la connaissance de quelque espèce qu'il nous fit remarquer pour la première fois en 1810, dans les promenades que nous fîmes avec ce célèbre naturaliste. Je ne savais absolument rien alors, mais en 1811 vous me jugiez déjà capable de faire la cryptogamie de votre Flore. Vous avez certainement pénétré trop avant dans les temps fabuleux de ma vie.

Je m'aperçois que ma lettre devient trop longue, je désire qu'elle vous fasse changer d'opinion sur mon compte.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer bien sincèrement,

Votre très-affectionnée amie,

M.-A. Libert.

Malmedy, 16 December 1829

Dear Friend and Sir,

I learnt from your letter dated yesterday, that my work on the first fascicle of the cryptogamic plants of the Ardennes gave you much pleasure and that it should very much excite the interest of botanists. The impression which it first made on you should have inspired you to reply to me with more grace and tact than you have done. Some of your remarks are probably invaluable, but there are some that are capable of wounding one's self-esteem and of being extremely disagreeable.

Your observation on my *Erysibe pannosa* that you have not yet seen, shows me how much confidence you have in Monsieur Desmazières, but it is as well that you know that it was I who disabused this scholar of his mistake on the production that he named *Oidium leuconium* in which he found the characteristics of the *Erisyphe*, in asking me if he could link it to *E. pannosa*; [you should know] that it was I who named it *Oidium monilioides*, Lk., because I found no characteristic that could distinguish this plant from the first (I). I have some genuine documents on hand which prove what I say here.

You believe that it would be good to alter my work, to completely rework it to make it similar to that of Delisle.¹⁴ I assure you that I do not have the courage to start over again, that it would be a real torture for me to thus work without a purpose; an author must follow only his [own] style.

As to the project of the prospectus, I cannot, I should not be involved, but I am sorry that my work did not better inspire you on behalf of your author. I think that you are right. Don't do any of it. You were wrong to wait until the last moment to remark to me about the costs that you would be obliged to incur as editor, for the prospectus's patent and stamp. You should have known that when you presented yourself at Spa to be my editor. I was delighted to welcome you, to see our names once again appearing together. At my

¹⁴ Dominique François Delise (1780–1841), published an exsiccata on French marine alge (Delise 1828).

home you read my introduction; without raising the slightest query you approved the subject that is now worrying you. You must admit that we can add nothing to the title. I am pleased however that you have made known your intentions in time. We can still remedy things.

Allow me now to mention some passages of your note. I have always thought that a prospectus should have as its sole aim to note the merits and beauties of the work, and to recall the talents and knowledge by which an author recommends himself; I was, however, in error, for here you lower me to the level of a simpleton, you state "that the great distance from the capitals [of the world] and the little correspondence that I have undertaken will lead me perhaps to sometimes present as new that which has already been designated by other cryptogamists, but the varied subjects, the beauty of the specimens and their *rarity* will compensate for this *slight* inconvenience." I ask any sensible man, could one speak of an author, whom one wants to scorn, in a more ironic tone (2). To heap on the offence, you speak with a certain complacency of the plant-eating insects of which these works are too often the prey, which might deter those who would like to buy them.

I think it is completely useless to speak of the time when I did not know the cryptogams by name. It is to Monsieur De Candolle that we owe the knowledge of several species that he had us notice for the first time in 1810, in the walks we took with that famous naturalist. I knew absolutely nothing then, but in 1811 you judged me capable of doing the cryptogamy of your Flora. You have certainly entered too much into my life's mythical past.

I notice that my letter has become too long, I want it to make you change your opinion about me,

I have the honour to send you my sincere regards,

Your very affectionate friend,

M.-A. Libert

Roumeguère's footnotes:

(1) *Erisybe pannosa* Link (*Sphaerotheca* Lev.) is the ascophorous plant, while *Oidium leucoconium* Desm. (*Oidium moniliodies*, B. Link) is the conidiferous apparatus of the same plant. The type, *Oidium moniliodies*, Lk, is the conidiferous apparatus of *Erysiphe graminis*.

(2) With regard to Mlle Libert, Professor de Candolle will show himself fairer and more courteous as well. ...

Appendix 2: Lejeune to Libert, 18 December 1829 (Roumeguère 1880, 12–14).

Verviers, le 18 décembre 1829

Mademoiselle et chère amie,

Je suis en émoi, je n'en reviens pas, je ne m'attendais pas que ma lettre dernière eût pu faire une si vive impression sur vous pour vous inspirer une réponse aussi peu réfléchie, quelle répond absolument à des pensées qui n'ont jamais été dans ma tête. Vous me dites dans votre dernière lettre que si je découvre des erreurs, que je ne les corrige pas sans vous en avertir. Je découvre quelques fautes de précipitation, je vous en avertis, je vous retourne le manuscrit pour y mettre la main vous même. Pouvais-je agir avec plus d'égard? Je vous présente, sans commentaire l'observation de Desmazières sur l'*Oidium*. Vous croyez que je veuille vous ravalier par là au-dessous de Desmazières; j'ai eu seulement l'idée de vous rémémorer [*sic*] ce qui a été dit dans les *Bulletins*. Je possède les 2 plantes et je connais par la simple vue, leur différence. Il faut convenir que vous êtes d'une susceptibilité accablante pour un ami qui vous confie ce qui lui passe par la tête, à la vérité peut être trop brusquement, mais pensez donc qu'un homme qui pendant toute une journée épuise ses moyens physiques et moraux près des malades et de leurs alentours peut bien écrire à un ami philosophe, mais doit se garder dans cette disposition d'esprit d'écrire à un prince qui le protège, s'il ne veut courir les risques d'entrer en disgrâce!

Je ne vous ai pas dit de refaire votre travail que j'ai trouvé excellent, très-excellent, mais j'ai cru qu'en ajoutant des diagnoses à chaque espèce et les caractères génériques de vos deux genres qui n'ont pas

encore été publiés dans les ouvrages généraux, nous servirions la science et que sans sortir de l'ouvrage on pourrait y être totalement éclairé; voilà mon but. Il s'agissait seulement de copier les diagnoses aux meilleures sources et sans changer votre manuscrit, on les aurait mis à leurs places. Et pour cela vous m'accablez jusqu'au fond de l'âme en me disant que je veux vous faire refaire totalement un ouvrage qui ne saurait selon moi être mieux fait, mais qui me semble sans en augmenter la perfection, pouvoir être plus utile pour les acquéreurs. Suivez vos goûts, je vous assure que je ne m'aviserais plus donner des conseils qui sont aussi mal reçus. Quant au prospectus, les éloges que je donnerais sur mon ouvrage pourraient être suspects de ma part comme éditeur marchand. Sachez que ce n'est nullement l'intérêt qui m'a fait acquiescer à votre demande de Spa, c'est plutôt le désir d'être utile à la science, de voir vos importantes découvertes mises au jour. Si vous m'aviez fait figurer dans le titre de votre ouvrage comme vous me l'aviez dit à Spa, dans une préface à insérer dans le premier fascicule, j'aurais annoncé moi-même que je ne m'occupais de cryptogamie que comme collecteur et que tout était de votre étude. Quand une fois les petites passions se mêlent d'objets importants, il n'y a plus à tenir. Croyez-vous que je sois fait pour vous ravir vos découvertes? Depuis 15 ans, vous m'accablez chaque fois que vous me donnez une de vos découvertes en me recommandant de ne pas vous tromper, de garder cela en silence. Avez-vous la moindre conviction que j'aie jamais manqué à ces demandes que j'aurais pu prendre si j'avais été plus susceptible, comme des injures.

Je le répète, je ne puis prendre patente et ne veux point me ravalier à ce point là. Si je ne puis dire à la fin de votre titre: «mis au jour, ou publié conjointement avec l'auteur,» c'est une affaire alors purement mercantile, à laquelle je ne puis donner la main. Vous avez probablement fait des arrières réflexions. Je croyais recevoir ce soir de nouveau votre manuscrit, le livrer lundi à l'imprimerie pour faire servir le texte de prospectus. Je me proposais pour cela de le faire tirer en plus grand nombre. Votre ouvrage, de cette manière se serait assez recommandé de lui-même par les objets matériels qu'il renferme, sans avoir besoin de faire des promesses comme les marchands d'Orvietan qui veulent vendre leurs drogues, et sans être inspiré du Saint-Esprit.

Quant à ma notice sur votre ouvrage que vous dites ironique, elle est simple, comme tout ce qui part de moi. Je vous confie ce que je viens de faire à la minute, comme si je le confiais à ma propre révision et vous en tirez des conséquences on ne saurait plus humiliantes pour moi. Ah que vous me connaissez encore mal! pour dénaturer mes pensées et me faire dire ce que je n'ai jamais senti.

Je suis en attendant ce qui vous plaira de faire toujours le même, toujours disposé à vous servir, mais de grâce, une autre fois, ne tronquez plus mes phrases pour en tirer des inductions aussi fausses qu'accablantes.

Je suis votre tout dévoué serviteur et ami.

Lejeune, docteur-médecin.

P.S. — Bien avant 1810 j'avais reçu des cryptogames de vous. Et Decandolle [*sic*] fit chez vous la révision des Lichens qu'il fut surpris de voir aussi bien déterminés.

Verviers, 18 December 1829

Mademoiselle and dear friend,

I am in a state of turmoil, I cannot get over it, I did not expect that my last letter could have made such a strong impression on you as to inspire a response so little thought through, and one that corresponds to thoughts that have never entered my head. In your last letter you said that if I discovered errors, I should not correct them without informing you of them. I find several faults caused by haste, I let you know, [and] I return the manuscript to you so that you can correct it yourself. Could I act with more consideration? I present to you, without comment [,] Desmazières' observation on the *Oidium*. You think in doing so that I wish to subordinate you to Desmazières; I only wanted to recall to you what has been said in the *Bulletins*. I possess the two plants and I know, just by looking, the difference between them. It must be acknowledged that you are excruciatingly sensitive towards a friend who sends you what passes through his mind, to tell the truth [,] perhaps too bluntly, but think however that a man, who every day expends all his physical and emotional energies in the presence of the sick and their surroundings, cannot well write to a scientific friend, but must put himself in the spirit of

writing to a prince patron, if he does not wish to risk falling into disgrace.

I did not ask you to redo your work which I found to be excellent, very excellent, but I thought that by adding the features of each species and the structural characteristics of your two genera which have not yet been published in general works, we would serve science, and one would not need to go beyond the volume to have everything clarified; that was my aim. It was only necessary to copy the characteristics from the best sources and without changing your manuscript, we could have put them in their classes. And for that [,] you deeply reproach me in saying that I want you to totally redo a work that [,] according to me [,] could not be better done, but which it seems to me without adding to its perfection, could be more useful for its purchasers. Follow your own wishes, I inform you that I will no longer dare to give you advice that is so badly received. As for the prospectus, the praise that I would give in my work could be [seen as] suspect in my role as marketing editor. Understand that it was not in the least self-interest that made me agree to your request at Spa, it is rather the wish to be useful to science, [and] to see your important discoveries published. If you had had me appear in the title of your work as you had said to me at Spa, in a preface to insert into the first instalment, I would have myself stated that I was only involved in cryptogamy as a collector and that everything was your work. When once these little disputes mix with important subjects, it is unbearable. Do you really believe that I am someone who would rob you of your discoveries? For fifteen years, each time that you give me one of your discoveries, you importune me not to deceive you, [and] to keep it secret. Do you have the slightest doubt that I have ever neglected your requests that I could have taken as insults had I been more sensitive?

I repeat, I cannot take the patent and do not wish to lower myself to that point. If I cannot say at the end of your title: “published jointly with the author”, it is thus purely a business matter, in which I cannot play a part. You have probably had other ideas. I thought that tonight I would receive your manuscript again, [and] deliver it on Monday to the printers to make use of the text as a prospectus. For that [purpose] I proposed to have it printed in greater numbers. Your

work will have enough to recommend it by the specimens that it contains, without resorting to the promises of the charlatans of Orvieto who want to sell their drugs, and without being inspired by the Holy Spirit.

As for my note on your work that you label ironical, it is simple, like everything that is a part of me. I confide in you what I have just done, up to the minute, as if I confided it to my own revision and you draw conclusions from it that are most humiliating for me. Oh how poorly you still know me! in distorting my thoughts and making me say things I have never felt.

Meanwhile I am, just as you wish, always the same, [and] always happy to serve you, but please, another time, do not alter my sentences to draw out inferences that are as false as they are reproachful.

I am ever your devoted servant and friend,

LEJEUNE, Doctor of Medicine.

P.S. Well before 1810 I had received cryptogams from you. And Decandolle revised at your place the classification of Lichens that he was surprised to see so well identified.

Appendix 3: Libert to Bory, 3 March 1835 (Library, Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria).

Malmedy le 3 Mars 1835.

Monsieur le Colonel,

J'ai reçu [*sic*] avec toute la reconnaissance que je dois le présent magnifique dont vous avez bien voulu me gratifier, et cette marque précieuse de votre Souvenir a renouvelé dans mon cœur tous les Sentiments de considération et de respect pour votre personne, et toute l'ardeur de mon zèle [*sic*] pour vous obliger.

Une 3^{me} Centurie des Plantes Cryptogames des Ardennes sera bientôt publiée; j'aurai l'honneur, Monsieur le Colonel, de vous en offrir l'hommage. Votre exemplaire serait déjà préparé sans un accident survenu à mon relieur: cette circonstance m'a empêchée de remplir le devoir impérieux [*sic*] que je dois envers vous, celui de vous transmettre les richesses de notre Sol à l'instant même que je reçois les imprimés. Veuillez, Monsieur le Colonel, agréer l'assurance renou-

velée de ma profonde reconnaissance, et l'expression de mes
Sentiments respectueux.

Votre très humble Servante

[M.] Anne Libert.

Malmedy 3 March 1835

Colonel,

[Dear Sir],

With all the gratitude that is due to you, I received the magnificent present with which you have favoured me, and this precious token of your regard has renewed in my heart all my esteem and respect for you, and all my desire to oblige you. A third century of the Cryptogamic Plants of the Ardennes will be published soon;¹⁵ I would be honoured, Colonel, to present you with a complimentary copy of the volume. Your copy would have been already prepared, but for an accident that occurred to my bookbinder: this circumstance prevented me from fulfilling the pressing obligation I owe you, that of sending to you the wealth of our soil at the very moment that I receive the printed copies.

I beg you to accept again, Colonel, my profound gratitude, and all my respectful best wishes.

[I remain]

Your most humble servant,

[M.] Anne Libert



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¹⁵ Each fascicle was made up of 100 specimens.