

**Rachel Ruysch**



# Rachel Ruysch: Nature into Art

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# Painting the Botanical World

Charles C. Davis

Modern biodiversity science is occupied with understanding both the patterns and the processes of how species diversity arose on our planet. These include not only where species live in nature, but also what factors best explain this diversity. Rachel Ruysch's paintings represent a vehicle for better elucidating and interpreting the complicated histories of certain species, while revealing key insights about her life and the larger scientific milieu in which she approached her botanical subjects.

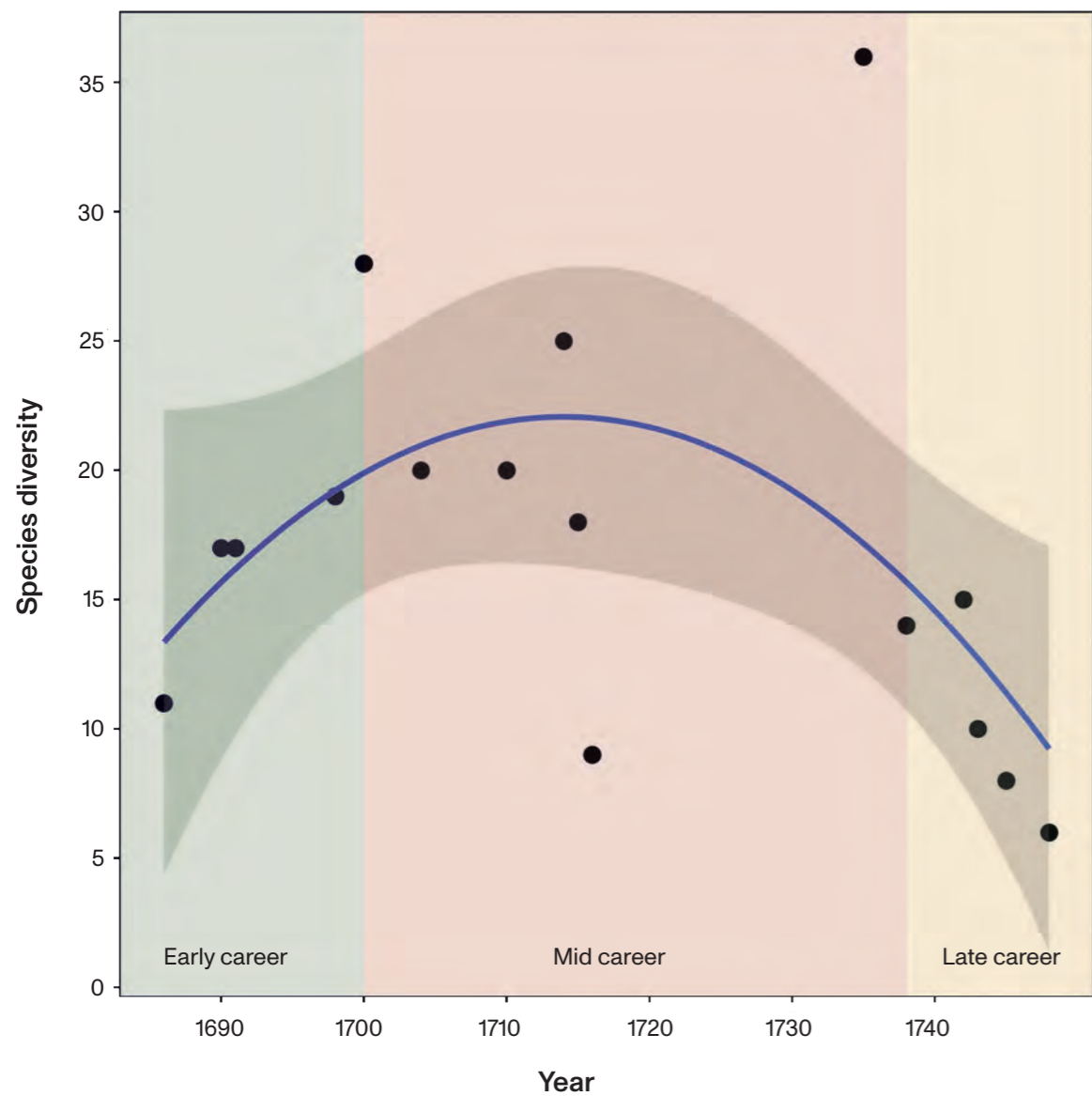
Numerous contemporaries of Ruysch—including Willem van Aelst, Jan Davidsz. de Heem, Abraham Mignon, Otto Marseus van Schrieck, Ernst Stuken, Maria van Oosterwijck, Nicolaes Lachtropius, and Nicolaes de Vree—painted floral bouquets, which typically featured species commonly available to western European horticulturalists in the late 1600s and early 1700s. These included roses, peonies, tulips, carnations, and daffodils among others. Ruysch was similarly fond of such plants and painted them regularly, but she also painted exceptional species that would have been unavailable in Dutch cut-flower markets and rarely available elsewhere in western Europe. Indeed, many of her chosen species would have been far less known to artists and the public when they were painted; they were grown only in heated greenhouses with the facilities and staff to cultivate such plants, or pictured in herbals and other specialized literature.

These uncommon species, almost like botanical Easter eggs, are what make Ruysch's paintings extra-

ordinary and most fascinating to a plant biodiversity scientist like me. While I am mesmerized by the beauty and artistry of these botanical still lifes, what sparks my curiosity most are these Easter eggs. What are the stories behind the many unique plants she painted, what are their names, where did they come from, and how did they get from their native homes to Amsterdam, where they could be observed and documented by Ruysch? And what do they reveal about her life and inspiration as an artist approximately three hundred years ago?

To begin to answer these questions, my colleagues and I selected sixteen paintings which collectively span Ruysch's early, middle, and late periods (1681–1700, 1700–1738, and 1738–1750, respectively). We next conducted detailed species inventories of these paintings to ascertain the identities and total number of species per painting, and to infer how this metric changed during Ruysch's more than sixty-year career. In many cases, Ruysch painted with such faithful detail that identifying a plant precisely to species was possible. In other cases, distinctive features useful for species identification were less clear but identifying a larger group (e.g., genus) to which the species belonged was possible. And finally, a smaller subset of species defied our best attempts at identification. In such cases, we scored these species as unique entities but without precise identification.

We identified a distinct change in species diversity during Ruysch's career (fig. 88). The 1680s were marked



88. Species diversity in Ruysch paintings

by compositions featuring low overall species diversity. For example, in the painting *Forest Recess with Flowers* we identified only eleven species (fig. 89). The most interesting detail in this painting for me is not the flowers *per se*, but rather the conspicuously large white and green leaves of the milk thistle (*Silybum marianum*) with their lobing and prickly margins, which add astonishing texture throughout the upper and middle sections of the painting and nicely illustrate Ruysch's focus on the whole plant rather than simply the stunning flowers. We then observed a marked increase in species diversity in the 1690s. Many of her chosen species during this period were brought to Europe for various purposes, including as sources of new foods (pineapple [*Ananas comosus*]), for medicinal uses (African pumpkin [*Momordica balsamina*]), for general horticultural appeal (devil's trumpet [*Datura metel*]), or for their

unusual and fascinating biology (succulent species like prickly pear cacti [*Opuntia* spp.] and carrion flowers [*Orbea variegata*]).

Ruysch painted increasingly more species diversity as she honed her skills as an artist during the early 1700s. A high point during this period was *Still Life with Fruit and Flowers* from 1714, which features at least twenty-five species representing fifteen botanical families depicted in both fruit and flower (see fig. 111). Importantly, the plants featured in this painting include an astonishing array of crops essential in modern agriculture such as squashes and pumpkins (*Cucurbita pepo*), broad beans (*Vicia faba*), wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), maize (*Zea mays*), grapes (*Vitis vinifera*), peaches (*Prunus persica*), and pomegranates (*Punica granatum*), as well as species of horticultural value such as tulips (*Tulipa gesneriana*). The origins and distributions



89. Rachel Ruysch, *Forest Recess with Flowers*, about 1686, on loan to the National Gallery Prague



90. Rachel Ruysch, *Still Life of Exotic Flowers on a Marble Ledge*, about 1735, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City

of nearly all these plants are outside of western Europe and collectively span much of the globe.

Following this apparent high point, the species diversity she painted steadily declined during her career's later phases to levels commensurate with or below those of her early years. The exception was in the 1730s. After a period of low productivity, Ruysch painted *Still Life of Exotic Flowers on a Marble Ledge* in about 1735, which depicts an astonishing thirty-six species from around the world—an extreme outlier in the overall species diversity she painted (fig. 90). Interestingly, this extraordinary painting was made four years after the death of her father, the influential botanist. In contrast, in a cursory survey of one of her contemporaries, Jan Davidsz. de Heem, we identified approximately twenty-one species, mainly from Europe and Asia, in one of his highest diversity paintings (fig. 91).

Two of the final Ruysch paintings we inventoried, both from the final decade of her life, contain fewer species. *Vase of Flowers with an Ear of Corn* from 1742, for example, has fifteen (fig. 92). *A Still Life of Flowers in a Glass Vase on a Marble Table before a Niche* is a fraction of the size of the Nelson-Atkins work (fig. 93). It was painted seven years before her death, when she was seventy-nine years old, and includes a mere ten species. This painting, though tiny in size, is exquisite and features the beautiful and native snake's head fritillary (*Fritillaria meleagris*) from Europe.

Identifying the factors that contributed to this distinctive hump-shaped distribution of species diversity painted during Ruysch's career is complicated, but insights into her life and broader developments in the botanical world of western Europe provide important clues to explore. First and foremost, working with her famous and eccentric father to catalogue his collection of rare natural history specimens undoubtedly played a central role in her keen botanical awareness. One possible explanation for the high diversity in the still life in the Nelson-Atkins Museum is that it was an homage to her father following his passing in 1731. Similarly, during the 1690s, Ruysch began establishing a network of influential colleagues in Amsterdam that likely expanded her thinking and exposure to plants of the world. Amsterdam, specifically its living collection of the Hortus Botanicus and the associated library, likely would have provided inspiration and a community of living plants that fueled Ruysch's passions and her inspiration for the species she chose to paint. Secondly, it is important to realize that her efforts were surrounded, and stimulated, by an exciting world of botanical exploration and discov-

ery. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars were determined to describe all the known plant diversity of the world. This culminated in the seminal volume, *Species Plantarum*, by the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus in 1753. These efforts were also facilitated greatly by colonial exploits, including those of the Dutch empire. Ruysch's proximity to this world, especially by way of her father and the greater community of botanical scholars in Amsterdam, would have been incredibly influential.

To better understand Ruysch's access to plants of the world, we established the native ranges of the species she illustrated (where precise species identification was possible) and mapped them using the native distributional ranges from the Plants of the World Online database (POWO).<sup>1</sup> Even during the earliest phases of her career, Ruysch painted the botanical world beyond the Netherlands. Evidence of this can be found in her 1686 painting that features the enigmatic blue passionflower (*Passiflora caerulea*) from the Neotropics, or the region that encompasses Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. However, her highest diversity painting from the 1730s is perhaps the best reference for illustrating the more global perspective of plants she painted. An astonishing nineteen of the thirty-six plant species she depicted represent continents other than Europe—Asia (east and southeast), Africa (south), and North and South America—along with the Caribbean region (figs. 94 & 95). The plants in this painting represent both a geographic and temporal mosaic of diversity. Not only were they broadly distributed in space, in many cases non-overlapping where they occur, but they also were unlikely to have been flowering simultaneously either in their native ranges or in cultivation in Europe.

The plants in Ruysch's paintings can speak to every season of the year. In the same way, a single species depicted in Ruysch's paintings can tell a story that spans millions of years. In the *Still Life with Cactus in a Blue Vase*, the incredible open yellow blossom and distinctive padded and spiny succulent stems of a prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia repens*) are prominent on the top left of the arrangement (see fig. 65). With one exception, cacti are found natively only in the Americas, where they range from southern Patagonia in Argentina and Chile to Alberta and British Columbia in Canada.<sup>2</sup> In particular, the greatest diversity of cacti by far occurs in arid regions of the Neotropics, especially in Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina. The strange and lone exception to this pattern is the little-known viny species of the mistletoe cactus (*Rhipsalis baccifera*), which is found



91. Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Vase of Flowers*, about 1670



92. Rachel Ruysch, *Vase of Flowers with an Ear of Corn*, 1742, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin



93. Rachel Ruysch, *Still Life of Flowers in a Glass Vase on a Marble Table before a Niche*, 1742, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

natively in West Africa, far from the home range of all its closest relatives.

Why is a major and iconic plant group like the cacti painted by Ruysch restricted to its limited geographical distribution? After all, arid biomes like deserts are found in many places around the world well outside of the Neotropics, and undoubtedly constitute a suitable home for these species. And how did the mistletoe cactus escape the confines of its family's restricted distribution? These are the sorts of questions that capture the attention of biodiversity scientists. Understanding the processes that give rise to and maintain observed patterns of biodiversity is a crucial element for protecting and preserving species and ecosystems in the face of environmental change caused predominantly by human activities.

Our best explanation for the distribution of cacti is that they are an evolutionarily young group. The cactus family likely originated near their current center of diversity in the Neotropics ten to five million years ago, a time when there was little opportunity for interchange between South America and Africa.<sup>3</sup> The exceptional case of the West African mistletoe cactus that escaped this regionalism is thought to have been achieved by an anomalous long-distance migration across the Atlantic, possibly facilitated by a stray bird. This may be hard to imagine, but we know that plants can be naturally dispersed this way over thousands of miles.<sup>4</sup> Even if such an event is exceedingly improbable, the likelihood of such a rare event occurring but once is surprisingly high when compounded over the tens of millions of years since cacti originated. Thus, a suite of key processes contributed to the origin and maintenance of cactus diversity: evolutionary (e.g., time and place of origin of cacti), ecological (i.e., arid climates that provided the context for cactus diversification), and stochastic (e.g., long-distance dispersal by birds).

In more recent history, Ruysch's chosen cactus would have been collected from its native Neotropical range by a botanical explorer and transported thousands of miles across the Atlantic Ocean to its new home in western Europe. Much like the errant bird flying a mistletoe cactus seed across a vast ocean, there were innumerable historical contingencies involving efforts by humans to relocate plants. Cacti were among the earliest plants brought to Europe following the bridging of the two hemispheres inaugurated by the Columbian Exchange.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, a melon cactus (*Melocactus*) was possibly transported to Europe by Columbus himself.<sup>6</sup> Attempts to transport cacti in earnest began as early as

the sixteenth century; upon their introduction to western Europe, cacti would have become more recognizable there at least by 1570.<sup>7</sup> Dutch colonial enterprises sought to gather plant materials from abroad to benefit the Netherlands and likely also as a means to demonstrate their imperial power. In the 1650s, for example, the Dutch East India Company helped to develop the first major survey on the flora of India, *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, featuring plants of the region, especially those of important human use.<sup>8</sup>

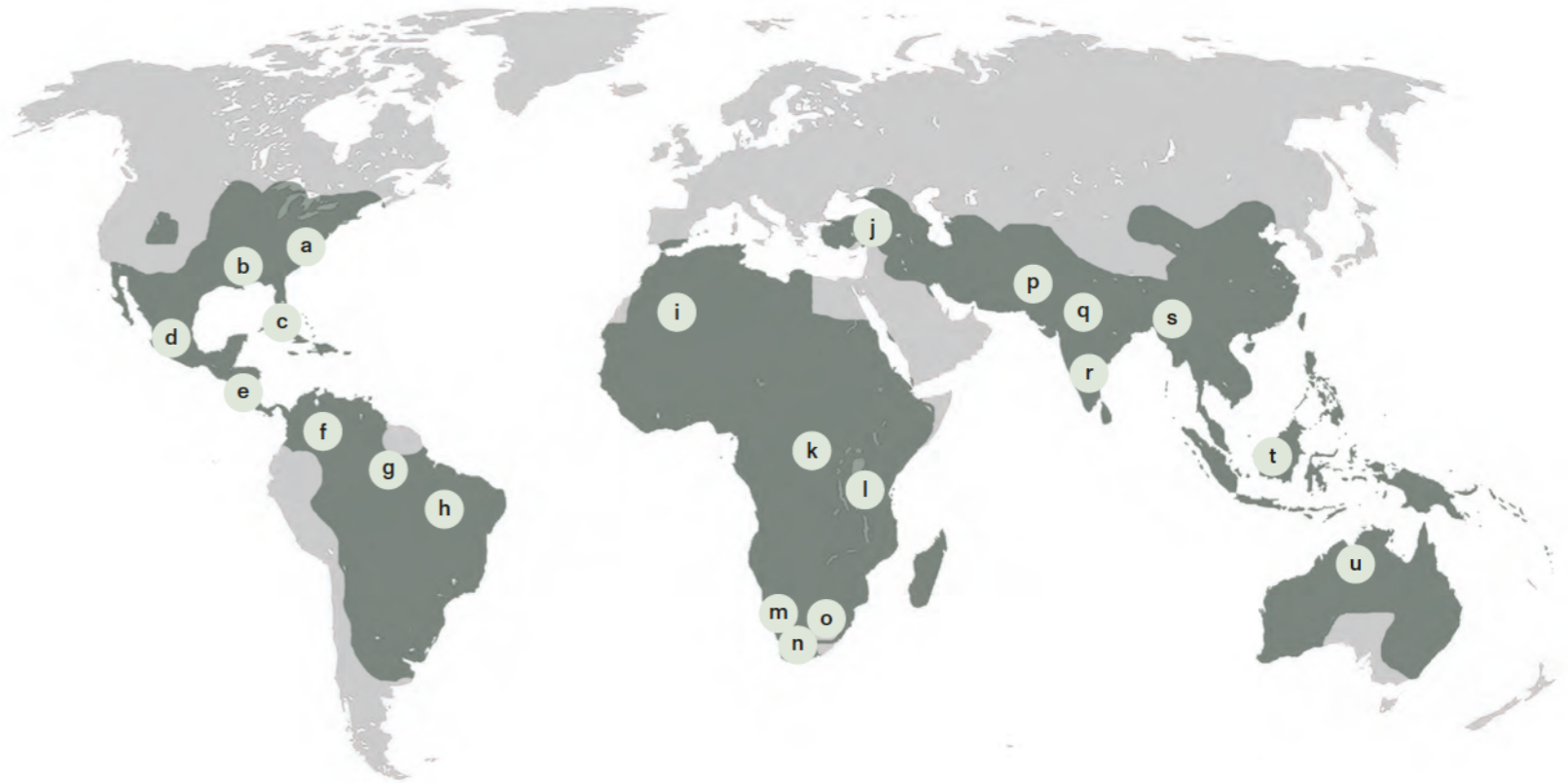
Efforts to transport desirable species across oceans were fraught with failures, and careful packing instructions were needed so plants would not rot or die. Cook describes efforts to curtail rat populations on long oceanic voyages to help preserve transported plants.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the care of these plants in temperate European latitudes with their distinct cold season would have required the support and attention of trained horticultural personnel and facilities, including protection in greenhouses, to simulate their native tropical environments and ensure their survival.

The colonial legacy of natural history collections, especially of plants in herbaria, continues to the present day.<sup>10</sup> Today, former colonial centers in western Europe and the United States hold far more species in their herbaria than sister institutions in the Global South do. This pattern of species diversity is the opposite of that seen in nature—species diversity is greatest in the tropics—and is a tangible artifact of colonial pursuits.

From her home in Amsterdam, it is clear that Ruysch made the botanical world her canvas. Although in some cases her ecological knowledge of these plants was limited—she mistakenly painted a swallowtail butterfly visiting a carrion flower, which is pollinated by flies in its native range of southern Africa—she worked exceptionally hard to share the beauty and her mastery of the green world. The drive by largely European botanists to cultivate the known flora of the world, the powerful maritime empire of the Dutch, and the extraordinary ability of botanists and horticulturalists to cultivate plants of tropical climates in the Netherlands were all essential to Ruysch's success. Her masterful depiction of the many interesting and lesser-known species she selected undoubtedly was deliberate and added novelty to her compositions while narrating a story of her life and the privileged societal context in which she lived. Her legacy is emblematic of a time when scientific observation and discovery relied on faithful illustrations, and as our study demonstrates, there is still much to learn from her artistry.



94. Plants identified in *Still Life of Exotic Flowers on a Marble Ledge*, about 1735



- |                                   |                               |                                |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a <i>Campsis radicans</i>         | h <i>Passiflora caerulea</i>  | o <i>Orbea variegata</i>       |
| b <i>Lonicera sempervirens</i>    | i <i>Convolvulus tricolor</i> | p <i>Euphorbia antiquorum</i>  |
| c <i>Verbesina alata</i>          | j <i>Nerium oleander</i>      | q <i>Jasminum sambac</i>       |
| d <i>Opuntia repens</i>           | k <i>Momordica charantia</i>  | r <i>Crinum zeylanicum</i>     |
| e <i>Datura metel</i>             | l <i>Gladiolus angustus</i>   | s <i>Gloriosa superba</i>      |
| f <i>Lantana camara</i>           | m <i>Babiana ringens</i>      | t <i>Abelmoschus moschatus</i> |
| g <i>Cochliasanthus caracalla</i> | n <i>Polygala bracteolata</i> | u <i>Melia azedarach</i>       |

95. Global distribution of species included in *Still Life of Exotic Flowers on a Marble Ledge*, about 1735

Botanical Species Inventories of Ruysch Paintings

Jackson Kehoe, Christina Janulis, and Charles C. Davis

In order to create this inventory of botanical species represented in Rachel Ruysch paintings, sixteen works were selected from across the three phases of her career: early (1681–1700), middle (1700–1738), and late (1738–1750). Species identities were discerned with the assistance of online resources and various literature. In many cases, precise species identifications were possible, while in others, only determinations of genus were possible (represented below with species epithet left as NA or not applicable).

Finally, there are some instances where taxonomic identity was unclear. Species with no identity are listed below as morphotypes. These morphotyped species lacking identity were not included in our geographic range assessment (see fig. 95), but were included in the caculation of species diversity over time (see fig. 88).

The paintings are arranged chronologically, and taxa are in alphabetical order starting with family, then genus, then species.

Forest Recess with Flowers, about 1686  
On loan to National Gallery in Prague  
(See fig. 89)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Asteraceae	<i>Silybum</i>	<i>marianum</i>
Caryophyllaceae	<i>Dianthus</i>	NA
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>tricolor</i>
Convolvulaceae	<i>Ipomoea</i>	NA
Papaveraceae	<i>Glaucium</i>	<i>flavum</i>
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	<i>orientale</i>
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	<i>somniferum</i>
Passifloraceae	<i>Passiflora</i>	<i>caerulea</i>
Poaceae	<i>Phalaris</i>	<i>arundinacea</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Tropaeolaceae	<i>Tropaeolum</i>	<i>majus</i>

Flower Bouquet with Butterflies, about 1692–96  
LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn  
(See fig. 71)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Amaranthaceae	<i>Gomphrena</i>	<i>globosa</i>
Apocynaceae	<i>Nerium</i>	<i>indicum</i>
Apocynaceae	<i>Orbea</i>	<i>variegata</i>
Aquifoliaceae	<i>Ilex</i>	NA
Asphodelaceae	NA	NA
Bignoniaceae	<i>Campsis</i>	<i>radicans</i>
Cactaceae	<i>Opuntia</i>	<i>repens</i>
Cucurbitaceae	<i>Momordica</i>	NA
Fabaceae	<i>Cochliasanthus</i>	<i>caracalla</i>
Passifloraceae	<i>Passiflora</i>	<i>caerulea</i>
Passifloraceae	<i>Passiflora</i>	NA
Solanaceae	<i>Datura</i>	<i>metel</i>
Morphotype 1	NA	NA
Morphotype 2	NA	NA
Morphotype 3	NA	NA
Morphotype 4	NA	NA
Morphotype 5	NA	NA
Morphotype 6	NA	NA

Still Life with Cactus in a Blue Vase, about 1690–95  
Private collection  
(See fig. 65)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Aizoaceae	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i>	NA
Asteraceae	<i>Verbesina</i>	<i>alata</i>
Bignoniaceae	<i>Campsis</i>	<i>radicans</i>
Cactaceae	<i>Opuntia</i>	<i>repens</i>
Caprifoliaceae	<i>Lonicera</i>	<i>sempervirens</i>
Cucurbitaceae	<i>Momordica</i>	NA
Euphorbiaceae	<i>Euphorbia</i>	<i>antiquorum</i>
Fabaceae	<i>Cochliasanthus</i>	<i>caracalla</i>
Fabaceae	NA	NA
Meliaceae	<i>Melia</i>	<i>azedarach</i>
Moraceae	<i>Ficus</i>	NA
Oleaceae	<i>Jasminum</i>	NA
Polygalaceae	<i>Polygala</i>	<i>bracteolata</i>
Solanaceae	<i>Capsicum</i>	<i>annuum</i>
Solanaceae	<i>Datura</i>	<i>metel</i>
Morphotype 7	NA	NA
Morphotype 8	NA	NA

Still Life with Flowers in a Vase on a Ledge with a Dragonfly, Caterpillar and Butterfly, 1698  
Private collection  
(See fig. 97)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Apiaceae	<i>Astrantia</i>	<i>major</i>
Asteraceae	<i>Aster</i>	<i>alpinus</i>
Asteraceae	NA	NA
Bignoniaceae	<i>Campsis</i>	<i>radicans</i>
Caryophyllaceae	<i>Silene</i>	<i>gallica</i>
Cistaceae	<i>Cistus</i>	<i>ladanifer</i>
Geraniaceae	<i>Geranium</i>	<i>pratense</i>
Iridaceae	<i>Iris</i>	<i>x germanica</i>
Linaceae	<i>Linum</i>	NA
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	<i>somniferum</i>
Ranunculaceae	<i>Ranunculus</i>	NA
Rosaceae	<i>Fragaria</i>	NA
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Morphotype 9	NA	NA
Morphotype 10	NA	NA
Mophotype 11	NA	NA
Morphotype 12	NA	NA
Morphotype 13	NA	NA
Morphotype 14	NA	NA

A Still Life with Devil’s Trumpet Flowers, Peonies, Hibiscus, Passionflowers and Other Plants in a Brown Stoneware Vase, 1700  
Private collection  
(See fig. 77)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Aizoaceae	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i>	NA
Amaryllidaceae	<i>Crinum</i>	<i>zeylanicum</i>
Amaryllidaceae	<i>Hippeastrum</i>	NA
Apocynaceae	<i>Nerium</i>	<i>indicum</i>
Bignoniaceae	<i>Campsis</i>	<i>radicans</i>
Cistaceae	<i>Cistus</i>	<i>ladanifer</i>
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>tricolor</i>
Cucurbitaceae	<i>Momordica</i>	NA
Fabaceae	<i>Cochliasanthus</i>	<i>caracalla</i>
Fabaceae	NA	NA
Iridaceae	<i>Gladiolus</i>	<i>angustus</i>
Lamiaceae	<i>Leonotis</i>	<i>leonurus</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Gloriosa</i>	<i>superba</i>
Malvaceae	<i>Abelmoschus</i>	<i>moschatus</i>
Moraceae	<i>Ficus</i>	NA
Oleaceae	<i>Jasminum</i>	<i>sambac</i>
Passifloraceae	<i>Passiflora</i>	<i>caerulea</i>
Proteaceae	<i>Leucospermum</i>	NA
Proteaceae	<i>Leucospermum</i>	NA
Solanaceae	<i>Datura</i>	NA
Solanaceae	<i>Datura</i>	NA
Verbenaceae	<i>Lantana</i>	<i>camara</i>
Morphotype 15	NA	NA
Morphotype 16	NA	NA
Morphotype 17	NA	NA
Morphotype 18	NA	NA
Morphotype 19	NA	NA
Morphotype 20	NA	NA

Flowers in a Glass Vase on a Marble Ledge, 1704  
Detroit Institute of Arts  
(See fig. 79)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Asteraceae	NA	NA
Asteraceae	<i>Tanacetum</i>	<i>parthenium</i>
Campanulaceae	<i>Campanula</i>	NA
Caryophyllaceae	<i>Dianthus</i>	NA
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>arvensis</i>
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>tricolor</i>
Iridaceae	<i>Iris</i>	NA
Liliaceae	<i>Lilium</i>	<i>bulbiferum</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Lilium</i>	<i>candidum</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Tulipa</i>	<i>gesneriana</i>
Malvaceae	<i>Alcea</i>	NA
Oleaceae	<i>Jasminum</i>	<i>sambac</i>
Paeoniaceae	<i>Paeonia</i>	NA
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	<i>somniferum</i>
Poaceae	<i>Triticum</i>	<i>aestivum</i>
Primulaceae	<i>Primula</i>	<i>acaulis</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Solanaceae	<i>Solanum</i>	<i>dulcamara</i>
Morphotype 21	NA	NA
Morphotype 22	NA	NA

Still Life with Flowers in a Glass Vase on a Marble Ledge, 1710  
On loan to The National Gallery London  
(See fig. 47)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Amaryllidaceae	<i>Narcissus</i>	NA
Asteraceae	<i>Helianthus</i>	<i>annuus</i>
Asteraceae	<i>Tagetes</i>	NA
Asteraceae	NA	NA
Campanulaceae	<i>Platycodon</i>	<i>grandiflorus</i>
Caprifoliaceae	<i>Lonicera</i>	<i>periclymenum</i>
Hydrangeaceae	<i>Hydrangea</i>	<i>macrophylla</i>
Iridaceae	<i>Iris</i>	<i>x germanica</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Tulipa</i>	<i>gesneriana</i>
Onagraceae	<i>Oenothera</i>	NA
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	<i>somniferum</i>
Primulaceae	<i>Primula</i>	<i>auricula</i>
Ranunculaceae	<i>Anemone</i>	<i>coronaria</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Rosaceae	NA	NA
Morphotype 23	NA	NA
Morphotype 24	NA	NA
Morphotype 25	NA	NA

Still Life with Fruit and Flowers, 1714  
Städtische Kunstmmlungen Augsburg  
(See fig. 111)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Asteraceae	<i>Helianthus</i>	<i>annuus</i>
Betulaceae	<i>Corylus</i>	NA
Boraginaceae	<i>Myosotis</i>	NA
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>tricolor</i>
Cucurbitaceae	<i>Cucumis</i>	NA
Cucurbitaceae	<i>Cucurbita</i>	<i>pepo</i>
Fabaceae	<i>Vicia</i>	<i>faba</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Tulipa</i>	<i>gesneriana</i>
Lythraceae	<i>Punica</i>	<i>granatum</i>
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	NA
Plantaginaceae	<i>Linaria</i>	NA
Poaceae	<i>Triticum</i>	<i>aestivum</i>
Poaceae	<i>Zea</i>	<i>mays</i>
Ranunculaceae	<i>Delphinium</i>	NA
Rosaceae	<i>Prunus</i>	<i>domestica</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Prunus</i>	<i>persica</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	<i>centifolia</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rubus</i>	NA
Rosaceae	<i>Rubus</i>	NA
Tropaeolaceae	<i>Tropaeolum</i>	<i>majus</i>
Vitaceae	<i>Vitis</i>	<i>vinifera</i>
Morphotype 26	NA	NA
Morphotype 27	NA	NA
Morphotype 28	NA	NA
Morphotype 29	NA	NA

Bouquet of Flowers, 1715  
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen München – Alte Pinakothek  
(See fig. 112)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Amaryllidaceae	<i>Crinum</i>	<i>zeylanicum</i>
Asteraceae	<i>Silybum</i>	<i>marianum</i>
Asteraceae	<i>Tanacetum</i>	<i>parthenium</i>
Brassicaceae	<i>Biscutella</i>	NA
Caprifoliaceae	<i>Lonicera</i>	<i>periclymenum</i>
Cistaceae	<i>Cistus</i>	<i>ladanifer</i>
Fabaceae	<i>Lathyrus</i>	NA
Iridaceae	<i>Iris</i>	NA
Lamiaceae	<i>Leonotis</i>	<i>leonurus</i>
Paeoniaceae	<i>Paeonia</i>	NA
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	NA
Ranunculaceae	<i>Aconitum</i>	NA
Ranunculaceae	<i>Anemone</i>	<i>coronaria</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Morphotype 30	NA	NA
Morphotype 31	NA	NA
Morphotype 32	NA	NA
Morphotype 33	NA	NA

Flower Still Life, about 1720  
Toledo Museum of Art  
(See fig. 31)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Asteraceae	<i>Tagetes</i>	NA
Asteraceae	<i>Tanacetum</i>	<i>parthenium</i>
Caryophyllaceae	<i>Dianthus</i>	NA
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>tricolor</i>
Malvaceae	<i>Alcea</i>	NA
Papaveraceae	<i>Papaver</i>	<i>somniferum</i>
Plantaginaceae	<i>Antirrhinum</i>	NA
Ranunculaceae	<i>Adonis</i>	NA
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA

Still Life of Exotic Flowers on a Marble Ledge, about 1735  
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City  
(See fig. 90)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Amaryllidaceae	<i>Crinum</i>	<i>zeylanicum</i>
Apocynaceae	<i>Nerium</i>	<i>indicum</i>
Apocynaceae	<i>Orbea</i>	<i>variegata</i>
Asphodelaceae	NA	NA
Asteraceae	<i>Verbesina</i>	<i>alata</i>
Bignoniaceae	<i>Campsis</i>	<i>radicans</i>
Cactaceae	<i>Opuntia</i>	<i>repens</i>
Caprifoliaceae	<i>Lonicera</i>	<i>sempervirens</i>
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>tricolor</i>
Cucurbitaceae	<i>Momordica</i>	NA
Euphorbiaceae	<i>Euphorbia</i>	<i>antiquorum</i>
Fabaceae	<i>Cochliasanthus</i>	<i>caracalla</i>
Fabaceae	NA	NA
Fabaceae	NA	NA
Goodeniaceae	NA	NA
Iridaceae	<i>Babiana</i>	<i>ringens</i>
Iridaceae	<i>Gladiolus</i>	<i>angustus</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Gloriosa</i>	<i>superba</i>
Malvaceae	<i>Abelmoschus</i>	<i>moschatus</i>
Meliaceae	<i>Melia</i>	<i>azedarach</i>
Myrtaceae	<i>Chamelaucium</i>	NA
Oleaceae	<i>Jasminum</i>	<i>sambac</i>
Passifloraceae	<i>Passiflora</i>	<i>caerulea</i>
Polygalaceae	<i>Polygala</i>	<i>bracteolata</i>
Solanaceae	<i>Datura</i>	<i>metel</i>
Solanaceae	<i>Physalis</i>	NA
Verbenaceae	<i>Lantana</i>	<i>camara</i>
Morphotype 34	NA	NA
Morphotype 35	NA	NA
Morphotype 19	NA	NA
Morphotype 36	NA	NA
Morphotype 37	NA	NA
Morphotype 38	NA	NA
Morphotype 39	NA	NA
Morphotype 40	NA	NA
Morphotype 25	NA	NA

Still Life with a Bird's Nest upon a Marble Ledge, 1738  
Private collection  
(See fig. 135)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Amaryllidaceae	<i>Narcissus</i>	NA
Asparagaceae	<i>Hyacinthus</i>	<i>orientalis</i>
Boraginaceae	<i>Borago</i>	NA
Boraginaceae	<i>Myosotis</i>	NA
Caprifoliaceae	<i>Lonicera</i>	<i>periclymenum</i>
Fabaceae	<i>Lathyrus</i>	NA
Hydrangeaceae	<i>Hydrangea</i>	<i>macrophylla</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Tulipa</i>	<i>gesneriana</i>
Paeoniaceae	<i>Paeonia</i>	NA
Primulaceae	<i>Primula</i>	<i>auricula</i>
Ranunculaceae	<i>Anemone</i>	<i>coronaria</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Morphotype 41	NA	NA
Morphotype 42	NA	NA

Vase of Flowers with an Ear of Corn , 1742  
National Gallery of Ireland  
(See fig. 92)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Amaryllidaceae	<i>Narcissus</i>	NA
Asparagaceae	<i>Hyacinthus</i>	<i>orientalis</i>
Asteraceae	<i>Tagetes</i>	NA
Boraginaceae	<i>Myosotis</i>	NA
Liliaceae	<i>Tulipa</i>	<i>gesneriana</i>
Paeoniaceae	<i>Paeonia</i>	NA
Poaceae	<i>Zea</i>	<i>mays</i>
Primulaceae	<i>Primula</i>	<i>auricula</i>
Ranunculaceae	<i>Adonis</i>	NA
Ranunculaceae	<i>Anemone</i>	<i>coronaria</i>
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Morphotype 43	NA	NA
Morphotype 44	NA	NA
Morphotype 45	NA	NA
Morphotype 46	NA	NA

Still Life of Flowers in a Glass Vase on a Marble Table before a Niche, 1742  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
(See fig. 93)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Asparagaceae	<i>Hyacinthus</i>	<i>orientalis</i>
Boraginaceae	<i>Myosotis</i>	NA
Caryophyllaceae	<i>Silene</i>	<i>gallica</i>
Fabaceae	<i>Phaseolus</i>	<i>coccineus</i>
Liliaceae	<i>Fritillaria</i>	<i>meleagris</i>
Paeoniaceae	<i>Paeonia</i>	NA
Rosaceae	<i>Rosa</i>	NA
Morphotype 47	NA	NA
Morphotype 48	NA	NA
Morphotype 49	NA	NA

Still Life of Flowers in a Glass Vase on a Marble Ledge, 1745  
Private collection  
(See fig. 34)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Asteraceae	<i>Symphyotrichum</i>	NA
Asteraceae	<i>Tagetes</i>	NA
Asteraceae	NA	NA
Convolvulaceae	<i>Convolvulus</i>	<i>tricolor</i>
Malvaceae	<i>Alcea</i>	<i>rosea</i>
Paeoniaceae	<i>Paeonia</i>	NA
Plantaginaceae	<i>Antirrhinum</i>	NA
Morphotype 50	NA	NA

Posy of Flowers, with a Tulip and a Melon, on a Stone Ledge, 1748  
Private collection  
(See fig. 35)

FAMILY	GENUS	SPECIFIC EPITHET
Asteraceae	<i>Symphyotrichum</i>	NA
Asteraceae	NA	NA
Liliaceae	<i>Tulipa</i>	<i>gesneriana</i>
Paeoniaceae	<i>Paeonia</i>	NA
Morphotype 29	NA	NA
Morphotype 43	NA	NA

## Notes

### Rachel Ruysch

- Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979).
- Maurice H. Grant, *Rachel Ruysch 1664–1750* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1956).
- Marianne Berardi, “Science into Art: Rachel Ruysch’s Early Development as a Still-Life Painter” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1998).
- Werner Timm, “Bemerkungen zu einem Stilleben von Rachel Ruysch,” *Oud-Holland* (1962): 137–38; *Kunstschrift* 44, no. 1 (2000), the issue was dedicated to Rachel Ruysch; Jaromír Šíp, “Notities bij het stilleven van Rachel Ruysch,” *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 19 (1968): 157–70; Yvonne Friedrichs, “Adriaen van der Werff und Rachel Ruysch: zwei Hofmaler des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz in Düsseldorf,” *Weltkunst* 54 (1984): 712–15; Marianne Berardi, “Missing Mates: Rediscovering A Pair of Companion Paintings by Rachel Ruysch,” in *Connoisseurship: Essays in Honour of Fred G. Meijer*, Charles Dumas, Rudolf E. O. Ekkart, and Carla van de Puttelaar, eds. (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2020), 34–40. There have been two exhibitions centered on *Ruysch: Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750): lesní zákoutí s květinami* (National Gallery Prague, 2004, curated by Hana Seifertová); and *Das Stilleben und die Entdeckung der Welt* (Kulturhistorisches Museum Rostock, 2015, curated by Susanne Knuth). Ruysch has featured in numerous artists’ dictionaries, surveys, and exhibition catalogues. To name only a few: Erika Gemar-Költzsch, *Holländische Stillebenmaler im 17. Jahrhundert* (Lingen: Luca Verlag, 1995), 847–64; Sam Segal and Klara Alen, *Dutch and Flemish Flower Pieces: Paintings, Drawings and Prints up to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 634–44; Paul Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting 1600–1720* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 80–83, cat. nos. 26, 27; Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek, *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550–1720* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1999), 281–83, cat. no. 77; and Ariane

- van Suchtelen, *In Volle Bloei* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2022), 55–59.
- For a biography of Frederik Ruysch see Luuc Kooijmans, *Death Defied: The Anatomy Lessons of Frederik Ruysch* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
  - Jan van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1750), 210–33. Van Gool’s information is not always correct. For instance, he states that she was born in Amsterdam whereas she was, in fact, born in The Hague; that she married in 1695, but it was in 1693; that she became a member of the Confrerie Pictura in The Hague in 1700, but it was rather 1701; that she traveled to Düsseldorf with her son in 1710, but Jan Willem was only born in 1711.
  - The elaborate signature is characteristic for paintings from about 1681–86, after which her signature became less calligraphic.
  - For an in-depth discussion of her early work see Marianne Berardi, “Science into Art.” For the Munich and 1681 paintings specifically, see 191–93, 195, 197, and 158–59, 160–62.
  - A festoon sold as signed “Rachel Ruysch” (Christie’s London, 29 Mar 1968, lot 83) is a version of two paintings attributed to De Heem (Lepke Berlin, 7–9 Jul 1913, lot 422, and Christie’s London, 10 Jul 1992, lot 9); Berardi, “Science into Art,” 159–60.
  - Both are signed and dated—1683 and 1685, respectively.
  - For Rachel’s work inspired by Van Schrieck see Berardi, “Science into Art,” 284–305 (the work in Rostock is discussed 295–9). For Van Schrieck’s painting and versions of it see Susanna Steensma, *Otto Marseus van Schrieck: Leben und Werk* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1999), 152–53.
  - Berardi, “Science into Art,” 327–29.
  - Hieronymous Sweerts, *Alle de gedichten van Hieronymous Sweerts* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1697), 170–71. English translation kindly provided by Han van der Vegt.
  - See mariavanoosterwijck.nl. Houbraken recounts how Van Aelst proposed to Van Oosterwijck, who turned him down; Houbraken, *De groote schouburg*,

- vol. 2, 216–17. Translation to English found in Julia K. Dabbs, *Life Stories of Women Artists, 1550–1800: An Anthology* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 166.
- To date, little research exists on Anna: Gemar-Költzsch, *Holländische Stillebenmaler im 17. Jahrhundert*, 845; Berardi, “Science into Art,” 164, 194, 197, 262, 324, and 375; Edwin Buijsen and Fred G. Meijer, “Anna Ruysch’s Rabbits’ Teeth and Fringes,” *Hoogsteder Journal* 4 (1998): 17–23; Adriaan van der Willigen and Fred G. Meijer, *A Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Still-Life Painters Working in Oils: 1525–1725* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2003), 172; Luuc Kooijmans, “Ruysch, Anna (1666–1754),” Huygens Instituut Online Dictionary of Dutch Women, available online at resources.huygens.knaw.nl; Segal and Alen, *Dutch and Flemish Flower Pieces*, 644–45.
  - The signed, or reportedly signed, paintings are: Christie’s Paris, 18 March 2016, lot 769 (signed “Anna Ruysch 1685”); Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, inv. no. 378 (signed “Anna Ruysch”); private collection, The Netherlands (signed “Anna Ruysch”); Sotheby’s New York, 15 January 1993, lot 90 (signed and dated “A Ruysch 1685”); and Christie’s London, 7 December 2007, lot 145 (signed “[illegible] Ruysch”).
  - Abraham Mignon, *Flowers, Birds, Insects, Snakes, Mice, Lizards and Frogs*, 17th century. Oil on wood, 48 × 42 cm (18⅞ × 16½ in.). Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1554.
  - Phillips London, 15 April 1997, lot 39. Van Aelst’s painting was sold at Sotheby’s Amsterdam, 14 November 1990, lot 36.
  - Sold at Hampel, 9 December 2005, lot 250 (as Rachel Ruysch).
  - Sold Baron Ribeyre & Associés, 8 April 2011, lot 41 (as attributed to Anna Ruysch).
  - Sold Sotheby’s London, 30 October 1991, lot 145 (attributed to the “circle of Rachel Ruysch” and compared to Fitzwilliam Museum, PD.50-1966, citing Fred Meijer). Berardi attributes the painting to Anna (“Science into Art,” 375n650, fig. 106).
  - Anna Ruysch (attributed to), *Vase of Flowers*. Oil on canvas, 57.5 × 44 cm (22⅝ × 17⅜ in.). Fitzwilliam Museum, PD.50-1966.

62. The African pumpkin also appeared in Commelin, *Horti medici Amstelodamensis*, vol. 1, 103, and the *Hortus Malabaricus*, vol. 8, 17–18, plate 9. The text refers to a pumpkin flourishing in the Amsterdam Hortus in 1686.

63. Marianne Berardi, *Rachel Ruysch, The Hague–Amsterdam* (London: Richard Green, 2012), unpaginated.

64. On passionflowers in Ruysch's paintings see Berardi, "Science into Art," 375–76.

65. Herman Henstenburgh, *Passionflower*, British Museum, SL5279.17, signed HHB Fec. In the inventory of Valerius Röver, a passionflower on vellum by Henstenburgh is listed under entry 58: "Flos passionis." Van de Graft, *Agnes Block*, 138.

66. See Hendrick Fromantiau, *Flowers in a Glass Vase*, 1668. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Promised Gift of Susan and Matthew Weatherbie, in support of the Center for Netherlandish Art. A later example of the use of a passionflower in a floral bouquet is the 1716 still life by Margareta Haverman in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (71.6).

67. The Oleander was cultivated in the Hortus Medicus and the garden of Agnes Block. According to Commelin, the Indian wide-leaved Oleander (*Indiaansche, breet-bladerige Oleander*) was imported from the Malabar coast (India) and Sri Lanka. Commelin, *Horti medici Amstelodamensis*, vol. 1, 44–66. A drawing by Jan Moninckx appears in the Moninckx Atlas, vol. 2, plate 5. A drawing of an Oleander by Willem de Heer appears in the inventory list of Valerius Röver. Van de Graft, *Agnes Block*, 146.

68. Agnes Block's cousin mentions both the passionflower and the carrion flower in a poem on flowers in her estate: "De wond're Passi-bloe, die sig een dag vertoont, De Padde-bloem sy door 't penceel herschept, gekroont." "The wondrous passionflower, which shows itself for a day, the toad-flower [carrion flower] reconstructed and crowned by the brush." Gualtherus Blok, *Vyver-hof van Agneta Blok* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1702). Cited in Van de Graft, *Agnes Block*, 113.

69. For watercolors by De Heer commissioned by Block, see Van der Gaft, *Agnes Block*, 136, 146. Cited in Wijnands, *The Botany of the Commelins*, 49. Jan Moninckx's watercolor of the carrion flower appears in vo. 1 of the Moninckx atlas, VI G 1, pl. 1.

70. I thank Katharina Schmidt-Loske for identifying the swallowtail butterfly and Charles Davis for identifying the morpho butterfly.

71. Berardi, *Rachel Ruysch*, unpaginated.

72. The pineapple also appears in Ruysch's *Still life of Exotic Flowers* (fig. 90) and in the still life in the collection of Colonel Joseph Weld, Lulworth Manor, England. Grant, cat. no. 133.

73. D. Onno Wijnands, "De eerste kassen voor planten uit de tropen," *Onze Eigen Tuin* 35, no. 4 (1989): 34–6; Wijnands, *The Botany of the Commelins*, 55; De Jong, "Aardse Sterren," 73; Catherine Powell, "Pineapple Lady: Expertise and Exoticism in Agnes Block's Self

Representation as *Flora Batava*," in *Women, Collecting and Cultures Beyond Europe*, ed. Arlene Leis (London: Routledge, 2022), 95–99.

74. Moninckx Atlas, VI G 1. verso, 35: "Ananas heeft rijpe vrucht voortgebracht in den Hortus, der Stadt Amsteldam A 1687. en 1688," (The pineapple bore fruit in the Hortus of the city of Amsterdam in 1687 and 1688). See also Commelin, *Horti medici Amstelodamensis*, (Amsterdam: n.p., 1697), 109–110, where he states that the pineapple bore fruits "this year" in the month of September.

75. "Ananas Linscotti, bijna rijpe vrugt, in wat minder als levens groote, van Alida Withoos, na 't leven. A 1687." Van de Graft, *Agnes Block*, 138. Johnson, "Pieter de la Court van der Voort," 23–41.

76. Only the giant locust nibbling on a passion fruit in the lower right corner introduces an element of danger into the fresh smelling arrangement of flourishing blossoms; see Berardi, *Rachel Ruysch*, unpaginated.

77. On the idea of a still life as a map, see Sheila Barker, "The Universe of Giovanni Garzoni: Art, Mobility, and the Global Turn in the Geographical Imaginary," in *The Immensity of the Universe in the Art of Giovanni Garzoni*, ed. Sheila Barker (Livorno: Sillabe, 2020), 24–27; and Jason Farago, "A Messy Table, a Map of the World," *New York Times*, May 8, 2022.

78. Den Hartog, "Magnificent!," 253.

79. Sattleven's drawing of an eggplant is listed in Valerius Röver's inventory as "Solanum Indicum maxicum"; Van de Gracht, *Agnes Block*, 142. It is today in the British Museum as *Botanical Study: Solanum (nightshade) Indicum Maxicum (Madagascar Potato)*, 1686 (1836, 0811.504).

80. The *Leonotis leonurus* was included in the Moninckx Atlas, VI G 2 pl. 30.

81. Hunt and De Jong, *The Anglo-Dutch Garden*, 272–73.

82. The first two lines of the letter from Rachel Ruysch to Johann Wilhelm read: "Sende aan uwe C.V.Dheit een stuk Malery met vreemde en rare bloemen, waer ik mijn devoir heb gedaen in hopen sijnde dat uwe C.V.D. heit het met genadige oogen sal ontfangen, in dat 't soo konstig en uytvoerig sal worden bevonden dat uwe C.D.heit daar door mogten worden bewogen my in genaden gedagtig te sijn." Susan Tipton, "'La passion mia per la pittura': Die Sammlungen des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz (1658–1716) in Düsseldorf im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* (2006): 282, document 507. I have transcribed the adjectives for bloemen as "vreemde en rare" rather than "ende en Rand," as transcribed by Tipton. "I sent to your Elector a painting with foreign and rare flowers where I did my duty hoping that it will please you, and that you think it is done so artfully and elaborately that your Elector will be moved to offer me grace." Author's translation. I thank Bernd Ebert for bringing this reference to my attention.

83. "Dit kunstgebloemt," van vaster aard / Dan het puiksieraad der lentedagen / Mag,onverwelkt, zijn

schoonheid dragen / Het blyft voor strenge vorst bewaard; / Geen felle bui van guure winden / Kan ooit zijn edlen gloed verslinden." Sara Maria van der Wilp, "Op de Uitmuntende Schilderkunst van Mejuffrouwe Rachel Ruisch, weduwe van den Heere Juriaan Pool," *Dichtlovers*, 10. It is not entirely clear whether Van der Wilp is referring to a specific painting or to Ruysch's art in general. However, the motifs mentioned on pages 8 and 9—roses, tulips, grapes, pomegranates, a bird's nest, a lizard, and bees—suggest that she is referring to Ruysch's *Still Life with Fruit and Flowers* in Augsburg (fig. 111).

### Art is Human Added to Nature

- Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland III* (Ulm/ Memmingen: auf Kosten der Gaumischen Handlung, 1754), 641.
- In the Dutch translation of Cesare Ripa's famous manual *Iconologia*, the personifications of Chiarezza (Doorluchtigheyd) and Verita (Waerhey) are both depicted as a sun with a face in a hand. See Cesare Ripa and Jochen Becker, *Iconologia of Uytbeeldinghe des verstands* (Soest: Davaco, 1971), 95, 589.
- The inscriptions in Latin read as "Ars naturam corrigens in regno minerali," "Ars naturam adjuvans in regno vegetabili," and "Ars naturam Supplens in regno animali."
- The fairly prominent place that painting occupies here may be seen as an idiosyncratic addition by Fludd. For the developments of the arts and the sciences, see Larry Shiner, *The Invention of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics (I) & (2)," *Journal of the History of Ideas: A Quarterly Devoted to Cultural and Intellectual History* 12 (1951): 496–527 and 13 (1952): 17–46.
- Dichtlovers voor de uitmuntende schilderessen Mejuffrouwe Rachel Ruisch, weduwe van den kúnstlievenden heere Juriaan Pool* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1750), 21, 24, 34, 41, 47.
- Luuc Kooijmans, *Death Defied: The Anatomy Lessons of Frederik Ruysch* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 387.
- Marianne Berardi, "Science into Art: Rachel Ruysch's Early Development as a Still-Life Painter" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1998), 95; Lorena Amorós Blasco, "Estrategias discursivas en la ideación de un proyecto artístico a partir de la biografía y la obra de Rachel Ruysch / Discursive Strategies in the Ideation of an Artistic Project Based on the Biography and the Work of Rachel Ruysch," *Asparkia : investigación feminista* 34 (2019): 89–108; Marilyn Ogilvie and Joy Harvey, *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives From Ancient Times to the Mid-20th Century* (Oxford: Routledge, 2000).
- Jaromír Síp, "Notities Bij Het Stilleven Van Rachel

Ruysch," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19 (1968): 157–70.

9. Bert van de Roemer, "From Vanitas to Veneration: The Embellishments in the Anatomical Cabinet of Frederik Ruysch," *Journal of the History of Collections* 22 (2010): 169–86.

10. Georges Cuvier, *Histoire des Sciences Naturelle. Deuxième Partie, comprenant les 16e et 17e siècle* (Paris: Fortin, Masson, et cie., 1841), 400.

11. Hendrik Baron Collot d'Escury, *Hollands Roem in Kunsten en Wetenschappen (...)* *Eerste deel*, (The Hague and Amsterdam: Van Cleef, 1824), 105.

12. Pieter Scheltema, *Het leven van Frederik Ruijsch* (Sliedrecht: Gebroeders Luijt, 1886), 7.

13. Von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 639.

14. Two examples include the collection of Levinus Vincent, who was helped by his wife Joanna van Breda, and the workshop of collector-naturalist Maria Sibylla Merian, who was assisted by her two daughters.

15. Frederik Ruysch, *Thesaurus animalium primus* (Amsterdam: Joannes Wolters., 1710), fol. \*\* recto. 1020 as the number of boxes of insects seems somewhat unlikely. However, this number is mentioned in both the Latin and Dutch text of the catalogue. Ruysch himself mentions more than a hundred boxes to his visitor Von Uffenbach. The typesetter may have read the manuscript incorrectly.

16. Von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 624.

17. Ruysch, *Thesaurus animalium primus*, 3.

18. Nine hundred sixteen of Frederik's preparations are currently held at the Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg, Russia; collection.kunstkamera.ru.

### Painting the Botanical World

I am especially grateful to Jackson Kehoe who helped to organize numerous aspects of this effort and was particularly helpful completing several of the botanical inventories. Christina Janulis similarly assisted with the inventories, and Nawal Shrestha analyzed the data responsible for figs. 1 and 6. I additionally thank David Boufford, Colin Hughes, and Daniel Santamaria-Aguilar for early input on species identifications. Anna C. Knaap, as well as her fellow lead authors, and the team at Sound Solutions for Sustainable Science, reviewed this essay for style and content.

1. Plants of the World Online database, available at powo.science.kew.org.

2. E. J. Edwards, R. Nyffeler, and M. J. Donoghue, "Basal cactus phylogeny: implications of *Pereskia* (Cactaceae) paraphyly for the transition to the cactus life form," *American Journal of Botany* 92, no. 7 (2005):177–88; Edward Anderson, *The Cactus Family* (Portland, Oregon: Timber Press, 2001).

3. Charles C. Davis, C. D. Bell, S. Mathews, and M. J. Donoghue, "Laurasian Migration Explains Gondwanan Disjunctions: Evidence from Malpighiaceae," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*

*of the United States of America* 99, no. 10 (2002): 6833–37; Monica Arakaki, Pascal-Antoine Christin, Reto Nyffeler, Anita Lendel, Urs Eggli, R. Matthew Ogburn, Elizabeth Spriggs, Michael J. Moore, and Erika J. Edwards, "Contemporaneous and recent radiations of the world's major succulent plant lineages," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 108, no. 20 (2011): 8379–84; and T. Hernandez-Hernandez, J. W. Brown, B. O. Schlumpberger, L. E. Eguiarte, and S. Magallon, "Beyond aridification: multiple explanations for the elevated diversification of cacti in the New World Succulent Biome," *New Phytologist* 202, no. 4 (2014): 1382–97.

4. M. Popp, V. Mirre, and C. Brochmann, "A Single Mid-Pleistocene Long-Distance Dispersal by a Bird Can Explain the Extreme Bipolar Disjunction in Crowberries (*Empetrum*)," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 108, no. 16 (2011): 6520–5.

5. Nathan Nunn and Nancy Qian, "The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food and Ideas," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 24 (2010): 163–88.

6. Anderson, *The Cactus Family*; Gordan Douglas Rowley, *A History of Succulent Plants* (Moreton-in-Marsh, England: Strawberry Press, 1997).

7. Anderson, *The Cactus Family*; Rowley, *A History of Succulent Plants*; Richard Alden Howard, and Maria Touw, "The Cacti of the Lesser Antilles and the Typification of the Genus *Opuntia* Miller," *Cactus and Succulent Journal* 53 (1981): 233–37.

8. Harold Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

9. Cook.

10. Daniel S. Park, et al., "The colonial legacy of herbaria," *Nature Human Behaviour* 7, no. 7 (2023): 1059–68; Charles C. Davis, "The herbarium of the future," *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* 38, no. 5 (May 2023): 412–23.

### The Diversity and Beauty of Nature

1. The garden spider (*Araneus diadematus*) can be found in eight of Ruysch's paintings: figs. 3, 5, 24, 27, 96, 106 & 111.

2. Rachel Ruysch painted the following species of shell snails: Burgundy snail (*Helix pomatia*) in figs. 129 & 152; banded snail (*Cepaea hortensis*) in figs. 8 & 64; and grove snail (*Cepaea nemoralis*) in figs. 2, 5, 8, 30, 109, 111, 117, 120, 122, 127, 129, 130 & 139. Among the sea snails are: Hebrew moon snail (*Naticarius hebraeus*) in fig. 130; two shells of the Littorinidae family of sea snails in fig. 31; Pacific oyster in fig. 28; and the common mussel (*Mytilus edulis*) in fig. 46. An example of the world's largest land slug, the ash-black slug (*Limax cinereoniger*) can be found in a forest-floor still life (fig. 39). This slug is a typical representative of the inhabitants of the damp, shady habitat of the forest floor.

3. J. Van der Veen, *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735*, (Amsterdam: Zwolle, 1992), 327.

4. Johannes Goedaert (1617–1668) wrote *Metamorphosis Naturalis*, a work in three volumes with a total of 150 illustrations, published in Middelburg in 1662, 1667, and 1669. Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717) wrote the two-volume work *Der Raupen wunderbare Verwandlung und sonderbare Blumen-nahrung* (The caterpillars' marvelous transformation and strange floral food) published in Nuremberg and Leipzig in 1679 and 1683. Each volume contained fifty plates engraved and etched by Merian. In 1717, a posthumous third volume was published in Amsterdam. Stephan Blankaart (1650–1704) wrote *Schou-Burg der Rupsen, Wormen, Maden en Vliegende Dierkens daar uit voortkomende. Door eigen ondervindinge bye en gebracht* (Showplace of caterpillars, worms, maggots, and flying things . . ), published in Amsterdam in 1688.

5. H. Engel, "Alphabetical List of Dutch Zoological Cabinets and Menageries," *Bijdragen tot de dierkunde* 2 (1939): 247–346.

6. A collection of 116 drawings by Cornelia de Rijck is preserved at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, see F. G. Meijer, "Surinaamse insecten door Cornelia de Rijck," *RKD Bulletin* 2, no. 1 (1994): 5–7.

7. B. Beier, "Contre-Epreuves in der barocken Stillebenmalerei," *Maltechnik* 1 (1987): 35–39; S. Berthier, et al., "Butterfly Inclusions in van Schrieck Masterpieces: Techniques and Optical Properties," *Appl. Phys. A* 92 (2008): 51–57.

8. Green turns blue very quickly, as the lipid-bound yellow pigment is leached out by the alcohol. While this can happen within a week, the preserved animal remains blue—potentially for hundreds of years—unless it is bleached by exposure to UV light. [This essay was translated from German by Lance Anderson.]

### Surinam Toads

1. Two drawings have been associated with Rachel Ruysch, a drawing of leaves (grapes?) on blue paper with a later inscription on the verso giving Ruysch's name, today in Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. no. KKSgb16104), and a drawing of an anemone with the inscription on recto in the lower right: "Juffr. Rujsch" (sold at Nadeau's Auction Gallery, Windsor, CT, on January 1, 2021, as lot 536). Neither attribution is convincing: they cannot be connected to a painting, she is not known to have signed her paintings in this manner, and there is a general lack of knowledge about her drawing practice.

2. The drawing has been previously published as by an unidentified artist in Diane Epelbaum, "'Little Atlas': Global Travel and Local Preservation in Maria Sybilla Merian's *The Metamorphosis of the Insects of*

*Surinam” Transatlantic Women Travelers, 1688–1843*, edited by Misty Krueger (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2021), 34. Epelbaum also mentions it in Diane Epelbaum, “Evolving the Genre of Empire: Gender and Place in Women’s Natural Histories of the Americas, 1688–1808” (PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2016), 90 (as a reproduction of Merian’s image of the Surinam toad).

3. This painting is mentioned and illustrated in Marianne Berardi’s dissertation. She kindly shared with me her knowledge of the painting and connected me with its owner. Marianne Berardi, “Science into Art: Rachel Ruysch’s Early Development as a Still-Life Painter” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1998), 281n489, 358–59, 380–84, 391, pl. 49. It was recently given to the Musée du Grand Siècle in Saint-Cloud, France, as part of the collection of Pierre Rosenberg. The date is written in Roman numerals, a format she only used between 1687 and 1691. Berardi interprets this as a reflection of conventions for scientific illustrations and thus of Ruysch’s awareness of the scientific nature of her work; see Berardi, 360–1.

4. Royal Society Collection, CLP 15/1/36 (Classified Papers, 15. Zoology, vol. 1 [No.] 36). The letter is in Latin, transcription and translation kindly provided by Benjamin Fortson. The “smaller bean of Dodoens” refers to a species of beans mentioned by the Flemish physician and botanist Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585). The “smaller” or “lesser” bean, labeled *phaselus minor*, is mentioned on page 506 of the Latin edition entitled *Stirpium historiae pemptades sex, sive libri XXX* (1583) of his *Crujdeboeck* (Plant book), originally published in Dutch in 1554.

5. Secretarial notes of Royal Society meetings by Thomas Gale and others, 10 March 1686–25 February 1691 (MS/557/2/1). A cleaner transcription of these notes exists in the Journal Book of the Royal Society Volume 8, minutes of meetings 1685–1690 (JBO/8), 294. Not much is known about John van de Bemde (about 1655–about 1726), a merchant, who was a Royal Society member from 1678–1711. The Numb Eel or Torpede of Surinam is an electrical eel. It is conceivable that the letter was officially read several months after it was received, which would explain that it appears in the sequence before a letter from March 1, 1688, thus predating the Feb. 26, 1689 meeting. However, the letter may have also been misplaced in the sequence. I thank Felix Zorzo for his assistance with this research.

6. JBO/8, 282.

7. Gisbert Cuper, *Lettres de critique* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1742), 212. Cited from Catherine Powell, Locating Early Modern Women’s Participation in the Public Sphere of Botany: Agnes Block (1629–1704) and Networks in Print, *Early Modern Low Countries* 4, no. 2 (2020): 240–41.

8. Cuper, *Lettres de critique*, 221.

9. Luuc Kooijmans, *Death Defied: The Anatomy Lessons of Frederik Ruysch* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 328.

10. Frederik Ruysch, *Thesaurus animalium primus* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1710), 40–41, pl. IV.

### Beyond Beauty

First and foremost, I would like to thank Laura Kromer, in Konstanz, for her great support during the genesis of this essay. I am also grateful to Marius Mutz and Martin Schawe for sharing their research with me.

1. Eddy de Jongh, “Letterkrontjes voor een manhafte Kunstheldin,” *Kunstschrift* 1 (2000): 26–31.

2. Jan van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 1 (The Hague: n.p., 1750–51), 210–33.

3. “Diese Meisterin hat sich durch ihren fast bezauberten Pensel verewiget, daß es auch dem allergeschicktesten Meister schwer fällt, sie zu copiren, und es ist allemahl eine grosse Ehre vor ein Cabinet, wann Liebhaber sich rühmen können, ein Original davon zu bewahren,” Christian Benjamin Rauschner, *Catalogus der Sammlung eines grossen Herrnns verschiedener ausnehmender Schildereyen* (Frankfurt: Rauschner, 1765), 37, lot no. 64 (as “Rachel Ruyscht”).

4. On the status of the still life in the art theory of the time, see, for instance, Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: n.p., 1604), 281; Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbare werelt* (Rotterdam: n.p., 1678), 86–87; and Gerard de Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1712), vol. 2, 260. On flower still lifes on the art market, see Peter Capreau, “‘La fraîcheur qu’offre la nature’: Some Remarks on the Evolution of Prices of Flower Still Lifes at Auction during the Eighteenth Century,” in *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime*, ed. Dries Lyna, Filip Vermeylen, and Hans Vlieghe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 155–67.

5. To date, only two paintings can be confirmed as owned by relatives of the artist. The inventory of Jan Post, presumably an uncle of Ruysch’s, drawn up on April 16, 1684 in Amsterdam, mentions two flower still lifes of different sizes by the artist: “Een schilderije van een struijck van Rachel Ruijsch” and “Een dito kleijnder van deselve.” The art dealer Jan Roosa valued the larger one (or both together?) at twenty-four guilders. A later note in the margin indicates that the smaller painting was included by mistake and actually belonged to “Dr Ruysch,” presumably referring to Frederik Ruysch. Getty Provenance Index, Archival Inventory N-271, p. 4, items 25, 26.

6. Susan Tipton, “‘La passion mia per la pittura’: Die Sammlungen des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz (1658–1716) in Düsseldorf im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz,” *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, 57, 2006, 132.

7. The names of Frederik Ruysch’s guests for the period 1695 to 1730 are recorded in two surviving

visitors’ books, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson—The Collections of the University of Amsterdam, HS. I E 20-21, see Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 185n330.

8. Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 132, 186n333, 254, Q 323 (February 8, 1707), 259–60, Q 352 (November 5, 1707); 262, Q 363 (January 3, 1708), 268–69, Q 407 (September 3, 1708), Q 408 (September 14, 1708).

9. “[M]et het opmaken van het blomstuk (en dat alles na het leven, sonder iets uit anderen te copieren),” letter from Frederik Ruysch to Johann Wilhelm, July 19, 1708. Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 267–8, Q 402 (July 19, 1708), 268, Q 404 (August 9, 1708).

10. Allard Pierson—The Collections of the University of Amsterdam, hs. I E 20-21; and Frederik Ruysch, *Album amicorum* [visitors’ book], 1695–1730, vol. I, 4. Luuc Kooijmans, *De doodskunstenaar: De anatomische lessen van Frederik Ruysch* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2004), 236, claims that the Elector himself was among the guests.

11. In 1708, Dr. Johann Brunner, personal physician to Johann Wilhelm, paid a visit not only to Frederik Ruysch but also to his daughter in her studio, see Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 132, 267–68, Q 402 (July 19, 1708), Q 403 (July 27, 1708), Q 407 (September 5, 1708).

12. Auction Amsterdam (anonymous), September 22, 1694: no. 28 (“Een Bloempot van Juffrouw Rachel Ruys”), valued at 47-5-00 guilders; no. 29 (“Een dito van denzelven”), valued at 26-10-00 guilders. See Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques, intéressant l’art ou la curiosité, tableaux, dessins, estampes, miniatures, sculptures, bronzes, émaux, vitraux, tapisseries, céramiques, objets d’art, meubles, antiquités, monnaies médailles, camées, intailles, armes, instruments, curiosités naturelles, etc.* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1938–87), no. 154; and Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen met derzelver pryzen, zedert een langen reeks van jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere plaatzen in het openbaar verkogt, benevens een verzameling van lysten van verscheyden nog in wezen zynde cabinetten* (The Hague: P. G. van Baalen, 1752), 18.

Auction Amsterdam (anonymous), April 6, 1695, no. 31 (“Een braaf stuk, zynde Bloemen, &c. van Juffr. R. Ruys”), valued at 48-00-00 guilders; see Lugt, no. 155; and Hoet, 22.

13. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen*, 89–90, lot no. 7: “Bloemen van Juffrouw Rachel Ruys, ongemeen fraey.”

14. Kooijmans, *De doodskunstenaar*, 327.

15. “[E]ene witte en eene roode Roos, nevens een bonte Distel, met eenige andere Bloemen” [...] “een uitmuntent Proefstukje van haer teder en geestryk Kunstpenseel,” Haags Gemeentearchief, inv. 0164-01, Confrerie Pictura en Tekenacademie, “Register of aantekeninge zo van de deekens, hoofdlyuden en secretarissen der Kunst- confreriekamer van Pictura zedert derzelver erectie in den jaare 1656, als van de kunstschilders en schilderessen, mitsgaders steene beeldhouwers, graveerders etc, die sedert gemelde tijd denzelver meestergelden daaraan

voldaan hebben door P. Terwesten, secretaris der confreriekamer. Anno 1776,” annotated until 1809, fols. 56–57, nos. 160, 161; see Van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg*, 214; Johan Gram, *De Schildersconfrerie Pictura en hare Academie van Beeldende Kunsten te ’s Gravenhage* (Rotterdam: Uitgevers-Maatschappy “Elsevier,” 1882), 42. According to J. Tervesten, the described painting is identical with the bouquet of flowers of 1700 in the collection of the Mauritshuis, The Hague. This assumption should be disregarded since the Mauritshuis bouquet does not contain a milk-thistle. See Epco Runia, *Bloemen in het Mauritshuis* (Uitgeverij: Wbooks, 2007), cat. no. 11. See the quote on page 40 of this volume.

16. “[E]en extra fraay bloemstuk door Juffr. Rachel Ruijsch,” Frederik D. Obreen, *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis*, vol. 1 (Rotterdam: Hengel & Eeltjes, 1878), 111, 211, no. 12.

17. According to a note kept in the file in the holdings of the Confrerie Pictura in The Hague, all paintings belonging to the confraternity are marked with a “P” on the verso. As the painting in question has since been relined and mounted on new stretcher, this can no longer be ascertained. A second, clearly larger still life, to which the description would also apply is: Rachel Ruysch, *Roses, Convolvulus, Poppies and Other Flowers in an Urn on a Stone Ledge*, about late 1680s, oil on canvas, 107.9 × 83.8 cm (42½ × 33 in.); National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C., Gift of Wallace and Wilhelmina Holladay, 186.282.

18. Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen Holland und Engelland*, vol. 1 (Gaum: 1754), 375: “Neben diesem Saal ist ein kleines Zimmer, in welchem auch einige Gemählde stunden. Das schönste war ein Blumenstück von Rachel Ruysch in Amsterdam, der Schwester [sic.] des berühmten Doctoris Medicinae und Anatomici daselbst. Sie ist an einen Porträt-Mahler Pool in Amsterdam verheurathet, und soll anjetzo allein vor den Churfürsten von der Pfalz mahlen.”

19. Karl Leopold Strauven, *Über künstlerisches Leben und Wirken in Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf: Hofbuchdruckerei H. Boss, 1862)*, 23: “Ihr Patent zur kurfürstlichen Hofmalerin datiert vom 7. August 1708.”

20. In a letter to Johann Wilhelm dated August 9, 1708, Frederik Ruysch thanks him effusively for the appointment of his daughter as court painter (Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 268, Q 404) and dedicates the first edition of his *Thesaurus animalum primus*, published in Amsterdam in 1710, to the Elector Palatine, see Luuc Kooijmans, “Death Defied: The Anatomy Lessons of Frederik Ruysch,” *History of Science and Medicine Library* 18 (2011): 347–48; Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 132, 185n332, 290, Q 551.

21. See Horst Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn N. V., 1942); Michael North, ed., *Kunstsammeln und Geschmack im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2002); and Ekkehard Mai, ed., *Holland nach*

*Rembrandt: Zur niederländischen Kunst zwischen 1670 und 1750* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006).

22. Bettina Baumgärtel, “Niederländische Kunst um 1700 zwischen politischem Kalkül, religiöser Erbauung und Belehrung. Die Sammlung des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz in Düsseldorf,” in Mai, *Holland nach Rembrandt*, 20.

23. On renowned Kunsthaus visitors, see Angela Maria Opel, “Art’s Emancipation from the Ceremonial. The Development of Spatial Separation of Art Collections from the Princely Apartments: The Wittelsbach Residences in Düsseldorf and Mannheim” in *Collecting and the Princely Apartment*, eds. Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy, and Adriana Turpin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 124.

24. The Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel holds a list, possibly dating from around 1720, entitled “Detail des Peintures du Cabinet Electoral de Dusseldorff” with 230 paintings, accessible online at diglib.hab.de. See also Everhard Korthals Altes, “The Collections of the Palatine Electors: New Information, Documents and Drawings,” *The Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1200 (March 2003): 208.

25. On residents and agents, see Kornelia Möhlig, “Die Gemäldegalerie des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg (1658–1716),” in *Düsseldorf* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 1993), 28. Residents included the architect Matteo Alberti (1645/46–1718) in Paris, Count Antonio Maria Fede (1649–1718) in Rome, Heinrich von Wiser in Naples, and the court painter, gallery director, and art agent Jan Frans van Douven; see Baumgärtel, “Niederländische Kunst,” in Mai, *Holland nach Rembrandt*, 37–38; Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 89 et seq.; Reinhold Baumstark, ed., *Kurfürst Johann Wilhelms Bilder*, vol. I (Munich: Hirmer, 2009), 15.

26. “[D]ie schöne Arbeith und Kunst von seiner Tochter besichtigt haben,” Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 260, Q 354 (November 25, 1707).

27. Baumgärtel, “Niederländische Kunst,” 35.

28. See von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 627.

29. “[E]in halb Duzend kleine silberne Wandleuchter, und einen überaus artigen silbernen Nachttisch,” von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 627.

30. Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 323, Q 759 (October 13, 1715), Q 764 (December 13/19, 1715). On a further present for Rachel Ruysch, see Tipton 186n338, 290, Q 554 (November 18, 1710), 291, Q 555 (November 18, 1710).

31. Von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 627: “She had to deliver one piece annually to the elector Palatine, to whom she was court painter and from whom she received a pension.” (“Sie müsse jährlich an den Churfürsten von der Pfalz, von dem sie Hofmahlerin seye, und Pension habe, ein Stück liefern.”)

32. Not counting the two paintings that were probably commissioned separately as a gift for Cosimo III.

33. This can be seen from a shipping list drawn up in 1730 when the paintings were transferred

to Mannheim: “Die auf Befehl des Kurfürsten Karl Philipp von Düsseldorf nach Mannheim verbrachten kurfürstlichen Prätiösen und Malereien,” Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, 77-3894, nos. 14, 15; see Korthals Altes, “The Collections of the Palatine Electors,” 211, 217, figs. 107, 218, nos. 13, 14.

34. “capitale stuk” and “uitmuntend kunstig uijtgevoert.” See letter from Frederik Ruysch to Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, May 8, 1714; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Kasten Blau 57/9. This letter had as yet been unknown. I thank Marius Mutz for his archival research and transcription.

35. Letter from Rachel Ruysch to Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, December 13, 1715; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Kasten Blau 57/9. See also Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 323, Q 764. However, Tipton transcribes “Rare” as “Rand.”

36. Van Gool reports that the portrait, which Pool had completed in 1716, had already been packed up, ready for dispatch to Düsseldorf, when the painter received the news of the Elector Palatine’s death; see Van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg*, 234. According to the scholar and lexicographer Friedrich Carl Gottlob Hirsching, Juriaen Pool painted the family portrait at the request of his wife, who wanted to present it in person to the Elector Palatine as a gift. This may explain why the painting was not sent to Düsseldorf and apparently remained in the Ruysch-Pool family for the time being. However, Hirsching does not identify the source of this information; see Friedrich Carl Gottlob Hirsching, *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen, welche in dem 18. Jahrhunderte gestorben sind* (Leipzig: Placidus—Pozzo, 1806), 267. The spelling of the son’s name as “Joan Wilhelm” comes from a letter from Rachel Ruysch and Juriaen Pool to the Elector Palatine; see Tipton, “‘La passion mia,’” 312, Q 601 (June 19, 1714).

37. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, *Doop-, Trouw- en Begraafboeken*, 5001, vol. 48, 148.

38. For example, the elector maintained a regular exchange with his brother-in-law Ferdinando de’ Medici (1663–1713) in Florence, who thanked him in a letter from 1705 for sending him paintings from Düsseldorf; see Elisabeth Epe, *Die Gemäldesammlungen des Ferdinando de’ Medici, Erbprinz von Toskana (1663–1713)* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1990), 65–66. Works by other artists were also sent as gifts, for example, a painting by Adriaen van der Werff to Duke Anton Ulrich for his summer residence at Salzdhallum; see Gerhard Gerkens, *Das fürstliche Lustschloss Salzdhallum und sein Erbauer Herzog Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* (Braunschweig: Braunschweigischer Geschichtsverein, 1974), 106n384. For examples of important paintings that reached Johann Wilhelm along similar lines, see Möhlig, “Die Gemäldegalerie,” 37.

39. For an identification of the paintings by Ruysch depicted in the drawings by Van der Schlichten see Baumstark, ed., *Kurfürst Johann Wilhelms Bilder*

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Front cover: detail of Rachel Ruysch, *Flowers*, 1696 (fig. 96).

Back cover: detail of Rachel Ruysch, *Bouquet of Flowers*, 1715 (fig. 116).

Details: pp. 2–3: fig. 117; p. 4: fig. 14; p. 6: fig. 112; p. 8: fig. 9; p. 10: fig. 31; p. 50: fig. 47; p. 72: fig. 77; p. 102: fig. 21; p. 112: fig. 89; p. 124: fig. 97; p. 134: fig. 104; p. 140: fig. 109; p. 147: fig. 109; p. 148: fig. 110; p. 179: fig. 139; p. 180: fig. 146; p. 189: fig. 147; p. 190: fig. 152; p. 197: fig. 110.

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