The Lesser-Known Scientific Art of Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg

L'art scientifique méconnu de Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg

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ABSTRACT. Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg (1795-1876) is renowned for pioneering work on microscopic organisms. His fame is based mainly on his two beautifully illustrated monographic works. The first was the 1838 monograph on living microorganisms 'Infusoria' with 64 plates, and the second in 1854, *Mikrogeologie* with 41 plates showing the remains of microorganisms in minerals and sedimentary deposits. Largely due to these two major works, Ehrenberg is recognized as a founder of protistology on one hand and micropaleontology on the other. The illustrations in Ehrenberg's two monographs are well known but they represent less than half the plates contained in his works and many of Ehrenberg's publications did not concern microorganisms, living or fossil. Here are shown the lesser-known scientific illustrations, revealing the surprisingly wide range of his scientific investigations and consequently his artwork. Following a biographical sketch of Ehrenberg's life, to place in perspective his works, a selection of these scientific illustrations are presented. The illustrations are drawn from his articles and pamphlets published from 1818 to 1859. Later publications all concerned protists, and contain illustrations thought to be likely the work of his daughter Clara who acted as his essential aide when he became physically diminished in old age.

KEYWORDS. scientific illustration, natural history, protistology, micropaleontology.

Introduction

Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg was the premier microscopist for most of the 19th century, famous in his time for drawing attention to microorganisms both living and fossil. Today he is credited as one of the founders of protozoology by authoring a "truly monumental monograph", his 1838 *Die Infusionsthierschen als vollkommene Organismen* (Corliss 1978). The monograph included an "Atlas" of 64 hand-colored plates illustrating living microorganisms. The work has been described as "the most sumptuously illustrated classic of the field" (Churchill 1989). By the late 1830's, Ehrenberg had turned his attention to studies of the remains of microorganisms in atmospheric dust, soils, minerals and sediments. He was the first to systematically investigate the remains of microorganisms, shells, skeletons, etc., and today is credited as the "Founder of Micropaleontology" (Siesser 1981). His landmark contribution, basically establishing the field of micropaleontology, was the 1854 book *Mikrogeologie*. It included 41 plates containing over 4,000 illustrations ".... of a greater variety of microfossils, known or then unknown, than have ever subsequently assembled within the covers of a single work (Sarjeant 1978). Examples of Ehrenberg's illustrations from his two works of major renown are shown in Figure 1.
Figure 1. Examples of the plates from Ehrenberg's two monographs of renown. The left panel shows plate 19 from the 1838 Infusionsthiere available at https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/97605. The right panel show plate 30.A. from the 1854 Mikrogeologie available at https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/118752

Given their fame and quality, it is perhaps understandable that tributes and reviews of Ehrenberg's works generally show only the plates from the monographs as examples of his published illustrations. This is the case, for example, for the articles in the 1998 Ehrenberg special issue of The Linnean (https://www.linnean.org/our-publications/the-linnean/the-linnean-special-issues) and the 2021 Ehrenberg issue of the Internationale Zeitschrift für Humboldt-Studien (https://www.hin-online.de/index.php/hin/issue/view/43). While the plates in his two major monographs, numbering 101, represent a very substantial corpus, Ehrenberg's other publications contain over 150 plates and have received little attention. This is likely due to two facts: the sheer variety of topics addressed in Ehrenberg's many publications and prior difficulty in accessing the publications.

With regard to the subjects of Ehrenberg's studies, while he was a typical naturalist of his time in that he worked on a variety of topics, the range of his works was unusually large. His first publications and illustrations were on mushrooms and lichens. Later, while he was working and publishing on living microorganisms, he also published on the Siberian Tiger (Ehrenberg 1831a), pollination in plants (Ehrenberg 1832a), corals of the Red Sea (Ehrenberg 1834), the apes of ancient Egypt (Ehrenberg 1835a), medusa (Ehrenberg 1837b), nervous tissue structure (Ehrenberg 1837a) and Hydra (Ehrenberg 1838b). Indeed, Ehrenberg appears in histories of biology, due to his work on corals, medusa and hydra (e.g., Winsor, 1976.)

Ehrenberg authored a very large number of publications. The catalogue of the library of the Royal Society (London) lists over 300 titles many of which are translations or re-publication in different
journals (Williams et al. 1998). Most of the works with plates were published in journals of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königlichen Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin and Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. These journals in the past were described as 'not generally available' (Siesser 1981). However, they have been available online through the Biodiversity Heritage Library since 2010 and most of the plates shown here were obtained from it.

A selection of the little-known scientific illustrations of Ehrenberg from his articles and pamphlets published from 1818 to 1859 are shown here in chronological order of publication. To place his diverse studies in perspective, and explain the delineation of his works to before and after 1864, a biographical sketch of Ehrenberg is first given.

**Biographical Sketch of Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg**

Concerning the life events of Ehrenberg, the following account is based largely on biographies of Ehrenberg given in Rammelsberg (1876), Jahn (1998) and Mohr (2010, 2023). The account of the North Africa/Middle East Expedition of 1820-1825 is based on the detailed review of Baker (1997), and that of the Siberian Expedition of 1829 is drawn from Naumann (2007) and Wulf (2015). Figure 2 shows Ehrenberg through the years.

![Figure 2. Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg at age ca. 25, at age 53, at age 64 and at age ca. 74.](image)

Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg was born on the 19th of April in 1795 in Delitzsch in Saxony and there attended primary school. A gifted student, in 1810 he was granted a scholarship to attend the prestigious secondary school Pforta. After graduation in 1815, he pursued theological studies in Leipzig accordance with his father's wishes. However, his theology studies were short-lived. Reportedly, it was after his father heard him, as a first-year student, give a sermon that he allowed his son to switch his field of study from theology to medicine. Ehrenberg obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine in November of 1818, at age 23. His inaugural dissertation (Ehrenberg 1818) was *Sylvae mycologicae Berolinenses* (Mushroom Forests of Berlin). It contained descriptions of many new species and his first published scientific illustrations.

Largely on the basis of his dissertation, Ehrenberg was elected in 1818 to the Nationale Akademie der Wissenschaften Leopoldina, today the oldest scientific society in continuous existence and in 1819 was named an honorary member of the elite Gesellschaft Naturforschender Freunde zu Berlin. He showed signs of his prodigious work capacity early on. In 1820 he published on more new mushrooms (Ehrenberg 1820a), a new lichen (Ehrenberg 1820b) and sexual reproduction in fungi (Ehrenberg 1820c). The year 1820 also marked an important turning point in Ehrenberg's life.
A Prussian General and antiquarian, Heinrich von Menu von Minutoli, organized an expedition of exploration and collection to furnish material for Prussian museums of archeology and natural history. The Academy of Sciences furnished funding for two young men, both naturalists and medical men, to join the expedition: the zoologist Wilhelm Friedrich Hemprich and the botanist Ehrenberg. They were former classmates and friends.

The expedition participants met in Alexandria and on October 6th 1820 left in a caravan of 41 camels, and 25 Bedouin guards to travel to the site of Cyrene in Libya. However, the equipment, supplies, and especially planning proved to be remarkably deficient. When the expedition neared the border, the caravan leader refused to continue without express permission of the local Libyan leader to cross the border. Messengers were sent, but Minutoli simply abandoned the expedition and left for Cairo. The expedition team, now led by Hemprich and Ehrenberg were eventually refused passage into Libya and returned to Alexandria in early December but were free to pursue exploring as they wished.

From Alexandria, Hemprich and Ehrenberg traveled to Cairo and then onto Fayum interrupted by a 3 month stay near the pyramids when Ehrenberg was ill with typhoid fever. They then traveled up the Nile. In mid-1822, Hemprich left for Alexandria with the collections made thus far to send them onto Berlin and request funding to continue their explorations and collecting. At first the demand for further funding was refused but before they could arrange return passage, they received news that the state had granted them funds to continue. They traveled to the Sinai, the Red Sea, Arabia, and Lebanon. In 1824 they traveled to Arabia and Ethiopia. In Massawa, in present day Eritrea, the entire exploration party fell ill with malaria. Hemprich died on June 30th 1825 and Ehrenberg returned to Berlin, the sole survivor of the expedition.

The expedition had been widely followed, even in British and American journals, e.g. Anon. (1821, 1824a, 1824b). Consequently, on his return to Berlin, Ehrenberg was now a well-known naturalist. He was elected to the Imperial Academy of Sciences and obtained a post as Associate Professor at the University in Berlin. Ehrenberg began an ambitious effort to publish a series of works on the animals, plants and microorganisms observed and collected during his travels with Hemprich. These were to be a series of large format (50 x 38 cm) illustrated volumes all under the general heading of *Symbolsae Physicae* (Icons and descriptions), with Hemprich as first author. They were however, never completed. Ehrenberg encountered significant difficulties. The expedition collections had been seriously mismanaged by Natural History Museum. Hemprich and Ehrenberg's labels, identifying specimens and sampling locations, had been removed and many specimens had been sold, given away, or traded. Ehrenberg lacked expertise in many of the groups. Financing the publication proved difficult. The parts published in Ehrenberg's lifetime were on mammals, birds, fish, insects, invertebrates other than insects, and plants. The volumes were published in separate issues quite idiosyncratically. The complicated publication history has been examined in some detail in Braunwalder & Fet (1998) and Bauer (2000). For some of the volumes, the plates were published well in advance of the text or without the text. For example, the plates for the invertebrates other than insects volume were issued in 1828 and the text in 1832. For at least one group, the plants, the plates were issued in 1828 but the text was not published until 1900, well after the death of Ehrenberg. A likely partial explanation is that beginning in 1828, Ehrenberg became occupied with other matters.

Ehrenberg read his first study focused on microorganisms to the Academy of Sciences in January of 1828, *Die geographische Verbreitung der Infusionsthierechen in Nord-Afrika und West-Asien, beobachtet auf Hemprich und Ehrenbergs Reisen* (The geographical distribution of the infusion animals in North Africa and West Asia, observed on Hemprich and Ehrenberg's travels). It was his first attempt to describe biographic patterns of 'infusoria' based on scattered observations made during the expedition with Hemprich. The study was not published until 1832 (Ehrenberg 1832b) by
which time he had made further voyages to investigate 'infusoria' in different localities thanks to Alexander von Humboldt.

Humboldt, the famous explorer of South America and especially the Andes, longed to visit the Himalayas to compare the distributions of flora and fauna to those he had documented for the Andes. In 1927, he received an invitation from the Russian Tzar NikoIa to undertake an expedition across Russia. The Tsar's invitation and offer of financing, was motivated by a desire to have knowledge of the mineral deposits of Russia. For Humboldt, it would allow him to visit not the Himalayas but mountain ranges he thought likely similar, the Atlys and Ural mountain ranges, north of the Tibetan Plateau. Humboldt recruited Ehrenberg to serve as zoologist and botanist and Gustav Rose to serve as geologist. From April to December 1829, they traveled and collected across the varied landscapes of Russia, from the far east to the Caspian Sea, with Ehrenberg focused on microscopic organisms. On his return to Berlin, on December 29th 1829, Ehrenberg concentrated his studies on 'infusoria', their morphologies, classifications and geographical distributions.

A mere 3 months after his return to Berlin, Ehrenberg read before the Academy of Sciences his second study dedicated to characterizing microorganisms: Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Organisation der Infusorien und ihrer geographischen Verbreitung, besonders in Sibirien (Contributions to the knowledge of the biology of the infusoria and their geographical distribution, especially in Siberia). The article was printed in August 1830 and distributed by Ehrenberg well before it was formally published in 1832, in the academy's proceeding for the year 1830 (Ehrenberg 1832c). Ehrenberg's 'in press article' was presented to the Academy of Sciences in Paris by Humboldt and it was received as a landmark publication. Citing the article, Ehrenberg was elected as a corresponding member of the French academy in 1831 and awarded the medal of physiology and medicine in 1832. Other honors included election as a full member of the Gesellschaft Naturforschender Freunde zu Berlin in 1831, and election to the Linnean Society of London. The year 1831 also marked Ehrenberg's personal life. He married Julie Rose, a cousin of Gustav Rose, his fellow scientist of the Russian Expedition. His first wife would bear 10 children, only 5 of which, a boy and 4 girls, would survive to adulthood. The eldest daughter Clara, born in 1838, would as an adult play a large role in Ehrenberg's late professional life.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Ehrenberg published on a wide variety of topics in 1830's mostly relating to his travels, for example the corals of the Red Sea, the baboons of ancient Egypt and the Siberian Tiger. He published relatively few articles on infusoria before the appearance of his massive monographic work in 1838. His articles on infusoria, showing a complexity of micro-organisms in the microorganisms, which at first had brought him considerable fame, was criticized as other failed to find evidence of gonads or intestinal tracts and multiple stomachs. Beginning early on, his characterizations were disputed by the French workers Bory de Saint-Vincent (1831) and Dujardin (1835, 1838) and later by British workers whose critiques prompted an attempt at rebuttal by Ehrenberg (Ehrenberg 1839). Coincidentally or not, in the late 1830's Ehrenberg turned his attention away from studies of living microorganism to studies of the fossil remains of microorganisms. Ehrenberg read his first study on fossil microorganisms to Academy of Sciences in July of 1837 by which time it is likely that his 1838 monograph was in production. From 1839 on, Ehrenberg published nearly exclusively on micro-fossils. His major work on fossil forms Mikrogeologie appeared in 1854.

In 1864, Ehrenberg suffered a serious fall, resulting in a broken hip, immobilizing him for months. It was at this time that his eldest daughter Clara began working as a scientific helpmate, at first simply reading to him. Subsequently, he developed cataracts, and although surgery restored some vision, his ability to use a microscope was greatly reduced. Clara assumed the tasks of examining samples and making drawings. She illustrated Ehrenberg's publications beginning in 1866 (Fig. 2). The fact that Ehrenberg's publications were illustrated by Clara Ehrenberg was recognized at the time and her artwork was described as illustrations drawn "with the truthful skill
of her father's pencil” (Jones 1877). However, comparing figures 1 and 3, Clara Ehrenberg’s plate differs from those of her father. Her plate is less crowded and more simply and clearly organized than those of her father.

Figure 3. The plate from Ehrenberg 1867. The credit line in the lower left corner reads "N. d. N. gez. v. Clara Ehrenberg" indicating the illustrations were drawn after life, from her own observations. The engraver was C.E. Weber.

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Below are presented a selection of plates from articles and pamphlets of Ehrenberg containing plates signed by Ehrenberg as the sole artist and not uniquely concerning microorganisms. These works contained a total of 103 'Ehrenberg plates' plates. The plates from Ehrenberg's later works, from 1864 to his death in 1876, were excluded as they are thought to be the artwork of Clara Ehrenberg, based on her own microscopic observations (Mohr 2023). Excluded from the selection pool were all plates that contained elements later reproduced in one of Ehrenberg's monographs or closely resembling the illustrations in his monographs. This yielded a pool of 48 plates from 14 works. Many of Ehrenberg’s articles contained multiple plates but only a single plate was selected from each work. They were chosen specifically to provide evidence of the wide variety of subjects illustrated by Ehrenberg, other than the familiar microorganisms. Thus, the 14 plates shown below
must not be taken for a representative sampling of Ehrenberg's work. Furthermore, it is likely, if not certain, that some works have been over-looked.

Figure 4. The plate from Ehrenberg's Doctoral Thesis 1818: Sylvae mycologicae Berolinenses (Mycological Forests of Berlin). The engraver F. Guimpel, was an instructor at the Academy of Arts in Berlin. The actual size of the plate is 27 cm tall.
Figure 5. A plates from Ehrenberg’s 1820a publication Enumerato fungorum, a vivo clarissimo a.d. Chamisso sub auspiciis Romanzoffianis in itinere circa terrarum globum collectorum” (fungi from the most famous Chamisso collection, etc.), one of four plates. The engraver signed ’Prof. F. Guimpel’; he was by 1820 a Professor at the Academy of Arts in Berlin. The actual size of the plate is 40 cm tall.
Figure 6. The single plate from Ehrenberg 1820b "De coenogonio novo lichenum genere ex penu viri clarissimi chamissonis desumto" a new genus of lichen from the most famous Chamisso collection). The engraver signed 'I. Sturm'. The actual size of the plate is 40 cm tall.
Figure 7. One on the two plates from Ehrenberg 1820c: Syzygites, eine neue Schimmelgattung, nebst Beobachtungen über sichtbare Bewegung in Schimmeln, (Syzygites, a new genus of molds, together with observations on visible movement in mold). The plate depicts the first observation of sexual recombination and spore formation in fungi (Ramsbottom 1941). It has been described as a beautiful illustration (Ainsworth 1976). The engraver signed 'L. Haas'. The actual size of the plate is 27 cm tall.
Figure 8. One of 10 plates from Hemprich & Ehrenberg's 1828-1831. Symbolae Physicae volume Animalia Evertebrata Exclusis Insectus: invertebrates excluding insects. The plate shows various aquatic microorganisms observed during Ehrenberg's 1820-1825 travels. The roman and arabic numbers in white have been added to facilitate location of the figures listed in the legend. The topmost group (II), were found in an oasis. The middle group (III) were observed in 'infusions incubated in Arabia' (III) and the bottom group IV found in 'the Sinai'. It is 1 of 3 plates constituting his earliest illustrations of microorganisms. It is included here because all 3 plates employing a black background, are very different from Ehrenberg's later illustrations of microorganisms. The plates may be the first illustrations of microorganisms on a black background. The actual size of the plate is 40 cm tall. Ehrenberg signed 8 of the 10 plates in Hemprich & Ehrenberg 1828-1831 and all were engraved by B. Wienker.
**Figure 9.** One of the 10 plates from Hemprich & Ehrenberg's 1828a Symbolae Physicae volume “Pisces” (Hemprich & Ehrenberg 1828a). It depicts a new fish species *Heterotis niloticus* Hemprich & Ehrenberg from the Nile River. The engraver signed F.W. Longerjam Berlin 1827. The actual width of the plate is 50 cm. Only two of the fish plates were signed by Ehrenberg. The other Ehrenberg fish plate was a lithograph by Pohlke.
Figure 10. One of the 24 plates from Hemprich and Ehrenberg’s 1828 Symbolae Physicae volume “Botanica”. (Hemprich & Ehrenberg 1828b). It depicts the organism that gives the Red Sea its color discovered by Ehrenberg, Trichodesmium. He described it in detail (without illustrations) in 1830 (Ehrenberg 1830). The figure A is ‘the alga in a glass of water’. The engraver signed F.W. Longerjam Berlin 1827. The actual size of the plate is 50 cm tall. Trichodesmium is now commonly recognized to be a key component of the nitrogen cycle in the world ocean as it fixes nitrogen (Capone et al. 1997). The copy shown is from the 1899 re-edition. Ehrenberg signed 6 of the 24 plates in 1828 version; 2 were engraved by Röthing, 1 by B. Weber and 3 by B. Wienker.
Figure 11. Plate 2 from Ehrenberg 1832a, Über das Pollen der Asclepiadeen; ein Beitrag zur Auflösung der Anomalien in der Pflanzen-Befruchtung (On the pollen of the Asclepiadeae; a contribution to the resolution of anomalies in plant fertilization). Ehrenberg presented the paper to the Academy of Sciences in November 1828, shortly before he left with Humboldt for the Russian Expedition but it was not printed until November 1931. Ehrenberg's study was apparently motivated by reports of plant fertilization by British workers. Unlike most of Ehrenberg's plates, which were copperplate engravings, both two plates were lithographs by Schmidt. The actual size of the plate is 36 cm tall.
Figure 12. Plate 1 of 6 plates showing human brain and nerve tissues, from Ehrenberg’s article on the structure of nervous tissue in humans and other animals, Ehrenberg 1836b, Beobachtung einer bisher unbekannten auffallenden Struktur des Seelenorgans bei Menschen und Thieren (Observation of a hitherto unknown striking structure of the psychic organ in humans and animals). Ehrenberg claimed that the nodules in nerve fibers shown in the top row of figures of human nerves characterized nerve fibers but it was soon shown to be an artifact of placing tissue in water and compressing it to make a slide (Schickore 2005). The plate shown, and one other were engraved by Schmidt; the four other plates were engraved by Weber. Actual size of the plate is 26 cm tall.
Figure 13. Plate 2 of 8 plates from Ehrenberg 1837b Über die Akalephen des Rothen Meeres und den Organismus der Medusen der Ostsee (On the worms of the Red Sea and the organs of the medusae of the Baltic Sea), showing the feeding organs of Medusa aurita. All 8 plates were engraved by Weber. The actual size of the plate is 36 cm tall.
Figure 14. Plate 2 from Ehrenberg 1838b. The title of article Über das Massenverhältniss der jetzt lebenden Kiesel-Infusorien und über ein neues Infusorien-Conglomerat als Polirschiefer von Jastraba in Ungarn (On the mass ratio of the now living siliceous infusoria and on a new infusoria conglomerate of Polish slate from Jastraba in Hungary), gave no indication that a considerable part of the paper is devoted to the biology of Hydra. The plate, showing Hydra capturing a Daphnia, also illustrated egg formation in Hydra, previously thought to reproduce asexually. Ehrenberg's findings were said to have 'startled' naturalists (Johnson 1847). The actual size of the plate is 36 cm tall. The plate was engraved by Wienker. Plate 1, showing microfossils, was engraved by Weber.
Figure 15. The plate from Ehrenberg 1842. The publication was a pamphlet based on a public lecture: Das unsichbar wirkende organische Leben. Eine Vorlesung im Vereine für wissenschaftliche Vorträge gehalten zu Berlin am 12 Februar 1842 (The seemingly invisible organic life). It is very unusual, because it was likely designed to appeal to, and educate, the general public. The bottom half of the plate shows illustrations of familiar items drawn to the same scale as the remains of microorganisms found in minerals. In the bottom half, at the top from left to right, are a scale from a butterfly wing, silk thread, sable, and grains of potato starch, all above a human eyelash. The engraver was Weber. The actual size of the plate is 21 cm tall.
Figure 16. The single plate from Ehrenberg 1859a. Über einen Niederfall von schwarzem, polirten und hohlen Vogelschrot-Körnern ähnlichen atmosphärischen Eisenstaub im hohen Süd-Ocean (On a rain of black, polished, and hollow birdshot-like atmospheric iron dust in the high South Ocean). It is unusual as the particles shown are examples of iron particles formed during a volcanic eruption which resemble the remains of microorganisms. The actual size of the plate is 24 cm tall. The engraver signed C.B. Weber
Figure 17. Plate 1 of the 3 plates from Ehrenberg 1859b: Beitrag zur Bestimmung des stationären mikroskopischen Lebens in bis 20000 Fuss Alpenhöhe (Contribution to the determination of microscopic life in up to 20,000 feet altitude). The plates showed tardigrades, popularly known as 'water bears' found in soil samples from Himalayas sent to Ehrenberg. The plates, all engraved by Weber, are the only illustrations of tardigrades by Ehrenberg.

Conclusion

Hopefully shown here is that Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg's scientific artwork ranged well beyond his renowned illustrations of protists, rotifers and micro-fossils. The interest in shining a light on Ehrenberg's lesser-known works is two-fold. The first is to demonstrate the surprising breadth of Ehrenberg's studies as he is often categorized as either a microbiologist or micropaleontologist. The second is to show the quality of his illustrations 'the truthful skill of his pencil' whether drawing a mushroom, a fish, or a particle of iron.

Acknowledgements

Barbara Mohr kindly provided me with advance copy of her 2023 article on Clara Ehrenberg. Vivien Bauer, at the Bibliothek of the Museum für Naturkunde at the Leibniz Institute for Evolution and Biodiversity Science, kindly provided me with a high-resolution copy of Ehrenberg's 1820 article in the Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft Naturforschender Freunde zu Berlin, and information on the dimensions of the journal.
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