

AN EXPLORER'S BOOKS: THE LIBRARY OF DUMONT D'URVILLE

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The French explorer Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville (1790–1842) made several visits to Australia during his extraordinary career. He first visited New South Wales in early 1824, as second-in-command of Duperrey's *Coquille*. During his two-month sojourn, he visited Botany Bay, Parramatta, Springwood, Penrith, Emu Plains and crossed the Blue Mountains to visit Bathurst. In October 1826, in command of the *Astrolabe* (the rechristened *Coquille*), and with secret orders to search for the site for a potential French penal colony, d'Urville returned to Australia. He visited King George Sound in Western Australia, then Western Port in Victoria and Jervis Bay on the New South Wales coast, before making his second visit to Port Jackson in December 1826. In 1827 he visited Van Diemen's Land and would return twice more, in 1839 and 1840, to use Hobart as a base for his historic voyage to the Antarctic coast. Aside from his valuable accounts of early colonial Australia, d'Urville personally collected the type specimens of numerous Australian plant and insect species. As an ethnographer, he also gathered important information about Australian Aboriginal and Pacific cultures and languages. It was he who coined



The fatal railway catastrophe on 8 May 1842, in which d'Urville and his family died: bronze bas-relief panel on Dumont d'Urville's statue in his birthplace Condé-sur-Noireau, Calvados. (Photograph Edward Duyker.)

the terms Melanesia and Micronesia. Tragically, Dumont d'Urville, his wife Adèle (née Pépin) and their sixteen-year-old son Jules Eugène Hector would all die in one of the first railway catastrophes in history: derailed at Meudon on 8 May 1842, they were trapped in their locked carriage and burnt to death as fire swept through the wreckage.

At the time of his death, d'Urville was in the French capital working on the official account of his final voyage. The deaths of all the family members on the same day occasioned the drafting of inventories of the contents of both the d'Urville family home, 'La Juliade', in the parish of Saint-Roch outside Toulon, and their Paris apartment, at 26 rue Madame, near the Jardin du Luxembourg. Both these inventories were located in the course of research for my forthcoming biography of the explorer. Surprisingly no previous biographer had cited them. The inventory for the Paris apartment compiled by François-Alexandre Demanche (1796–1862), *Étude C*, is held in the Archives nationales and was readily accessible.¹ The Toulon inventory,² although a public document nearly 170 years old, was in the hands of private notaries³ who were successors to the notarial practice of Maître G.E.L.M. Vallavielle,⁴ who drafted the list of contents on 30 July 1842 and who had known the d'Urilles personally while they were alive.⁵



Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville,
 by Lejeune, from the frontispiece of
 d'Urville's *Voyage pittoresque autour du*
Monde, Paris, 1834–1835.
 (Edward Duyker's collection.)

Both inventories list books in the possession of d'Urville and his family. Valuations for these books in the Toulon inventory are by numbered lots with the same general binding. Only occasionally were formats given and even less frequently the colours of bindings. Furthermore, the historian is frequently left guessing which volumes of incomplete sets were present. It would seem that the titles of the lots in Toulon were read out loud by one person and recorded by another. This is evident from the fact that the dates for years for voyages of exploration etc. were in words rather than numerals.

Both inventories offer a precious snapshot of the

explorer's life at the time of his death and provide valuable insights to his and his family's interests. Because many books were not individually itemised—only grouped together as a general lot and valued—it is not possible to state the ultimate size of the library. Nor is it possible to distinguish the personal collection of Madame Dumont d'Urville (1798–1842) from that of her husband. However, the various textbooks and juvenilia almost certainly belonged to their son Jules (1826–1842). Despite being in abbreviated form, over two hundred of the most significant and valuable titles (many multi-volume) were listed in the inventories.

Some months after the inventories were compiled, towards the end of 1842, another list of d'Urville's books appeared. This was an auction catalogue: *Notice des livres français, anglais, arabes, persans, sanscrits, chinois, etc., etc., composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Le Contre-Amiral Dumont-d'Urville, dont la vente aura lieu les jeudi 5, vendredi 6 et samedi 7 janvier 1843 à six heures du soir, rue des Bons-Enfants, n° 30, salle du premier, par le ministère de M^e Guérin, commissaire-priseur, rue Chabonais, N° 7, Paris, H. Labitte, 1842, 32 p.* Two copies of this rare catalogue are held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in Paris, and another by the Newberry Library, in Chicago. It is a list of 287 books divided into five sections: i. *Théologie*, ii. *Jurisprudence, Sciences et Arts*, iii. *Belles-Lettres*, iv. *Histoire*, v. *Livres Chinois*. This, however, was not the order of the auction. Theological works, for example, were only sold on the second day, while historical works and Chinese books were sold on each day and *belles lettres* were only sold on the first two days of the auction.

A great many titles in the auction catalogue do not appear in the original notarial inventories; conversely, a great many of the titles in the notarial inventories do not appear in Maître Guérin's auction catalogue. Aside from the fact that the notaries did not list everything, many books must have been taken by d'Urville's heirs or were otherwise disposed of. The printed catalogue is the ultimate reference for many of the mysteriously abbreviated titles and unspecified editions listed in the inventories, but only if they were selected for auction.

The object of this article is to offer transcriptions and an analysis of the manuscript inventories, with reference to the printed catalogue and to d'Urville's correspondence and journals. It will also draw attention to important omissions and inconsistencies and shed light on the explorer's intellectual interests. With the aid of the catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and a number

of other major national libraries, together with the *Bibliographie de la France* and several other specialised reference works, it has been possible to decipher and identify most of the books listed. It has also been possible to consult many of the published titles and even to create a digital version of part of the library.

The d'Urville library contained many of the classics of French literature, with works by Chateaubriand, Casimir Delavigne, La Harpe, Malherbe, Montaigne, Montesquieu, Racine, Regnard, Rousseau and Madame de Sévigné, together with the work of lesser writers such as Louis-François Jauffret and Amable Tastu. With the exception of works by Montesquieu, Chateaubriand and Jauffret, these authors were not represented in Guérin's auction catalogue.

Dumont d'Urville had a strong interest in languages and comparative linguistics. In 1834, he published a two-volume philological work as part of the official account of the *Astrolabe* voyage. In a letter to Isidore Le Brun, dated 6 January 1837, he wrote: 'I have returned to my philological studies and I am working on a comparative paraglottic vocabulary'.⁶ The manuscript inventories list many dictionaries and grammars dealing with Ancient Egyptian (including pioneering works by Champollion), Arabic, Chinese, Coptic, Dutch, French, Greek, Japanese, Latin, Malay, Persian, Sanskrit and Turkish. Guérin's auction catalogue lists further dictionaries, vocabularies and grammars of Anamese, Armenian, Bengali, Chaldean (one published in 1569, the oldest book in d'Urville's library), Eastern Polynesian, English, Ethiopian, Georgian, Hebrew, Hindustani, Italian, Tahitian, Tartar, Tibetan, Manchu and several West African languages. D'Urville also had a very rich collection of Egyptology and owned six volumes of the works of Sir William Jones (1746–1794), who first proposed a relationship between the languages of India and Europe, together with the companion volume to Jones' Persian grammar: *The flowers of Persian literature* (London, 1805).

Among the several Chinese dictionaries in d'Urville's possession was a solitary volume of Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes's (1759–1845) three-volume *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin*, published on Napoleon's orders in 1813. This work was based on the scholarship of the Italian missionary Fr Basile de Glemona (1648–1704), who translated some 9,000 characters into Latin, which were, in turn, translated into French by de Guignes.⁷ D'Urville also owned over sixty volumes in Chinese and numerous books in English and Latin, together with the Qur'an in Arabic (with a Latin introduction), the

Bible in Hebrew and the *De idolatria* of Maimonides in Latin translation. The latter, with a full Hebrew text, was almost certainly a seventeenth-century Amsterdam edition, but this cannot be confirmed because it did not appear in Guérin's auction catalogue.

D'Urville was also a very capable botanist and the author of a number of botanical memoirs. His library contained numerous regional French floras (by Balbi, Lamarck, Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Lefébure, Mérat and others) and important botanical works by Benjamin Delessert, Sabin Berthelot, Augustin de Candolle, Carlo Allioni, Raffeneau-Delile, Achille Richard, almost certainly Pitton de Tournefort, and very likely John Sibthorpe's (1758–1796) and James Edward Smith's (1759–1828) *Prodromus* to the *Flora Graeca*. Despite this, only eleven botanical works are listed in the auction catalogue. Although d'Urville began his botanical career as a Linnean (he even joined the Société Linnéenne de Paris), the notarial inventories make no mention of the works of the Swede



Corner Rue de Fleurus & Rue Madame, from the Jardin du Luxembourg (1887). D'Urville's Paris residence, 26 rue Madame, is the three-storey corner building in the centre-right of the photograph. (Detail of photograph H. Blancard, collection Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris.)

Carl Linnaeus, founder of modern binomial classification. However, the auction catalogue (n° 21) does list a 1774 Göttingen edition of the *Systema vegetabilium*. It is also surprising that the notarial inventories do not list any volumes of Phillip Barker Webb's (1793–1854) and Sabin Berthelot's (1794–1880) *L'Histoire naturelle des îles Canaries* (1835–50), since Webb also lived in the rue Madame (n° 45) at the time of d'Urville's death and he and Berthelot were good friends of the explorer.⁸ The anomaly, however, is addressed in Guérin's catalogue: see nos 25 and 28. And in spite of d'Urville's numerous visits to Australia, he neither owned Jacques-Julien Houtou de Labillardière's (1755–1834) pioneering *Novae Hollandiae plantarum specimen* (2 vols, Paris, 1804–6), nor Robert

Brown's *Prodromus florae Novae Hollandiae et Insulae Van Diemen* (London 1810)—the latter arranged according to the 'natural' rather than the Linnean 'sexual' system.⁹ But d'Urville did own Labillardière's *Relation du voyage à la recherche de La Pérouse* (1800), which contained important descriptions of several new Australian plant genera. He also owned Charles Gaudichaud-Beaupré's botanical volume from the Louis de Freycinet expedition of 1817–1820 and the botanical volumes he himself helped produce during the *Coquille* expedition of 1822–1825 and the *Astrolabe* expedition of 1826–1829. All had significant Australian botanical content.

D'Urville's scientific and technical interests extended to astronomy, chemistry, entomology, *materia medica*, geology, geography, glass-blowing, hydrography, forestry, naval architecture, trigonometry and even 'tachygraphie' (shorthand). Furthermore, he had an interest in the nascent science of psychology, owning Jean Louis Marie Alibert's (1768–1837) two-volume *Physiologie des passions* (Paris, 1825).¹⁰ Furthermore, d'Urville had an interest in the Scottish analytical philosophers of the mind, owning an 1836 edition of Thomas Brown's *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*. Surprisingly, while Brown's work found its way into Guérin's auction catalogue, few of the other scientific works on the above mentioned subjects were included.

The notarial inventories also confirm d'Urville's interest in phrenology. It was not an uncommon interest. He shared it with many of the luminaries of his age, including Karl Marx, Honoré de Balzac and George Eliot, to name just a few. During his final voyage, d'Urville even drew up a testament in which he bequeathed his own head to his friend the surgeon Pierre-Marie-Alexandre Dumoutier (born 1797), should he meet an untimely end. Ironically, it was Dumoutier, already very familiar with the admiral's skull, who helped to identify his remains among the badly burned bodies at Meudon on 8 May 1842. D'Urville's phrenological works, however, were not numerous and none would be listed in Guérin's catalogue. He had either Joseph Vimont's *Traité de phrénologie* (1832), or a French translation of the work of the Scottish phrenologist George Combe published under the same title, together with Théodore Poupin's *Caractères phrénologiques* (1837). In focusing on phrenology as a pseudo-science, we tend to forget that some of its practitioners made pioneering discoveries in the behavioural sciences and that others were progressive reformers of penal and medical institutions. One such

reformer (and phrenologist) was Alexander McConochie (1787–1860), whose book *Thoughts on convict management and other subjects connected with the Australian Penal Colonies*, Hobart Town, J.C. Macdougale, 1838, was one of two Australian-published works in d'Urville's library. It is also important to note that d'Urville owned a critical rejection of phrenology: Laurent Cerise's (1807–1869) *Exposé et examen critique du système phrénologique* (1836). This suggests that he might even have abandoned phrenology altogether in the later part of his life, just as he abandoned Linnean orthodoxy in botany. Significantly, when one compares the Toulon and the Paris inventories, it is clear that d'Urville left all his phrenological works in Toulon and took none with him to the capital.

Although d'Urville's most recent biographer, John Dunmore, has asserted that d'Urville was 'not a political animal', that despite his noble origins he had 'always stood aside from the political unrest of his day' and that he had 'not been involved in the Bonapartist and anti-Bonapartist arguments of the 1810s',¹¹ he clearly supported the Revolution of 1830 and accepted responsibility for taking Charles X into exile. Indeed, in his library was a copy of Louis Rozet's *Chronique de juillet 1830* (Paris, T. Barrois et B. Duprat, 1832, 2 vols), which contains a lengthy account of d'Urville's role in these momentous events. This was another work which did not find its way into Guérin's auction catalogue. While John Dunmore hinted that d'Urville had Bonapartist sympathies or at least ambitions to bring the late emperor's remains back from the island of Saint Helena, in a now-missing manuscript memoir the explorer wrote in the 1830s, d'Urville himself referred to his spirit as 'naturally republican'. He also admitted that at the beginning of the Revolution of 1830, his 'possibly immoderate ardour inspired him with very advanced opinions'.¹² The Paris inventory would appear to confirm this: d'Urville even owned eight *livraisons* (instalments) of 3 volumes (1839–1840) of the overtly socialist work of the writers Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud: *Encyclopédie nouvelle ou dictionnaire philosophique, scientifique, littéraire et industriel*. However, this work did not make the pages of Guérin's catalogue. D'Urville also owned a number of other encyclopaedias, including apparently thematic volumes reprinted from the famous *L'Encyclopédie méthodique* and instalments of François Malapeyre's *Mémorial encyclopédique et progressif des connaissances humaines* which covered the sciences, literature, fine arts, industrial technology, history, geography and voyages of exploration.

D'Urville's library offers particularly valuable insights into his theoretical readings on the differences between the peoples of the world. Significantly neither the notarial inventories nor the auction catalogue list the third edition of Johan Friedrich Blumenbach's (1752–1840) *De generis humani varietate nativa* (1795), or Frédéric Chardel's French translation of 1804 (*De l'Unité du genre humain et de ses variétés*), which divided humanity into five races on the basis of craniological measurements (and skin colour): Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian (Negroid) and Malay. Despite d'Urville's dalliance with phrenology and his voyaging with those (such as the surgeons Prosper Garnot, Jean-René-Constant Quoy, Paul Gaimard and later Pierre Dumoutier) who placed great emphasis on facial angles and craniological measurement in racial differentiation, his primary interest in the study of human difference remained linguistic. Of the relevant works in the notarial inventories, we know that he owned a four-volume French translation of the British philologist John Leydon's (1775–1811) *Discoveries and Settlements of Europeans in Northern and Western Africa*, published by Arthus Bertrand in 1821. He appears to have owned a volume of Antoine Court de Gébelin's (1725–1784) *Le Monde primitif*, which, aside from an enormous amount of esoteric scholarship on the interpretation of symbols, contained a comparative grammar and proposed a theory of the universal origins of languages. Significantly, d'Urville owned Abbé Jérôme Richard-Sabin's (born c. 1720) *Voyages chez les peuples sauvages* (Paris, Laurens aîné, 1800–1801), which sought to define the cultural commonalities of primitive societies. Edited by François Babié de Bercenay, Sabin's three-volume work did not seek to biologise human difference, nor did it seek to idealise 'savage' society as Rousseau had. It considered religion, violence, morality, social structure, customs and the knowledge of primitive peoples from historical literature, be it in the early European past or as revealed by the recent explorations of the Pacific. It is also possible that the '*Histoire de la Louisiane*' d'Urville owned, was one of Antoine-Simon Le Page Du Pratz's (c. 1695–1775) sympathetic volumes (1758) on the manners, customs and religion of the Amerindians. But perhaps most importantly, he possessed a copy of Adriano Balbi's (1782–1848) *Introduction à l'Atlas ethnographique du globe* (Paris, 1833). This significant work classified the peoples of the globe primarily according to their languages, rather than the supposed anatomical differences of 'races' isolated by physical anthropologists. Balbi resided in Paris between 1821 and 1832 and it is very

possible that d'Urville knew him personally. It was Balbi who proposed the term '*ethnographie*' for his rigorous, essentially linguistic, discipline. Once again, none of these works were included in Guérin's auction catalogue. However, Balbi's *Abrégé de géographie* (Paris, 1834) is listed (n° 113) and so is Court de Gébeline's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, Paris, 1778 (n° 83). Guérin also lists (n° 195) one of the last books d'Urville purchased: Gustave Séligmann d'Eichthal's *Histoire et origine des Foulahs ou Fellans : Études sur l'histoire primitive des races océaniques et américaines* (1841). D'Eichthal was another socialist author represented in d'Urville's library.

Not surprisingly, d'Urville owned many accounts of travel and exploration by authors such as Beechey, Hyacinthe de Bougainville, Dampier, Desfontaines, Dillon, Demidoff, Douville, Duhaut-Cilly, Dupaty, Duperrey, Du Petit-Thouars, Freycinet, Gaimard, Krusenstern, Labillardière, almost certainly Lapérouse (edited by Milet-Mureau), Laplace, Lesson, Péron, Phipps, Raffet, Thunberg and Vaillant. He also owned Dominique Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte* and Charles Sigisbert Sonnini's work with the same title. Furthermore, he had copies of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* and the *Bulletin de la société de géographie* and owned voyage compilations by Henri Lemaire, Alcide d'Orbigny, Alexis Rochon and Albert Montémont, together with accounts of whaling and missionary voyages. Guérin's auction catalogue provides evidence of even greater bibliographic riches in the area of travel literature: d'Urville owned (n° 140) George Staunton's *An Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China; taken chiefly from the papers of the Earl Macartney* (London, 1797), (n° 142) William Price's *Journal of the British Embassy to Persia* (London, 1832), (n° 141) Francis Hamilton's *An Account of the Fishes found in the River Ganges* (Edinburgh, 1832), (n° 146) Frederic Louis Norden's *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie* (Paris, 1795), (n° 148) Riffaud's *Tableau de l'Egypte, de la Nubie et des lieux circonvoisins* (Paris, 1830), (n° 147) a French translation of Henry Salt's *Voyage to Abyssinia* (Paris, 1812), (n° 132) Edmund Fanning's *Voyages Round the World* (New York, 1833), (n° 157) Charles Stewart's *A Visit to the South Seas* (1832), (n° 154) William Ellis' *Narrative of a Tour through Owhyhee* (London, 1828) and (n° 158) Benjamin Morrell's *A Narrative of Four Voyages to the South Sea* (New York, 1832).

Aside from Alexander McConochie's *Thoughts on convict management*, d'Urville owned a number of books relating specifically to Australia; these included Phillip Parker King's *Narrative of a survey of the intertropical and western coasts of Australia* (London, 1826), William Henry Breton's *Excursions in New South Wales* (London, 1833) and very likely John Oxley's account of his survey expedition to *Port Curtis, Moreton Bay, and Port Bowen* (London, 1825). In his Paris apartment, d'Urville also had a book by the Australian-by-adoption John Dunmore Lang: *View of the origin and migrations of the Polynesian Nation* (London, 1834). Once again, these aforementioned works are curiously absent from Guérin's catalogue, but other new titles augment the list, including (n° 151) James Dixon's *Narrative of a Voyage to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* (Edinburgh, 1822), (n° 155) Henry Widowson's *Present State of Van Diemen's Land* (London, 1829) and (n° 160) Phillip Parker King's *A Voyage to Torres Strait, in Search of the Survivors of the Ship Charles Eaton* (Sydney, 1837).

Dumont d'Urville came from a deeply religious family—he was even privately tutored by his maternal uncle Abbé Jean-Jacques de Croisilles (1745–1819), Canon of Bayeux, before he attended the Lycée impérial de Caen. He professed his orthodox Catholicism well into his 30s; however, by 1842 the inventories would suggest that he owned few Christian religious works beside the New Testament (in his Latin Bible) and a volume of the selected works of Bishop Jean-Baptiste Massillon (1663–1742) who was born in Hyères, close to Toulon. There is no sign of the Jesuit Isaac-Joseph Berruyer's (1681–1758) *Histoire du peuple de Dieu*, a popular three-part, multi-volume work, published between 1728 and 1757, which Isidore Le Brun (born 1786), in his *Biographie du Contre-amiral Dumont d'Urville* (Caen, Imprimerie de H. Le Roy, 1843, p. 5), tells us that d'Urville read and re-read from the age of seven. Le Brun, the explorer's life-long friend and a fellow Norman, also witnessed the drafting of the Paris inventory. Furthermore, his own strongly anti-clerical work *La Bonne ville, ou le Maire et le jésuite* (Paris, 1826, 2 vols) was one of the books listed in the inventory of d'Urville's library, but not in the auction catalogue. The latter catalogue, however, offers some notable surprises not listed in the inventories, including the Christian gospels in Aramaic, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Mongolian, Sinhala and Turkish, together with the *Psalms* and the *Song of Songs* in Ethiopian and Bossuet's *Oraisons funèbres*.

As previously mentioned, d'Urville owned a number of Jewish religious texts together with the Qur'an, but it is possible that his interest in these works was more linguistic than theological. We know from Le Brun's biographical account that as a young man d'Urville engaged the services of a rabbi to learn Hebrew. Linguistic interests aside, he was clearly interested in other religions and philosophical traditions. According to Guérin's catalogue (n° 164), he owned an early Amsterdam edition of Lagrue's French translation of Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia, or View of all the Religions in the World* (1652). He also owned a 1760 edition of Thomas Hyde's classic work on the religion of Ancient Persia: *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (n° 186). Although the notaries did not have the language skills to transcribe some sixty-five Chinese titles in d'Urville's library, the commissaire-priseur Guérin obviously did find someone (perhaps a missionary) who had the skills to work on the catalogue. Mentioned among d'Urville's papers and in the auction catalogue, but not in the notarial inventories, is a printed copy of Zisi's 子思 (also known as Kong Ji 孔伋) *Zhong yong* or 'Doctrine of the Mean' 中庸 (published by Levasseur in Paris), one of the principal works in the Confucian canon. D'Urville also had the first published translation of the Confucian 'Book of Documents' (書經 *Shu-jing*): Joseph de Guignes's (1721–1800) *Le Chou-King* (Paris, 1770), based on a manuscript translation by the French Jesuit Fr Antoine Gaubil (1689–1759) sent from Beijing, but with reference to another manuscript of the original in the Royal Library in Paris. D'Urville had a number of other Confucian works, including Lacharme's and Mohl's Latin edition of Confucius published in Stuttgart in 1830 and Aignan-Stanislas Julien's (c. 1797–1873) partial Latin translation of Meng Tzu's (Zhuyin 孟子) *The Four Books* (Sì Shū 四書) published in Paris in 1824. Furthermore, he owned the *Mānavadharmasāstra* in Sanskrit (with notes by Loiseleur Deslongchamps), Abel Rémusat's *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques* and several other books dealing with Chinese society and culture, such as the final volume of Joseph-Marie Amiot's (et al.) 16-volume *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois* (Paris, 1776–1814).

The book inventories include the titles of works of ancient history by authors such as Plutarch and Herodotus, together with many other classical studies. D'Urville, for example, owned Ennio Visconti's magnificent *Iconographie ancienne* (1808–26), the first part of which (3 volumes), was given to him by Louis XVIII as a reward for his part in the acquisition of the

Vénus de Milo.¹³ This work, perhaps because of its distinguished provenance, was notably absent from the auction catalogue and was probably kept by members of the explorer's family. D'Urville owned Nicolas Furgault's *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1824), and numerous gazetteers and collections of classical texts. Guérin's auction catalogue (n° 167) indicates that d'Urville owned an edition of Pausanias in Greek and Latin, published in Hanover in 1613. Shortly before his death, d'Urville purchased (n° 86) a four-volume set of Sophocles and Aristophanes (Paris, Lefebvre, 1841). Furthermore, the Guérin catalogue reveals a rich collection of books on Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, Indian and Arab history and literature. Finally, all the sources indicate that d'Urville's library was well-endowed with multi-volume biographical reference works and works of French history.

Of the groups of unlisted titles in the inventories, the Guérin catalogue provides considerable information—particularly with regard to multi-volume Chinese books (nos 241–287). D'Urville's published works and his private papers provide further information on his voracious reading habits. In his private journal, for example, he mentions numerous books in the days immediately before the outbreak of the Revolution of 1830. On 23 July he notes '*The New Zealanders*, London, 1830, in-12, 424 pages', undoubtedly the ethnohistorical work of the Scottish author George Lillie Craik (1798–1866), published by Charles Knight that year. The next day he mentions 'Spindler translated by Cohen entitled *L'élixir du diable*'. In fact, this was Jean Cohen's (1781–1848) translation of a work by Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffman (rather than Karl Spindler), published by Mame et Delaunay-Vallée, Paris, 1829, 4 vols, in-12. On 26 July, d'Urville writes: 'I read the novel by [Alexander] Bronikowski, translated by Loève-Veimars, entitled *Claire-Hébert* [Paris, U. Canel, 1828]'. In the months after the revolution there are similar references to the pulp fiction of the period. On 22 September 1830, for example, d'Urville records reading a 'bad novel entitled *Marie Stuart* by Horace Raison [Paris, Froment et Lequien, 4 vols in-12], 1828'. On 2 October 1830, he records yet another 'bad novel', this time '*Ludsac, ou le Monastère de Saint-Basile* by Mme de Flesselles [Paris, Haut Cœur et Gayet Jeune], 1824', but he has kinder words for '*Les chaperons blancs* [Mame et Delaunay-Vallée, Paris 1828, 4 vols] par Cohen'. The latter was in fact a liberal translation by Jean Cohen of Anna Elza Bray's (1790–1883) *The White Hoods* (1828). On 5 October d'Urville notes 'a novel of Victor Ducange, *Isaurine et Jean Pohl*, [ou les Révolutions du château de

Gît-au-Diable], en quatre volumes [Paris, Lecointe], 1830'.¹⁴ While on-going research among d'Urville's journals will no doubt yield many more titles of the same genre,¹⁵ we cannot be certain whether they were borrowed, bought, gifted or sold. They are neither listed in the inventory at the time of the explorer's death nor in Guérin's printed auction catalogue. Nevertheless, they tell us something of d'Urville's taste in historical fiction and gothic romance and they give us some hint of the literary influences on his own novel, reputedly the first to be set in New Zealand: *Les Zélandais : Histoire australienne*. Divided into six cantos and written in the contrived style of a Greek epic, yet with strongly melodramatic elements, it was largely completed by March 1825, but remained unpublished until 1992 when it appeared in English translation.¹⁶

In deference to the order of the original inventories, the lists which follow are arranged as the respective notaries found the books in Toulon and Paris. Square brackets indicate information not included in the inventories and based on additional research as described above. However, I have generally substituted title dates and volumes, when in words, with numerals. Not surprisingly, d'Urville owned multiple copies of his own publications and the botanical, zoological and other scientific volumes published as part of the official accounts of his *Astrolabe* voyage (more than fifty apparently unbound), together with many copies of his popular *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1834–1835). D'Urville died before the official account of his final voyage was completed. Although the auction catalogue does list (n° 131 bis) a report on the explorer's final voyage, not even the first historical volume of his *Voyage au Pôle sud* was listed in the inventory, even though this appeared in 1841. It is possible, however, that d'Urville had other unspecified books in his Paris office at the navy's Dépôt des Cartes et Plans.

The fate of the d'Urville family's library is unclear. We do not know who the buyers were in January 1843. We know that the d'Urville estate was divided between the explorer's heirs in Normandy and Madame d'Urville's heirs in Toulon. Some of d'Urville's papers were inherited by his nephew Paul Dumont de la Londe,¹⁷ who witnessed the Paris inventory and donated a number of manuscripts to the Bibliothèque de Caen in April 1846. D'Urville's great-niece, a Mademoiselle Dumont de la Londe,¹⁸ later donated a more substantial group of manuscripts to the Municipality of Condé-sur-Noireau in 1904; miraculously they survived the devastation of June 1944. Eight cartons of manuscripts were inherited by the nephew of d'Urville's wife, Clément de

Salvy, in Toulon. He also witnessed the Paris inventory. They in turn were inherited by his son Louis de Salvy in 1863. In 1884, half of these manuscripts, including the manuscript of d'Urville's novel, were acquired by the French Government from Salvy's agent, Frédéric Malcor, and are now preserved in the collection of the Service historique de la Défense, Département de la Marine, Château de Vincennes.¹⁹ The rest were acquired by the Bibliothèque de Toulon—including an unfinished autobiographical memoir which went missing during the Second World War.

It is not known whether any of the unauctioned printed books remained in Provence or went to Normandy. Although Dumont d'Urville's personal herbarium is preserved in the *Herbier du Laboratoire de Botanique, Faculté des Sciences, Université de Caen*,²⁰ the online catalogues of the University and of the Bibliothèque de Caen would not suggest that any of d'Urville's inventoried books are today preserved in public collections there. A possible buyer of the botanical works, perhaps even before the auction catalogue was compiled (which might explain the omission of so many botanical titles), was the wealthy Englishman Phillip Barker Webb who had prior knowledge of d'Urville's collection. Webb's library was in turn bequeathed (with his herbarium of 300,000 specimens) to the Museo di storia naturale of Grand Duke Leopold II of Tuscany. It is significant that duplicates of d'Urville's plant specimens are today held in the herbarium of this same museum in Florence. Webb certainly had some of d'Urville's specimens from New Zealand and Greece, but these might have been given to him by d'Urville before his death. Webb also obtained some of d'Urville's specimens from the Society Islands when he purchased Labillardière's library and herbarium in 1834. Similarly, he acquired some of d'Urville's French, Crimean and Australian specimens when he purchased the complete herbarium of Joseph François Soleirol (1781–1863).²¹ Only a detailed study of the provenance of Webb's books, now in Florence, might determine whether at least part of d'Urville's library ended up in Italy. Be that as it may, the surviving inventories and the published auction catalogue provide enduring evidence of d'Urville's extraordinary range of interests and his ownership of an exceptional private library, containing printed titles dating back to the sixteenth century and important Asian and colonial imprints (including books published in Calcutta, Colombo, Constantinople, Hobart, Nanking, Peking, Serampore, Singapore, Sydney, Macao and New York).

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Notes

- 1 '13 Juin 1842, Inventaire après Décès de Mr. Dumont d'Urville' & '21 Juin 1842, Décharge donnée à M. Demanche', Archives nationales, Minutier central des Notaires de Paris, ET/C/1200.
- 2 'Inventaire des effets mobiliers dressé par Maître Vallavielle, notaire à Toulon, le 30 juillet 1842 ... dépendant des successions réunies de feu M. Dumont D'Urville, de son épouse et de son fils décédés ensemble le 8 mai 1842 domiciliés à Paris.'
- 3 Maîtres Eric, Michel & Stéphane Boyer, 60 rue Jean Jaurès, Toulon.
- 4 Toulon notarial *études* were not numbered like their Parisian counterparts.
- 5 Vallavielle is mentioned in d'Urville's journal (see, for example, his entry for 20 février 1836, MS 65, Bibliothèque municipale de Toulon) and his wife's correspondence (Archives nationales, Marine 5JJ 158 BIS).
- 6 Dumont d'Urville, correspondance, autographe, Dixson Library, Sydney, MSQ355.
- 7 Most of the Chinese characters printed were engraved on wood in the first half of the eighteenth century, under the direction of Étienne Fourmont (1683–1745), and are still held by the Imprimerie nationale; see Cécile Leung, *Etienne Fourmont, 1683–1745: Oriental and Chinese Languages in Eighteenth-Century France*, Leuven University Press, Leuven, 2002, p. 245.
- 8 See Phillip Barker Webb's letter to d'Urville, 31 March 1841, Archives nationales, Marine 5JJ 158 BIS.
- 9 Robert Brown's *Prodromus* was published in 1810, while Britain and France were still at war. Nevertheless, in that year Bonaparte permitted the importation of books from enemy states, legalising what was already a flourishing trade in

- contraband through neutral ports. Labillardière's own copy of Brown's work was sent by the author himself (see Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière*, Melbourne, Miegunyah/MUP, 2003, pp. 234 & 239).
- 10 For a discussion of Alibert's psychological theories and substantial extracts from his introduction, translated into English, see C. E. Goshen, 'The psychology of Jean Louis Alibert', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 2, n° 4, 1966, pp. 357–370.
- 11 John Dunmore, *Venus to Antarctica: The Life of Dumont d'Urville*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2007, p. 123.
- 12 Dumont d'Urville, Ms transcription [1 février 1896] of a personal *mémoire*, see in particular folios 153 and 161, Bibliothèque nationale, NAF 9439.
- 13 See d'Urville's letter of 25 August 1821 to his friend Louis Charles Lefébure de Cerisy, Service historique de la Défense, Toulon, 23S 701.
- 14 See Dumont d'Urville, Journal, 1830, MS 65, Bibliothèque municipale de Toulon.
- 15 Since d'Urville's Paris apartment was owned by a M. Joseph Molé (died 1853), who lived in the same building with his adopted son Paul-Henri-Joseph Molé-Gentilhomme (1814–1856), the author of many melodramatic novels and plays, it is entirely possible that d'Urville and his wife were given (or sought out, in curiosity) titles such as: *Manon la Dragonne* (1837), *Rêve d'une mariée* (1838) and *Romans du cœur : La marquise d'Alpujar* (1842). However, they are not listed in either of the inventories or the Guérin auction catalogue.
- 16 See J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, *The New Zealanders: A Story of Austral Lands*, translated by Carol Legge, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1992.
- 17 Possibly Abbé Louis François Paul Dumont de la Londe (died 1876).
- 18 Possibly the daughter of d'Urville's nephew, Anselme Prosper Dumont de La Londe (died 1867).
- 19 For a useful survey of these donations see Maurice Besnier, *La Vénus de Milo et Dumont d'Urville*, Bordeaux, Feret et fils, 1907, p. 44.
- 20 Frans A. Stafleu and Richard S. Cowan, *Taxonomic literature: a selective guide to botanical publications and collections with dates, commentaries and types*, Utrecht, Bohn, Scheltema & Holkema, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 696–698. D'Urville's 'official' collections, upon which the botanical publications of his voyages are based, are held at the Laboratoire de Phanérogamie and the Laboratoire de Cryptogamie of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.
- 21 Carlo H. Steinberg, 'The Collectors and Collections in the Herbarium Webb', *Webbia*, vol. 32, n° 1, 1977, pp 1–49.