









A Linnaean Keepsake



# A Linnaean Keepsake

ISSUED TO COMMEMORATE THE OPENING OF

THE STRANDELL COLLECTION OF LINNAEANA

AT

THE HUNT BOTANICAL LIBRARY

CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY



PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

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## Preface

In 1960, Dr. George H. M. Lawrence visited Dr. and Mrs. Birger Strandell at their home in Stockholm. This was Dr. Lawrence's first opportunity to personally view Dr. Strandell's library of Linnaeana. That this collection would be a potentially valuable addition to the newly formed Hunt Botanical Library was without question. Dr. Lawrence communicated his enthusiasm to Mr. and Mrs. Roy Arthur Hunt, and they in turn agreed that this unique product of one man's life-long interest should be brought to Pittsburgh, if it ever became available.

In May of 1966, the Strandells visited Pittsburgh and, having had the opportunity to see the Hunt Botanical Library for themselves, also became convinced that this should be the final home for their collection. In the spring of 1967, Dr. Lawrence made two trips to Stockholm for the purpose of evaluating in detail the content of Dr. Strandell's library and to arrive at an estimate of its value. The negotiations that began at that time were carried on throughout the spring and summer, and a price was finally agreed upon in September. Through grants from The Hunt Foundation and the Richard King Mellon Charitable Trusts, the collection was purchased, and in January of 1968, Dr. Lawrence traveled to Stockholm to personally supervise the packing and shipment of the books. Upon arrival in Pittsburgh later that month, the books were temporarily housed in the Rare Book Lounge of the Hunt Botanical Library, until such time as a special room could be constructed to serve as their permanent home.

The Strandell Room, to house the Strandell Collection of Linnaeana, was completed in the fall of 1972. The books were then moved into the new room and a period of cataloguing and arranging the books on the shelves followed.

The growth of the Strandell Collection of Linnaeana has not ceased with its move to the Hunt Botanical Library, and Dr. Strandell, who was appointed Honorary Curator of the collection by the trustees of Carnegie-Mellon University on 1 January 1969, continues to have an active interest in adding to it. He, together with Dr. Lawrence, is currently completing a bibliographical catalogue of the collection.

There is no single library which contains all of the works by Linnaeus and his students. The finest collection is at his own university, the Uni-

versity of Uppsala in Uppsala, Sweden. The second most complete is the Strandell Collection of Linnaeana at the Hunt Botanical Library. For secondary material, however, such as biographical works, pamphlets, broadsides, reviews, announcements, and clippings about Linnaeus and his students, the Strandell Collection has no equal.

GILBERT S. DANIELS  
*Director*

# An Introduction to Linnaeus

by

Birger Strandell

*This presentation is not intended to be complete. It is merely meant to provide a background for the opening of the Strandell Collection of Linnaeana at the Hunt Botanical Library and the Linnaean Symposium which celebrates this opening.*



## LIFE AND WORK

Carl Linnaeus (or Carl von Linné, a curious name of German and French components used after he was enobled in 1753) was, no doubt, the most eminent teacher the University of Uppsala ever had. As a natural scientist he was the greatest methodical genius Sweden has ever produced. Thanks to Linnaeus, Uppsala became the world's center for teaching of natural history, and especially botany, during a third of a century.

As was the case with many other Swedish scientists of that time, Linnaeus was born in a poor parsonage in the country. On 23 May 1707 he saw the light of day for the first time at Råshult in the southern province of Småland "just in the most beautiful springtime, when the cuckoo called to the summer between the time of leaf-bursting and flowers," to use his own words. He was named Carl after the king, Carl XII.

While yet a schoolboy, Linnaeus displayed a keen interest in natural science and especially in botany. But botany had no independent standing, and there was no professorship in botany at the Swedish universities of that time. Botany, as a subject of instruction, was included in the lectures of one of the professors of medicine. So, Linnaeus did not hesitate to train himself for the profession of physician.

### *As a Student in Lund and Uppsala*

Having studied a year at the university in Lund, in 1728 he moved to Uppsala, because he thought the teachers there, Lars Roberg and Olof Rudbeck the younger, to be better than Kilian Stobaeus in Lund. In this respect he was extremely disappointed, for he found both professors to be old and their teaching no longer effective.

The first period in Uppsala was indeed very troublesome for the young Linnaeus. But on 1 January 1730, he honored his benefactor, Olaus Celsius, professor of theology and highly esteemed as a botanist, with a manuscript, *Praeludia sponsaliorum plantarum*, or *Introduction to the floral nuptials*.

In this essay, Linnaeus set forth the doctrine of the sexuality of plants. The fact that plants, like animals, reproduce by means of male and female organs—stamens and pistils—had been asserted by earlier scientists, especially the German Camerarius and the Frenchman Vaillant, but the opinion had been disputed by others. It was left to Linnaeus to prove the

theory beyond all doubt.

An example of Linnaeus' picturesque language is found in this translation of some of the thoughts expressed in his *Praeludia*.

Recent botanists have found many analogies between plant and animal life. How they suffer from similar diseases; how plants, like animals, hibernate during the winter, only to reawaken to life upon arrival of the warm season; that both plants and animals are sterile during their early life, fruitful during middle life, and wither away in old age. That plants have vessels, fibers and innumerable other parts, as have animals. From this we conclude that even with plants there exist organs of generation. That these organs are to be found in the flower is proved by the fact that when there is no fruit there was previously no flower. The petals contribute nothing to generation but serve only as bridal beds, which the Creator has arranged so beautifully, with the purest bed curtains, and perfumed with such delicious fragrance that the bride and groom may there celebrate their nuptials with so much greater ecstasy.

Celsius, having read the essay, handed it over to Professor Rudbeck. Linnaeus' situation was now completely altered, and he was taken into Rudbeck's home.

During the years 1730 and 1731, Linnaeus' new system, the sexual system, evolved. Based on the number of stamens and pistils in the flower, and their arrangement, this system, with its 24 classes among which all plants were distributed, was to prevail in botany into the 19th century, when it was replaced by one or another of more natural classification.

In a similar situation, a scientist of today would at least have published a preliminary report as soon as possible. Linnaeus instead wrote, in 1730, some lines in the preface of a manuscript of a projected work on the rudiments of botany (*Fundamenta botanica*), and predicted that this book "will one day be privy councillor to all leading botanists." He was then only 23 years of age. But the *Fundamenta* was not published until 1736, when he was 29.

#### *A Tour in Lapland*

While living in the house of the learned Olof Rudbeck, Linnaeus had often heard him speak of his travels in Lapland during the year 1695, and of the unusual plants, animals, and people he had observed there. In this region lived a population of about 7,000, mostly Lapps with their reindeer herds. These tracts were at that time a closed book as regards natural science. In fact, Lapland is today the largest untouched wilderness region of Europe, as





VIRO NOBILISSIMO ET CONSULTISSIMO  
D. GEORGIO CLIFFORTIO J. V. D.

CAROLI LINNÆI  
Doct. Med. & Acad. Imp. Nat. Cur. Soc.  
FLORA  
LAPPONICA

Exhibens

PLANTAS  
Per  
LAPPONIAM

*Crescentes, secundum Systema Sexuale  
Collectas in Itinere*

Impensis

SOE. REG. LITTER. ET SCIENT. SVEGICÆ

A. MDCCXXXII.

*Instituto.*

Aditis

Synonymis, & Locis Natalibus Omnium,  
Descriptionibus & Figuris Rariorum,  
Viribus Medicatis & Oeconomicis  
Plurimarum.

AMSTELÆDAMI,

Apud SALOMONEM SCHOUTEN.

MDCCXXXVII.

Fig. 1. Title-page and frontispiece of *Flora Lapponica* (1737).

large as England and half of Scotland, situated in the northern part of Sweden and reaching above the Arctic Circle. From here Sweden now gets its most valuable natural products, iron and timber. So, Linnaeus was indeed correct in his opinion that Lapland was worth exploration.

Linnaeus made his journey through Lapland in 1732. He had no map. He traveled alone, on horseback or on foot, and could speak with the Lapps only through an interpreter. We know he had great difficulties in making this journey.

From this experience he wrote some essays and two books, *Flora Lapponica*, printed in Amsterdam in 1737 during Linnaeus' stay in Holland (Fig. 1), and his travel diary, *Lachesis Lapponica* (A Tour in Lapland). It was first published in an English translation, edited by J. E. Smith, London, 1811. Not until 1889 was the original work published in Swedish.

His flora of Lapland is now called an *Opus immortale*, and the diary is considered one of the treasures of Swedish literature. It shows Linnaeus' brilliant power of quick perception and intuitive understanding of what he saw.

That journey to Lapland in 1732, made when 25 years old, contributed more than any other experience to the development of Linnaeus into a scientist of great eminence.

The years that followed were filled with intensive work, especially in the field of botany. Linnaeus now also wrote an essay on a way of living according to nature, *Diaeta naturalis*, which, however, was not published until 1958!

In 1734, Linnaeus made a journey to the province of Dalarna. He spent Christmas in the county town of Falun, where he met, fell in love with, and became engaged to Sara Elisabeth Moraea, the daughter of a distinguished mining doctor, Johan Moraeus.

#### *The Journey Abroad*

At the beginning of 1735, Linnaeus started his journey abroad in order to earn his degree as a doctor of medicine in Holland. Later he would write of this in his manuscript, *Iter ad exteros* (not published until 1889).

He went to Harderwijk in Holland, a small town near Haarlem with an unimportant university, subsequently closed down. After a week he had passed his examination, printed and defended a dissertation giving a new explanation of the cause of ague (malaria-like fever), and then left the town with a handsome doctor's diploma, now preserved at the Linnaean museum in Uppsala. This was the most important objective of the journey. You see, his prospective father-in-law required that he be a professional man before he could have the daughter in marriage!

But Linnaeus had higher aims. So, he went to Leiden to visit Dr. Herman Boerhaave, "all Europe's oracle of medicine," and other prominent scientists in that town, such as Johannes Burman, Jan Frederik Gronovius, and Adriaan van Royen.

While visiting Gronovius one day, he showed him one of the manuscripts he had compiled at Uppsala and brought with him to Holland: his *Systema naturae*. Gronovius at once realized the importance of this work, and he and the wealthy Scottish doctor, Isaac Lawson, who happened(!) to

CAROLI LINNÆI, *SVECI,*  
DOCTORIS MEDICINÆ,  
SYSTEMA NATURÆ,  
SIVE  
REGNA TRIA NATURÆ  
SYSTEMATICE PROPOSITA  
PER  
CLASSES, ORDINES,  
GENERA, & SPECIES.

---

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O JEHOVA! *Quoniam unquam fecit opera Tua!*  
*Quoniam ea omnia sapienter fecisti!*  
*Quoniam plenus est terra pulchritudine tua!*

*Psalm. cv. 24.*

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LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,  
Apud THEODORUM HAAK, MDCCXXXV.

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EX TYPOGRAPHIA  
JOANNIS WILHELMI & GROOT.

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Fig. 2. Title-page of the first edition of *Systema naturae* (1735).

be present, offered to pay the cost of having it printed. In December of the same year the book was published (Fig. 2).

The whole of this renowned work, which marks an epoch in natural history, comprises only seven sheets in extra large folio. It is really a

classification of the three natural kingdoms. The size of the first edition of *Systema naturae* is unknown. However, not many copies are now known, some 30 or so at the most. But, of course, other copies may still be hidden in collections in different places.

With the first edition of his *Systema*, Linnaeus set forth his principles and major groupings for the classification of the plants, animals, and minerals of the world. By modern standards, the number of kinds then known for the world was indeed small, for in 1735 the major part of the earth's surface remained to be mapped and explored. As the inventory of natural history increased, Linnaeus reported the same through new and successive editions of the *Systema*. Simultaneously, other scientists produced translations and adaptations of the Linnaean editions. No other one book so impressed the world of science as did this one. No other one would, for biology, until Darwin would publish his *On the origin of species* in 1859. Each of the editions which followed was enlarged, until the twelfth, published between 1766-1768, the last to be printed and supervised by Linnaeus himself. It required three octavo volumes with a total of 2,300 pages.

The most important edition is the tenth, for Volume I (Stockholm, 1758) of this edition constitutes the basis for the names of animals (plant names are accounted for in his *Species plantarum*, 1753).

One day while in Holland, Linnaeus was introduced to George Clifford, a wealthy merchant. On his country estate, "de Hartekamp" (the deer pasture), situated between Leiden and Haarlem, he had a magnificent botanical garden, a large herbarium, and an excellent library.

Linnaeus soon became head of the garden, and one of the best periods of his life now followed. In rapid succession one book was published after another. In all, Linnaeus' writings, published during his three-year stay in Holland, amounted to 14 and totaled nearly 3,000 pages. The explanation is that he had brought with him a good deal of these works in manuscripts from Sweden, such as *Bibliotheca botanica*, *Fundamenta botanica*, *Flora Lapponica*, *Genera plantarum* (a description of all the known genera of plants), and *Critica botanica* (with rules for the nomenclature of plants), to name only the most important.

But he also compiled *Hortus Cliffortianus*, his most magnificent book from a typographical point of view, a volume of 450 pages, in folio, with beautiful illustrations of plants. Moreover, as William Thomas Stearn has observed of it "by the excellence of its copperplate engravings, the work of Georg Dionysius Ehret (1707-1770) and Jan Wandelaar (1690-1759) (Fig. 3), and especially in their attention to floral details, it marks the beginning of a new era in botanical illustration and foreshadows the golden century of great

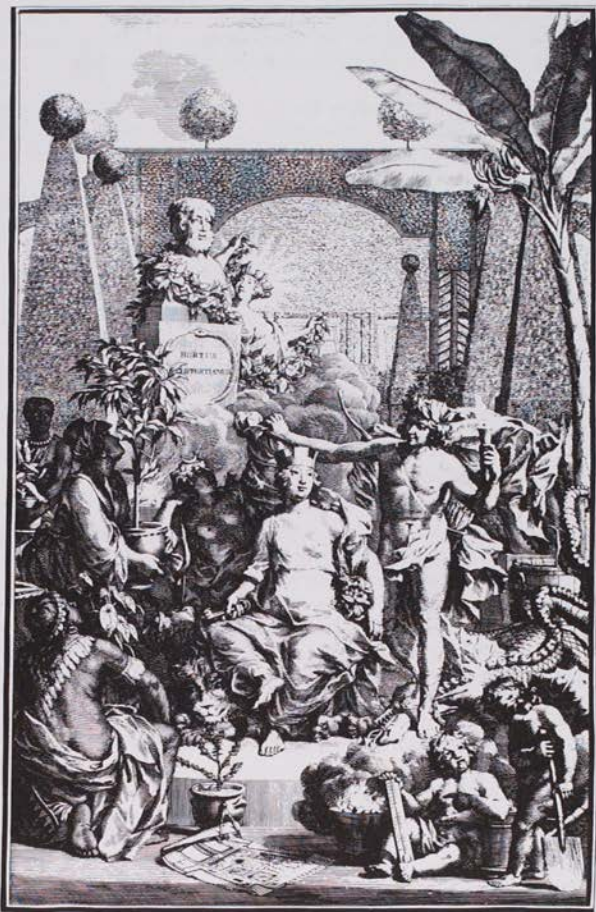


Fig. 3. Frontispiece by Jan Wandelaar from *Hortus Cliffortianus* (1737).



flower-book production which extended from about 1760 to 1860." It was indeed a piece of good fortune that Linnaeus' stay in Holland coincided, during 1736, with Ehret's, so that this important book could be made so beautiful.

Before Linnaeus left Holland for Sweden, he was given the opportunity to visit England. Here he met Sir Hans Sloan, president of the Royal Society. He visited the Apothecaries Garden in Chelsea, where he met Philipp Miller, and Oxford, where he met J. J. Dillenius.

It has been said that during Linnaeus' stay in Holland he discovered more, wrote more, and reformed botany more than anyone else had ever done during an entire lifetime.

In May, 1738, Linnaeus left Holland. He had been offered appointments in Holland and invited to undertake journeys to Dutch colonies in Surinam or the Cape, but they were turned down. He took leave of his many Dutch friends and patrons and went to Paris, where he met the brothers Antoine and Bernard de Jussieu, the leading French botanists of the time. He visited Versailles, Fontainebleau, and the Académie des Sciences, where he was made a corresponding member. In 1763 he was made an honorary member of this academy.

#### *As a Physician in Stockholm*

When Linnaeus returned to Sweden in 1738 from his three-year journey abroad, he established himself as a physician in Stockholm. After some months, he had a steady stream of patients and came in contact with people in influential circles, as everywhere before—at home and abroad. Soon afterwards he went to live at the residence of Count C. G. Tessin. Tessin was a prominent statesman, one of the leaders of the victorious party that year, and Marshall of the House of the Nobility. He procured a grant for Linnaeus to give lectures in mineralogy and botany, and also arranged for his appointment as a doctor to the Admiralty, with a hospital of 200 beds.

In the spring of 1739 the Swedish Academy of Sciences was founded by five scientists in the House of Nobility, one of them being Linnaeus, who was elected its first president. He was then only 32. One of the fundamental rules of the Academy was that all dissertations and writings presented before or published by it should be entirely in Swedish, not in Latin. When Linnaeus gave up his presidency, he gave an address: "Tal om märkvärdigheter uti insekterna" ("Oddities among the insects"), the first in the long series of presidential addresses.

It cannot be denied that Linnaeus met with well-deserved success in Stockholm. Nevertheless, he did not feel satisfied. He dreamed of a profes-



CAROLUS LINNAEUS

S. R. M. Sveciae Archiater.  
Med. et Botan. Professor Upsal.  
Egu. aur. de Stell. pol.

*Hic ille est, cui regna Volens Natura reclusit  
Quamque ulli dederat plura videnda dedit.*  
Natus 1707. Maj. 23. C. Arrhenius

CAROLI LINNAEI  
ARCHIATR. REG. MEDIC. ET BOTAN. PROFESS. UPSAL.  
ACAD. IMPERIAL. MONSPEL. REGOL. TOLOS. UPSAL.  
STOCKH. SOC. ET PARIS. CORRESP.

# PHILOSOPHIA BOTANICA

IN QUA  
EXPLICANTUR

FUNDAMENTA BOTANICA

CUM

DEFINITIONIBUS PARTIUM,  
EXEMPLIS TERMINORUM,  
OBSERVATIONIBUS RARIORUM,

ADJECTIS

FIGURIS AENEIS.



DEGENKOLB  
CUM PROPRIETARIO TO.

STOCKHOLMIAE,  
APUD GODOFR. KIESEWETTER  
1751.

Fig. 4. Title-page and frontispiece of *Philosophia botanica* (1751).

sorship in Uppsala, where he would be released from "the miserable toiling work with the patients." In Uppsala he could fully and completely give attention to research and teaching.

### Professor in Uppsala

It was not until 1741 that he was appointed professor of medicine in Uppsala. Linnaeus then entered his final position.

From then on he served the calling of teacher faithfully until his health failed, more than 30 years later. The only interruptions were the journeys

to various Swedish provinces, which were undertaken at the bidding of the government. He never went abroad again.

Linnaeus is acknowledged to have been the most eminent teacher the university in Uppsala has ever had. Thanks to him and his distinguished colleague, Nils Rosén (knighted Rosén von Rosenstein), medicine received a new rapid development. Some of Linnaeus' lectures were of such a nature that they attracted large audiences from the students of all faculties. The students did not sleep when Linnaeus was lecturing!

His lessons in botany included botanical excursions (*herbationes*), in the Uppsala countryside. Their trails are still known and were retraced, for instance, by leading botanists from all over the world during the Linnaean celebration in 1957.

Linnaeus then found time to publish a number of important new works, dissertations, and new, enlarged editions of his earlier works. In 1745, *Flora Svecica* was published and *Fauna Svecica* the following year. The term fauna was invented by Linnaeus, as were the symbols for sex: Iron-Mars for males and Copper-Venus for females.

Among his medical works are his textbooks, *Genera morborum* (1763) and *Materia medica* (1749), commonly used for decades thereafter not only in Sweden but in all European countries.

Linnaeus also had an important part in the first Swedish pharmacopoeia, *Pharmacopoea Svecica*, which was published in 1775.

One of Linnaeus' most important botanical works, *Philosophia botanica*, was published in 1751 (Fig. 4). Two years later his *Species plantarum* was published (Fig. 5). It provides a name and description for each of the species of plants known at that time, about 6,000. Linnaeus himself regarded it as his "master-piece," his *Magnum opus*. In this work he had given final form to a thought which he had previously outlined, to give each species a simplified name, consisting of only one word, plus the generic name, a practical simplification—a name of two words for every species.<sup>1</sup> The International Botanical Congress of Vienna in 1905 adopted the first edition of *Species plantarum* as the starting point for the nomenclature of higher plants.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, works by Linnaeus constitute the basis for the names of plants as well as of animals (*Species plantarum*, 1753, and *Systema naturae*, 1758).

<sup>1</sup>"Botanical taxonomy and its literature were not chaotic before the time of Linnaeus, but no one system was adequate and simple enough to command general acceptance. In fact previous systems demanded a more detailed knowledge of plants and a more expert user than did the Linnaean system which replaced them." Stearn, W. T.—*An Introduction to the Species Plantarum and Cognate Botanical Works of Carl Linnaeus*. London, The Ray Society, 1957.

<sup>2</sup>"The effect of the *Species Plantarum* has thus been far-reaching and permanent." *Ibid.*



CAROLI LINNÆI

S:Æ R:IGIÆ M:ITIS SVECIÆ ARCHIATRI; MEDIC. & BOTAN.  
PROFESS. UPSAL; EQUITIS AUR. DE STELLA POLARI; \*  
NEC NON ACAD. IMPER. MONSPEL. BEROL. TOLOS.  
UPSAL. STOCKH. SOC. & PARIS. CORESP.

SPECIES  
PLANTARUM,

EXHIBENTES

PLANTAS RITE COGNITAS,

AD

GENERA RELATAS,

CUM

DIFFERENTIIS SPECIFICIS,

NOMINIBUS TRIVIALIBUS,

SYNONYMIS SELECTIS,

LOCIS NATALIBUS,

SECUNDUM

SYSTEMA SEXUALE

DIGESTAS.

TOMUS I

---

*Cum Privilegio S. R. M:tis Sveciæ & S. R. M:tis Poloniæ ac Elektorit Saxon.*

---

HOLMIÆ,  
IMPENSIS LAURENTII SALVII.  
1753.

Fig. 5. Title-page of *Species plantarum* (1753).

*Linnaeus' Pupils and his Connections with America*

As you have already heard, Linnaeus, as well as all Swedish students in pre-Linnaean days, were obliged to go abroad to acquire the latest knowledge in medicine and natural science and to obtain their doctoral degree.

When Linnaeus was professor in Uppsala, this state of things changed and Uppsala for some decades became the center of the world for the study of natural science. Foreign students, not only from neighboring Denmark and Norway, but also from Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, England, France, Italy, and Russia, and even from Africa and America, found their way to distant Sweden.

No less than 186 of Linnaeus' pupils defended a doctoral dissertation (*pro gradu* or *pro exercitio*) with Linnaeus as the praeses. With a very few exceptions, these dissertations were written by Linnaeus himself!

During the years 1761-1765, Adam Kuhn, born in Germantown, Pennsylvania in 1741, attended Linnaeus' *Praelectiones privatissimae* in Uppsala and at Hammarby. Linnaeus and Kuhn were on very good terms, and when Kuhn wrote and defended his doctoral dissertation in Edinburgh in 1767, it was dedicated to Linnaeus. Later, Kuhn became professor of medicine in Philadelphia. In his lectures it is easy to observe that Kuhn was very much influenced by Linnaeus. In lecture notes preserved in the Linda Hall Library, Kansas City, Kansas, I have seen annotations about the Lapps and their mode of living.

The title of Linnaeus' inauguration lecture, on election to the university faculty, held in Uppsala in 1741, *Oratio de necessitate peregrinationem intra patriam* (The necessity of traveling in one's own country), perhaps seems to designate him as a narrow-sighted Swede. Instead, he seems to have had a broader viewpoint than any other natural scientist of his time. He was a real citizen of the world.

He sent his pupils to far countries to enrich science by their observations. Many of them would bring home precious collections which are now preserved in museums in Uppsala, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and London.

The late Robert Fries, professor of botany in Stockholm and president of the Swedish Linnaeus Society, compiled a map of the journeys undertaken by Linnaeus' Swedish pupils or apostles, as those who explored foreign lands are called. As can be seen (Fig. 6), the journeys cover the entire world, from Spitzbergen in the Arctic to the Antarctic in the South, from Japan in the East to the South Sea in the West (this seen from a Swedish point of view).

Martin went to Spitzbergen;

Hasselquist to Egypt and the Holy Land, and died there;



Forsskål to Saudi-Arabia, and died in Yemen;  
Afzelius, Berlin (died in Guinea), and Rothman to different parts of  
Africa;  
Kalm to England and North America;  
Löfling (died in Venezuela), and Rolander to South America;  
Adler, Osbeck, Torén, and Tärnström to the Far East.

And then we have the four most remarkable pupils of them all.

Daniel C. Solander (1733-1782), in 1768-1771 accompanied Sir Joseph Banks on James Cook's famous first circumnavigation of the globe in H.M.S. "Endeavour," Solander being the scientific leader on board. This journey was one of the most profitable in the history of botany. The collections included 100 new genera and 1,000 new species. At Botany Bay, Solander's name is inscribed on a stone, together with Cook's and Banks', as a memorial to the three European scientists who were the first to put their feet on the ground of Australia. Their memory was recently celebrated by Australian stamps reproducing portraits of Banks, Cook, and Solander.

Anders Sparrman (1748-1820) was staying in Cape Town in 1772 when James Cook arrived on his second voyage around the world. Sparrman with great pleasure accepted Cook's invitation to accompany the expedition with a view to assisting the two Forsters in their scientific work. Sparrman has given an account of his journey in a work which has been translated into English, German, and French. Over the years, it has attracted great attention, and not the least in our day. His collections from the South Sea region are preserved in the Etnografiska Museet in Stockholm.

Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828) was the most prominent botanical explorer and collector of his time and is considered the most famous of Linnaeus' pupils. In 1770-1779 he traveled in Europe, Africa, and Asia and collected a considerable number of plants. The results of his work in South Africa were published in *Flora Capensis* and of his work in Japan in his *Flora Japonica* (Leipzig, 1784), the latter being his most important work. Thunberg has also given an account of his journey in a work which has also been translated into English, German, and French. Thunberg's account is an exciting reading, for Japan at that time was closed to foreigners, and he was one of the first Europeans who was permitted to penetrate the interior of the country. Thunberg has been called "The Father of Cape Botany" and "The Linnaeus of Japan."

As noted above, Pehr Kalm (1716-1779) traveled in England and North America, including Canada, in 1747-1751. He arrived in Philadelphia in 1748, and after numerous excursions in the district around that city and in New

York state, went to Canada where he visited Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. The next year he left Philadelphia once more and reached Lake Ontario and Niagara Falls. He returned to Sweden in 1751. Kalm's account of his travels, with descriptions of the conditions and agriculture in the new country, became very popular and was translated into English, French, German, and Dutch. The English part of the journey was edited in London in 1892. The translator, Joseph Lucas, says in the preface that the English portion

is totally unknown in this country, but far transcends in completeness and accuracy of description any work of its age on England. Few subjects have escaped his scrutiny; but whether social or natural, town or country, each has been described with the minute and delicate accuracy of a man of keen observation, of refined taste, and of high scientific training.

I am not quite sure that the same could be said about the American part of this account. But it deserves to be read not only by those interested in natural sciences of the United States 200 years ago but also by everyone interested in life and customs of that time.

Special attention should be paid to Kalm's acquaintance with Benjamin Franklin. It was probably the conversations with Franklin that made Kalm such a prominent prophet, that he was able, in 1748, to state that the English colonies after a generation should become independent. In any case, the Swedish king and government must have been very well prepared for what happened, for Sweden was the first country to acknowledge the new nation.

Before leaving Kalm, I should like to remind you of his description of Niagara Falls in a letter to Franklin, who published it in his *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 September 1749. This seems to be the first description of Niagara Falls in English, thus surprisingly written by a pupil of Linnaeus.

In addition to Kalm and Kuhn, Linnaeus' connection with America included correspondence with some of the most famous natural scientists of the country.

Already during his stay in Holland, Linnaeus was in touch with James Logan (1647-1751), the governor of Pennsylvania, and a very keen scientist. When Logan published his botanical work, *De plantarum generatione* (1739), he chose Linnaeus' Dutch publisher, Cornelius Haak, in Leiden.

Another American with whom Linnaeus corresponded was John Bartram (1699-1777), who was very helpful to Kalm during his stay in Philadelphia.

As a result of these connections, some fine treasures are in libraries in



Philadelphia, such as a letter from Logan to Linnaeus and a copy of Linnaeus' *Systema naturae*, ed. 2, 1740, bearing Linnaeus' holograph dedication to Gronovius and with Gronovius' to John Bartram (now in The Library Company of Philadelphia). In the library of the American Philosophical Society there is a fine holograph manuscript by Kalm, 16 pages in folio, in Swedish.

Linnaeus also got in touch with Cadwalader Colden, the governor of New York, and the physicians Alexander Garden and John Clayton. It was Clayton who provided Gronovius in Leiden with material for his *Flora Virginica* (I-II, 1739-1743). This work was prepared in consultation with Linnaeus and arranged according to his system. When Clayton and Colden in 1745 adopted the Linnaean sexual system, this declaration contributed exceedingly to Linnaeus' fame in America.

Clayton, Bartram, Colden, and Franklin were the founders of The American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, which appointed Linnaeus an honorary member. Small wonder then that Linnaeus considered them all to be "excellent men."

In all probability, through Linnaeus' initiative and proposal, Bartram was elected a member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, and Garden a member of the Society of Sciences in Uppsala.

Linnaeus gave one plant the name *Coldenia*, and another *Gardenia*. The highly prized mountain laurel he named *Kalmia*.

#### *Linnaeus' Last Time and Death*

In Uppsala honors rained down on Linnaeus. He was made a knight of the Order of the Polar Star (1753), he was enobled (1756), and was called Carl von Linné. He became a member of the Prussian, Russian, and French academies of sciences, of the Royal Society in London, and of many other learned assemblies, even in the United States, in Philadelphia.

In the spring of 1774, Linnaeus was seized by a stroke and recovered, but a new stroke in 1776 left him a broken man.

He died on the 10th of January 1778 and is buried in the cathedral of Uppsala, just inside the main door.

The king, Gustaf III, honored his memory in a speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament: "I have lost a man who has done honor to his country as a loyal subject as well as being renowned throughout the world."

This was the first time the King of Sweden honored a man in this way. The next time was when Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary General of the United Nations, lost his life in an air crash in 1961, almost 200 years later.

## LINNAEAN CENTERS IN SWEDEN

### *Linnaeus' Property and Scientific Belongings*

When Linnaeus' son died (1783), only five years after his father, most of Linnaeus' scientific collections were sold to the London botanist, James Edward Smith (1759-1828). The Linnean Society of London (founded by Smith in 1788), in Burlington House, Piccadilly, is England's most distinguished society for the botanical and zoological sciences. There one finds well preserved most of Linnaeus' herbarium and other collections, most of his library, his correspondence, and scientific manuscripts. However, the mineral collection, acquired also by Smith, was sold at auction in 1796 and dispersed.

Most of Linnaeus' herbarium is preserved in London, but other specimens prepared or identified by him, and other herbaria with a Linnaean association, are to be found in Uppsala, Stockholm, Paris, Oxford, and elsewhere.

Most of Linnaeus' furniture and household goods remained with his family. A good representation is preserved at his two residences, in Uppsala and at Hammarby. Both are now museums. Good collections from those same houses are to be found also in the private residences of a few of Linnaeus' descendants.

### *Linnaeus' Estates*

In his autobiography, *Egenhändiga anteckningar* (Stockholm, 1823), Linnaeus wrote: "In 1758 Linnaeus purchased Hammarby and Säfja." Later he purchased Edeby, a rural property situated close to Hammarby, and in 1776 the Academy of Uppsala presented him with Hubby. The poor student, Linnaeus, who in 1728 made his unheralded appearance in Uppsala, had changed in a quarter-century to become a world-famous professor, the owner of extensive estates.

### HAMMARBY

Among Linnaeus' estates, Hammarby (now called Linné's Hammarby) is the best known (Fig. 7). It is situated about a Swedish mile (six English miles) south of Uppsala. Here he built his dwelling house in 1762 where he lived with his family during each summer and sometimes even at Christmas-time. Here he received the king and the queen, when they paid him the honor of a private visit. Here he gave his private lectures, *praelectiones drivatissime*, to sons of distinguished persons from abroad. And to Hammarby came students from Uppsala, on a pilgrimage to attend a lecture or a botanical field trip (the *herbationes*).

After Linnaeus' death, Hammarby remained a family estate for about 100 years. In 1879 it was purchased by the government. The house, the garden, and the park now constitute the Linnaean Foundation at Hammarby, under the management of an inspector chosen by the University of Uppsala. The arable and pasture lands comprise, in effect, a farm in the possession of the university.

The Linnaean Foundation is responsible for the preservation of Linnaeus' home as it was at the time it was purchased, and to restore it as may be necessary. During the years from his death in 1778 to 1879 many alterations had been made; especially, the two detached wings had been transformed. The houses are now restored to almost the appearance they had in Linnaeus' time. Only the cattle sheds that stood close to the garden have been removed.

Hammarby looks like a parsonage from the middle of Sweden. It has been said that when Linnaeus built the Hammarby manor house in two floors he used as a model the parsonage that was his childhood home in the province of Småland. It is painted an iron-oxide red, as are the two wings, the usual color of wooden houses in the Swedish countryside for the past two centuries or more.

Hammarby is characterized by its simplicity. It contrasts greatly with the nearby and magnificent Skokloster, a private castle from Sweden's era of great power, the 17th century.

This account is not a guidebook to what can be seen at Hammarby, but I must point out a few details of special interest to visitors.

The ground floor contains a central hall and staircase with the kitchen behind. To the right is the dining room, to the left is Mrs. Linnaeus' drawing room and bedroom.

On the walls in the dining room are portraits of Linnaeus' parents, his younger brother Samuel, and of King Fredrik and Queen Lovisa Ulrika. These were not there in Linnaeus' time, but are gifts to the collection from the botanist, Professor Carl Fredrik Otto Nordstedt (1838-1924), of the University of Lund, who was also editor of the journal *Botaniska Notiser*.

A large showcase in Mrs. Linnaeus' bedroom contains Linnaeus' doctor's hat, one of his coats, and some of his walking sticks. There are also silk gowns and shoes worn by his daughters.

In her drawing room there are a few holograph manuscripts by Linnaeus and some of his works. The manuscripts include two of botanical and one of zoological content, and a medical prescription for a patient. The books include some 20 titles by Linnaeus, including *Flora Lapponica* (1737) and *Flora Svecica* (1745), each with Linnaeus' autograph inscription.



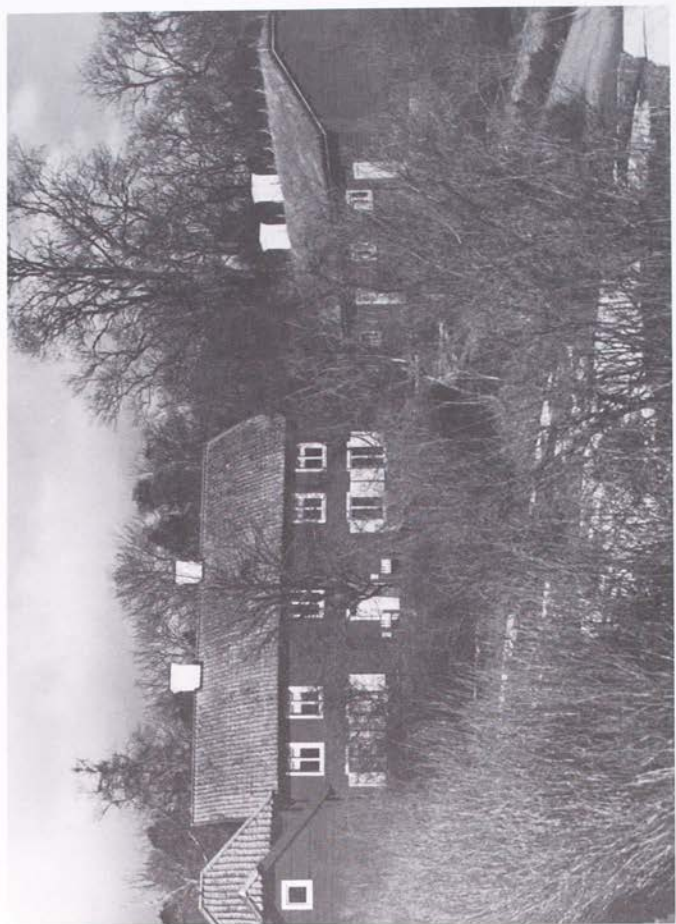


Fig. 7. Hammarby. Photograph by Sören Hallgren.

From the entrance hall, the staircase leads above to two drawing rooms on the right and Linnaeus' study and bedroom on the left.

On the walls of the drawing rooms are the well-known original portraits of Linnaeus and his wife painted by Johan Henrik Scheffel in 1739, the year of their marriage. The Scheffel portrait of Linnaeus in his red coat is frequently reproduced. Part of Linnaeus' tea set with his flower, the twin-flower (*Linnaea borealis*), painted in China, can be found in a showcase. This tea set was ordered by Linnaeus through the Swedish East India Company, with whose officers he had close connections. For many years one of his pupils would serve as ship's physician on almost every voyage (Osbeck, Torén, Ekeberg, and others), and through their efforts Linnaeus came to learn much about the natural history of the Orient.

The rooms on the left hand are indeed of special interest because precious handcolored flower engravings were used by Linnaeus as wallpaper, giving an unusual and exciting impression, a manifestation of Linnaeus' personality. In the study, the engravings are those from Charles Plumier's *Plantarum americanarum fasciculi* (1755-1760); in the bedroom they are from Christoph Jacob Trew's *Plantae selectae* (1750-1773), from drawings by the famous Georg Dionysius Ehret.

In the study, Linnaeus' writing desk with its chair can be seen. On the walls hang the portraits of his father-in-law, Dr. Johan Moraeus, and pastels representing his wife, son, and each of their four daughters. In a showcase there is a medallion of Linnaeus, done by Carl Fredrik Inlander in 1773 and owned by Linnaeus. It was considered by his contemporaries as one of the best likenesses of Linnaeus. On different occasions it has been reproduced in Wedgwood china.

Above the door leading to his bedroom, Linnaeus had lettered in paint: *Innocue vivito, Numen adest* (Live innocently, God is present), which is taken from Ovid's *Ars amandi*.

The western wing has been set up as a pictorial museum with hundreds of documented reproductions of portraits and other likenesses of Linnaeus. No other Swede, except royalty, has been represented so frequently. The eastern wing is maintained as an outbuilding, not open to the public.

On top of the wooded, boulder-strewn hill behind the dwelling house, Linnaeus built in 1766 his "museum" of plastered brick, to protect his scientific collection from loss by fire (his collections were threatened by the great Uppsala fire of April 1766, when a third of the town was destroyed). It is believed that after 1766 Linnaeus kept his collections in this Museum the year round, for it was only in the winter months that he then lived away from Hammarby. Here can be seen a herbarium cupboard in which

he stored his packets of pressed plants, the seats used by his students during lectures, and Linnaeus' lectern-chair (called Linné's plugghäst) used currently by the speaker at the annual meeting at Hammarby each May of the Swedish Linnaeus Society.

In the garden the Siberian Crabapple tree (*Malus baccata*) and the hedge of Siberian Pea-tree (*Caragana frutescens*) are relics from Linnaeus' time, as is the naturalized colony of the small herb *Corydalis nobilis* on the south side of the manor house. All other trees and shrubs, planted since then, are of species that were known to Linnaeus and were then grown in Sweden.

#### SÄFJA

Situated only half a Swedish mile (three English miles) south of Uppsala, Säfja (now called Linné's Säfja) has remained in complete obscurity, overshadowed by the well-known Hammarby. After the death of Mrs. Linnaeus in 1806, descendants of Linnaeus have been the owners, except for a period of about 30 years (1828-1859), until it was sold in 1965.

My grandparents owned and used Säfja as their summer residence up to 1928. Even after that time, when their grandchildren would visit Säfja, it was a little farm with cattle, arable and pasture lands, and a fine wood of pine trees more than 200 years old. It was indeed an idyllic spot with an idyllic atmosphere, off the beaten track.

Of the old buildings at Säfja in Linnaeus' time, all were taken down about 1880, except the main building, usually called "Linné-huset" (Linnaeus' house), and one of the outbuildings. The two wings now present, and other outbuildings, were built at that time.

In 1937 the main building was restored and now it looks as it did in Linnaeus' time (Fig. 8). It has a kitchen and two rooms on the ground floor, mostly occupied in Linnaeus' day by a farmer and his wife. The rooms upstairs are of a special interest, for here Linnaeus retained a private two-room apartment, which he would use for some days at a time when he wished to withdraw himself for rest and solitude. Here he felt at home with the farmer and his family.

His last visit to Säfja, in 1777, is typical. Linnaeus had been stricken some time before then by a stroke and could no longer walk unattended or take care of himself. To his delight he was taken on rides from his residence, but the coachman was told on no account to go outside the borders of the town. On such a sleigh ride at Christmastime, in 1777, Linnaeus disappeared and was not to be found anywhere in Uppsala. This caused much excitement and some alarm. At last he was found at Säfja, where he was lying in the kitchen in front of the fire, very amused, smoking his pipe, surrounded

by the farmer and his family, and the coachman. A fortnight later he died.

"Linné's kammare" (Linnaeus' chamber), situated some yards from the southern wing, was not originally at Säfja. It is a 17th-century structure, so named because it once was an outbuilding at Olof Celsius' old home in Uppsala which Linnaeus used, either as a place where he lived during the summer, or where he kept and worked with his collections. One day in 1940 it came to my attention that the structure was to be torn down and gotten rid of that very day. Through intercession with the Provincial Antiquarian in Uppsala it was dismantled and sent to Säfja where I had it erected again just as it was when Linnaeus occupied it in Uppsala.

Despite all private objections, the authorities constructed a main arterial highway across the property of Säfja, splitting it into two halves, with the houses and woods on one side and the fields on the other. The abundant noise from cars and trucks and the elimination of all privacy dealt the deathblow to Säfja as a private home. An architectural firm purchased it in 1965, to develop it as a community center, and has taken special care to preserve the Linnaeus' house, determined to keep it and its close surroundings in their present state.

Linnaeus' residence in Uppsala is also a museum, administered by the Swedish Linnaeus Society (Svenska Linné Sällskapet). But let us not anticipate it. First, may I remind you briefly of its precursors.

#### *Linnéska Institutet*

The first Swedish assembly with Linnaeus' name can be traced back to 1800. That year some students in Uppsala, who were interested in Linnaeus' sciences, founded a society named *Societas pro historia naturali*. About two years later Linnaeus' pupil, Adam Afzelius (1750-1837), was elected chairman, and the name of the society was changed to "Zoophytolithiska sällskapet" (the Zoophytolith Society). It was a successful organization and provided its members with lectures, discussions, and (in the springtime) with botanical excursions. In 1807, in connection with the 100th anniversary of Linnaeus' birth, the name of the society was again changed, this time to "Linnéska Institutet" (The Linnaean Institute). It was expected to publish a periodical, *Linnéska Institutets Skrifter*, but did not succeed in producing more than one sheet, printed in Uppsala in 1807, which did not reach the booksellers, and which is now a great rarity. However, in 1906, a new edition of it was published by J. M. Hulth, some copies provided with the original title-page showing the beautiful engraving of the twinflower in color by no less an artist than J. W. Palmstruch.



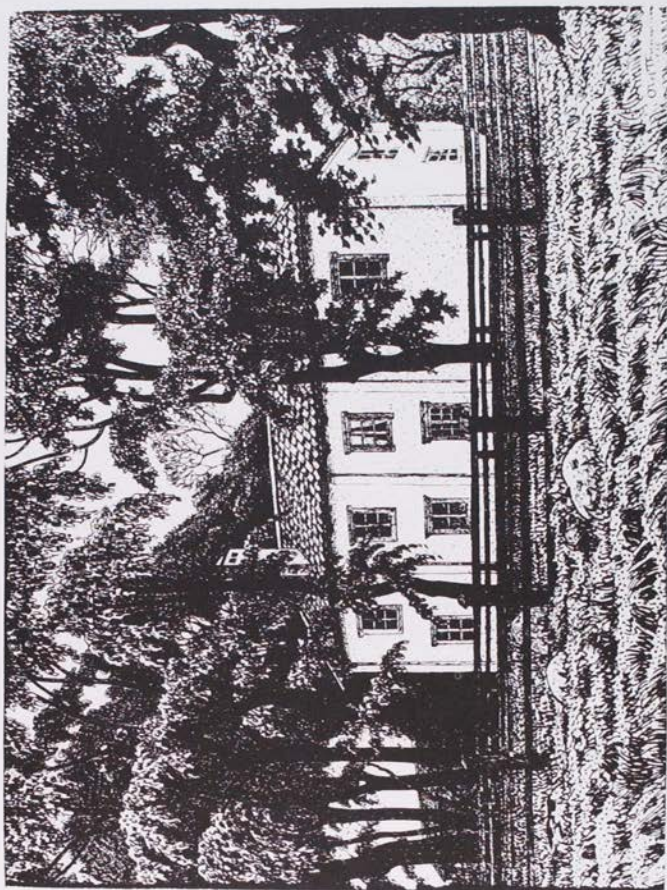


Fig. 8. The main building at Safja from a drawing by Olof Thunman, 1910. In the Strandell collection, Stockholm.

### *Linnéska Samfundet*

The "Linnéska Samfundet" (the Linnaean Association), founded in Stockholm on Linnaeus' birthday, 23 May 1832, was more long-lived than "The Linnaean Institute." It lasted no less than ten years!

This Association displayed an abundance of ambition and proposed at once to produce a periodical called *Linnéska Samfundets Handlingar*, but only one number was published, in 1833.

In 1835, the Association took a keen initiative in founding "Linnéska Parken" (the Linnaean Garden), in Humlegården in the middle of Stockholm. This was the predecessor of "Skansen," the now popular establishment at Djurgården in Stockholm, with its old buildings, restaurants, popular walks, and zoo. However, vandals soon destroyed the buildings at Humlegården and stole the animals. By 1842, after ten years of work, the Association was forced to terminate its activities.

From these experiences we easily understand why, in the decades that followed, the interest in founding a new association with Linnaeus' name was half-hearted. Interest in Linnaeus' memory became apparent again when, in 1885, Linnaeus' statue by J. Frithjof Kjellberg (1836-1885) was erected in Humlegården, not far from the place where "Linnéska Samfundet" had intended to place their statue of him. A copy of this statue by Kjellberg stands in Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois.

During these years, Evald Ähring, and more especially Th. M. Fries, worked to solidly establish Linnaeus' memory in Sweden. The former did so by publishing many important manuscripts written by Linnaeus in his youth; the latter by persuading the government to purchase Hammarby, and, not least, by his magnificent biography of Linnaeus, still unequalled.

No Linnaeus society, however, had been founded successfully, not even in the year 1907, when the 200-year anniversary of Linnaeus' birthday was celebrated so magnificently, both in Uppsala and in Stockholm—events that met with an enthusiastic and worldwide support from the fields of letters and science.

### *Svenska Linné Sällskapet*

Ten years later, on Linnaeus' birthday, 23 May 1917, when World War I was in progress, a Swedish Linnaeus Society was founded for the third time, at Hammarby. This was largely through the initiative of Elof Förberg, dentist-in-ordinary to the King. It was given the name "Svenska Linné Sällskapet" (the Swedish Linnaeus Society).

As of now, this society has published more than 50 volumes of their

periodical *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsbok* (Yearbook of the Swedish Linnaeus Society), and some other publications, such as the series *Valda avhandlingar av Carl von Linné i översättning utgivna av Svenska Linné-Sällskapet* (Selected essays by Carl Linnaeus in Swedish translation published by the Swedish Linnaeus Society). Thanks to the dedicated effort of Dr. Telemak Fredbärj, this series now has reached Number 63.

#### *Linné-trädgården i Uppsala (The Linnaeus Garden in Uppsala)*

The Linnaeus' garden in Uppsala, with the Linnaeus' house and other buildings, which was built by Olof Rudbeck the older in the 17th century, belongs to the University of Uppsala. The botanical institution that was established here was moved at the end of the 18th century to the former garden of the Castle. Subsequently, Linnaeus' old garden was used for other purposes.

Since then, thanks to the Swedish Linnaeus Society, this garden and its buildings has been restored and now appears almost as depicted on the engraving in Nauclet's (*i.e.*, Linnaeus') dissertation, *Hortus Upsaliensis* (1745) (Fig. 9). The outhouses on the left, however, were torn down and have not been rebuilt. In their place there stands a large statue of the young Linnaeus by the Swedish sculptor, Carl Eldh. The plants are set out in formal beds, situated as they were in Linnaeus' time.

This restoration has provided Uppsala with an 18th-century garden and residence of a most outstanding nature, an unequalled tourist attraction, and an objective for homage by those who are scientifically interested.

The garden is administered by the Linnaeus Society, but during recent years the university and the local authorities have contributed to its maintenance.

#### *Linné-museet (The Linnaeus Museum)*

In the garden, Olof Rudbeck the older had a house built as a residence for the professor of botany, who also was in charge of the garden. After some time, this house was torn down and a new, more solid house of plastered brick was built on the same site. This is the house where Linnaeus lived while a professor of medicine and botany at the University of Uppsala during the years 1743-1778 and which today is the Linnaeus Museum. After his death, his son, Carl Linnaeus the younger, and after him his successor, Carl Peter Thunberg, used it as their residence. When, in 1805, Thunberg moved to the new botanical garden near the Castle of Uppsala, Linnaeus' pupil, Adam Afzelius, rented the house and the garden for some years. Thereafter, the house was used by the Director of Music at the University,

the last to live there being the famous composer, Hugo Alfvén, who had his home there in the years 1910-1935.

When the house had been carefully restored and a considerable part of Linnaeus' furniture and household goods had been returned to it by his descendants, Linnaeus' home was opened as a museum, administered by the Swedish Linnaeus Society and called "Linné-museet."

The ground floor had been the home of the Linnaeus' family. The entrance hall leads to the dining room in front. In a large cupboard old silver and china are preserved. In this room hangs the large painting of Linnaeus in his Lapland dress, painted by Martin Hoffman during Linnaeus' stay in Holland. It is from this painting that the well-known engraving in Robert J. Thornton's *A new illustration to the sexual system of Linnaeus* was made. The two other paintings of Linnaeus in Lapland dress, by Hoffman, are now in Holland.

In one of the rooms on the right is a bedstead with bed curtains having a wine-colored print on silk and cotton material, of the same pattern as the wallpaper. In this bedroom there is also a robe of flowered silk, worn by one of Linnaeus' daughters.

On the right is the kitchen, near the dining room. Here there are not only kitchen utensils of the period, but also a memorandum book used by Linnaeus during his Lapland journey in 1732, which was found during the restoration between the joists in the double floor!

Upstairs Linnaeus had an apartment for his scientific activities. His lecture room is in the center. It contains a large table, chairs, and a medicine cupboard. On one wall is a pastel of Linnaeus by Gustaf Lundberg (1753), one of the best likenesses of him in his middle age.

To the right of the lecture room is a museum room with zoological specimens from Linnaeus' time. In the room next to it are preserved many valuable documents, including Linnaeus' doctor's diploma and his charter of nobility with his coat of arms.

On the left is Linnaeus' study, with table and chairs, and a cupboard full of miscellaneous items which belonged to him. Here, for instance, one sees his microscope, two magnifying glasses, his gold watch, his glasses, and the seals he used. There is also the Lapland magic drum, which he brought with him to Holland (1735-1738), and which can be seen in Hoffman's portrait. From this room Linnaeus could easily survey the situation in the botanical garden. This room leads to Linnaeus' library, in which are some of his most important works. The library also has some pieces of china, with the North Star and other motifs.

In the attic, Elof Förberg's valuable collection of Linnaean books is



*HORTI UPSALIENSIS PROSPECTUS.*

Tab. II.

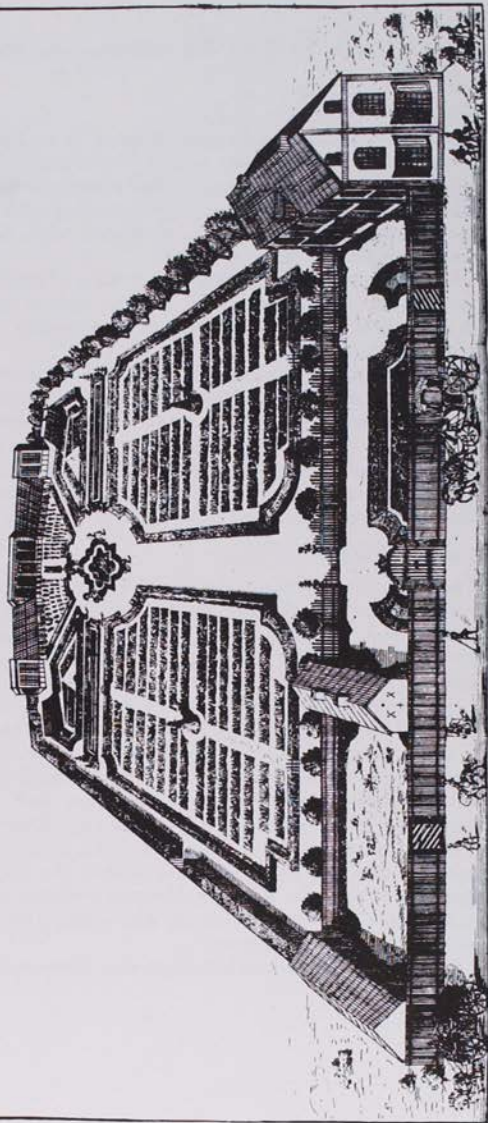


Fig. 9. The Linnaeus' garden in Uppsala. From Naucleer's dissertation, *Hortus Upsaliensis* (1745).

shelved. This is one of the best collections ever acquired by a private collector.

#### *Orangeriet (The Hothouse)*

When, in 1741, Linnaeus became professor in medicine and botany, he considered his most pressing need to be the restoration of the botanical garden and its buildings. In 1745 he had a hothouse built, with two wings, which can be seen in the engraving in Nauclér's dissertation of the same year. In the hothouse Linnaeus established what he termed a *Museum Rerum Naturalium*.

In the 19th century this hothouse served as a "nationshus" (clubhouse) for students of "Östogöta nation" (a social club for men from the district of Östergötland). Later, the student choir society, "Orphei Drängar," trained there.

This hothouse was completely restored in 1955, formally opened, and is now a meeting hall for serious activities. The Swedish Linnaeus Society usually has its dinner party there each spring, following the meeting at Hammarby. The walls are decorated with portraits of Linnaeus, among them the original painting by Russel, R. A. and Opie, R. A., "Aesculapius, Flora, Ceres and Cupid honouring the Bust of Linnaeus," well known as having been reproduced by engravings in the works by Robert J. Thornton.

#### *The University Library of Uppsala*

The best collection of Linnaean books in Uppsala can be found at the University Library. It is the best collection of its kind anywhere and has been used by such scholars as J. M. Hulth (*Bibliographia Linnaeana*, Uppsala, 1907), Th. M. Fries (*Linné, Lefnadsteckning I-II*, Stockholm, 1903), A. Grape, N. von Hofsten, and Arvid Hj. Uggla.

This library and its librarians have also made invaluable contributions to Soulsby's *Catalogue of the works of Linnaeus* in the British Museum, London, 1933.

In the library's "Linnaeus room" are two copies of the first edition of Linnaeus' *Systema naturae* (Leiden, 1735), one of which belongs to the Zoological Institution. This is the only known copy with Linnaeus' autograph inscription which reads: "Viro Nobillissimo D D Kahlmeter Assessori Regii Collegii Comm. Lugd. Bat. 1736, Marti 17 st.n. offert Auctor." Thus, it was given to Linnaeus' friend at Falun, head of the division to the Swedish Board of Commerce, Henrik Kahlmeter, a relative of Linnaeus' brother-in-law to be, Dr. Olof Kahlmeter, who married Mrs. Linnaeus' younger sister, Anna Christina Moraea.

The second copy, which belongs to the University Library, was acquired

in 1767, at which time Linnaeus had been a professor at the university for 26 years! So far as we know, this is the first copy ever acquired by a public library.

Among many other treasures which can be seen in this room is a wonderful hand-colored copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Amsterdam, 1737), a gift from a Swede who had found it in Paris in the beginning of this century.

The library also possesses an original drawing by Georg D. Ehret of his illustration, "*Systema Sexualis Linnaei*," a gift from the Swedish book collector, Erik Waller.

As noted above, most of Linnaeus' scientific manuscripts and correspondence were sold to James Edward Smith of London. However, many other holograph items by Linnaeus can be seen in this library.

There are, for instance, 171 autograph letters by Linnaeus, among them 76 to the Austrian botanist, Nikolaus J. Jacquin, 24 to his former pupil, Johan A. Murray in Göttingen, 14 to the Chancellor of the University in Göttingen, Baron Otto von Münchhausen, 13 to the Italian botanist, Giovanni Scopoli, and 8 to Linnaeus' own successor as professor in Uppsala, Carl Peter Thunberg. Scattered through the collection are his letters addressed to Torbern Bergman, Johann Gesner, Albrecht von Haller, Bernard de Jussieu, Christian Gottl. Ludwig, Thomas Pennant, David van Royen, Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages, S. Schouten, and Count Carl Gustaf Tessin, among others.

By fortunate circumstances, some valuable autograph manuscripts by Linnaeus were not included among the manuscripts which were sent to England. Many years after Smith's purchase, they were found in various places in Sweden and are now in the University library. They are as follows:

1. *Linnaeus' autobiography*, 76 pp. in folio, part of it written by Linnaeus himself, part by Löfling from Linnaeus' dictation.
2. Ödmjukt offer då den högädle och välborne herren, Hr Olof Rudbeck, sonen doktoren och professoren uti anatomien och botaniken vid Uppsala academ. magnificens p:it prorektor herren till Bohlstavik och Rydingholm celebrerade sin namnsdag af des ödmjukaste tjänare Carolus Linnaeus, 12 pp. in folio. Uppsala, 29 July 1731.
3. *Vade mecum*, 127 lvs., in octavo, used by Linnaeus during his time as a physician in Stockholm.
4. *Nemesis divina*, 203 pp., lvs. in octavo. (Autograph annotations by Linnaeus concerning his *Nemesis divina* are also to be found in the library of the Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm as well as the Linnean Society of London.)
5. *Praeludia sponsaliorum plantarum*, 46 pp. in octavo, Upsal. 1729.
6. *Flora Dalecarlica*, 108 pp. in octavo, 1734.
7. *Pluto Svecicus*, 196 pp. in octavo. Falun, 2 Sept. 1734.
8. *Methodus avium Svecicarum*, 82 lvs., in octavo, Uppsala, 1 Jan. 1731.

9. *Dissertatio Botanica de Planta Sceptro Carolino dicta* sub praesidio D<sup>ni</sup> Laurentii Roberg Profess. publ.: theoret. & pract. Responde (!) Joh: Ol: Rudbeck. 1731. 32 pp., in octavo. With Linnaeus' well known annotation (here translated): "This dissertation I have written during one day, for 30 dalers, thats why another has got the honor."
10. *Genera morborum*, 24 pp., in octavo.
11. *Flora Lapponica*, 86 pp., in quarto, 1737. Linnaeus' first draft of his *Flora Lapponica*—a gift from Prince Roland Bonaparte, in Paris, 1896.
12. Two poems by Linnaeus: *En ålskandes vale* and *Så glæd dig tu yngling*.
13. Tal som rector magnificus vid tro- och huldhetensedens avläggande 1772. An oration, 1772.
14. Linnaeus' application for the professorship in Uppsala, 27 April 1740.

In addition, there is a quantity of such Linnaean manuscript material as drafts and annotations in botany, mineralogy and medicine, his receipt for the grant for the journey to Lapland, and others.

Now on deposit in the University Library in Uppsala is the manuscript *Carl Linnaei Libellus amicorum* which belongs to the Swedish government. This autograph manuscript was not written by Linnaeus, but by his many friends, to be used by him as words of introduction and recommendation during his journey abroad in 1735-1738. It commences with Linnaeus' *Curriculum vitae*, 29 pages, written by Johannes Browallius, dated Falun, 15 February 1735. This part, entitled *Den första biografien öfver Linné*, was first published, in Swedish, by Johan Bergman in 1920. The work, *Libellus amicorum*, was first published *in toto* and in facsimile with foreword by Felix Bryk in 1919. The edition was limited to 250 copies. Bryk titled it *Linnés Minnesbok*. In 1958 it was published at No. 30 of *Valda avhandlingar av Carl von Linné i översättning utgivna av Svenska Linné-Sällskapet*, in Swedish, and edited by Arvid Hj. Uggla and Telemak Fredbärj.

In the Linnaeus room are no less than 170 books which once belonged to Linnaeus and which have his autograph. They have their special history. They were included in the belongings which were sold to England after the death of Linnaeus the younger. In the 1890's, part of the book collection, some 280 books in all, mostly medical literature, was received from the Linnean Society of London, as a gift to the Swedish Academy of Sciences. This Society kept only a few volumes and in 1903 gave the remainder to the Linnaean Foundation at Hammarby, where the books were preserved in the little museum at the top of the hill. But here they were not very well treated. A few years ago, 170 of them, all with Linnaeus' autograph annotation that he was the owner, were moved to the Linnaeus room at the University library. The copies still kept at Hammarby have no such annotations.

It is perhaps also worthy of mention that this library has a collection of



some 60 sets of lecture notes by his pupils, as further record of Linnaeus' activity in Uppsala.

In the entrance hall of this library the marble statue of Linnaeus by J. N. Byström (Tullberg no. 363) can be seen on the right. This statue belongs to the Botanical Institution where it was unveiled in 1829. The removal of this statue to this position of prominence and protection makes its viewing more accessible to visitors, and of more delight to both students and public in Uppsala.

Before leaving Uppsala, it ought to be mentioned that some of the minutes of the Royal Society of Sciences (Kungl. Vetenskapssocieteten) are autograph writings by the young Linnaeus when he was secretary of that society.

*Kungl. Vetenskaps Akademien (KVA) (The Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm)*

As noted above, Linnaeus was one of the founders of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (1739). From the beginning this Academy has published transactions (Handlingar), commemorations, or obituary accounts (Åminnelse-tal), presidents' speeches (Praesidii-tal), and answers on questions (Svar på frågor). The transactions include articles written by Linnaeus, his pupils, and friends, from the beginning (1739) and into the first decades of the 19th century.

The library at KVA has an important collection of works in the field of natural history, beginning with those of the 16th century. The Bergius Foundation constitutes an outstanding part, provided for by the last will and testament of Linnaeus' pupil, Professor P. J. Bergius, who in 1784 bequeathed his belongings to the Academy: his estates, livestock, a large and valuable library, a collection of insects and animal specimens, and a herbarium of 15,000 plants, representing more than 9,000 species.

The collection of Linnaeana in that library is important, even though it does not pretend to attain completeness. There are, for example, two copies of the highly prized first edition of Linnaeus' exceedingly rare *Systema naturae* (Leiden, 1735).

The collection of autograph letters by Linnaeus is outstanding and is without doubt the best anywhere. All together, no less than 883 such letters are in the manuscript collection of this library. Among them are 517 addressed to Linnaeus' close friend, Abraham Bäck, 124 to the astronomer and mathematician, Pehr Wargentin, and 45 to his fellow astronomer, Pehr Elvius, men who on different occasions were secretaries of the Academy. In addition, there are 37 to Count C. G. Tessin, 41 to his pupil and explorer, Pehr Osbeck, 28 to the Dutch physician and botanist, Johannes

Burman, and 28 to his son, N. L. Burman, 28 to the Stockholm zoologist, C. A. Clerck, 12 to his pupil, J. G. Wahlbom, plus scattered letters to, among others, A. N. Duchesne of Paris, J. R. Forster of England, A. Geringius, Albrecht von Haller of Berne, and C. G. Ludwig of Dresden.

Included also in the Academy's collection is an autograph manuscript of Linnaeus comprising a biography of his father-in-law, Dr. Johan Moraeus, who was also a member of KVA. In its library are also some 30-40 sets of lecture notes given by Linnaeus in Uppsala.

The art collection at KVA is magnificent. In the main hall the walls are decorated by portraits of many of the most prominent members from the past 200 years and more. In the center of this gallery hang two precious original portraits of Linnaeus: one by Per Krafft d.ä. (1724-1793), and a second by Alexander Roslin (1718-1793), painted respectively in 1774 and 1775, when Linnaeus was 67 and 68 years old. That by Roslin is certainly the most widely reproduced likeness of the man.

There is also a painting of Linnaeus in his Lapland dress by Hendrik Hollander, and a copy of J. H. Scheffel's portrait of him, done in 1739 (the original is at Hammarby).

Hanging in the same great hall are also oil portraits of three other co-founders of the Academy: Jonas Alströmer (1685-1761), Anders Johan von Höpken (1712-1789), and Märten Triewald (1691-1847), and those of contemporaries, friends, and pupils. Some of the latter deserve mention here and include:

OLOF AF ACREL (1717-1806). Pupil of Linnaeus. Father of surgery in Sweden.

CLAS ALSTRÖMER (1736-1794). Industrialist, patron of the arts and sciences, benefactor of Linnaeus.

ABRAHAM BÄCK (1713-1795). Physician. Linnaeus' closest lifetime friend.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS (1743-1820). British botanist, patron of the sciences, correspondent of Linnaeus.

BENGT BERGIUS (1723-1784). Historian, banker, amateur botanist (brother of P. J. Bergius). Friend of Linnaeus.

PETER JONAS BERGIUS (1730-1790). Pupil of Linnaeus. Physician and botanist. Founder of the Hortus Bergianus and the Bergius Foundation.

TORBERN OLOF BERGMAN (1735-1784). Pupil of Linnaeus. Naturalist, chemist, and geographer.

ANDERS CELSIUS (1701-1744). Astronomer and mathematician. Shares with Linnaeus the invention of the centigrade thermometer.

CHARLES DE GEER (1720-1778). Manufacturer, entomologist, patron of science, and friend of Linnaeus.

PEHR ELVIUS d.y. (1710-1749). Mathematician, instrument maker, astronomer, cousin of A. Celsius, a Secretary of the Academy. Friend of Linnaeus.

LEONARD GYLLENHAAL (1752-1840). Pupil of Linnaeus. Entomologist. Military officer.

- SAMUEL KLINGSTIERNA (1698-1765). Mathematician, physicist in Uppsala. Colleague of Linnaeus.
- DANIEL MELANDERHJELM (1726-1810). Astronomer, mathematician in Uppsala. Colleague of Linnaeus.
- SAMUEL LORENTZ ÖDMANN (1750-1829). Pupil of Linnaeus. Theologian, naturalist, and historian.
- ANDERS JAHAN RETZIUS (1742-1821). Professor of Natural History in Lund. Friend of Linnaeus.
- NILS ROSÉN VON ROSENSTEIN (1706-1773). Professor of Medicine in Uppsala. Colleague of Linnaeus.
- NICLAS SAHLGREN (1701-1776). Merchant in Göteborg, benefactor of science and the Academy. Director of the Swedish East India Company. Friend of Linnaeus.
- CARL WILHELM SCHEELE (1742-1786). Apothecary. Father of pharmacy in Sweden. Colleague of Linnaeus' pupils.
- DANIEL CARLSSON SOLANDER (1733-1782). Pupil of Linnaeus. Botanist. Secretary to Banks. Botanist on Cook's first voyage.
- OLOF PETER SWARTZ (1760-1818). Pupil of Thunberg. Botanist at the Hortus Bergianus, Stockholm. Botanical explorer in West Indies.
- COUNT CARL GUSTAF TESSIN (1695-1770). Swedish nobleman. Benefactor and friend of Linnaeus.
- CARL PETER THUNBERG (1743-1828). Pupil of Linnaeus. Botanical collector in South Africa and Japan. Successor to Carl von Linné *filius* in Uppsala.
- DANIEL TILAS (1712-1772). Mining engineer, mineralogist, mining historian, national Swedish heraldist. Friend of Linnaeus.
- JOHAN GOTTSCHALK WALLERIUS (1709-1785). Chemist, mineralogist. Colleague of Linnaeus in Uppsala.
- PEHR WILHELM WARGENTIN (1717-1783). Pupil of Celsius. Astronomer in Stockholm. Secretary of the Academy. Friend of Linnaeus.

There are also sculptures of Linnaeus: by Jonas Forsslund, from the studio of Karl Gustaf Qvarnström, by Valter Runeberg, and by Carl Eldh.

The Academy possesses a plaster medallion of Linnaeus by John Tobias Sergel (ca. 1765) and one of the rare medallions of Linnaeus by C. F. Inlander. The medals of Linnaeus by Daniel Fehrman, coined in 1764, and by Erik Lindberg, coined in 1907, in silver or gold, are used by the Academy as a reward to those persons whose accomplishments are of great merit. Over the past two centuries or more, the Academy has coined some 200 different medals of their members, many of whom were contemporaries, friends, or pupils of Linnaeus.

*Kungliga Biblioteket (KB) (The Royal Library in Stockholm)*

The Royal Library has a very good collection of Linnaeana, including many rarities. In addition to a copy of the first edition of *Systema naturae* (Leiden, 1735), there is a unique proof copy of a photolithographic facsimile of the same edition, edited by J. A. Ahlstrand (Stockholm, 1872), which was

never published (Soulsby no. 41). A copy of Volume 2 [Vegetabilia] of *Systema naturae*, ed. 10 (Stockholm, 1759), is of special interest because it has many additional notes and corrections by Linnaeus, in his own hand.

This library has a collection of 27 autograph letters by Linnaeus (all to Swedes) and 12 sets of lecture notes, of which six treat "diaeta." One set of the lecture notes, written by J. Reftelius (one of Linnaeus' pupils) in the years 1771 and 1772, is of special interest and reports the lectures on grasses, insects, amphibia, vermes, and intestina.

#### *Baron Charles De Geer's Library at Leufsta*

When telling about the Linnaean centers in Sweden, one must not forget Charles De Geer's Leufsta, an estate six Swedish miles north of Uppsala. The extremely valuable library is especially known because of its outstanding collection of Rudbeckiana. However, within a very good Linnaean collection there are three important holograph manuscripts from Linnaeus' youth which are worth mentioning. They are:

*Catalogus plantarum rariorum Scaniae. Item catalogue plantarum rariorum Smolandiae.* Uppsala, 8 December 1728.

*Hortus Uplandicus.* Uppsala, 29 July 1730.

*Adonis Uplandicus.* Uppsala, 13 May 1731.

These manuscripts were first published by Ewald Ährling in his *Carl von Linnés ungdomsskrifter*, Stockholm, 1888, and again in 1906-1907, in photolithographic facsimile editions, limited respectively to 25, 25, and 12 copies each.

#### *Linnaean Items in Other Libraries and Museums*

Many other public libraries in Sweden possess valuable Linnaean items, even though their collections have not attained the size and eminence of the centers mentioned above.

Thus, a copy of the first edition of *Systema naturae* is also at the University Library in Lund. Single copies are also in the libraries in Göteborg, Linköping, and Östersund, as well as one at the Royal Scientific Society in Uppsala. In addition, there are two copies of this work in private collections in Sweden, making in all 12 copies known by me to be in this country.

In the University Library, Lund, there are approximately 30 sets of lecture notes and 50 autograph letters. Nine of the latter were written by Linnaeus, when a young man, to Kilian Stobaeus, his teacher in Lund, during the years 1728-1732. The paucity of information about him for this early period makes them especially interesting and valuable. The first letter was written from his parents' home in Stenbrohult in 1728, the last one from Lapland



on 12 June 1732, when Linnaeus was making his renowned journey to that then unexplored territory.

The Royal Military Record Office (Kungliga Krigsarkivet), Stockholm, possesses Linnaeus' holograph account of equipment lists of medicinal remedies to supply the Swedish navy, then engaged in war against Russia (1741).

The library at Växjö possesses an outstanding treasure, the earliest known manuscript in Linnaeus' hand, written in 1725, when he was a schoolboy at Växjö. It was not published until 1957, and then edited by Telemak Fredbärj, and published under the title *Carolus N. Linnaeus, Örtabok, 1725*.

Another manuscript lay "buried" nearly 200 years in the manuscript collection in the library of Karolinska Institutet, Stockholm. It is Linnaeus' draft primarily of the botanical (vegetable) portion of the *Pharmacopoea Svecica* (Stockholm, 1775). In 1945 this holograph manuscript, of no less than 26 pages, in folio, was uncovered and its true identity recognized by Anders Grape, librarian of the University of Uppsala.

The Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, includes collections with Linnaean association. They are: Clas Alströmer's collection of specimens from the South Seas (possibly made by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander on the occasion of Cook's first voyage, 1768-1771), and Anders Sparrman's specimens from South Africa and from the South Seas (from Cook's second voyage, 1772-1775), as well as Carl Peter Thunberg's collections from Japan, 1770-1779. Solander, Sparrman, and Thunberg were pupils of Linnaeus and later explored foreign lands, providing him with much of his knowledge of the flora and fauna of those areas.

It must be mentioned that, although Linnaeus' herbarium and scientific collections were sold to England, part of the herbarium is still in Sweden, mainly in the Natural History Museum and in the Hortus Bergianus in Stockholm, and in the Botanical Museum in Uppsala.

Linnaean specimens of snakes are in the Natural History Museum, Stockholm, and many Linnaean specimens of birds, reptiles, batrachians, and fish are in the Zoological Museum, Uppsala.

### *Private Collections*

#### THE TULLBERG BESKOW COLLECTION

Although the Linnaeus museums in Uppsala and at Hammarby are crowded with belongings from residences occupied by Linnaeus, many things remain in private hands, carefully preserved by his descendants. The best collection of this kind is no doubt that kept by Mrs. Ingegerd Tullberg

Beskow of Stockholm, who is one of the fifth generation since Linnaeus (Fig. 10).

Her home is full of pieces of furniture from Linnaeus' home: his writing chair, two card tables, a serving table, a tea table, an insect cupboard (museum cabinet), and a key cupboard. There are also other things such as a wall mirror and a wall clock, candlesticks, copper household utensils, a handsome collection of his pewter goods, table silver engraved with the Linnaeus' coat of arms or his initials, wine glasses decorated with the twinflower, and a set of china monogrammed with "C.L." One may also see here Linnaeus' gold watch chain, his snuff box in masur birch, his garter, his wig and ruffle which can be seen in the portraits of him by Roslin and by Krafft, as well as in many engravings. Mrs. Linnaeus' hymn book is also in this collection.

Here, too, are two pastels of Linnaeus by S. N. Höök and an excellent collection of copper engravings and medals. The latter was the basis of the great Linnaean iconography, *Linnéporträtt* (Stockholm and Uppsala, 1907), by her father, Professor Tycho Tullberg, the standard work on the portraits and likenesses of Linnaeus, which Mrs. Tullberg Beskow in 1967 completed with a supplement and, in 1969, with an index.

#### THE STRANDELL COLLECTION IN STOCKHOLM

In this collection are only two pieces of furniture from Linnaeus' homes, a beautiful bureau and a small secretaire. There are also a wall-mirror, some pieces of china, a magnifying glass, table silver, and bed linen.

In addition, there are some oil paintings, many engravings, and six original drawings used as illustrations in Linnaeus' own works, or of Linnaeana. These include the drawing by the Dutch artist, P. Tanjé, which was the model for his well-known copper engraving. There is a copy of the rare medallion by Inlander, and one of two known copies of the even more rare medallion by Gustaf Ljungberger. One of the three known signet rings bearing the silhouettes of Linnaeus and his wife are here. I presume that there must have been four such rings, one for each of the four daughters. The other two are in the Linnaeus Museum in Uppsala. In this collection there is also a bust of Linnaeus in natural size, a masterpiece possibly made by the French sculptor, J. A. Houdon (1741-1828). The bronze medallion made by the Swede, J. T. Sergel (1740-1814), is here and generally is held to be the most valuable one.

In 1946, I obtained one of the three original paintings of Linnaeus in his Lapland dress by Martin Hoffman. The painting is life-size.

As the provenance of this painting seems to be of some interest, I will

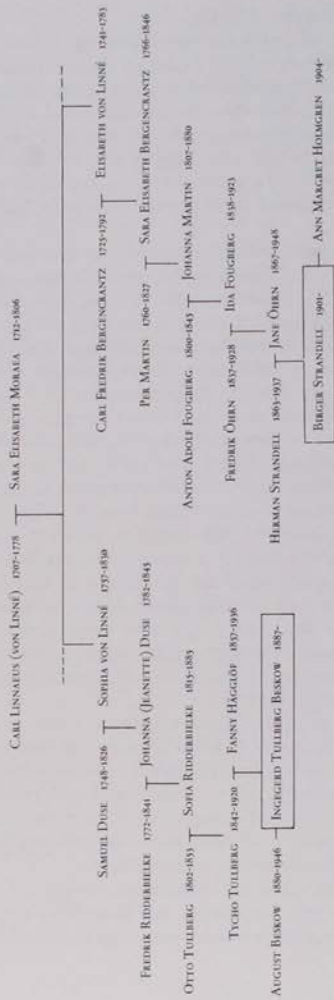


Fig. 10. Partial family tree of Ingegerd Tullberg Beskow and Birger Strandell.

summarize what is known about it.

This painting was made for Linnaeus' friend, J. F. Gronovius (1690-1762). It is signed and dated by M. Hoffman, 1737, when Linnaeus was 30, and differs in some details from two other paintings by Hoffman, which now are in official museums in Holland. In his right hand, Linnaeus is holding a twinflower and a slip with the annotation *Linnaea Gronov*, referring to the fact that it was Gronovius who named the twinflower *Linnaea borealis*, Linnaeus' "own flower." In a cupboard on the right side are some of Linnaeus' works, published in Holland. Gronovius had read the proof sheets of these.

When J. F. Gronovius died, the painting was inherited by his son, L. T. Gronovius (1730-1778), and following his death, it was acquired at auction in October 1778 by F. C. Meuschen (1719- ca. 1790). Some years later it must have been sold to England, for in 1795 it was used by Henry Kingsbury for his well-known engraving which, in 1805, was reproduced for Robert John Thornton's magnificent publication, *A new illustration of the sexual system of Carolus von Linnaeus*. In 1804, it was in the possession of Dr. Thornton and could be seen at his exhibition at 49 New Bond Street, London. In 1813, Dr. Thornton was forced to dispose of his collection, and the painting then seems to have been acquired by Mr. Swift, of whom nothing is known. The fate of the painting then seems to be obscure until, in 1895, it was acquired by Mr. H. C. Lambert, 12 Coventry Street, London. When he died in 1924, it was inherited by his daughter, Miss Mabel A. Lambert, and her sisters.

In 1946, Miles von Wachenfelt, councillor to the Swedish Embassy in London, found the painting at an art dealer's in London and told Dr. Arvid Hj. Uggla in Uppsala of his discovery. Uggla called me and asked me to purchase it for myself, just to get it to Sweden. So, von Wachenfelt bought it on my account. Through a gift from my mother, it was presented to the Linnaeus Museum in Uppsala. Fig. 11 is a photo of this portrait by Sören Hallgren, taken 8 April 1973.

Reproductions of this painting are common. They can, for instance, be seen in the British Museum's *Catalogue of the works of Linnaeus* by Soulsby and in the facsimile of *Systema naturae*, published in Stockholm in 1907.

Inasmuch as a catalogue of my substantial collection of autographs, documents, manuscripts, and autograph letters in my personal collection will appear as an appendix of the forthcoming *Bibliography of Linnaeus* at the Hunt Institute, I will only touch on them here.

Represented in this series are manuscript materials by Linnaeus himself and others by his relatives, friends, and contemporaries, from Holland, England, and Sweden, and from such personages as Boerhaave, J. F. Grono-



Fig. 11. Portrait of Linnaeus in Lapland costume by Martin Hoffman, in the Linnaeus Museum, Uppsala.

vius, Johan Rothman, Olof Celsius, Olof Rudbeck the younger, Joseph Banks, James Edward Smith, J. G. Wallerius, Charles de Geer, P. Forsskål, Pehr Osbeck, Daniel Solander, Anders Sparrman, Carl Peter Thunberg, and A. N. Fornander (the last six were pupils of Linnaeus).

There are two books autographed by Linnaeus and two that bear his inscriptions to others. There is an interesting medical doctor's diploma signed by Linnaeus and by Nils Rosén von Rosenstein. There are six other documents written or only signed by Linnaeus, and five of the 30 to 40 prescriptions now known to be extant and in his own hand. Included also are 46 autograph letters by him, of which 11 are in Swedish and 35 in Latin. In all, 12 letters are in folio, making 22 pages, and 34 letters in quarto, making 94 pages. The letters in Latin are addressed to such well-known European scientists as Beckmann, Duchesne, Edward, Gesner, von Haller, Jacquin, Karamyschew, Ludwig, Thomas Pennant, Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages, Schreber, Séguier, van Swieten, and to the French Academy of Science (four pages in folio). Of special interest to contemporary historians of science are the seven letters to his Swiss contemporary, Albrecht von Haller, one of them of no less than 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  pages, and a letter to Thomas Pennant illustrated with drawings in Linnaeus' own hand.



## Epilogue

A scientist gets the strongest feeling for Linnaeus by reading his own works and manuscripts. The contact of most Swedes of today with Linnaeus is through the stream of the more recent books. Authors and literary critics have found that Linnaeus made significant contributions to philology, for in his orations and travels he introduced quite a new and fresh Swedish language, modifications which have influenced our language to the present time.

In this connection, I remember and would like to mention what Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832), Germany's great poet, said about Linnaeus, whose work, *Philosophia botanica*, he especially loved: "Ich will bekennen, das nach Shakespeare und Spinoza auf mich die grösste Wirkung von Linné ausgegangen ist."

Uppsala and Hammarby are no doubt the places to which people with Linnaean interest usually go on pilgrimage. In the Botanical Garden, where the plants are arranged just as they were in Linnaeus' time, and in the Linnaeus Museum (his home in Uppsala), with so many things which have belonged to him, one gets a special sensation, as vibrations of a bygone era. It is one that can be felt even more perhaps when at Hammarby. It is not without good reason that members of the Swedish Linnaeus Society have their annual meetings at Hammarby every May, outside Linnaeus' own little Museum building, the speaker addressing the assemblage from Linnaeus' "plugghäst" and all those in attendance sitting around on the seats once used by Linnaeus' students when he lectured to them more than 200 years ago. This is the place! I dare say.

However, I wonder if the first prize where homage may be paid should not be awarded to little Stenbrohult, the village where Linnaeus lived as a boy in his parents' home, or to the even smaller Råshult, the parsonage and his birthplace next to it. For it was at Råshult, in the middle of the district of Småland, in the south of Sweden, where a small wooden building yet standing identifies the place where the world-famous physician, botanist, and naturalist, Carl Linnaeus, was born, the son of a poor pastor. It is here that one senses a special Linnaean atmosphere, which cannot be felt anywhere else.





The Judgment of the Learned World  
on the Writings of  
Carl Linnaeus, Doctor of Medicine  
(*Orbis Eruditi Judicium*)

*English translation by J. M. Gray, based on a Swedish translation of Hjalmar Hedfors. Edited from original Latin text by Kenneth Maly with further comments by John L. Heller. Introduction and Notes by Telemak Fredbärj, originally published in Valda Avhandlingar, No. 12, 1952, with additions by Gilbert S. Daniels.*



## Introduction

Linnaeus returned to Sweden in 1738 after three years' residence abroad. Although he was only 31, he had already published a dozen books which had attracted great interest and had won him the honorary title of *Princeps Botanicorum*. The speed with which he became famous in the world of the learned and the acceptance of his new botanical system even by expert botanists older than himself were astounding. The only opposition he at first encountered came from J. G. Siegesbeck, Demonstrator in Botany at St. Petersburg who, in 1737, published his *Botanosophiae verioris brevis sciagraphia*, in which he rejected Linnaeus' sexual system on allegedly religious grounds as obscene and in conflict with the word of God and, therefore, injurious to young students. Linnaeus himself never replied to this spiteful attack, but in 1739 his friend, J. Browallius, Professor at Åbo, published a rebuttal, *Examen epicriseos in systema plantarum sexuale Cl. Linnaei . . .*, and J. G. Gleditsch, Professor at Berlin, defended him in a book entitled *Consideratio epicriseos Siegesbeckianae in Linnaei systema plantarum* (1740). In spite of the overwhelmingly favorable reception given to Linnaeus by his contemporaries, he (oversensitive as he was) was embittered by this attack<sup>1</sup> and in his weak moments considered abandoning botany and devoting himself to practical teaching. He also rejected munificent offers to stay in Holland, but it was probably in fact homesickness, especially for his waiting fiancée, which drove him back to Sweden.

While waiting for two medical professorships in Uppsala to fall vacant, he settled down in Stockholm, entered private practice, later became Physician to the Swedish Admiralty, and married. He made a success of everything he touched, and he writes: "Aesculapius gives all possible good but Flora only men like Siegesbeck."

One of the Uppsala professors, Olof Rudbeck the younger, died in March 1740, and Linnaeus, Nils Rosén, and J. C. Wallerius all applied for the vacant seat (in Anatomy and Botany); Rosén was appointed to it in July. Linnaeus was indignant and wrote to his friend, Bossier de la Croix de Sauvages, in

<sup>1</sup>This was later followed by three further works: *Observationes in methodum plantarum sexualem* (1739) by Ch. G. Ludwig (Professor at Leipzig), and *Meditationes et animadversiones in novum systema botanicum sexuale Linnaei* and *De nominum plantarum mutatione utili ac noxia* (1741) by L. Heister (Professor at Helmstedt), the former to refute Linnaeus' sexual system and the latter against his name changes.

Montpellier: "Dr. Nils Rosén, who would not even recognize a nettle, has been awarded Rudbeck's seat. That is the way things are done here." In the meantime, however, the second professorship (after L. Roberg) had become vacant. Linnaeus, Wallerius, and Abraham Bäck now applied for it. But Linnaeus was envied and disliked in the academic circles of Uppsala. Wallerius, probably with Rosén's assistance, and in any case with his approval, wrote a thesis on *Decades binæ thesium medicarum . . .*, in which he viciously attacked Linnaeus and sought to minimize the importance of his books, especially his doctoral dissertation, the *Systema naturae*, and the *Flora Lapponica*. The dissertation was debated in Uppsala on 25 February 1741; harsh words were spoken by both sides, a noisy altercation arose, and the students took Linnaeus' side and tore up the dissertation.

Linnaeus, who was then in Stockholm, published a pamphlet entitled *Orbis eruditi iudicium de Caroli Linnaei M.D. scriptis*, consisting of 16 small octavo pages, without pagination, author's name, place or year of publication. According to all the experts on Linnaeus, it was printed in 1741, probably in Stockholm, since Linnaeus was resident there, and the printing was hurried. The pamphlet was presumably distributed to Linnaeus' friends and patrons. Its composition is as follows: the most important data on Linnaeus' life (thus it is the first authentic printed biography of Linnaeus); a list of the books Linnaeus published in the years 1735-40; the opinions of Linnaeus and his work held by contemporary authors (five Germans, five Dutchmen, four Englishmen, four Frenchmen, and two Swiss); reviews of Linnaeus' work and references to others in scientific journals.

On reading this small pamphlet, one marvels at the praise—formally exaggerated in accordance with the contemporary Latin usage but essentially genuine—which was heaped on the young Linnaeus by the leading men of his time. Seldom or never has a candidate to a rivalry for a Swedish professorship been so overwhelmingly qualified; today the person concerned would surely be appointed without need for application.

Since the pamphlet was anonymous and not officially submitted, it would seem to have been known in Linnaeus' lifetime only to a few. The first mention of it is in Bäck's *Tribute to Linnaeus (Åminnestal över Linné* in the Swedish Academy of Sciences on 5 December 1778 (where it is erroneously stated as being in duodecimo format). D. H. Stöver regarded the pamphlet as so rare and so valuable that he had it reprinted in his *Collectio epistolarum . . . Carolus a Linné* (Hamburg, 1792) and included a long extract from it in German in his book *Leben des Ritters Carl von Linné* (Hamburg, 1792). He refers to the pamphlet in his preface, saying:

. . . die seltenste unter allen Linnéischen Schriften, verdient hier

angeführt zu werden, da sie mit den Elogen zugleich eine Anführung der biographischen Hauptmomente enthält.

Sven A. Hedin refers to the pamphlet in *Minne af von Linné, fader och son* (Tribute to Linnaeus, father and son) (Stockholm, 1808), and says: "This little brochure is now very rare." In the later Linnaean literature, for instance A. L. A. Fée, *Vie de Linné* (Paris, 1832), the pamphlet is invariably mentioned as a great rarity. A facsimile edition of it was therefore issued in 1901 by W. Junk in Berlin. The original edition is very infrequently offered on the book market and can probably only be found in a dozen European libraries and in a few private collections. Yet among Linnaeus' books in the Linnean Society's collections in London, there is a remainder edition of some 20 copies.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the difficulty of obtaining this example of Linnaeus' writings—it is perhaps even more rare than the first edition of *Systema naturae*—the Linnean Society of Sweden published a Swedish translation in 1952. In that translation obvious printer's errors, mistakes in spelling of proper names, and errors in copying the titles of books and magazines had been corrected, without special mention, as had a number of erroneous letter dates, and years and places of printing of Linnaeus' own works.<sup>2</sup> When writing this pamphlet he evidently copied to some extent his Autograph Book (*Libellus amicorum*, published in a facsimile edition by F. Bryk, Stockholm, 1919, with a Swedish translation by Arvid Hj. Uggla and Telemak Fredbärj, Ekenäs—Uppsala, 1958). The many printer's errors indicated, moreover, that the pamphlet was produced in a great hurry, probably not even proofread by the author.

All quotations from books or letters were checked against the originals, where these could be traced (which applied to all but two).<sup>3</sup> This revealed that Linnaeus accurately copied the original, without additions and with few, and in general unimportant, deletions. These are here indicated by (...)

<sup>1</sup>Two copies of the original 1741 edition are in the Strandell Collection of Linnaeana of the Hunt Botanical Library.

<sup>2</sup>In this English translation, the errors of the original, other than orthography, have been preserved. Corrections have been provided in footnotes.

<sup>3</sup>The late Dr. Arvid Hj. Uggla helped with this task (1952).



## Biographical Notes

ANDREW, JOHN, 1715-? An Englishman who was enrolled in 1735 as a medical student at Leiden University. There are no details known of his later life.

BARRERE, PIERRE, 1690-1755. A French natural scientist and physician; Professor at Perpignan; in 1722-1725 undertook a journey to French Guiana and, in 1741, published an account of that country.

BOERHAAVE, HERMAN, 1668-1738. Professor of Medicine and Botany at Leiden; the leading medical authority of his time; Linnaeus studied under him during his stay in Holland.

BOISSIER DE LA CROIX DE SAUVAGES, (ABBÉ) FRANÇOIS, 1706-1767. Professor of Medicine at Montpellier; Member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1749; one of Linnaeus' closest friends, with whom he corresponded for nearly 30 years.

BREYNE, JOHANN PHILIPP, 1680-1764. Natural scientist and physician in Danzig; sent Linnaeus his book, *Jacobi Breynii . . . Prodromi fasciculi rariorum plantarum*, published in 1739 and dedicated to Clifford, for which Linnaeus thanks him in a letter dated 12 December 1739.

BROWALL, JOHAN, 1707-1755. Chaplain to Baron Reuterholm, Governor of Dalarna; afterwards Professor and Bishop at Åbo; wrote the description of Linnaeus' museum in Uppsala; through him Linnaeus met Reuterholm, who financed Linnaeus' journey through Dalarna.

BURMAN, JOHANNES, 1706-1779. Professor of Botany in Amsterdam; Linnaeus' friend after his stay in Holland; Linnaeus assisted him with the compilation of his *Thesaurus zeylanicus*.

DILLENIUS (DILLEN), JOHANN JAKOB, 1687-1747. Professor of Botany, first in Giessen, then Oxford, where Linnaeus visited him in 1736; later named the genus *Dillenia* after him.

DONELL, JAMES. Irish physician from Cashel (near Tipperary); according to Åhrling, *Linné's brevväxling* (Linnaeus' correspondence), wrote to Linnaeus from Elsinore (Elsingore) on 17 August 1739 (the letter has not been found); circumstances of his life are unknown.

FERBER, JOHAN EBERHARD, 1678-1761. Swedish pharmacist; his botanical garden became the basis for Linnaeus' *Hortus agerumensis*.

GESNER, JOHANN ALBRECHT, 1694-1760. Professor of Medicine in Basel; Archiater; Member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747.

GLEDITSCH, JOHANN GOTTLIEB, 1714-1786. Professor of Medicine and Botany in Berlin; Member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747.

GORTER, JAN VAN, 1689-1762. Professor of Medicine in Harderwijk; Linnaeus' promoter.

GRAVEL, JOHANN PHIL., 1711-1761. Enrolled in Leiden University in 1738; Professor of Physics at Strasbourg in 1741.

GRONOVIVS, JAN FREDERIK, 1690-1762. Physician; Member of the Leiden Senate; eminent botanist; Linnaeus' friend after his stay in Holland and together with Lawson paid for the printing of *Systema naturae* in 1735.

HALLER, ALBRECHT VON, 1708-1777. Professor of Anatomy, Medicine and Botany at Göttingen; later Member of the Great Council in Berne; Member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747.

HERMANN, PAUL, 1640-1695. Physician in Ceylon; later Professor of Botany in Leiden and responsible for making its Botanical Garden famous.

JUSSIEU, ANTOINE DE, 1686-1758. Professor of Botany in Paris; Linnaeus' friend after his visit to France.

KOHL, JOHANN PETER, 1698-1778. Self-taught; publisher of *Hamburgische Berichte von gelehrten Sachen*; a good friend of Linnaeus after his visit to Hamburg in 1735.

LANGE, JOHANN JOACHIM, 1698-1765. Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in Halle; Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters (Berlin); mineralogist; published Linnaeus' *Systema naturae* in a German translation in 1740.

LAWSON, ISAAC, 1704-1747. A Scottish botanist and physician; enrolled in 1730 as a student at Leiden University; shared with Gronovius the cost of printing *Systema naturae*; Linnaeus named the genus *Lawsomia* after him; he is probably identical with the I. S. Lawson who defended a thesis entitled *De Nihilo* in Leiden in 1737.

LEMONNIER, LOUIS GUILLAUME, 1717-1799. Professor of Botany at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris.

MAGNOL, ANTOINE, 1676-1759. Professor of Medicine in Montpellier, successor to his famous father, Pierre Magnol.

MENCKE, FRIEDRICH OTTO, 1708-1754. Justice of the Court of Appeal and of the Supreme Court of Poland and the Electorate of Saxony; Councillor in Leipzig in 1743; from 1732-1754 published *Nova Acta Eruditorum*.

ROYEN, ADRIAAN VAN, 1704-1779. Professor of Medicine in Leiden and director of the (town's) botanical garden.

SCHERZ, JOHANN GEORG, 1678-1754. Professor of Philosophy in Strasbourg in 1702 and Professor of Law in 1710.

SLOANE, (SIR) HANS, 1660-1753. President of the Royal Society and Physician to the King of England; his collections formed the foundation of the British Museum; Linnaeus visited him in England in 1736.

TOURNEFORT, JOSEPH PITTON DE, 1656-1708. Renowned French botanist whose plant system was in general use before Linnaeus' time.



[TRANSLATION]

The Judgment of the Learned World  
ON  
The Writings of Carl Linnaeus, M.D.

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*To increase one's fame by deeds, this is a work of  
manly excellence. — [Virgil, Aeneid X, 468]<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup>The first three words appear on Linnaeus' coat of arms where they are cited correctly: *Famam extendere factis.*

*Do not despair in the face of misfortune: You will be known from  
the most distant part of the Danube to the frosty North Wind.*

Gronovius on the name of Linnaeus  
[from Linnaeus' *Autograph Book*]

## The Life of Carl Linnaeus

1707. May 13. Born.

1727. He attended the University at Lund.

1730. 1731. He gave public lectures on botany, substituting for Professor [Olof (fil.)] Rudbeck in the Uppsala University [Botanical] Garden.

1732. He traveled over Lapland for the sake of its natural history.

1734. He investigated western and eastern Dalarna.<sup>1</sup>

1735. Journey through Denmark, Germany, and Holland.

June 23. He was made Doctor of Medicine at Harderwijk.

1736. He undertook a trip to England.

October 3. He was proclaimed a member of the Imperial Academy of Naturalists, with the illustrious name of Dioscorides Secundus.<sup>2</sup>

1737. He assumed the office of director of the most renowned Clifford garden in Holland. Burning with the desire to visit his native land again, he rejected the position of chief physician to the West India Company, offered to Linnaeus by Boerhaave.

1738. He visited France.

June 14. He was made a corresponding member of the Royal Academy in Paris.<sup>3</sup>

October 4. He was appointed member of the Royal Society of Letters and Sciences.<sup>4</sup>

1739. Enriched by a yearly stipend of one hundred gold ducats from the Sacred and Royal Majesty and by the Estates of the Swedish Realm, for his industrious work done abroad.<sup>5</sup>

Designated physician to the fleet stationed at Stockholm.

He was one of the founders who established the Academy of Sciences of Sweden, in the royal seat of Stockholm, and was the first president of this same Academy.

<sup>1</sup>A region of central Sweden rich in mineral deposits.

<sup>2</sup>Academia Caesarea Leopoldino-Carolina Naturae Curiosorum, Erfurt.

<sup>3</sup>Académie Royale des Sciences.

<sup>4</sup>Kungliga Vetenskaps-Societeten, Uppsala.

<sup>5</sup>Refers to the annual stipend of 600 Swedish crowns awarded him by the Royal Mines Authority.



## Works Published by C. Linnaeus

<i>Systema naturae</i>	Leiden	1735	Folio
—the same enlarged	Stockholm	1740	Octavo
—the same in German	Halle	1740	Quarto
<i>Fundamenta botanica</i>	Amsterdam	1735 <sup>1</sup>	Octavo
—the same improved	Stockholm	1740	Octavo
—the same improved	Leiden	1740 <sup>2</sup>	Octavo
<i>Bibliotheca botanica</i>	Amsterdam	1735 <sup>3</sup>	Octavo
<i>Critica botanica</i>	Leiden	1737	Octavo
<i>Methodus sexualis</i>	Leiden	1737	Octavo
<i>Classes plantarum</i>	Leiden	1738	Octavo
<i>Genera plantarum</i>	Leiden	1737	Octavo
<i>Flora Lapponica</i>	Amsterdam	1737	Octavo
<i>Viridarium Cliffortianum</i>	Amsterdam	1737	Octavo
<i>Hortus Cliffortianus</i>	Amsterdam	1737	Folio
<i>Musa Cliffortiana</i>	Leiden	1736	Quarto
<i>Hypothesis de febr. interm.</i> <sup>4</sup>	Harderwijk	1735	Quarto
<i>Oratio de proprietatibus insectorum</i> <sup>5</sup>	Stockholm	1739	Octavo
<i>Flora Lapponica, Act. Lit. Suec.</i>	[Uppsala]	1735 <sup>6</sup>	
<i>Animalia Regni Sueciae</i> <sup>7</sup> , Act. Lit. Suec.	[Uppsala]	1736	
Miscellaneous scientific writings, Act. Scient. Suec. <sup>8</sup>	[Stockholm]	1739, 1740	
<i>Artedi ichtyologia</i> <sup>9</sup>	Leiden	1738	Octavo
Composed according to Linnaeus' principles are the following.			
<i>Flora Leydensis</i> by [Adriaan van] Royen	Leiden	1739 [1740]	Octavo
<i>Flora Virginica</i> by [Jan Frederik] Gronovius	Leiden	1739	Octavo
<i>Hortus ageromensis</i> by [Johan Eberhard] Ferber <sup>10</sup>	Stockholm	1739	Octavo
<i>Museum lapideum</i> <sup>11</sup> by [Jan Frederik] Gronovius	Leiden	1740	Octavo
<i>Examen epicriseos Siegesbeckii</i> by [Johan] Brouall	Åbo	1740 [1739]	Quarto
[Johann Gottlieb] Gleditsch's work on the same subject <sup>12</sup> [Berlin]		1740	Quarto

<sup>1</sup>Issued as a separate work and also together with the much larger *Bibliotheca botanica*, an expansion of the first part of the *Fundamenta*. The date on the title-page is 1736, but there is other evidence that both works circulated in the last quarter of 1735 (Heller, John R., *Taxon* 19: 363-411, 1970).

<sup>2</sup>Amsterdam, 1741.

<sup>3</sup>Title-page has 1736, but see Note 1.

<sup>4</sup>Complete title reads: *Dissertatio medica inauguralis in qua exhibetur hypothesis nova de februm intermittentium causa*. Originally published in Swedish under the title: *Tal om märkvärdigheter uti insecterne*. A Latin translation did not appear until 1751 under the title: *Oratio de memorabilibus in insectis*.

<sup>5</sup>Published in *Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae* in two parts: Part I: vol. 3: 46-58, 1731 [1738]; Part II: vol. 4: 12-23, 1735 [1742].

<sup>7</sup>The correct title of this article reads: *Animalia per Sueciam observata*; it appeared in *Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae*, vol. 4: 97-138, 1736 [1742].

<sup>8</sup>*Kongliga svenska vetenskaps akademien handlingar*.

<sup>9</sup>Complete title reads: *Petri Artedi Ichthyologia sive opera omnia de Piscibus scitlicet*, edited and published by Linnaeus after the author's death.

<sup>10</sup>Actually written by Linnaeus (cf. Soulsby, 340).

<sup>11</sup>Published under the title: *Index supellectilis lapideae*; apparently written by Linnaeus (cf. Soulsby, 3609).

<sup>12</sup>Entitled: *Consideratio epicriseos Siegesbeckianae in Linnaei systema plantarum sexuale et methodum botanicam huic superstructam*.

DE GORTER, [JOHAN] Professor of Medicine at Harderwijk, Promoter of Linnaeus [From Linnaeus' *Autograph Book*]

With a prayer for his success in the care of the sick, I have not hesitated to add my name, so that it may be universally known that I have found in Carl Linnaeus, the learned Swede and now Doctor of Medicine, a unique skill and knowledge, not only in all the fields of medicine, but also of botany, and so that he may stand among the foremost doctors of medicine.

BOERHAAVE, HERMAN Professor of Medicine at Leiden  
Letter to C. Linnaeus, 13 January 1737.

A scrutiny of the book (*Genera plantarum*) reveals to the astonished reader a work of boundless diligence, of singular devotion, and of incomparable erudition; I myself cannot emphasize strongly enough the usefulness of this very admirable undertaking. Future generations will praise it; able men will imitate it; it will benefit all men. . . . When you devote all your efforts to it, you will write works that will defy time and Aristarchus.<sup>1</sup>

ROYEN, [ADRIAAN VAN] Professor of Botany at Leiden  
In the preface to *Flora Leydensis*, page 16.

Carl Linnaeus, the Prince of all contemporary botanists, has established a fifth system, derived from the sex of plants, that is, from stamens and pistils. For he, unmatched by anyone, has reformed the entire science of botany; and by elucidating all its parts, he has, at the urging of his friends, so pruned it and purified it of the most horrible filth which it had accumulated.

<sup>1</sup>Greatest critic of ancient Alexandria, famed for his work on the text of Homer.

that it will never be purer or more beautiful. Yes,  
If there be any truth in the omens,  
This house of Flora, built on stone, will not crumble.

Page 21.

Linnaeus was the second after Tournefort to accomplish something regarding the genera [of plants]; he came later, but was more learned.

Page 30.

In the entire realm of plants I have found hardly any scientifically formed names besides those in the *Flora Lapponica* and *Hortus Cliffortianus* by the renowned Carl Linnaeus, who was the first to use this method with species, and who was emulated by the famous J. F. Gronovius, who followed with good judgment in his [Linnaeus'] footsteps throughout his *Flora Virginica*.

BURMAN, [JOHANNES] Professor of Botany at Amsterdam

In the preface to *Thesaurus Zeylanicus*, page 4.

Carl Linnaeus, the learned Swede, has acquired a great reputation with his botanical works recently published.

Page 9.

Carl Linnaeus' generic characters of plants [*Genera plantarum*] this golden book [...] will indeed be treasured by botanists, since it defines the natural characters of the plants most accurately by means of a new and easy method.

GRONOVIVS, [JAN FREDERIK] Doctor of Medicine and botanist [in Leiden]  
In the preface to *Flora Virginica*, page 3.

Therefore I did not hesitate at all [...] to examine specimens of plants [...] together with the highly perceptive Linnaeus [...].

Would that I had had an opportunity to scrutinize the rest with this learned man. . . . I have given to the individual plants the specific names that appear in *Hortus Cliffortianus* and *Flora Lapponica*: [. . .] I have followed the method which Linnaeus prescribed for composing specific names.

ROYEN, [ADRIAAN VAN] Professor of Botany at Leiden

In a letter to Antoine de Jussieu, Professor, Paris. 7 May 1738.

This is Carl Linnaeus, unquestionably the Prince (if I know of any) in the science of botany. He would be renowned for his experiments if he were not already famed for his writings. This man, who is highly skilled in the greater part of natural history, will deliver this letter to you. I commend this truly learned, knowledgeable, and courteous gentleman to your care.

SLOANE, [(Sir) HANS] President of the Royal Society in London

Letter to C. Linnaeus, 20 December 1737.

*Flora Lapponica* especially pleases me so much that I long to see the other parts of the natural history of that region written out by your hand and made available to the public.

DILLENUS, [JOHANN JAKOB DILLEN] Professor of Botany at Oxford

Letter to C. Linnaeus, 18 August 1737.

I have seen, acquired, and read your *Flora (Lapponica)* with great pleasure. Would that there were more such books

at our disposal, compiled with such diligence and care. In this you have shown yourself a man.

LAWSON, [ISAAC] A physician in London  
Letter to Linnaeus, 23 May 1739.

Mr. Andrew was recently in London; he still praises your *Methodus sexualis* and recommended it among his friends in Cornwall last winter.

DONELL, JAMES A physician in Cashel, Ireland  
Letter to Linnaeus, 17 August 1739.

Despite my long search for you throughout Germany, nowhere could I discover where on earth you were staying, although you were known to all of the learned men with whom I was able to speak.

[BOISSIER] DE LA CROIX DE SAUVAGES, [(Abbé) François] Professor of Medicine and Botany at Montpellier

Letter to Linnaeus, "the most renowned restorer of natural history,"  
10 September 1737.

I congratulate both you and myself, as well as the learned world; and I am profoundly pleased that you were willing to undertake so many and such great efforts. Nevertheless I am astounded and can hardly grasp that you, who are still a young man, have published so many and such different works, a single one of which can win you everlasting fame, as far as I can judge from the titles of your works, your letter, and your reputation.

1 December 1739.

I am continually more and more grieved that you,

who were born for, and are gifted in, the promotion of all sciences, do not live within our borders. But your fame will fly very swiftly through our most remote regions, and this has lessened somewhat the sorrow I feel at your absence.

15 March 1740.

I have several times here had occasion to discuss you with my colleague Magnol, who holds you in high esteem; also with M. Lemonnier of Paris, who, at the king's command, had come here with the astronomers to gather plants and who calls you a man to be revered. I congratulate you on the fact that M. Jussieu, who always followed Tournefort's system, recently arranged the plants in the Royal [Botanical] Garden in Paris according to your classification; I esteem him more highly now that he complies with the truth. This seems to me certainly to be a remarkable circumstance; he is an old man, you a young one; but you are both botanists. Alas how the honorable botanists differ from the suspicious and envious medical doctors!

12 August 1740.

Now your name often flits about on the lips of our learned countrymen; your writings are in demand and consulted everywhere; everyone who owns a copy hides it away and keeps it carefully to himself; to no one does he lend a copy of so great a thesaurus; our booksellers are quick to order new copies.

[. . .] If I wished to express in words how much joy I experience when I read these books (*Systema naturae*, *Genera plantarum*, *Flora Lapponica*, etc.), a single letter would not suffice. Your merits far surpass my eulogies and praises, and I do not possess the eloquence to expound them, and so I remain silent in my admiration. All my colleagues are astounded, too, when they learn what you have achieved despite your youth; and it is altogether unheard of that so many works could be so skillfully executed.



[. . .] I have received news that Hermann's Garden in Leiden has also yielded to your principles. To speak candidly, in natural science you are truly a Charles XII,<sup>1</sup> like the king himself at the head of his army, with this difference: that you have the botanical world at your feet forever more.

JUSSIEU, ANTOINE [de] Royal Professor in Paris  
Letter to C. Linnaeus, 5 July 1736.

My distinguished colleague, I was much pleased to review your little work on *Musa* [*Musa Cliffortiana*] with a grateful spirit; I read it with great eagerness and was extremely delighted with it.

BARRÉRE, [PIERRE] Professor of Medicine and Royal Botanist at Perpignan  
Letter to "the famous man Carl Linnaeus, the leading botanist of this century," [6 November 1739].

The celebrated renown of your name has even reached our borders in its flight over the learned world; rumor has it that you have published new and useful botanical undertakings. There were great gaps in the science of botany, and it took much effort to establish a new method. But the honor which was denied to others has been reserved for your acumen.

HALLER, ALBRECHT [VON] Professor of Medicine at Göttingen  
In letters to Linnaeus he calls him:

- |                    |                                   |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 14 April 1737.     | "The exceptional botanist."       |
| 3 July 1737.       | "The true botanist."              |
| 13 October 1737.   | "The first of botanists."         |
| 11 February 1738.  | "The greatest botanist."          |
| 12 September 1737. | "The supreme botanist."           |
| 9 January 1738.    | "The most accurate of botanists." |

<sup>1</sup>The unhappy warrior king of Sweden, who on his death in 1718 "left the name at which the world grows pale to point a moral and adorn a tale."

Samuel Johnson

7 April 1738.

Why are you so concerned about Siegesbeck? Have those who achieve something new and manly ever been free of detractors, or will they ever be free? Or do you lack men who give you more credit for your merits? Or did you ever hope that you would please all those Siegesbecks, too? Continue bravely, and constantly promote the studies in which you have earned the highest measure of true glory.

24 November 1738.

Do you, of whom Flora expects more than of any other botanist, take advantage, I beg, of a favorable opportunity to return at some time to milder climates! If my homeland ever recalls me—and I hope that it will—I have fixed upon you as heir to the Garden, should the post then appeal to you, and to the honor attached, such as it is; with this in mind I have spoken in the presence of those in whose hands everything rests.

19 January 1739.

I have the same intention concerning the Garden; I for my part will stay but a few years here [in Göttingen] and could not hand it on to a more worthy successor.

The same [man] in *Acta Germ. Erudit.*, page 288.

We take great pleasure in saying at the very beginning that no book on this science has yet been written which is at all comparable to Linnaeus' *Genera plantarum*. The whole concept of it is original, never previously tried, and new; the presentation is based on the thorough examination of 8000 plants. . . . But what Linnaeus has done, no one has attempted or even conceived.

GESNER, [JOHANN ALBRECHT] Professor of Medicine at Basel  
Letter to Gronovius, "most meritorious physician and botanist."

I asked you to buy me a copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus*; but now I no longer need one, since I received a copy from Amsterdam. It cost 25 florins, a high price for a book of its dimensions, but not for a work which deals with botany in a most absolute manner and which no botanist can easily do without. Indeed his works charm all those who seek to achieve something in this field in a true and certain manner. Moreover, I see that his method is praised practically everywhere. The people of Leipzig have reprinted this renowned author's system of nature [*Systema naturae*, Halle, 1740] and added a German translation. I shall spare no pains to recommend his works and his method to the Swiss.

GRAVEL, JOHANN Professor of Physics at Strasbourg, to G. Scherz

You see Linnaeus, whose writings the learned world admires and follows these days.

GLEDITSCH, JOHANN GOTTLIEB Professor of Botany in Berlin

Letter to "the most distinguished botanist Carl Linnaeus," 20 April 1740.

I think that Linnaeus' rules exist as a Gordian knot for all those who, to avoid work, refrain from wearying their poor sleepy heads with clear concepts and explanations.

BREYNE, [JOHANN PHILIPP] A physician in Danzig, Member of the Imperial and London Academies. 1739.

In the preface to *Prodromi plantarum*, page 3.

Assuredly Carl Linnaeus is the rising star in the botany of our time. Thus Boerhaave will live again in Linnaeus.

LANGE, [JOHANN JOACHIM] Professor of Mathematics at Halle  
In the preface to *Systema naturae*, page 4.

I had already come to know the brilliant Linnaeus' merits in the area of botany, and I had always thought that he was created by Nature for the further improvement of botany. But when I now see (from *Systema naturae*) that our Linnaeus was no less felicitous in the system of the mineral and animal kingdoms than in the plant kingdom, I decided to publish this, etc.

MENCKE, FRIEDRICH OTTO Doctor of Civil and Canon Law and Justice of the Royal Appeal Court of Poland [in Leipzig]

Letter to Linnaeus, 5 May 1736.

I claim a share in the general approval which not only your countrymen [. . .], most fortunate appraisers of talent, but also foreigners, including first of all my own people of Leipzig, unanimously offer you, most learned man, by their similar studies, for your many outstanding efforts to improve natural science and botany. Hail to the noble science which you now take under your protection, on which you bestow splendor and renown, which now begins to bloom in all its glory through your efforts, and which derives from your name the most promising portents of future honor.

KOHL, [JOHANN PETER] Formerly Professor in St. Petersburg, now in Hamburg  
In the *Hamburgische Berichte von [den neuesten] gelehrten Sachen* [Vol. 9], No. 71.  
September 1740.

Doctor Linnaeus, iminently well-versed in this science, who can in all truth

be called founder and restorer of the study of botany, at least in Sweden [ . . . ].

[*Nova*] *Acta Eruditorum*. 1738. Page 459 [460].<sup>1</sup>

It is well known and confirmed by universal agreement that there is no one who is more keen-sighted than Linnaeus in the enumeration of the delicate rudiments of flower or fruit.

[*Nova*] *Acta Erudit[orum]*. 1739. Page 256.

On the *Hortus Cliffortianus*

We cannot hold a sufficiently high opinion of this magnificent work, full of diverse knowledge; and we need not hold back in our praise of this eminent collector's magnanimity with which he is disposed toward the sciences, and the princely sums which he has quite generously spent to preserve the memory of his garden; of the outstanding diligence and marvellous verbal felicity of the distinguished author, the Dioscorides of our times. The same motive which in the preface restrained Linnaeus from eulogies also restrains us, namely Clifford's modesty;<sup>2</sup> and none but a Linnaeus will praise a Linnaeus. The man's fame is such that he needs no advocate; what speaks for his fame are his writings and his ingeniously thought out method, which brought to light the smallest details of flowers and fruits, which were before our time unknown and never before seen. He it is whom France honors after electing him to the Royal Society under the title of corresponding member.

<sup>1</sup>On the *Genera plantarum*. At this time the journal was edited by Mencke.

<sup>2</sup>For an English translation of this preface, see Heller, John L., *Taxon* 17: 663-719, 1968.

He it is whom Holland is reluctant to let go and whom Sweden welcomes back with rejoicing. The present work, an epitome of all the Linnaean works which had appeared separately, illustrates in wonderful ways the history of the vegetable kingdom.

*Systema naturae, ibid.* [1737]. Page 70.

He has drawn up very large tables of the animals, attributing a distinct characteristic to each of their families. He presents the apes as companions to man, whom he ranks under the quadrupeds having hairy bodies, a viviparous and lactiferous female, and four front teeth; the sloth differs from these only in the number of digits—for he has two or three on both feet, differing front and back. Beasts of prey have six front teeth; among these the bear is regarded as more closely related to the Anthropomorpha since he walks on his heels with big toes turned outward; the rest are characterized by one designation in each case, according to the number of nipples, state of the digits, form of the claws, size of the tail, etc. [ . . . ] He deserves the sacrifice of a hecatomb.

#### See Further on Linnaeus.

*Hamburgische Berichte von [neuen] gelehrten Sachen.*<sup>1</sup>

1732. No. 4 [6,] page 45. *De horto Upsaliensi.* [14 January]  
12, page 94. 95. *Fundamenta botanica.* [9 February]  
22, page 177. 178. *De avibus et insectis Sueciae.* [March]  
47, page 398. 399. *Iter Lapponicum.* [June]  
1733. No. 64, page 523. 524. 525. *Observationes Lap[on]icae.* [11 August]  
1734. No. 59, page [494]. *Canones rei herb.* [July]  
1735. No. 47, [46], page 386 [-390]. *Varia.* [June]  
1735. No. 75, page 617. *De febribus.* [20 September]  
71, page 586. *Iter Dalecarlicum.* [September]

<sup>1</sup>Title in 1735 changed to . . . *von den neuesten* . . . It has now been shown by Bryk that these communications in the *Hamburgische Berichte* (which was edited by Kohl) were composed by Linnaeus himself. See Goerke, H., *Carl von Linné* (Stuttgart, 1966), page 39, citing Bryk, F., *Linnaeus in Ausland* (Stockholm, 1919).



*Ref]publica Eruditorum.*<sup>1</sup>

November 1735, page 556.

August 1737, pages 73.—87.

*Commercia Litteraria Noribergica.*<sup>2</sup>

1733 hebd. 5. No. II, page 34. [4 February]

— — 10. — II [III], page 73. [11 March]

— — 10. — III, pages 73. 74. [11 March]

*Tidender an Lærde og curieuse.*<sup>3</sup>

14 October 1734. No. 41.

<sup>1</sup>This journal is mentioned in the *Autograph Book*; its actual title at this time was: *Maandelyke Uittreksels, of Boekzaal der geleerde Waerelt*. The articles indicated here by Linnaeus appeared in vols. 41 (November, 1735) and 45 (July, 1737) respectively.

<sup>2</sup>Actual title of this journal is: *Commercium litterarium ad rei medicae et scientiae naturalis incrementum institutum . . .* (Nuremberg).

<sup>3</sup>Complete title of this journal is: *Nye Tidender om lærde og curieuse Sager*. The article mentioned here appears on pages 644-645.



Colophon

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ORBIS ERUDITI  
JUDICIUM

De

CAROLI LINNÆI

M. D.

Scriptis.

---

*Famam extollere factis,  
hoc virtutis opus.*

---

VITA CAROLI LINNÆI.

1707. Maji 13. natus.  
 1727. Academiam *Lundinensem* adiecit.  
 1730. 1731. *Botanice* publice docuit, sices Prof.  
*Rudbeckii* sustinens in Horto Academico Upsa-  
 liensi.  
 1733. *Laponiam*, Historiæ naturalis causâ, peragra-  
 vit.  
 1734. *Dalecarliam* occidentalem & Orientalem per-  
 vestigavit.  
 1738. Iter per *Daniam*, *Germaniam*, *Belgium*.  
 JUNII 21. Medicinæ Doctior creatus est *Harderovici*.  
 1736. Iter in *Angliam* instituit.  
 OCT. 3. Membrum Academiæ Imperialis Naturæ  
*Curiosorum*, illustri *DIOSCORIDIS* secundi no-  
 mine, proclamabatur.  
 1737. *Praefecturam* Splendidissimi *Horti Cliffortiani*  
 in *Hollandia* gessit. Munus *Medici* ordinarii *Soci-*  
*etatis Indiæ occidentalis* *Linnaeo* a *Boerhavio* ob-  
 latum, patriam revivendi desiderio flagrans, re-  
 nuebat.  
 1738. *Galliam* invisit.  
 JUNII 14. Membrum correspondens: *Academiciæ*  
*Regiæ Parisinæ* electus est.  
 OCT. 4. Membrum *Societatis Reg. Lit & Scient.*  
 Dictus est.  
 1739. A *Sacr. Reg. Majestate*, Ordinibusque *Regni*  
*Sveciæ* Stipendio annuo centum ducatorum aureo-  
 rum ditatus, ob navatam apud exteros operam.  
*Medicus classis navalis*, quæ *Holmiæ* est, vo-  
 catus.  
 Intee *Fundatores*, qui *Academiæ Scientiarum*  
*Sveciæ*, in *Regia* sede *Holmensi*, inflaturarunt, fuit  
 unus & ejusdem *Academiæ* primus *Praefes*.

Ne succumbemalis: Te noverit ultimus  
 ister  
 Te Boteas gelidus. Gronov. in Nom.  
 Linnæi,

OPERA a G. LINNÆO  
EDITA.

- Systema Naturæ - - Lugdb. 1735. Fol.  
 - - idem auctius - - Stockh. 1740. Oâ.  
 - - idem germanice - - Halæ. 1740. Quart.  
 Fundamenta Botanica - - Amstel. 1735. Oâ.  
 - - eadem emaculata - - Stockh. 1740. Oâ.  
 - - eadem emaculata - - Lugdb. 1740. Oâ.  
 Bibliotheca Botanica. - - Amstel. 1735. Oâ.  
 Critica Botanica - - - Lugdb. 1737. Oâ.  
 Methodus Sexualis - - - Lugdb. 1737. Oâ.  
 Classes plantarum - - - Lugdb. 1738. Oâ.  
 Genera plantarum - - - Lugdb. 1737. Oâ.  
 Flora Lapponica - - - Amstel. 1717. Oâ.  
 Viridarium Cliffortianum Amst. 1737. Oâ.  
 Hortus Cliffortianus - - Amst. 1737. Fol.  
 Musæ Cliffortiana - - - Lugdb. 1736. Quart.  
 Hypothesis de febre, interm. Harder. 1736. Quart.  
 Oratio de proprietatibus insectorum. Holm. 1739. Oâ.  
 Florula Lapponica Act. Lit. Svec. 1735.  
 Animalia Regni Sveciæ Act. Lit. Svec. 1736.  
 Miscellanea varia Act. Scient. Svec. 1739. 1740.  
 Arteri Ichthyologia - - - Lugdb. 1738. Oâ.

*Secundum Leges Linnæi sunt sequentia*

- Royeni Flora Leidensis - Lugdb. 1739. Oâ.  
 Gronovii Flora virginica - Lugdb. 1719. Oâ.  
 Ferber Hortus agerimentis Stoch. 1719. Oâ.  
 Gronovii Musæum Lapideum Lugdb. 1740. Oâ.  
 Broyallii examen episcopes Siegesbeckii Abôz  
 1710. Quart.  
 Gleditschii in idem argumentum - 1740. Quart.

De

De GORTER Professor Med.  
Harderovic, Promotor Linnæi.

Ut omnibus constaret me in viro docto, & nunc Medicinæ  
Doctore Carolo Linnæo Sveco, Singularem non So-  
lum in omnibus Medicinæ partibus, verum etjam  
Botanica invenisse peritiam & Doctrinam, adeo ut  
inter præcipuos Medicinæ Doctores Sit habendus,  
meum nomen cum felicitatis preceatione in curan-  
dis ægris, apponere non dubitavi.

BOERHAWE HERM. Profess.  
Med. Leidenfis.

*Litteræ ad C. Linnæum 1717, Jan. 13.*

Liber (Genera plantarum) ipse inspectus stupenti  
ostendit infinitæ diligentæ, constantiæ Singularis  
& Scientiæ incomparabilis, opus; neque utilitatem  
pulcherrimi instituti satis ipse deprecicare possum;  
Secula laudabunt, boni imitabuntur, omnibus  
proderit - - Tu huic totus dum ades, scri-  
bis quæ ætatem & Aristarchum ferant.

ROYEN Profess. Botanic.  
Leidenfis.

*In præfatione ad Floram Leydensem. pag. 16.*

Quintum Systema a Sexu plantarum, flaminibus Sel-  
licit & pistillis, condidit Carolus Linnæus, omni-  
um Scult Sui Botanicorum Princeps. Hic enim,  
non omnibus impar, universam Botanicæ Doctri-  
nam reformavit, omnesque ejus partes illustran-  
do ita castigavit & a fordissimis, quas contraxe-  
rat

X 3

rat



rat sordibus amicorum impulsu repurgavit, ut  
nec pulior nec pulchrior unquam exsisterit; immo,  
Si quis habent veri tatis præfagia, Floræ  
Structa supra lapidem non ruet hæc domus,

pag. 21.

Alter a Tournefortio, qui in generibus aliquid  
præstitit, fuit *Linnaeus*; hic Senior accedens, sed  
doctior.

pag. 30.

Nomina ex arte confecta, in tota re herbaria vix ulla  
reperi, præter quam in *Flora Laponica* & *Hor-  
to Cliffortiano* Celeberrimi *Caroli Linnaei*, qui pri-  
mus hanc methodum in Speciebus tentavit & Suc-  
cessorem habuit. *Clar. J. F. Gronovium*, qui  
prudenter ubique in *Flora Virginica* ejus vesti-  
gia pressit.

## BURMANNUS Profess. Bota- nic. Amstelodam.

In præfatione ad *Theaur. Zeylanic.* pag. 4.

Doctissimus ille *Svevus Carolus Linnaeus*, operibus  
suis variis Botanicis nuper editis, clarum nomen  
adeptus,

pag. 9.

*Caroli Linnaei* characteres plantarum generici; qui  
liber aureus sane Botanicis habendus, ut qui  
nova & Facili methodo naturales plantarum cha-  
racteres accuratissime desinit.

## GRONOVIVS Med. Doct. & Botanic;

In præfatione ad *Fl. Virginicam* pag. 3.

Nullus igitur dubitavi Specimina plantarum cum  
per-

perspicacissimo *Linnaeo* examinare, utinam reliquæ  
etiam cum doctissimo Viro ad examen revocare  
mihi licuisset - - - Singulis plantis  
adjecti nomina Specifica, quæ exstant in *Hor-  
to Cliffortiano* & *Flora Laponica*; Methodum com-  
ponendi nomina Specifica a *Linnaeo* præscriptam  
secutus.

## ROYENUS Profess. Botan. Leidensis,

In literis ad *Ant. De Jussieu* Prof. Paris. 1738. Maji 7.  
En *Carolus Linnaeus*, Scientiæ Botanici (Si quem  
noverim) Facile Principem, qui in scriptis inno-  
tuerit. experimentis innotescat. Hic in plerisque  
Historiæ Naturalis partibus versatissimus hæc  
Tibi tradet literas: Hunc vere doctum eruditum  
& humanissimum Tibi Tusque curæ commendo.

## SLOANE Præses Acad. Reg. Scient. Londinens.

Litera ad *C. Linnaum* 1737. Dec. 20.

*Flora Laponica* speciatim mihi tantopere aridet, ut  
maxime cupiam cæteras illius regionis partes Hi-  
storiciæ naturalis intueri tua exaratas manu, publi-  
cæque luci datas.

## DILLENIVS Profess. Botan. Oxonienfis,

Litera ad *C. Linnaum* 1737. Aug. 18.

Vidi, accepi & legi *Floram* Tuam (*Laponicam*)  
multa cum voluptate, utinam plures istius modi  
nobis

nobis proficiant, tali studio & cura elaboratæ; In  
hac Te Virum præstitisti,

**LAWSON Medicus  
Londinensis.**

*Litera ad Linnaum 1739. Maji 23*

D. Andrew fuit nuper Londini, colit ad huc tuam  
methodum Sexualem, eamque propagavit inter  
amicos præterita hyeme in Cornubia.

**DONELL JACOB Medicus,  
Cassell, Hibernic.**

*Litera ad Linnaum 1739. Aug. 17.*

Licet multum ditque Te quæsieram per maximam  
Germaniæ partem, nullibi tamen investigare pote-  
ram ubi terrarum moraris, licet nemini doctorum  
virorum, cum quibus mihi colloqui Fas erat, sis  
ignotus.

**SAUVAGES de la CROIX  
Profess. Med. & Bot,  
Monspelians,**

*Litera ad Linnaum, celeberrimum Historiam naturalis  
restauratorem, 1737. Sept. 16.*

Et Tibi & mihi, orbique literato gratulor & me-  
dullitus delector, quod tot tantisque labores in Te  
sumere volueris. Stupeo tamen & vix intelligo  
Te adolescentem adhuc tot tamque varia opera  
edidisse, quorum unicum, quantum ex pittaculis  
litteris Tuis & Tua Fama judico, æternum tibi  
nomen comparare potest.

1739, Dec. 1. Doleo semper magis ac magis Te pro-  
moven-

movendis, omnibus Scieñtis natum & aptissimum  
in nostris regionibus desiderari, citissime Fama  
tua per remotissimas regiones nostras volatura est,  
quod aliquantulum, quem ex absentia tua dolo-  
rem sentio, Sublevavit.

1740. Mart. 25. Pluries de Te hic colloqui contigit  
cum Magnolio meo collega, qui Te multum vene-  
ratur; tam cum D. le Monier parisiensi, qui iussa  
regis hic plantas lecturus, cum astronomis vene-  
rat & qui Te Virum adorandum nuncupat. Tibi  
Gratulor quod D. Justieu Horii. Regii Parlicensis  
plantas in Tuum ordinem nuper redegerit, qui  
tamen ordinem Tournefortii semper assumerat;  
Illum inde pluriis facio quod veritati obsequatur.  
Facinus certe egregium mihi illud videtur; ille  
senex, Tu juvenis, ambo Botanici; ah quantum  
distant a medicis lividis, invidis, Botannici can-  
didi!

1740. Aug. 12. jam tuum nomen per ora doctorum  
nostratum frequens volitat, undique Tua expe-  
tuntur & advocantur scripta, ea quicumque possi-  
det celat & sibi servat sedulo, nemini copiam  
facit tanti Thesauri, cito Bibliopolæ nostri plura  
accersunt exemplaria.

Si quantam voluptatem in his, (Systema naturæ;  
Genera plantarum, Flora Lapponica &c.) voran-  
dis percipi vellem verbis efferre, non una suffi-  
ceret epistola, Tua sunt multo laudibus & elogiis  
melis superiora merita, nec ornate loquendi Facul-  
tate præditus sum ut id exequar, admirabundus  
itaque fileo, stupent & omnes collegæ, cum, quæ  
ætate tua præstiteris, accipiunt, nec ab ullo ho-  
minum tot opera tam scite digerere posse unquam  
audium erat.

Accipi

Accēpti paster Hoetum Lejdensem Hermannianum  
Tuis legibus paruisse. Candide dixerim, Tu in  
naturali scientia verus es CAROLUS XII, ut ipse  
Rex. At militia, eo discrimine, quod totum orbem  
Botanicum Tibi in aeternum subijcis.

## JUSSIEU Ant. Prof. Reg. Paris.

*Littera ad C. Linnaum 1736. Jul. 5.*  
Gratissimo animo, vir illustrissime, tuam de *Musa*  
epistulam accepi avidisque perlegi, mihi que  
maxime arrisit.

## BARRERE Prof. Méd. Perpianen- sis & Botanicus Regius.

*Littera ad Cl. Vir. Carol. Linnaum, Botanicorum hu-  
jus seculi principem.*

Ad nostras quoque terrarum oras pervenit, quae quidē  
per literatum orbem late volat, nominis Tui  
celebrata fama; novos inquirunt at perutilles co-  
natus botanicos publici juris fecisti; desiderabantur  
quippe multa in re herbaria, tanta molis erat me-  
thodum condere novam, sed quae aliis denegata  
fuit gloria, Tuae sagacitati reservabatur.

## HALLER ALBERT. Profess. Med. Gottingensis.

*In literis ad Linnaum eum vocat.*

1737. April. 14. Botanicum eximium.

1737. Jul. 3. Botanicum verum.

1737. Oct. 13. Botanicum primarium.

1738. Febr. 11. Maximum Botanicum.

1737. Sept. 12. Botanicum Summum.

1718. Jan. 9. Accuratissimum Botanicorum.

1738.

1738. April. 7. Siegesbeckium quid tu curaveris? An  
desuerunt unquam aut deerunt obtrectatores o-  
mnibus illis, qui novum aliquid & maculatum mol-  
untur? An desunt tibi, qui iustiores sunt in Tua  
merita? An omnibus ipsis etiam Siegesbeckiis Te  
placitum unquam sperasti? Tu vero perge au-  
dacter & ad studia, in quibus vere gloriae pluri-  
mum meruisti, perge ornare.

1738. Nov. 24. Tu, a quo Flora sperat plura, quam  
ab omni alio Botanico, utere quæso felicibus fati-  
& aliquando ad mitiora climata redi. Si unquam  
me patria repetit, sed spero repetituram, Te qui-  
dem, si tunc placuerit conditio, destinavi Horti  
hæredem, & qualiscunque honoris & eam in sen-  
tentiam coram eis locutus sum, in quorum roanu  
sunt omnia,

1739. Jan. 19. de horto eadem mihi sententia est,  
ego quidem paucis annis hic versabor, neque  
unquam tradere poterō digniori.

*Idem in actis Germ. erudit. pag. 288.*

Wir machen uns eine freude gleich im anfang  
zu sagen, daß noch kein buch in dieser Wissenschaft  
geschriben sey, welches man Linnæi Genera  
plantarum einiger maßen vergleichen können. Es  
ist der ganze riss davon unentlent, unversucht  
und neu, die ausarbeitung aus einer scharffen  
untersuchung von acht tausend pflanzen genom-  
men - - - aber was Linnæus gethan, hat  
neimand versucht, nich gedacht

## GESNERUS Profess. Med. Basiliensis.

*Littera ad Gronovium Medicum & Botanicum excel-  
lentissimum* Pestii

Petis, ut exemplar *Horti Cliffortiani* ad me com-  
mes, hoc vero carere nunc potero, cum Amste-  
lodamo exemplar acceperim, sed pretio pro mole  
libri ingenti 25. florenorum, non vero pro ope-  
re, quod absolutissima ratione rem herbariam  
tractat. & quo nemo Botanicoz facile carebit,  
perplacent sane Ejus opera omnibus, qui vera  
& certa ratione aliquid in hoc genere præstare  
conantur. Video etjam ejus methodum ubique  
se e laudari Lipsiensis systema naturæ Cl. hujus  
Authoris recuderunt addita versione germanica.  
Ego nil parco ut ejus opera & methodum Hel-  
vetis commendem.

**GRAVELIUS JOH. Profess.**  
Phys. Argent. ad G. Scherzium.  
Vides Linnæum, cujus scripta hodie miratur & se-  
quitur literaturæ otibus.

**GLEDISCH J. Got. Profess** Be-  
rolinens. Botanices.

*Littera ad summum Botanicum Carolum Linnæum*  
1740. April. 20.

Præcepta Linnæana nodus gordius existunt omnium  
illorum factor, qui ut labores evitent, capitula  
sua somnolenta distinctis notionibus & demonstra-  
tionibus fatigare dubitant.

**BREYNIUS Medic.** Gedanensis  
ac. Imp. & Lond. loc. 1739.

*In præfatione ad prodomos plantarum. pag. 3.*

*Carolus Linnæus lumen ortens & ingens certe Bo-  
tanicum nostri temporis. Sic in Linnæo reviviscet*  
Boerhavius.

LAN-

**LANGIUS Profess. Mathes.**  
ord. Hallens.

*In præfatione ad Systema Naturæ pag. 4.*

Noveram jam ante ingeniosissimi Linnæi in rem her-  
bariam merita, semperque judicaveram hunc vi-  
rum ad ulteriorem Botanicæ culturam a Natura  
factum esse. Cum autem nunc viderem (ex Sy-  
stemate Naturæ) Linnæum nostrum in Systemate  
regni Lapidei & animalis, non minus felicem  
fuisse quam in regno vegetabili, hoc edere de-  
crevi &c.

**MENCKENIUS Fried. ott. J. V.**  
D. Reg. Pol. a Consil. aulæ,

*Littera ad Linnæum 1736. Maji 5.*

Venero in Societatem plausus illius publici, quem Ti-  
bi, Eruditissime Vir, pro egregiis tot laboribus  
in rei naturalis & Botanicæ incrementum susce-  
ptis, non Cives tantum tui felicissimi ingeniorum  
æstimatores, sed ipsi exteri, & in his Lipsiensis  
inprimis mei, junctis Studis decernunt. Bene  
sit arti nobilissimæ cui Tu præsidium jam  
præbes, cui splendorem decusque tribuis, quæ  
nitidissime efflorescere per Te jam incipit & ex  
nomine Tuo auspiciatissimum futuri honoris sui  
omen capit.

**KOHL Prof.** olim petropolitana-  
nus, nunc Hamburg.

In Hamburgische Berichte von gelehrten sachen  
N:o LXXI septemb. 1740.

Der in dieser wissen kaafft ganz vortreflich erfarna  
Hr D. Linnæus, welchem man mit allem rechte  
flato.

Auctorem & Restauratorem studii Botanici, vniuersitatis in Schweden nennan kan. - - -

## ACTA ERUDITORUM

MDCCXXXVIII. pag. 459.

Certum est, omniumque suffragio comprobatum, in subtilium floris vel fructuum rudimentorum enumeratione acutiorem LINNÆO exsistere neminem.

AN. Erudit. A. MDCCXXXIX. p. 256.

### DE HORTO CLIFFORTIANO,

Magnifice satis de Amplissimo Opere, & varix eruditionis pleno sentire non possumus, dubiumque superest an præstantissimi Collegæ generosum, quo erga scientias fertur animum, & pretorios, quos condendæ Horti sui memoriz liberaliter admodum impendit, sumtus, an Cel. Auctoris, temporum istorum *Discordis*, singularem Industriam miramque Ingenii felicitatem, collaudare debeamus: Eadem quæ LINNÆUM in Præfatione à laudibus detinuit, & nos detinent, Cliffortii Modestia, nec Linnaeum alius, quam LINNÆUS collaudet. Ea est viri fama quæ commendatore non indigeat; loquuntur pro ea scripta, & ingeniose excogitata Methodus, quæ horum fructuumque minutissima quæque, ante hæc tempora incognita, nullique perspecta, in lucem protraxit. Is est quem *Gallia* colit, postquam eundem in societatem Regiam *Correspondentis Membri* nomine cooptavit, quem *Belgi-*

um

um Invitum dimisit, quem *Svevia* Redicem gaudens amplectitur. Præfens opus, laborum omnium Litæranæorum, qui sparsim prodierant, sylloges, Regni vegetabilis Historiam miris Modis illustrat.

### SYSTEMA NATURÆ, ibid. p. 70.

Animalium amplissimas consecit Tabulas, singulæ eorundem familie distinctum characterem adjudicans, Homini quem quadrupedibus, corpore hirsuto, femella vivipara & lactifera, dentibus primoribus quatuor, accenset. socios dat simias, a quibus Tardigradus ita dictus, solo digitorum numero, nam duo vel tres in utroque pede ipsi sunt, utrinque diversi, Ex feris dentes primores sex obtinent, ex quibus Ursus antropomorpho generi vicinior habitus fuit, cum talo insistat, pollice extus posito; reliquæ singulari signo a mammarum numero, digitorum conditione, unguium habitu, caudæ dimensione, designantur &c. Dignus, cui HECATOMBE mactetur.

### VIDE PLURA de LINNÆO.

*Hamburgische Berichte von gelehrten sachen.*

1733. N:o 4. pag. 45. de Horto Upsaliensi.  
13. pag. 94. 95. Fundamenta Botanica.  
22. pag. 177. 178. de avibus & insectis Sveciz.  
47. pag. 398. 399. iter Lapponicum.  
1733. N:o 64. pag. 513. 514. 525. observationes Laponicæ  
1734. N:o 59. pag. Canones Rei herb.  
1735. N:o 47. pag. 386. Varia.  
1735. N:o 75. pag. 617. de febris.  
71. pag. 586. Iter Dalecarlicum,

Reo

*Republica Esuditorium.*

1735. Novemb. p. 156.

1737. August, p. 73. - 87.

*Commerciana Litteraria Noribergica.*

1737 hebd. 5. N:o II. pag. 34.

- - - 10. - II. - 7½

- - - 10. - III. - 7½ 74.

*Tidender om Læde og Curicure.*

1734. Og. 14. N:o 4½.



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