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Abstract

We present the first translation into English of Carl Linnaeus' dissertation *Potus Coffeae* (The coffee drink), published in Uppsala, Sweden, in 1761. Its meandering style and broad framework are symptomatic of its complex history. We situate the production of the dissertation within a context of Uppsala students needing to learn how to communicate, argue and perform in Latin. We also trace the different segments of texts that make up *Potus Coffeae* to Linnaeus' other discussions on coffee in lecture notes and printed material, as well as the afterlife of the dissertation as it was incorporated into different texts. Drawing on the political and social context of mid-18th-century Sweden, we comment on Linnaeus' message about the medicinal uses of coffee. A comparison of *Potus Coffeae* with the 1763 version published in *Amoenitates academicae* revealed 34 changes presumably made by Linnaeus. We also trace the history of the engraving of the coffee branch that illustrates the text.

Keywords

bibliography; *Coffea arabica*; disputation; dissertation; natural history; medicinal; Sweden; Uppsala

Introduction

Carl Linnaeus was born in 1707 in Sweden and attended Lund University and Uppsala University. In 1735 he received a medical degree from the University of Harderwijk in

the Dutch Republic (Koerner 1999, p. 56). From 1738 to 1741 Linnaeus worked as a physician in Stockholm, and in October 1741 he became professor of medicine and botany at the University of Uppsala, where he remained until his death in 1778 (Jackson 1923, p. 197). At Uppsala Linnaeus presided (served as *praeses*) over 186 dissertations (also referred to as disputations) published between 1743 and 1776 (Lidén 1778, p. 309–320). One of these dissertations is the 21-page *Potus Coffeae* (The coffee drink; Fig. 1), published in 1761.¹

Potus Coffeae is a puzzling text. It meanders among different themes, concerned with global trade, plant dissemination, botany, cultivation, preparation, consumption and medicine. It contains long quotations, botanical synonyms (superfluous or redundant taxon names), authors whose works belonged to the coffee canon, and many lists, including 15 “instruments for the proper preparation and serving of this drink.” It is both specific and generic, popular and scholarly.

Many will know *Potus Coffeae* as a “dissertation,” perhaps foremost as part of the series *Amoenitates academicae* (Academic

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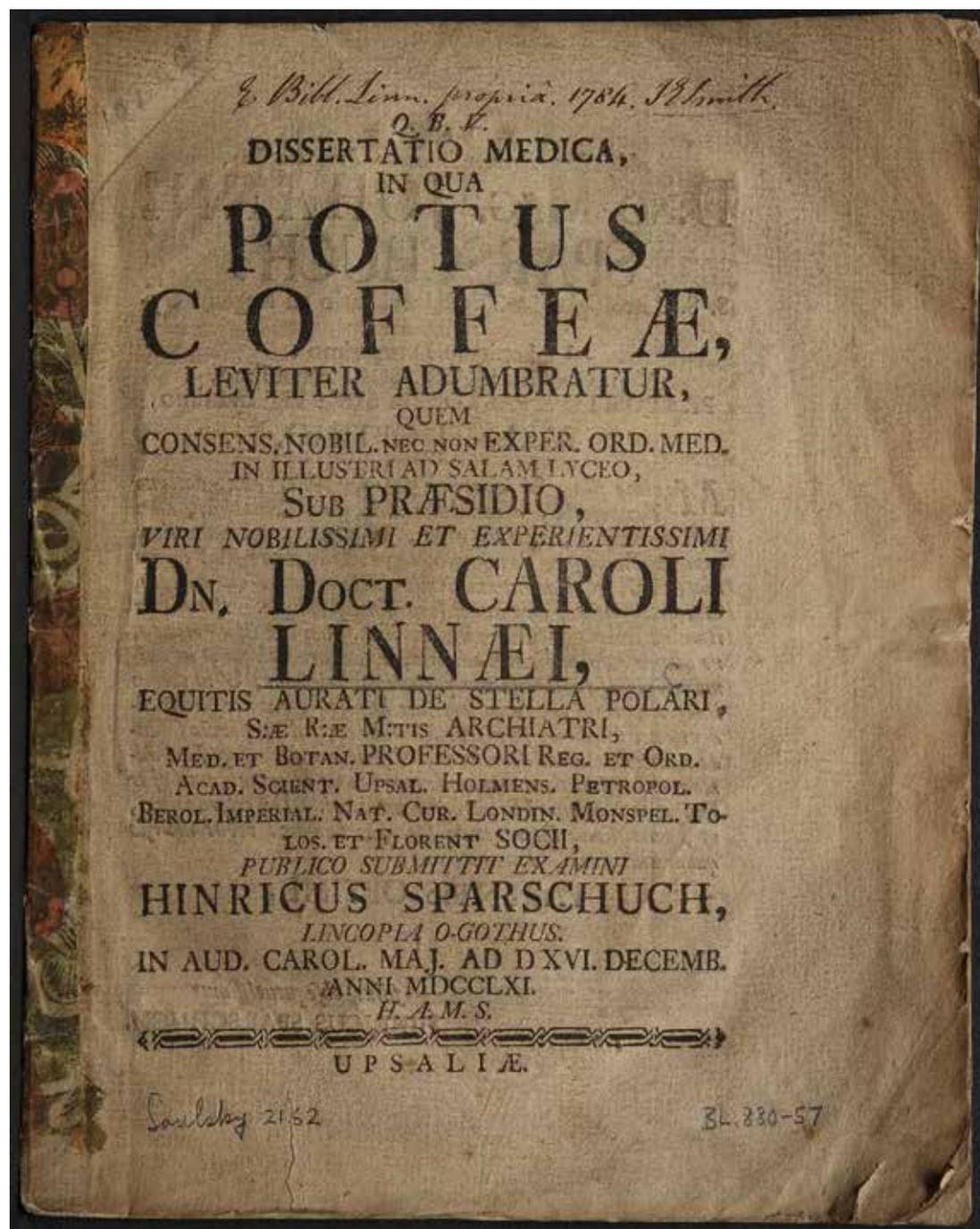


Figure 1. Unbound copy of *Potus Coffeae* (BL-880-57). Note James E. Smith autograph inscription above the title: “E Bibl. Linn. propria. 1784. J E Smith” (i.e., from Linnaeus’ personal library). The dissertation measures 20 × 16 cm. Permission of The Linnean Society of London.

delights), published in seven volumes during Linnaeus’ lifetime, with three volumes published posthumously.² In one autobiographical text, Linnaeus characterised the different texts in *Amoenitates academicae* as containing “many curious arguments, collected so that they shall not be destroyed [lost]” (Linnaeus 1957, p. 141). He also claimed that most of them “contain something rare, curious or new, have thus become desirable” (Linnaeus 1957, p. 173). While Linnaeus was rarely modest, in this case he seems right to claim the dissertations were sought after; there are several editions of the series, including versions published in Leiden, Stockholm, Leipzig, Erlangen and Amsterdam. Other dissertation series that also included the *Potus Coffeae* text, such as *Fundamentorum botanicorum*, were published after Linnaeus’ death (Linnaeus 1786a, 2:371–388).

In this article we provide the first English translation of *Potus Coffeae*, in the form of a critical translation of the version that was presented at Uppsala University in December 1761. In annotations and comments, we indicate the many mistakes made in the references, the very liberal quoting system, and the “borrowing” and re-purposing of the coffee plant engraving in different editions of *Amoenitates academicae*. The translation comprises the main part of this article; it is preceded by an in-depth discussion of the text, and observations on the uses of references, its medical content and the illustration it contained. However, using *Potus Coffeae* as a starting point and drawing on three different historical contexts, we also want to situate the text in different histories of education, knowledge circulation and the politics of scholarship that will help explain its function, composition and content. The first context is the Swedish academic world and the role of dissertations both as texts and as talking pieces at disputations. In both respects they offered the student an opportunity to practise how

to write, format and publish in Latin and to perform the role of a scholar in front of an audience. The second context is concerned with the distribution of copies and the origin of the content. Drawing on Linnaeus’ earlier writing and teaching on coffee, we show that in several instances some of the *Potus Coffeae* text was borrowed from other authors or recycled from Linnaeus’ own. In this respect the dissertation was part of an ongoing circulation of knowledge, which connected students, professors and popular and scholarly audiences inside and outside Sweden. This brings us to the third important context. Linnaeus’ take on one of the fashionable drinks of 18th-century Europe is, of course, interesting. However, as we shall demonstrate, he drew on a wide range of current topics and debates, merging medicine, dietetics and political economy. Thus, *Potus Coffeae* also provides insights on the intersection between scholarship and politics.

Dissertations and disputations in 18th-century Uppsala

Uppsala in the early 1760s had a student population of roughly 500, and 99 of those who matriculated in 1761 defended a dissertation (Lindberg 2022, p. 153). Just over half of the 1761 cohort were respondents (defenders) of a *pro exercitio* (a practice dissertation). The other half were respondents to *pro gradu* dissertations (a doctoral dissertation); the latter constituted one of several examinations a student needed to undergo to graduate (Lindberg 2022, p. 153).

When he was 19 years old, Henrik Sparschuch (1742–1786), the respondent of *Potus Coffeae*—a *pro exercitio* dissertation—did his defense with Linnaeus as chair (*praeses*) of the disputation. Seven years later Sparschuch defended a *pro gradu* dissertation about hemorrhoidal disease and graduated as a doctor

of medicine (Sparschuch 1768). He rose in rank and became a secretary of the Collegium Medicum, an association supervising medical practice in Sweden (Odén 1902, p. 238; Sjöberg 1910, 1:98). Sparschuch was fortunate, as the number of students that could graduate at Uppsala was restricted to 50 every 3 years according to a measure introduced by the government in the 1740s to conserve the status of a university degree, the *magister* degree (Lindberg 2022, p. 81).³

To understand the role of dissertations and disputations, the distinction between the two kinds of dissertations (*pro exercitio* and *pro gradu*) is only of limited help. In neither case was it necessary for the respondent to have authored the dissertation. In fact, most of the disputations over which Linnaeus presided were concerned with topics on which he had worked, although there are exceptions. Pehr Löfling (1729–1756), who later travelled to South America, conducted the research discussed in his dissertation (Nynäs and Bergquist, pp. 83–85). Nonetheless, it was still included in the *Amoenitates academicae* series.

In most cases the process started by Linnaeus dictating to the student in Swedish, using Latin only for scientific terms. It was the respondent's responsibility to translate the rest into Latin and to prepare it for publication, although as William T. Stearn has argued in the case of Linnaeus: "Before its printing the professor checked, amended and completed the work if necessary."⁴ In this process some mistakes could reach the final publication, as we have discovered by conducting a line by line comparison between *Potus Coffeae* and the 1763 version published in *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763; see "*Potus Coffeae* and Linnaeus' other coffee-related publications"). As Bo Lindberg points out, in other academic fields, such as rhetoric, students worked more independently of their professors (Lindberg 2022, pp. 94, 96–97).

Regardless of the subject, one section of the dissertation, of which the student was in charge, was the dedication, which could be quite long and offered students an opportunity to declare their gratitude to patrons or recruit potential patrons. Parents were often mentioned in the dedication (Lindberg 2022, pp. 133–141). As the translation included below shows, Sparschuch dedicated *Potus Coffeae* to his father, the dean in the town of Linköping. The virtuous nature he demonstrates through his approach to his father was, of course, meant to impress readers and, by extension, benefit Henrik Sparschuch himself.

The professor was also paid by the respondent to be the *praeses* over the disputation. It was one of many occasions when the professor could earn extra income (Lindberg 2022, p. 158). Linnaeus for example charged students for taking them on excursions and for teaching them privately, as was the custom at the time (Fries 1903, p. 3). In Uppsala disputations were public, and most were held in the morning at the "Auditorio Carolino Majori, the larger of the two public rooms, located on the second floor of the principal University building, (the Gustavianum...)" (Heller 1983, p. 229). A copy of the dissertation would be posted on the door of the auditorium at least ten days prior to advertise it to faculty and students (Heller 1983, p. 224). A 1709 drawing depicting a disputation at the University of Uppsala shows 42 people attending the event, including the *praeses*, the respondent and two opponents.⁵ During the disputation the respondent was responsible for defending the dissertation in Latin, and it was the job of the assigned opponents (appointed students in the same subject) to criticise it (Watts 1743, pp. 177–192). As a public event, the disputation could help elevate students, enabling them to show off their oratorical skills.⁶ When the university was hosting high-profile guests, the most prominent students were called in to

perform at disputations (Lindberg 2022, p. 33).

The notion of the "persona" of the learned early-modern man, with the help of students performing the role of the budding scholar, can help us understand the role of the disputations (Daston and Sibum 2003). Both the individual and the academy in action were reproduced on stage, as students acted out the role of being examined and of examining, under the watchful eyes of the professor, and as students in the audience observed the event. The need for reproducing the "persona" by performing and observing must have been further enhanced by the 18th-century context; this was a time when people acted and dressed in correspondence to the estate to which they belonged. Sons of clergymen—like Sparschuch was—constituted the single largest student cohort at Uppsala University. However, compared to many other European universities, a surprisingly large number of the students—one fifth—were sons of peasant farmers (Lindroth 1967, p. 145).⁷

Mastering Latin in writing was, of course, central to early-modern learning, as was the ability to argue—in the case of the disputation—and defend the dissertation in response to critique and query from a designated fellow student. Dissertations and disputations were a feature of university education across Europe. In Sweden, as Bo Lindberg points out, they also took place in the *gymnasiums*, the university feeder schools (Hörstedt 2018; Friedenthal et al. 2021; Lindberg 2022, p. 14). This shows how essential the ritualised arguments in Latin were in the upper-tier, early modern education system.

The dissertations and disputations were thus an integral part of two learning processes, one concerned with text production, including translating, editing and referencing, and one public and performative, geared towards demonstrating oration skills and on a more

general level reproducing an early modern academic persona. Together they offered an occasion to students to demonstrate their skills, without having to go through the arduous process of graduating formally. Moreover, it provided opportunities for the student to reinforce relationships with existing patrons or to recruit future ones. Considering its many functions, it is thus not surprising that the dissertation text and disputation process continued to play a central part in Swedish university life until the mid-19th century.

Recycling, translating and repackaging segments of texts

In contrast to the processes of the relatively stable system of producing and performing dissertations and disputations, what constitutes the content of printed text and its function is harder to summarise. The Swedish dissertations offered the *praeses* an opportunity to publish his own results or to publish what *de facto* worked as a textbook for students, something that was common both in the 17th and towards the end of the 18th centuries (Lindberg 2022, pp. 53–54). Regardless of the intended use, it is significant that the student had to cover the dissertation publication cost (Heller 1983, pp. 220, 230). Dissertations in the 18th century were published in quarto format, and most of the dissertations over which Linnaeus presided "ranged between fifteen and forty pages long," although two of them were four pages long.⁸

How many copies were published? Judging by discussions taking place in Uppsala University's board (*consistorium*), as many as 600–700 copies were printed in the 1760s, up from around 200 copies in the mid-17th century (Lindberg 2022, p. 87).⁹ Some were distributed to different state bodies and other universities in the realm. The rest, which was most of them, were distributed to other students (Lindberg 2022, pp. 43, 87). To the

best of our knowledge, there are 45 copies of the 1761 version of *Potus Coffeae*, all of them held in public institutions.¹⁰ While it is hard to gauge the extent to which their distribution took place soon after the dissertation, the many editions of Linnaeus' dissertations published as series suggest there was a large demand. There was also a large supply of new dissertations as on average Linnaeus produced just below six per year during his time as a professor in Uppsala.¹¹

How can we fit the dissertations into the publishing strategy of Linnaeus? As several researchers have shown, Linnaeus published information on nature in a very consistent manner. He regularly updated the information and added new species in new editions of his famous works, such as *Species plantarum* (Linnaeus 1753) and *Systema naturae* (Linnaeus 1758–1759). His forward planning is evident in how he infoliated blank pages into copies of his own works on which he could note new species to add to the next edition (Müller-Wille and Charmantier 2012, p. 11). Information on this as well as corrections to his previous descriptions were contributed by a growing network of correspondence. As Bettina Dietz has pointed out, a collaborative culture surrounded Linnaean natural history, particularly botany (Dietz 2012). The technologies and strategies that Linnaeus developed reflect the information overload problem in natural history in the 18th century, as globalisation, trade and colonisation brought Europeans into contact with new species and habitats (Müller-Wille and Charmantier 2012).¹²

How do the dissertations compare to this type of text production? We can think about them in the light of different settings. One was local to Uppsala, where the student population probably absorbed many of the copies. The second conformed with the Swedish realm and involved the universities distributing

dissertations to each other. The scope of the third is best understood from the point of view of the Republic of Letters, within which dissertations were exchanged together with letters. Linnaeus' letters include examples of dissertations being gifted away and gracefully received, thus strengthening social ties.¹³ In this context the fact that many of them were relatively short was possibly an advantage. The final format, the multivolume *Amoenitates academicae* series with each volume containing approximately 20 dissertations, solved the problem of how to make accessible the content of the dissertations once the Uppsala copies had been exhausted. We can also understand the *Amoenitates academicae* series as a format that allowed for variety. It is, of course, impossible to discuss all of Linnaeus' dissertations in this context, but if we look at the case of *Potus Coffeae*, we can also discern a collaging method. The dissertation is a composite of text sourced from different contexts and includes, not surprisingly, works on botany, such as previous publications on coffee (see Section V in *Potus Coffeae*). We can also trace content back to Linnaeus' lectures on diet.

In the dictation of *Potus Coffeae* Linnaeus likely extemporised and might have been aided by lecture notes. In his 1761 spring term lecture notes written in Swedish and entitled “*Diaetae pars continens potus et evacuantia*” (A portion of the diet containing drinks and evacuation), Linnaeus penned a seven-page section on coffee, which follows the same format as the dissertation published in December of the same year.¹⁴ As in the dissertation, the longest section is on medical effects (*Skadar [sic]*, damages) and covers 14 different effects on humans.¹⁵ Among these is *effimemar viros* (effeminates men, p. 34, recto), which he discusses in the dissertation (Section XI) as “diminishes lust and is emasculating.”¹⁶ This section in the lecture notes is followed by the benefits of drinking coffee, just as in

the *Potus Coffeae* (Section XII). The overlaps between the lecture notes from the spring of 1761 and the dissertation published in December of the same year suggest that *Potus Coffeae* also could have served as a textbook for medical students.

However, there are also segments of texts from very different origins. We recognize several of the themes and phrases discussed below, such as the role of Amsterdam as a distribution centre for coffee plants, the need for various instruments to drink coffee, and notes on coffee and health from a 1747 publication by Linnaeus (Linnaeus 1747).¹⁷ The text, about 1,900 words long, is printed in Gothic style and is inserted in a small pocket-size calendar published by Hiorter in Stockholm. What is remarkable is the popular spread of such text. When the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences was given a monopoly in 1748 to publish calendars in Sweden, their annual print run was over 130,000 (Björck and Kaiserfeld 2018, p. 103). It is impossible to determine how many people bought and read Hiorter's calendar, where Linnaeus' text on coffee was included, but the genre and format suggest a popular audience. Another Swedish text source in *Potus Coffeae*, stems from an eight-page article by Johan Silander on the cultivation of coffee on plantations in Suriname (Silander 1757). To the best of our knowledge this article includes the first mention of deforestation in the scientific literature, as well as of shade-grown coffee using bananas or plantains, and post-harvest procedures for coffee (Davis and Vega 2023). Moreover, it situates coffee more specifically within the context of plantation production, drawing on the enslaved workforce, a rare acknowledgment in literature from this period.

In both cases these are examples of texts originally published in Swedish being converted into a learned language, Latin, which allowed it to be distributed to a

wider audience, including readers outside Sweden. As part of the *Amoenitates academicae* series, *Potus Coffeae* reached an even larger audience (Linnaeus 1763, 1764, 1786b, 1789). Subsequently, *Potus Coffeae* was translated into German (Linnaeus 1776, pp. 71–89) and Russian (Linnaeus 1777, pp. 3–25). As many as 17 of Linnaeus' dissertations were translated into English in the 18th century.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Linnaeus also made sure that the Swedish audiences did not lose track of his work, as he regularly published summaries of his dissertations in the Swedish newspaper *Lärda Tidningar*, including one referring to the content in *Potus Coffeae* (Linnaeus 1762; reprinted in Hagelin 2007, pp. 306–308). This was also in line with the policy of the ruling party in Sweden, which sought to enlighten the public; thus, the use of Swedish as the publishing language of the *Proceedings of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences* (Lindroth 1967, pp. 111–115).

The collaging and (re-)translating work that we uncovered in our study of *Potus Coffeae* suggests we need to further contextualise Linnaeus' dissertations in the light of recent studies of the role of translations in early-modern science (Dietz 2012; Dupré 2018). It involves thinking in more detail about what the translation represented in terms of a test of a student's linguistic skill, and “cultures of translating,” considering what content and in what manner texts are translated, and with which intentions and with whom in mind (Burke 2007, p. 11). It also raises questions about the extent to which knowledge changes in the process of occurring in new formats and textual settings with different audiences in mind, such as calendar readers, students and fans of Linnaeus, spread across the Western world. Our annotated English translation and this introduction form the latest point in a long history of Linnaeus writing on coffee.

Between scholarship and politics

The *longue durée* perspective on the content of *Potus Coffeae* should not distract us from the careful timing of its publication. On 21 September 1761 the Swedish government declared the termination of the first Swedish coffee ban, and less than three months later *Potus Coffeae* was published (Anonymous 1766, p. 5074). Instigated in 1756, the ban was the first of five periods of prohibition of coffee import, consumption and sale; the last one ended in 1822 (Knutsson 2023). Together they reflect the Swedish government's attempt to force the balance of trade into a more positive direction. Linnaeus was surely aware of this circumstance as he contributed actively to the political economy discussion at this time both in a more ideological sense and on a practical level. One of the perhaps most interesting perspectives in *Potus Coffeae* is Linnaeus' outlook on the global trade connections and the seemingly unstoppable demand for exotic goods in Europe, including tobacco, tea, sugar, silks and spices. Such discussions should, however, be read in the light of Linnaeus' two opening lines in the dissertation: that Europeans behaved like “apes,” a common trope at the time, imitating the customs of “other peoples” (Section I). Embedded here are widespread fears among the political elite that new ways of consuming threatened deeply embedded ideas about gender, virtue and social distinctions (Runefelt 2015). As shown in Section X, Linnaeus believed that women were responsible for the rapid spread of coffee in Europe; coffee was considered more refined than tea because it cost more.

Linnaeus' numerous schemes to transfer and acclimatise exotic plants, including tea and saffron, were in many cases a means to practically contribute to the Swedish economy and, of course, raise the status of natural history. In his version of the history of coffee,

he draws upon naturalists and/or physicians, including Francis Bacon, John Ray, Herman Boerhaave and Antoine de Jussieu. Therefore, we can read *Potus Coffeae* as part of the discourse around coffee that evolved from the 1730s and onwards, one in which naturalists take centre stage, serving the interest of their states (Spary 2012, pp. 54–55). This direction in the discussion reflects the success of coffee grown on plantations by enslaved Black labourers in the West Indies. From a European perspective plant transfer had helped break the monopoly of Yemen, referred to as “Arabia Felix” (“Happy Arabia” or “Fertile Arabia”) at the time, allowing Europeans to set up plantations in Asia and in the Atlantic Ocean colonies. From a Swedish perspective, a state without colonies in tropical areas, this shift of production did not represent an option in line with its mercantilist policy on trade and consumption. Prohibition represented one solution, but it encouraged smuggling and was hard to square with the elite's demand for coffee (Knutsson 2023).

Linnaeus provided solutions that catered to the needs of both the elite and the state. In the dissertation he recognizes that coffee cannot be grown in Sweden, and among the substitutes he suggests are peas, beechnuts and almonds, expanding the list also to include beans, maize, wheat and toasted bread in the 1763 edition of *Potus Coffeae* (Linnaeus 1763).¹⁹ Somewhat surprisingly, he states that substitute coffee was not “suited for a learned palate” (Section IX) as it could in fact be potentially harmful to a stomach used to authentic coffee. On the surface this seems counter-intuitive, not at least considering the many negative effects of coffee drinking that Linnaeus lists in Section XI. It does, however, follow a pattern revealed by Annika Windahl Pontén: that Linnaeus in his discussions relating to medicine and health

made reservations that allowed the elite to continue consuming what to the common man was described as problematic goods, stemming from the argument that giving up well-established consumer habits could be more harmful than continuing with them (Windahl Pontén 2020). It was thus legitimate for the elite to continue drinking proper coffee rather than substitutes since a shift in consumption could harm their health. Linnaeus also ensured the well-established link between coffee and medicine, reflecting the original European framing of the drink as a medicine.

What were Linnaeus' own coffee-drinking habits then? It might come as a surprise, after reading the many negative effects of coffee drinking presented by Linnaeus in *Potus Coffeae*, that he “was a compulsive coffee drinker” and “used to excess both Coffee and Tobacco.”²⁰ On the other hand, and if we consider his rise in status, he was ennobled a month before he presided over the disputation in which *Potus Coffeae* was defended, Linnaeus' consumption makes sense. He needed to mark his status as a member of an elite, and drinking the relatively new exotic goods was one way to do so. Linnaeus even ordered his specially designed porcelain set from China, including coffee cups decorated with his signature plant, *Linnaea borealis* (Windahl Pontén 2020, p. 12). It is easy to imagine how these small fragile artifacts, rare and curious, reminded him of the connectedness of the world, perhaps while he was dictating the content of dissertations to students.

In closing it is no surprise that *Potus Coffeae* comes across as such a meandering text given the many functions it played, how it was produced and who might have read it. Linnaeus must have been happy with the topic as in 1765 two more dissertations, one on tea (Linnaeus 1765a) and one on chocolate (Linnaeus 1765b), were published, defended and distributed. Undoubtedly, Linnaeus

harnessed these new exotic drinks in a very deliberate manner to reach out and connect botany and medicine to popular consumption as well as scholarship to the everyday life of the well-to-do, and vice versa. In a very broad sense, the writing of dissertations illustrates the elasticity of 18th-century natural history.

Potus Coffeae and Linnaeus' other coffee-related publications

Excluding the title, dedication page and coffee branch engraving, *Potus Coffeae* consists of 18 pages, and the placement of the 50 references reveals that 46 are cited by page 8 while the remaining 4 are cited on pages 10, 11 and 15. The first 10 pages of *Potus Coffeae* cover the history of coffee, names used for the plant, dissemination from Arabia Felix to other countries and botanical nomenclature. These were areas with which Linnaeus was clearly familiar. The topics covered in the final eight pages are the cultivation of coffee, its analysis, preparation of the drink and medical effects. It is hard to explain why Linnaeus did not include more references for these topics, seeing there were plenty from which to choose. This is particularly applicable to the medicinal aspects, considering that Linnaeus was a doctor in medicine and the fact that the title page states it is a medical dissertation (*Dissertatio Medica*), as opposed to other Linnaean dissertations (*Dissertatio Botanica*, *Disputationem Botanico-Medicam*, *Dissertatio Botanica*, *Dissertatione Academica*, etc.). It makes one wonder whether he just wanted to expedite the process and finish the dissertation rather than spend time locating more references.

The annotation of *Potus Coffeae* has resulted in a better understanding of the writing of a Linnaean dissertation. An interesting finding is what the 50 references cited in *Potus Coffeae* reveal to us. First of all is the use of the author's Latinized surname, which was not unusual at

the time, although it made it quite difficult, in some instances, to determine to which author Linnaeus was referring: “Massilium” for Marsigli; “Bladdaeum” for Bradley; and “Civerum” for Civinini.²¹ After much effort, it was impossible to determine who “Maglium” was. None of the 18 monographs cited by Linnaeus in page 3 include any additional information other than the Latinized surname and the year of publication, but the remaining citations included the book or journal title abbreviation, as well as the initial page number, and when applicable, the plate and figure number for illustrations. Linnaeus used *Actis Parisinis* as a Latinized abbreviation for *Histoire de l’Académie Royale des Sciences*, an abbreviation also used by others. Linnaeus’ coverage of the coffee literature is to the best of our knowledge the most comprehensive in any publication published to that point. Anyone interested in early coffee literature would theoretically be well served by starting with *Potus Coffeae* but would be faced with elucidating some of the Latinized names and finding the correct references, an issue we have solved here.

It is very unlikely that the respondent would have had in-depth knowledge of the coffee-related literature, considering that the main objective of the disputation was to determine Latin proficiency and not the in-depth expertise on a particular topic, as it is nowadays. Therefore, it is likely that the respondent would not have known what references to cite and where to insert them in the text and that Linnaeus added the references in the respondent’s handwritten copy before it was delivered to the printer. It is not reasonable to expect Linnaeus to have these references memorised during the dictation process, considering that there were approximately 1,600 books in his library (Gage and Stearn 1971, p. 177).²² Nevertheless, this scenario would not explain why two different

Latinized surnames were used for John Ray’s *Historiae plantarum*, published by Ray using the Latinized name *Joannis Raii* (Ray 1686–1704). Linnaeus used *Rajus* (p. 4) and *Raij* (p. 7), the former with the incorrect year, and the latter listing the page number and not the year. In two posthumous editions, *Raji* and *Raj.*, respectively, were used.²³ In terms of spelling it is also noteworthy that after being so familiar with coffee, in “*Diaetae pars continens potus et evacuantia*,” Linnaeus entitled the coffee section as “*Coffæa*.”²⁴

The fact that five pages in *Potus Coffeae* (out of 18) are dedicated to medicinal properties is not surprising, as in 1650 the Dutch East India Company referred to coffee as “that medicine” (Matthee 1995, p. 32), and in 17th-century Britain coffee “was advertised and promoted as a medicine” (Cowan 2005, p. 31). In one of the most popular coffee-related books published at the time in France, and translated into English and German, Philippe Sylvestre Dufour includes various chapters on the effects of coffee on the human body (Dufour 1685). This coverage as well as the subtitle of the book, “*Work also necessary for Doctors and all those who love their health*,” makes it quite clear that coffee was used for medicinal purposes. In his medical treatise Thomas Willis refers to “a certain Liquor called Coffee,” which he considers “very medicinal” (Willis 1679, pp. 154–155). He further states: “But as to the Affects of the Brain or nervous Stock, I do frequently prescribe this drink sooner than any thing else for their cure, and therefore am wont to send the sick to the Coffee houses sooner than to the Apothecaries shops.” Thus, Willis confidently sends patients to drink coffee rather than to procure a prescription with the apothecary.

In his search for entire coffee berries in London James Douglas recounts: “A great many such, however, I have been at Pains to pick out of Bales of Raw Coffee at the

Drugsters ...” (Douglas 1725, p. 4). The latter (i.e., drugsters) “acted as the middleman in the passing of drugs between the importer and apothecary” (Marland 2006, p. 418). More than 100 years later, in 1835, coffee was still being referred to as “a strictly medicinal substance” (Hahnemann 1835, p. 90). That coffee remains an active area of medical research is evidenced by a 112–chapter, 1,080–page book entitled *Coffee in Health and Disease Prevention* (Preedy 2014). Thus, coffee being considered both a medicine and a relatively new drink had several advantages leading to its widespread acceptance. Coffee could be self-administered and did not have the undesirable social effects of alcoholic beverages (i.e., drunkenness) or the negative effects and connotation of exotic drugs, such as opium (Cowan 2005, p. 32).

Linnaeus’ own life and writings exemplify his ambivalent status on coffee. While an ardent coffee consumer, he made derisive statements about the substance not only in *Potus Coffeae* but also in his unpublished “*Diaeta Naturalis*,” where he states that “All tea and coffee are harmful as such substances are emollients and soften the stomach” (Broberg 2023, p. 214).

When referring to coffee in *Potus Coffeae*, Linnaeus uses the word *drink* (*potu*, *potus*, *potum*, *potant*) 33 times, and the word *decoction* (*decoctum*, *decocti*) 9 times. Meanwhile, he mentions *tea* 4 times, and in 2 of these occasions, he calls tea “an infusion” (*theae infuse*).²⁵ A common manner of preparing the coffee drink in the late 1600s was as follows: “... the Europeans do peel and take off the outward skin of the Berries, which being so prepar’d, are Bak’d, and Burnt, afterwards grinded to Powder; one Ounce of which they mix commonly with a Pint and a half of hot Water, which has been boyl’d half away, then they are digested together, till they are well united” (Chamberlayne 1682, p. 7). In Section IX of *Potus Coffeae* Linnaeus explains, “The

hot decoction, moreover, is separated from the turbid powder, which is sunk in the bottom of the pot by leaning it, and it is consumed hot. ...”

In Section III of *Potus Coffeae* Linnaeus states that coffee was introduced to Sweden by travellers returning from France and that coffee itself, as well as other customs introduced by foreigners, had infected the Swedish nation. In addition, Linnaeus considered coffee not only an expensive habit but also a health hazard, as demonstrated by the statements listed above. Therefore, these issues justified finding other plants already present in the country that could be used as coffee substitutes. This search for what has been referred to as local, native, domestic or indigenous plants that can be used as substitutes for exotic products became a common occurrence in Europe (Cooper 2007, pp. 1–20).²⁶

Even though Linnaeus mentioned *Coffea* in *Systema naturae* (Linnaeus 1735) and *Genera plantarum* (Linnaeus 1737a, p. 55), it was not until he published *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus 1737b, p. 59) that we see his most comprehensive description of the coffee plant. This was due to the availability of live coffee plants at Georg Clifford’s Hartekamp.²⁷ *Hortus Cliffortianus* includes a magnificent frontispiece by Jan Wandelaar (1690–1759) depicting an Arabian woman gifting a *Coffea arabica* plant to “a crowned goddess, Mother Earth or Cybele” (Stearn 1957a, 1:46). It was not until the first edition of *Species plantarum* that Linnaeus introduced *Coffea arabica*, the first time the genus and species name for the coffee plant were used together, based on Linnaeus’ simplified binomial nomenclature, which serves as the starting point for “legitimate” botanical nomenclature (Linnaeus 1753, 1:172).

In the 1747 almanack article Linnaeus mentions that coffee seeds from plants grown in Java and planted in the Amsterdam Botanical Garden resulted in subsequent coffee

plants growing in other botanical gardens of Europe, including the one in Uppsala (Linnaeus 1747). As it turns out, he had been growing coffee plants at the University of Uppsala Botanical Garden since at least 1745, as stated in the Linnaean dissertation *Hortus Upsaliensis*, in which he includes *Coffea* amongst the tropical plants growing at the garden's *caldarium* (hothouse; Linnaeus 1745, p. 36). In 1748 Linnaeus published a long list of plants growing at the garden, including coffee (Linnaeus 1748, pp. 41–42).

In 1757, amid the 1756–1761 Swedish coffee ban, Linnaeus published a coffee article in the German journal *Nützliche Sammlungen* (Linnaeus 1757). There are some similarities to the contents in *Potus Coffeae* but also some interesting content not included in the dissertation. For example, he states “it would be in vain in Sweden, indeed in all of Europe, to embrace the coffee ban diligently. The coffee beans would certainly become inordinately expensive if one wanted to build greenhouses and fire them, for the coffee tree, if it is to grow, requires the greatest warmth in the greenhouses” (Linnaeus 1757, pp. 1362–1363). He also writes, “Because the drink requires more effort in its preparation than tea, there are coffee shops set up in all larger towns, where you can find the same ready-made drink. Many thousands of people now have a decent living through this trade” (Linnaeus 1757, p. 1364). After discussing the negative health effects of drinking coffee, Linnaeus states, “From all these observations it can be concluded with sufficient certainty that the daily use of coffee is not part of the healthy diet” (Linnaeus 1757, p. 1367). He then softens this stance: “So it doesn’t appear as if I’m writing out of a particular aversion to coffee: I also want to convey something of its goodness. For there is no plant so harmful that it does not become a good medicine when used judiciously. Furthermore, coffee

is not immediately repugnant to any physical condition. Because even though all people, according to their formation, find themselves similar, they do not all have the same powers. The coffee does less harm to fat bodies than to lean and parched ones; and one who has been accustomed to the poison from youth onward can tolerate it well” (Linnaeus 1757, p. 1367). Thus, Linnaeus is bringing together conflicting topics about coffee: the ill effects on human health that many had espoused, with “something of its goodness,” not only on human health but also on the economy of the country.

As previously stated, Linnaeus published a summary of *Potus Coffeae*, including the coffee branch engraving, in the Swedish newspaper *Lärda Tidningar* (Linnaeus 1762). Additional summaries were published in Latin (Anonymous 1772, pp. 10–11) and in English (Pulteney 1805, pp. 438–439). Finally, in the 1767 Linnaean dissertation *Varietate ciborum* (Variety of foods), Linnaeus opines that “drinking burnt coffee causes malnutrition and constipation” (Linnaeus 1767, p. 16).

The coffee branch engraving in *Potus Coffeae* was signed by “A. Åkerman Sc.” (Anders Åkerman; ca.1721–1778; Fig. 2) and was copied from Philippe Simonneau’s (1685–1753) engraving in de Jussieu’s “Histoire du café,” which is signed “P. Simonneau fil. Sculp.” (de Jussieu 1716).²⁸ This fact is not acknowledged in the dissertation, as plagiarised botanical prints were not unusual at the time. Even though in 1745 there were live coffee plants at the University of Uppsala Botanical Garden (Linnaeus 1745, p. 36), it is possible these plants might have died by 1761, or their progeny might not have been flowering or producing berries, both of which are important aspects of the engraving used by de Jussieu (1716). In addition to being an engraver, Åkerman was a mathematician, a professor of astronomy at Uppsala and the first Swedish globemaker



Figure 2. Coffee branch engraving by Anders Åkerman in the *Potus Coffeae* bound copy from Linnaeus’ personal library (BL-880-57). Permission of The Linnean Society of London.

(Dahl and Gauvin 2000, p. 143; Sumira 2014, p. 28). Åkerman engravings are included in 11 Linnaean dissertations, and 47 of the 186 dissertations included engravings (i.e., 25%).²⁹

In the 1763 and 1764 *Potus Coffeae* editions published in *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763, 1764), the original 1761 engraving was copied by Åkerman (it is signed “A. A. Sc.”) and is therefore reversed. The German translation of *Potus Coffeae* includes a new engraving based on the one included in the 1761 dissertation: it is not only reversed (as expected) and unsigned but also includes the words *Arabischer Coffee* (Arabian coffee) in the lower part of the coffee branch stem (Linnaeus 1776). A new and unsigned copy of the 1763 and 1764 engravings in *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763, 1764) or the 1776 German translation (Linnaeus 1776) appeared in the 1786 editions of *Fundamentorum botanicorum* and *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1786a, 1786b, respectively) with the words *Potus Coffeae* at the bottom of the engraving.

The 1789 edition of *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1789) includes a beautiful and much refined copy of the 1763, 1764 or 1776 engravings and was signed “I. F. Volckart”

by the German engraver Johann Friedrich Volckart (1750–1812). The only copy of the Russian translation that we were able to locate does not include the coffee branch engraving (Linnaeus 1777). The Swedish translation includes the engraving on the cover and incorrectly states it is Åkerman’s 1761 engraving (Linnaeus 2007). Instead, it depicts Åkerman’s engraving in the 1763 and 1764 editions of *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763, 1764) but without the words *Coffea arabica* at the bottom. A line-by-line comparison of *Potus Coffeae* with the 1763 version in *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763) revealed 34 editorial changes, presumably by Linnaeus, as well as two typesetter’s mistakes (Tab. 1).

Potus Coffeae provides many insights into the European coffee world at the time and in-depth insights about the situation in Sweden. The dissertation is a short combination of history, botany, medicine and art (the coffee branch engraving) paired with practical recommendations on the proper preparation of coffee. The dissertation begs the question of how many other interesting secrets are hidden in the other 185 Linnaean dissertations, if these were to be critically examined.

Table 1. Differences between original (Linnaeus 1761) and reprint (Linnaeus 1763) of *Potus Coffeae*¹

<i>Potus Coffeae</i> (1761)	<i>Potus Coffeae</i> (1763)
Detailed title page.	Title page is abridged.
Dedication to Johanni Sparschuch.	Dedication omitted.
“vixere;” (p. 2, line 3)	“vixere.” (p. 161, line 13)
“ <i>Petersenium</i> ” (p. 3, line 2)	“ <i>Petersenium</i> ” (p. 162, line 12)
“ <i>Kalmium</i> 1755” not included.	Additional reference: “ <i>Kalmium</i> 1755” (p. 162, line 18).
“Æthiopia peteretur” (p. 3, line 13)	“Æthiopia, Borbonia Africes peteretur” (p. 162, line 24). “Borbonia Africes” refers to Île Bourbon (present-day La Réunion). ²
Year for first written mention of coffee stated as 1400 (p. 3, line 20)	Year changed to 900 (p. 162, line 32)
No quotation mark preceding “Potum quendam” (p. 3, line 26). Quotations not verbatim.	Quotation mark precedes “Potum quondam” (p. 163, line 5). Quotations not verbatim.

<i>Potus Coffeae</i> (1761)	<i>Potus Coffeae</i> (1763)
“ <i>turcis</i> ” (p. 4, line 8)	“ <i>Turcis</i> ” (p. 163, line 23)
“1650” (p. 4, line 12)	“1645” (p. 163, line 27)
Sentence not included.	New sentence: “Prima popina Coffeae instituta Marsiliae 1671” (The first coffee house was established in Marseilles in 1671; p. 163, lines 28–29)
“existimulante” (p. 4, line 23)	Corrected to “exstimulante” (p. 164, line 8)
“Vitsen” (p. 5, line 8)	“ <i>Witsen</i> ” (p. 164, line 25)
Question not included.	Discussion on Boerhaave, starting in p. 164 (line 24) ends with a question (p. 165, lines 6–7) added by Linnaeus and not included in Boerhaave (1710): “An itaque, ut quibusdam placuit, fatum fuerat 1690 in Java?” ³
Only mentions Surinam (p. 5, line 4 from bottom).	Surinam is followed by “Dominica, Martinica, Antillae” (p. 165, lines 15–16).
“quatenario” (p. 7, line 4)	Corrected to “quaternario” (p. 166, line 24)
Section VI heading on page 7 is missing between lines 19 and 20. The heading was either not included in Linnaeus’ manuscript delivered to the printer or was a typesetter’s mistake.	Section VI properly labelled.
Reference for Royen’s (1740) book is incorrect and reflects either a typesetter’s mistake, “ <i>lygdb.</i> ” (p. 7, line 25), or confusion with Linnaeus’ spelling in the manuscript. It stands for Lugduno-Batavo or Lugduni Batavorum, the Latin name for Leiden, and should have read “ <i>lugdb.</i> ”	Changed to “ <i>lugdb.</i> ” (p. 167, line 15) but still does not reflect Royen’s (1740) book title, <i>Florae Leydensis</i> .
“ex” (page 7, line 8 from bottom)	“ea” (p. 167, line 17)
Abbreviation for Bauhin is given as “Baun.” (p. 8, line 4).	Corrected to “ <i>Bauh.</i> ” (p. 167, line 31)
“remotis” (p. 8, line 6 from bottom)	“romotis” (p. 168, line 23)
“plura,” (p. 9, line 2)	“plura” (missing comma; p. 168, line 31)
“crescat” (p. 10, line 23)	“crescit” (p. 170, line 24)
“surimense” (p. 10, line 9 from bottom)	“surinamense” (p. 170, line 29)
“una sumatur” (p. 11, line 21)	“una cum semisse sumatur” (p. 171, line 24)
Period after “ <i>decoctum</i> ” (p. 11, line 25)	Semicolon after “ <i>decoctum</i> ” (p. 171, line 29)
“ <i>Decoctum</i> ” (p. 11, line 27)	“ <i>Decoctums</i> ” (p. 171, line 32)
Coffee substitutes listed are peas, beechnuts and almonds (p. 12, lines 11–12).	Additional coffee substitutes included: “ <i>Fabis, Zea, Tritico, Pane testo</i> ” (beans, maize, wheat, toasted bread; p. 172, lines 19–20).
“COFFEA” (p. 12, line 13)	“COEFEA” (p. 172, line 21)—most likely a typesetter’s mistake.
Sentence and reference not included in Section IX (p. 12, line 12).	Sentence and reference included in Section IX (p. 172, lines 22–24): “ <i>Helianthi annui</i> semina ustulata, odorem Coffeae spirant, potumque gratum præbent. Goïan. monsp. 456.” ⁴

<i>Potus Coffeae</i> (1761)	<i>Potus Coffeae</i> (1763)
“per magna est” (it is very important; p. 13, line 31) Footnote not present.	“permagna est” (it is very large; p. 174, line 11) Asterisk footnote included (p. 175, line 13): “Vidi multos strenuos hujus potus Helliuones, sed omnes præproperea senectute confectos.” ⁵
“porofo,” (p. 15, line 28)	“porofo” (comma removed; p. 176, line 15)
“nosocomio” (p. 17, line 19)	“Nosocomio” (p. 178, line 15)
“varios” (p. 18, line 14)	“varias” (p. 179, line 14)

¹There are 34 editorial changes presumably made by Linnaeus, as well as what might be typesetter’s mistakes.

Reference to line number is based on starting count with first line on page (i.e., not counting page number).

²*Coffea arabica* was first planted in Île Bourbon in 1715 (Guët 1888, p. 268). It is possible that Linnaeus became aware of this fact after *Potus Coffeae* was published, thus explaining its appearance in the 1763 version.

³Translation: Was it, as some thought, by fate in 1690 in Java?

⁴The actual text in Goüan (1762, p. 456) reads: “Semina usta odorem coffeae spirant: potus gratissimus” (Roasted seeds emit the aroma of coffee: a most pleasant drink).

⁵Translation: I have seen many active gluttons of this drink, but they were all worn out with very old age.

The translation

[Title Page]

Q.B.V.³⁰

Medical Dissertation

In Which

The Coffee Drink,
is Briefly Outlined³¹

Which,

With the Agreement of the Most Noble and Most Experienced Order of Physicians in the
Illustrious Lyceum of Uppsala³²

Under the Presiding

Of the Noblest and Most Experienced³³ Man

The Learned Doctor³⁴ Carl Linnaeus,

Golden Knight of the Polar Star

Chief Physician of His Royal Majesty³⁵

Professor Regius and Ordinarius of Medicine and Botany³⁶

Member, Scientific Academies of Uppsala, Stockholm, St. Petersburg,³⁷

Berlin, Imperial Nature Curiosities,³⁸ London, Montpellier, Toulouse and Florence

Submits to Public Examination

Hinricus Sparschuch,³⁹

Linköping, Östergötland⁴⁰

In Larger Caroline Auditorium AD D⁴¹ 16 December

Year 1761

H.A.M.S.⁴²

at Uppsala

[Dedication Page]⁴³

To the Entirely Reverend and Most Distinguished Man,

Master Teacher⁴⁴ Johann Sparschuch,

Doctor of Sacred Theology, Most Skilful and Primary Lecturer at the Royal Gymnasium in
Linköping⁴⁵

Venerable, Most Just Associate Judge of the Consistory,

Most Vigilant Abbot and Minister in Skeda,

The Best Parent.⁴⁶

Since my childhood, you have bestowed upon me very great and almost innumerable kindnesses with your paternal affection; as I gratefully recall them, their magnitude is so far from allowing my mind, though well-disposed and most eager, to think of any repayment, that, fixed in the multitude, I am nearly dumbfounded, and, for a very long time, I stand still underneath my regrets. And so, most indulgent father, since I cannot compensate for your kindnesses toward me even by speaking suitably, allow them to rest in a pious soul and a silent veneration, and allow me to live with you above me, as an honest debtor, who strives neither to deceive trust nor to steal what belongs to his creditor but who continually charms him with small tributes and reminds himself as often as possible of the entire amount which must be returned with interest, which, with his generosity by no means ordinary, he has allowed me to borrow. As for the rest, I vow that, for as long as possible, you will be present amid my most fortunate successes in human affairs.

Hinricus Sparschuch

Who Will Remain the Most Devoted Son

Of the Best Parent

§. I.

We Europeans, who are led by opinion, live by custom and not by reason, and so, to use the words of Seneca,⁴⁷ look upon the customs of other nations with a high brow, or rather with a smile, as if they were entirely alien to us, but we soon, eager for novelty, put the

same customs into use. Europeans are, as they consider it, nobler, so that they are distinguished from common people; in truth, lest they seem lower than the rest, just like apes, they imitate them, and thus new customs of other peoples are easily disseminated widely through whole regions. Navigation, carried out to the highest peak by Europeans, easily entices us into all regions of the world, even the most remote; for that reason, lands and customs, good and bad alike, have become known to us. Among the greatest things discovered, which owe their source to the benefit of navigation, the West Indies, discovered by Columbus, claims for itself the first spot, although the glory of the discovery went to Amerigo Vespucci. We also assign for navigation East India and its most fruitful islands, and getting back various goods from each India. If we should approach with mind and thought all things which a more recent generation has investigated, we will surely call our ancestors uncultivated, who were ignorant of all these things. These passionate souls were ignorant of tobacco, tea, coffee, sugar, silk, many spices, and six hundred others, very normal to us today; they were content with their small fortune, stronger and happier than our people, scorning those things which present luxury has introduced, surely not in the best use of their bodies. Lest anyone should judge us more fortunate on account of the silver riches uncovered in Potosí,⁴⁸ which were laboriously dug out of the entrails of the earth, we transport them into Europe with great danger, and with no

less uncertain chance we carry them to the most divided foreign lands of East India and waste them, in order to carry back the dry leaves of the bushes and the thinnest threads of caterpillars. But, in truth, among other things which we bring back, coffee beans, as they are called, will have to be counted. They are imported today in such great abundance that we cannot be sufficiently amazed that Indians⁴⁹ have in their lands so bountiful a harvest that it would satisfy so many throats of our people. Nevertheless, I gladly leave this consideration for those to whom it is of concern; it will be my intention only to digress a few times from that East Arabian drink, which is called the decoction of coffee, and to explain its origin, preparation, and peculiar effects. Let us indeed, as is suitable, address you, friendly reader,⁵⁰ with veneration; may you not wish to deny your accustomed good will to us.

§. II.

If I were to give the complete history of coffee, a day would pass me by before the loom of things to be said would, since so many people have recounted so many things about it that to enumerate these things would be a Herculean task. Let those who are eager to read many things about coffee go to the Monographs of Coffee before the rest, among which let it suffice to name,

<i>Meisnerum</i> 1621 ⁵¹	<i>Langerum</i> 1684 ⁵²
<i>Petersenium</i> 1666 ⁵³	<i>Massilium</i> 1685 ⁵⁴
<i>Banesium</i> 1671 ⁵⁵	<i>Chamberlaine</i> 1685 ⁵⁶
<i>Tognium</i> 1675 ⁵⁷	<i>Bleignur</i> 1687 ⁵⁸
<i>Du Four</i> 1684 ⁵⁹	<i>Maglium</i> 1691 ⁶⁰
<i>Galan</i> 1669 ⁶¹	<i>Bladdaeum</i> 1721 ⁶²
<i>Sponium</i> 1705 ⁶³	<i>Duglas</i> 1725 ⁶⁴
<i>Roque</i> 1717 ⁶⁵	<i>Civerum</i> 1731 ⁶⁶

not to mention the expertly written discussions of *Mappii*⁶⁷ & *Gmelim*,⁶⁸ and others.

§. III.

Genuine knowledge of coffee, first of all, would be sought from Arabia Felix⁶⁹ and Ethiopia, where it grows in the wild, if the very remote location were not a hindrance; and so, let it suffice for us to consider coffee according to the times in which it became known more and more.⁷⁰ Coffee was called in its own land, namely Arabia Felix, Bun, which the Egyptians changed into Bon or Ban, which has a similar structure as the *Bunchos* of Avicenna.⁷¹ As far as we know, Arab writers left the first mention of this tree in the year circa 1400, although this is fragmented and very obscure.

Prospero Alpini first made this drink known visually in *De plantis Aegypti* (Venice 1591), but in regards to the shape of the tree, it was so crude that it was not easily distinguished from others.⁷² A certain drink, he says, is prepared from Bon or Ban, which Turks, Egyptians, and Arabs prepare, a very popular decoction, which they themselves drink instead of wine, and it is sold in public taverns, not unlike our wine is among us, and they call it Caova.⁷³ He writes that the tree is similar to *Euonymus* and that the drink strengthens the stomach, aids digestion, removes obstructions of the bowels, warms the womb, and provokes menstruation.⁷⁴ We leave it to scholars to examine whether that view of an older generation is consistent to them, where some claim that the coffee drink is meant by “קֶזְבִּי” in 1 Samuel 25 verse 18 for that which Abigail *) brought to David; it is certain that the favourite and most accepted drink was prepared by peoples of the East from beans or dried and ground Cahve fruit, of the Arabicae tree.⁷⁵

Verulamius said thus about the coffee drink in the year 1624 cent. §. 768: Turkish coffee, a drink made from a berry that blackens like soot, has a sharp and aromatic smell, powdered and taken in hot water.⁷⁶

This drink began to be in use for Europeans in the year circa 1650, and it prevailed first among the southern Italians and French.

In *Historia plantarum* 1690, Ray says thus about the coffee drink, as it was most received then: “It is a tree of Arabia Felix, just within the Tropics.⁷⁷ The Arabs destroy the seeds’ capacity to grow, for which reason immense wealth, almost the wealth of the whole world, comes together there; whence that part of Arabia was truly the most prosperous.⁷⁸ It surpasses faith that thousands of millions of pounds of this fruit are distributed to Turks, Barbarians, and Europeans. It is remarkable, he says, that so great a hoard is the property of a single people and is enclosed within the borders of a single province. It is remarkable that the neighbouring nations, stirring up envy or avarice, have not for a long time either plundered them by force, or stolen seeds or living roots by trickery.⁷⁹ It is remarkable how vigilant the natives are in protecting themselves.⁸⁰ It is a wonder that the harvest of one region suffices for the expenses of the entire world.”⁸¹

Among our Swedish people, this drink was scarcely in use before the beginning of this century; many elders, most trustworthy, still living, assure us that this drink was introduced to us by travellers returning from France, thereby, like other customs, infecting our nation.

The tree was first seen in Europe in the year circa 1710, brought by seeds from Arabia into the Academic Gardens of Belgium,⁸² and from there it was easily spread through all Europe; Boerhaave describes in writing how this was done in *Horto Academico Lugduno-Batavo*, volume 2, page 217.⁸³ Nicolaes Witsen, “mayor of Amsterdam, Governor of the East Indies, had repeatedly advised the first Governor of the East India Company, van Hoorn, by letters to seek the delivering of new seeds of coffee from the city of Mocha in Arabia Felix and

to nurture the planted seeds on the island of Java, in whose metropolis, Batavia, he was living: that man, obedient to him, having encountered very many trees after that time, sent one to the great man, who at once, as liberally as possible, adorned the garden of Amsterdam, of which he was once the founder, with this incomparable ornament.⁸⁴ There, he then took the fruits, from which new stocks are constantly coming forth. It is thus indeed that the spectacle of the rarest tree in Europe is owed to the care and generosity of one Witsen, and those who have commented otherwise on this subject, are mistaken, as the distinguished man himself has warned.”⁸⁵

Antoine de Jussieu set forth a fitting drawing and description of the tree, the first of all, in *Actis Parisinis* (1713), according to a sapling that Pancras, the Mayor of Amsterdam and administrator of the garden, presented to Louis XIV, as Geoffroy mentions in *Materia Medica*, Vol. 2, page 432.⁸⁶

Regions of America, situated among the Tropics, cultivated today by Europeans, as are Suriname and other places, bring back an immense profit from the cultivation of this tree; for after the seeds were first brought back by Governor van Hoorn, the tree, which was formerly the commodity of one country, was distributed in various parts of each India, and indeed of hottest Africa.⁸⁷

§. IV.

The genus of the coffee tree is distinct from other plants. The botanists who first noticed the tree, assigned coffee to the genus of Jasmine, since its corolla comes together sufficiently and its berries are dispermous. Indeed, Heister, in the Helmstedt garden, first attempted to construct a new genus of plants from this tree, but he was not equal to the task.⁸⁸ In the year 1737, *Nob. Dom. Praeses* first proposed the distinct and natural character of the genus, *Coffea*, among the genera of plants.⁸⁹

Calyx: the perianth, having at least four teeth, sitting on the germ.

Corolla: funnel-shaped petal. A thin tube, many times larger than the calyx. A flat edge, five-parted, longer than the tube: with lance-shaped laciniae, with revolved sides.

Stamen: five filaments resembling awls, set upon the tube of the corolla. Straight anthers, reclining, the same length as the filaments.

Pistil: somewhat round seed. A simple style, with the length of the corolla. Two stigmas, turned back, resembling awls, moderately thick.

Pericarp: somewhat round fruit, umbilicate to a point.

Seeds: in pairs, elliptical-hemispherical, afterwards humped, thenceforth flat, enveloped by an aril.

§. V.

Indeed, up to this time, naught but a single species of this genus was known, namely the very one which supplies the drink with its seeds. The very famous Jacquin, the imperial botanist, made known to the world another, western one, recently brought back from America, as a new species of coffee in his little work that is entitled *Enumeratio systematica plantarum*;⁹⁰ but let us proclaim nothing about the tree, not having seen it, since it differs in not a few ways from *Coffea Arabica*; it differs in the number of parts of the flower, quaternary and not quinary, and in the seed, single and not paired. In truth, this tree is:

Coffea occidentalis, tetrandrous flowers with monospermous fruits. Jaqu. gen. 16.⁹¹

Pavetta, with oblong-egg-shaped leaves, opposite to each other, and with bristly stems, with branches set between the bristles. *Brown. hist. jam. 142. t. 6. f. 2.*⁹²

Jasmine tree, laurel leaves, with a white, most perfumed flower. *Plum. ic. 150. t. 156. f. 2.*⁹³

Because we are doubtful as to the genus of this species, the two-berried stellate fructification especially moves us, consistent among known genera, which on the other hand vary in their quinary or quaternary number, as among *Rubia*, *Crucianella*, and others, nevertheless consistent with two-berried fruit; nor is the number of seeds, which delight few, easily accustomed to vary in these, for which principle Caesalpinus built up his own system.⁹⁴

To collect all the synonyms for our *Coffea*, especially from the multitude of travellers, would be a matter of immense work but of too slight use. Therefore, let it suffice to mention some works of botanists that are among the distinguished ones.

*Coffea. Syst. nat. 10. p. 929. Spec. pl. 172. Hort. Cliff. 59. Hort. Ups. 41. Mat. med. 70. Roy. lygdb. 239.*⁹⁵

*Coffe. Dal. pharm. 491.*⁹⁶

The coffee bush, from whose fruit the drink may be derived. *Raij hist. 1691.*⁹⁷

The coffee tree. *Pluk. phyt. 272. f. I.*⁹⁸

Jasminum Arabicum, with laurel leaf, whose seed is called coffee among us. *Juss. Act. 1713. p. 388. t. 7. desc. figur.*⁹⁹

Jasminum Arabicum, with chestnut leaf and with a white, most perfumed flower, whose fruit is called coffee in Belgian workshops. *Comm. Amst. 72. Boerh. lugd. 2. p. 217.*¹⁰⁰

Jasmine with chestnut leaf, a most perfumed flower, and a hard red fruit (which is coffee). *Comm. Amst. 250.*¹⁰¹

An Egyptian one similar to *Euonymus*, with fruit like the berries of the laurel. *Baun. pin. 428.*¹⁰²

The Bon tree, with its Buna fruit. *Park. theatr. 1622.*¹⁰³

The Bon or Ban tree. *Bauh. hist. I. p. 422.*¹⁰⁴

The Bon or Ban, from whose fruit Egyptians prepare the Caova drink. *Pluk. alm. 69. t. 272. f. I.*¹⁰⁵

*Bon. Alp. Aegypt. 36. t. 36. Vesl. Alp. 21.*¹⁰⁶
*Buna, Bunna and Bunchi of Arabs. Bauh. hist. I. p. 421.*¹⁰⁷

§. VII.¹⁰⁸

Hortus Cliffortianus fully supplies a most excellent description of the tree, which we therefore set here, having added a few things:

The root is fibrous and pallid.

A tree-like stem, very straight, erect, simple, often twelve or more feet high; the bark is green in the first year, dark brown in the second, grey when it is older, the epidermis is longitudinally separated into four parts with the surface uneven and with irregular edges.

The leaves are oppositely arranged, a span or palm in distance from each other.

The branch extends to every axil of a leaf, far over the leaf, longer than the linear distance from the insertion of the leaf; it is almost horizontal, very simple or without little branches, always growing out of the end through the years, thin, reedy, smooth.

The leaves are oppositely arranged, with opposing leaves a span or palm apart; every leaf is ovate-lanceolate, tapering into a point, glabrous on the upper side, dark green, shining; in the lower parts, they are pale green, smooth and dark.

The petiole is very short, of two or three lines,¹⁰⁹ extended according to the length of the leaf; where highest, it is least thread-like, and in its lower parts it is denser and terete; veins inside the leaf go out from the side, several score, extended straight to a sharp point, bent sideways near the edge toward the direction of the tip: the insertion of these veins is bifurcated, with a concave cavity underneath and convex above; the disk of the leaves is flat, yet longer than typical, and it is bent near the edge, which is for this reason as if undulated, within the thrusting out of every vein. The length of the leaves is a span, the width is that of three fingers from side to side. Since the

branches extend horizontally, the disk of a leaf is always turned towards the sky. The leaves of lower opposite pairs on each year's branch of a single year are smaller than the rest. Where the petioles emerge, a pair of stipules are connected between the petioles into a sharp-shaped point, approached by a branch; each year, where the branch ends, there appear lateral, awl-shaped borders, converging and enclosed by a certain resin. The leaves remain through three years, fall down, and are not regenerated.

There are two or four flowers from every axil, low-growing: the corolla is snow-white, with a salver shape; see other genera.

The fruit is egg-shaped, obtuse on both sides, somewhat compressed from a spherical shape on both sides, marked as if by six worn-out edges, with a centre marked by an old and worn-out ring, red, with a soft and thin outer covering, and bilocular.

The seeds are solitary, cartilaginous, rounded here and flat there, with one longer side curled up inside the other and turned away in the opposite manner in equal parts. This fruit sits upon a very short pedicel, surrounded on both sides by pointed, intertwined vaginulae.

To sum up in a few words, we see from the given description of the tree that it is simple, erect, less tall, with branches that are long, simple, free, swaying most of the time, and blanketed; it has leaves that are oppositely arranged, laurel-like, and evergreen, and it is adorned with white and low-growing flowers with a corolla like that of Jasmine, which have the shape of the berry of cherry trees; reddish fruits follow, with pale, gelatinous, tasteless flesh, bearing within two seeds that are hard, rounded here and flat there, covered by a gelatinous aril.

As is usual among Indian plants, the tree flowers twice a year, namely in spring and autumn; in truth, the fruit requires a whole year to mature,¹¹⁰ and the fruit is even gathered twice a year.

The natural order of the tree compares to order 44 of the Stellatae due to the character and description provided; it is nevertheless such that it is greatly like the order 63 of the Cymosae, about which more may be seen in *Philosophia botanica*.¹¹¹

If we should consider the care of the tree, it is clear that the same tree can never be planted and propagated among us with profit, since its range is among the Tropics; and so, without very hot water, in fertile ground prepared from the belly of a horse,¹¹² it certainly cannot be uprooted, grow, flower, and produce fruit under windows. In truth, so that the care of this tree may be known more easily, it helps to bring up those things which Joh. Silander has discussed about this tree in *Actis Holm*. 1757, p. 236, who himself put his hand to planting through many years while he was spending time in Suriname, whose words let us recount for a bit: “When a year has passed after planting, the tree is transferred from the seed bed to another area of land, generally grows among thickets, and rarely grows tall, and it is enveloped by an ashen cortex and has free branches and shining and wavy leaves. The ground should be of artificial earth, in which it grows, and marshy places are best for this. In addition, the Suriname region has been divided into α) a shorter dry period through February and β) a longer rainy period from March to the middle of August and γ) a longer dry period from the middle of August to the end of December, and finally into δ) a shorter rainy period, which includes January. In the less rainy season, the tree is planted, between Musas, in order to gain shade for itself, until it is four years old. It grows to the length of eight feet and lasts to the twentieth year or beyond. It gives fruit after three years, and it does this twice a year. The citizens obtain larger fruit in the longer rainy period and smaller ones in October. Young trees produce larger but less flavorful beans. In the work of the Author, the

friendly reader will find the method of drying and crushing the same with a millstone.”¹¹³

§. VIII.

I omit analysis of these coffee seeds, since Geoffroy, in *Mat. med.* 2. page 433,¹¹⁴ has allowed us this leisure, as whoever desires this analysis may turn to this most excellent author.

§. IX.

The manner of the custom for the preparation of coffee diverts us. The seeds are roasted in an iron frying pan over glowing charcoal so that they perspire well. The work indeed requires a skilled hand, so that it is scorched neither too little nor too sparingly. Then it is soon pressed into a revolving iron millstone so that it is reduced into a denser powder, for, if the roasted seeds are preserved for a long time, their strength somewhat diminishes. One ounce of this powder is consumed; it is mixed with about 0.9 litres of boiled water and carried to the fire, and, after it has bubbled up twice or thrice, it is withdrawn from the fire.¹¹⁵ It should be clarified by adding the shavings of a stag’s horn, or the white of an egg, or cold water, so that the decoction may come out clearer. Others, however, more willingly consume the drink without the addition of clarifications, since they contend that the strength of the drink is thereby lessened. The hot decoction, moreover, is separated from the turbid powder, which is sunk in the bottom of the pot by tilting it, and it is consumed hot, for, if cold, the drink is very unpleasant to most; however, as in other things, it must conform to custom.

Our people generally drink coffee after a meal, and they do this with three murrhine cups, often with sugar and cream.¹¹⁶ Yet the French drink a single cup in the morning, though it is larger than our cups, with sugar thrown in and wheat bread immersed in it, so that they seem to eat rather than to drink. Belgians drink coffee both in the morning

and in the afternoon; in truth, the plebeians among them drink it unroasted; as they drink it even without sugar and milk, they afterwards consume by mouth a counterpart of what has been poured in, sugar or a liquorice root. The British especially drink coffee in the morning, along with bread with butter smeared over it. Turks drain only one cup, but fuller than our cups.

For many years many people have strived to find substitutes for coffee, for example, among peas, beechnuts, and almonds, of which the almond, despite being the healthiest of all the rest, is inflating to a greater degree than coffee and is therefore less accepted. As often as coffee is counterfeited by substitutes, so often it is not suited for a learned palate, and it brings not the least harm to the usual stomach.

The instruments for the proper preparation and serving of this drink, by which luxury has ennobled our kitchens, are considered so various and are so desired that merely to remember them is laborious. In truth, these are especially used:

- An iron skillet for roasting the seeds.
- A steel mill for crushing roasted seeds.
- A brazen pot with a lid for cooking.
- An iron tripod for the cooking pot.
- A brazen charcoal-burner for keeping the pot hot.
- A silver drinking cup for serving the decoction.
- A silver drinking cup for pouring the milk.
- A small vessel, containing sugar.
- Silver tongs for removing the sugar.
- Small, murrhine, China vessels, paired.
- Small, silver spoons for mixing the sugar.
- A round, decorated table, covered with varnish.
- A table napkin as a covering for the table.
- A repository to receive the small vessels on the table.
- A larger, silver vessel for washing the small vessels.

So I may leave unsaid several things which they judge especially necessary, granted that they can hardly be bought for the price of a thousand thalers.

The art of preparing coffee,¹¹⁷ previously in rather populous cities, has now gained the right of the state¹¹⁸ and has become very familiar, just as the sister of wine taverns has; public coffee houses thus do business almost everywhere today, in which the rather idle and overly-luxurious assemble to refresh themselves with this non-intoxicating drink; indeed, even in whatever home is rather respected, it is so that the male or female servant is skilled in this art of cooking.

§. X.

This kind of drink, as it is newly come, is as popular among the nobler people in Europe as tobacco has become among those of lower birth. The drink has especially attracted the favour of the female sex, since it is not intoxicating and since it may be associated with the tea infusion, although the coffee drink is considered nobler because it is sold at a higher price than tea. Indeed, no very noble married woman readily thinks that she has been received luxuriously enough with only an infusion of tea, since coffee, certainly of a greater price, is considered more distinguished; by no means does she consider it with contempt, and, if visiting another woman, she is not removed from the delights of coffee: and, believe me, he is considered unmannerly who, when he has given a lunch, does not offer coffee to his guests. This newly-come invention of coffee is certainly unique and not inferior to tobacco smoke, in light of its effect, taste, or the remaining attributes. It is altogether a very great skill to prepare from insipid coffee seeds, made empyreumatic¹¹⁹ by burning and so greatly hostile to nature, a drink that neither refreshes the mind nor quenches thirst, a drink which irrational animals and all people shrink from, and it does

not have a taste except to a learned palate. In addition, we know that everything that has been burned has lost the power of nourishing and that that which has come from burnt bread or meat is hostile to nature; all who dine rightly purge it.

§. XI.

Whoever wishes to know the powers of this coffee drink should learn the medical ones, rather than the dietary ones, which it is pleasing to explain for a bit.

It arouses anorexia, rather than appetite; whoever, when previously hungry, has drained a few cups of coffee shortly before a meal, accepts food without extraordinary delight and eagerness, and will indeed rather easily abstain from it.

It brings wakefulness and removes drowsiness, a fact that anyone considers proven who has glutted oneself with this drink in the evening and for that reason completed a sleepless night; to hinder this effect, some people drink a cup of water afterwards, others a little vessel of wine, others fiery spirits; if they should neglect dinner, those who have consumed the drink too late in the evening are not easily overcome by sleep.

It is believed to prevent flatulence and to promote digestion, if it is consumed shortly after a meal; it is indeed certain, or rather most certain, that, whatever time the drink should be consumed, it may stimulate borborygmi and flatulence. *Nob. Domn. Praeses*¹²⁰ knew a man who on October 4, 1742, having been selected in a gathering of comrades, drained eight murrhine cups of this drink and was then afflicted severely with flatulence, borborygmi,¹²¹ reeking belches, loss of appetite, relaxation of the mind with a deceiving and unusual sensation, a sleepless night, and an unpleasant sweat.

Very many active and daily coffee drinkers acquire tremors of the hands and head. We

remember three rather illustrious men, recently deceased, who acquired tremors due to too much coffee-drinking, so that they were hardly able to bring a cup to their mouth, but they were fortunately relieved by abstaining from this drink for a few years; one of these men, who could not move his taste to self-restraint, held coffee in his mouth but then, swallowing nothing, expelled it with his spit. It is certain that coffee weakens the nervous system and the brain, since it is drying and at the same time empyreumatic, not only from the usual quality, but also from the mentioned tremors.¹²² We observe that, among our distinguished people, there are frequent sudden deaths today that they call asphyxia,¹²³ by which very many people in Stockholm and elsewhere have died, especially around the winter solstices; I leave it to others to examine whether or not it is justified to divert the blame for asphyxia from the coffee drink; it certainly does not seem unusual to me, nor are the observations unusual, since very many people saved from asphyxia, about whom I am speaking, whom we know, were active drinkers of coffee.

The coffee drink is generally thought to be something that diminishes lust and is emasculating,¹²⁴ for which reason it is even called the drink of capons¹²⁵ in jest. Certainly, if aphrodisiacs should be pleasant, sweet, and oily, it is fitting that the powers of coffee are the opposite. The story of Olearius in *Itinerario* page 578 is particularly famous, about the queen of the Sultan Mahmud Kasnins, who when she saw a horse being castrated, ordered them to refrain from the horrible operation and ordered that coffee be drunk by the horse, since she had experienced its efficacy in her husband.¹²⁶

It weakens the eyes as much as oily things strengthen them. We know a man who drained three cups of coffee at the first hour of the day, before breakfast, on an empty stomach, and

after a quarter of an hour, when he was about to read the news, he almost lost the ability to see, as if with a white net or porous linen spread in front of his eyes.

The coffee drink harms melancholics, as all who are subject to this disease confirm by their own testimony.

It brings harm to hypochondriacs,¹²⁷ for, in the first place, it increases acid and, when drunk copiously, produces perspiration and acid; when they drink the decoction and ride in a carriage, not much later, they expel very pungent and abundant belches, so that we consider it an unpleasant thing to be contained in the same carriage with them.

The drink is not helpful for those with hysteria,¹²⁸ although it is believed to help them with its empyreumatic power. They report that two rather respectable women, inhabitants of this city, vexed with this suffering, consumed the drink daily, and they took none of the medicines prescribed to them until, having consumed coffee quite copiously, they neglected the advice of their doctors for several years; indeed, due to the persuasion of friends who promoted the drink, they were draining several cups of coffee after a year, but, when hardly a night had passed, and they were afflicted by an intense hysterical paroxysm, they proved the truth of the charge.

It starts all sorts of haemorrhages, periods or haemorrhoids, and so women devoted to this drink commonly are afflicted with menstrual discharges and often experience a haemorrhage of the uterus; therefore, lest, in a state of pregnancy, they fear a miscarriage, we consider it wise to abstain from too copious a use of coffee. Indeed, the fact that it stimulates and drives haemorrhoids, is so well-known to those who experience haemorrhoids, that it does not lack proof.

It expels urine copiously, especially if it is mixed with water; we know certain men of Stockholm, injured by kidney stones, who

pour out a murrhine cup of coffee with a glass of cold water, filled to one pound, and they consume this in the early hours; they admit unanimously that it quite copiously expels urine and gravel.

It is drying, for which reason gluttons of this drink commonly become thin and dried up; on the other hand, it is useful for those who are afflicted with corpulence and excessive plumpness.

In short, to sum up many things in a few words: coffee, since burned, brings no nourishment, but, since it is expelled because it is injurious to nature, it moves all excretions, dries up the body, thins out the thick and sticky fluids or rather makes the entrails tighter, and weakens the nervous system; therefore, the fact that the dietetic coffee drink is not very good is plain enough, and it is not easily profitable for people other than the overweight, the vaporous, the sedentary, and the gluttonous. It seems to stimulate the lethargic and to sharpen the less intelligent, but by drying up the brain and nervous system, it weakens the body and produces premature old age.

§. XII.

When doctors administer coffee, they happily perceive its laudable effect, for, when taken correctly, it has been especially useful for treating ailments, now to be mentioned.

The coffee decoction is warming, and so it warms in the winter, exhausts in the summer, and therefore does not have a place among those with critical fevers and inflammations; it is certainly harmful in the highest degree to the erysipelatos, and it is not suitable for those with critical fevers, since it produces acid.¹²⁹

It is commonly believed to be carminative, but it should rather be called “repelling”; for this reason, rather refined people take coffee after a meal and thereby drive away flatulence.¹³⁰ In the year 1740, *Nob. Dom. Praeses*, having stepped out of the naval

hospital, of which he was a doctor, in the early hours, affected rather often by cardialgia from the breath of the sick; he had a most excellent remedy, if he consumed three murrhine cups of coffee quickly by hand, without sugar and milk.¹³¹

By the unanimous testimony of doctors, it is thinning, since it is drying; for that reason, it should be prescribed to those afflicted with excessive plumpness; it also helps against leukorrhea, as has been confirmed as much by the judgement of doctors as by that of the second sex.¹³²

One hears that it is anthelmintic, and for that reason it is often given to children; indeed, when drunk rather copiously, it restores those little ones, which until then could not easily be done.¹³³ If someone drinks several cups of a very saturated decoction, one often finds that worms descend from the stomach into the intestines; if purging should be yielded up soon, these rejected visitors are expelled by this method; indeed, the worms can in no way endure burnt things, a fact that is certain concerning the burnt antler of a deer and other things.

It is stimulating, for which reason those who spend sleepless nights working take coffee, since they become quicker of mind; we therefore rightly recommend coffee among those with sleep-bringing ailments, especially if they are ill, completely full, phlegmatic, or overweight.

It is expelling, as mentioned before; it expels blood, urine, and other excretions in a manner not without benefit; for instance, emmenagogue is applied to suppressed menstrual discharges, and, if it should be drunk with rather copious water, it is useful for expelling kidney stones and gravel.¹³⁴

Doctors confirm that it affects the head, and they bring their various observations: occupied by quite a chronic headache, they

have gained their former health by the power of the decoction alone. It is a very well-known thing to remove a headache by intoxication. Very many people in fact are accustomed to mitigate a migraine with coffee alone.

Hand off the table.¹³⁵
That is all.¹³⁶

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Notes

1. Unless otherwise specified, we will be referring to the 1761 edition as *Potus Coffeae*. We could have translated *Potus* as either *drink* or *beverage* and chose the former.
2. *Potus Coffeae* was reprinted in volume 6 of *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763, 1764, 1789). In all three editions *Potus Coffeae* appears in pp. 160–179. It also appears in pp. 371–388 of volume 2 of *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1786b).
3. The *magister* degree is roughly equivalent to a master's degree today.

4. On translating the dissertation into Latin and preparing for publication see Jackson (1923, p. 275); Stearn (1957b, 1:52; the cited Stearn quote also comes from p. 52); Koerner (1999, p. 283).
5. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-95906>
6. In a 1747 letter Linnaeus commented on how well one of his students (Fredrik Hasselquist) performed at the disputation: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-223779>.
7. For a discussion of the political, economic and social composition of the peasant-farmer population in Sweden in the 18th century see Bengtsson and Olsson (2020).
8. The quarto format has been discussed by Heller (1983, p. 220) and Lindberg (2022, p. 75) while the length of dissertations was reported by Koerner (1999, p. 283). The four-page dissertations are Linnaeus (1760, 1768).
9. In the *consistorium* protocol the point is made by one professor that the high costs associated with such large print numbers deterred “poor but witty students,” but also the practice originated in an agreement between the student associations that the respondents to a dissertation were obliged to publish and distribute 600 to 700 copies without compensation (Annerstedt 1912, p. 256).
10. France: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (Paris); Germany: Freie Universität Berlin; Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; Universitätsbibliothek Kiel (Kiel University Library); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin State Library); Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library); The Netherlands: Universiteitbibliotheek Amsterdam; Sweden: (at least 13 copies); Switzerland: Johann Jacobs Museum, Zurich; United Kingdom: Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; The British Library; University of Cambridge; Wellcome Collection (two copies); The Linnean Society of London (six copies); United States: Carnegie Mellon University (the Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation owns four copies); Harvard University; Huntington Library; Kansas State University; Library of Congress; National Library of Medicine; New York Botanical Garden; University of Kansas; University of Wisconsin; and Yale University.
11. The 186 Linnaean dissertations were published between 30 June 1743 and 20 November 1776 (i.e., for 33 years, four months, and 21 days), which is equivalent to approximately 5.6 dissertations per year. They have been catalogued by Lidén (1778), and the numbers he assigned, preceded by his last name, are used to refer to the dissertations.

12. For a *longue durée* perspective on methods of collecting and organising information among European naturalists and physicians see Charmantier and Müller-Wille (2014).
13. See letter from Linnaeus, Uppsala, to François Boissier de La Croix de Sauvages, Montpellier, 25 June 1743 (<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-223420>) and Linnaeus, Uppsala, to Cadwallader Colden, New York, 17 August 1747 (<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-22377>).
14. Linnean Society of London (<https://linnean-online.org/133302/#?s=0&cv=0>). Coffee notes are on pages 32–35.
15. Although the spelling at the time was not uniform, the correct word nowadays is *skador*. Linnaeus unequivocally spelled it as *Skadar*.
16. See mention of “effeminating coffee” from more than a century earlier in M. P. (1661, p. 4).
17. Linnaeus' article entitled “Anmärkning om Coffé” (Notes on coffee) begins at the bottom of the second part of the month of January and continues at the bottom of subsequent months until the end of December, followed by five full pages. Reprinted in Linnaeus (1747) and translated into English (Linnaeus 1962).
18. One by Graham (1750), six by Stillingfleet (1762), and 10 by Brand (1781). There have been two more recent translations: DeLacy and Cain (1995) and Antonovics and Kritzingner (2016).
19. See also Hodacs (2023, p. 475).
20. On “a compulsive coffee drinker” see Koerner (1999, p. 130). On “used to excess” see Broberg (2023, p. 4).
21. Note that the defendant's surname was not Latinized while the surname for all authors cited was Latinized. Lindberg (2022) discusses the use of Latin in Linnaean dissertations and particularly, of the respondents' Latinized surnames.
22. In contrast Blunt (1971, p. 237) states that the collection consisted of 2,500 books.
23. *Raji* was used in Linnaeus (1786b, p. 377) and *Raj* in Linnaeus (1789, p. 167).
24. See Note 14, page 32 verso.
25. Alpini (1591, p. 123) refers to coffee as a decoction but includes a method to prepare an infusion: “Some allow the roasted kernels to be crushed into little pieces and remain for a day infused in water, but others boil them without a proper infusion ...” (translation by Hünersdorff and Hasenkamp, 2002, p. 29).
26. In the 1763 version of *Potus Coffeae*, Linnaeus included a new reference listed as “*Kalmium* 1755” (Linnaeus 1763, p. 162) in reference to Linnaeus' former student Pehr Kalm and the dissertation defended by Kalm's student, Elias Granroth

- (Kalm 1755), entitled “Simple thoughts about coffee and the native plants that are often used in its place.” The dissertation is discussed in detail by Hodacs (2020).
27. Starting in September 1735, Linnaeus became not only the personal physician for Georg Clifford III (1685–1760), a director of the Dutch East India Company, but also the superintendent of Hartekamp, Clifford’s botanical garden in Holland, where Linnaeus resided until 1738.
 28. *Sculp.* and *Sc.* stand for *sculpsit*, a Latin word meaning “engraved by” when placed after the engraver’s name.
 29. The 11 Linnaean dissertations containing Åkerman engravings are: Lidén nos. 64, 68, 69, 111, 118, 121, 126, 128, 137, 145, 173.
 30. *Q. B. V.* (Quod bene vertat) translates as “may that turn well” and is used as an expression of good will or good luck.
 31. “Leviter adumbratur”
 32. “Consens. Nobil. nec non Exper. Ord. Med. in Illustriad Salam Lyceo” — Heller (1983, p. 226) defines *Salam* as a “popular etymology” for Uppsala, and therefore, *Salam Lyceo* is “another name for the University.”
 33. “Viri Nobilissimi et Experientissimi” — Heller (1983, p. 226–227) translates *experientissimus* as “very-well born.”
 34. “Domini Doctoris” or “Domine Doctore” — translated by Heller (1983, p. 227) as “the learned Doctor.”
 35. “Suae Regiae Maiestatis Archiatri”
 36. “Medicinae et Botanices Professori Regio et Ordinario”
 37. “Acad. Scient. Upsal. Holmens. Petropolis” stands for Academiae Scientifica Upsaliensis Stockholmensis Petropolis.
 38. “Imperial. Nat. Cur.” — The (Societatis) Imperialis Naturae Curiosorum was based in Nürnberg (Heller 1983, p. 227).
 39. Latinized first name for Henrik Sparschuch. It was traditional to Latinize only the given name (Heller 1983, p. 228).
 40. Sparschuch’s birthplace. Linköping is a city in the province of Östergötland.
 41. *AD D.* is the abbreviation for *ad diem* and indicates the day of the month (i.e., 16 December).
 42. “Horis Ante Meridiem Solitis” stands for “the usual hours before noon.” See Heller (1983, pp. 229–230) for a discussion on the various times at which disputations were held.
 43. The “Dedication” only appears in the 1761 original version and not in the subsequent editions published in *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763, 1764, 1786b, 1789) or in *Fundamentorum botanicorum* (Linnaeus 1786a).
 44. *D: NO Mag.* — “Domino Magister”
 45. “S. S. Theologiae Lectori Primario ad Regium Gymnasium Linkopiense Dexterrimo” — S. S. is the abbreviation for *sacrosanctae*, a term used for a doctor of sacred theology.
 46. According to Lindberg (2022, p. 135), it was common to dedicate the text to a parent and to emphasise “subordination” and “abeyance.”
 47. The original Seneca the Younger quote is from *De vita beata* 7.1.3: “nec ad rationem sed ad similitudinem vivimus” (and we live not by reason but by imitation; Seneca 1928–1935).
 48. Silver mines in the Bolivian Andes.
 49. Referring to inhabitants of the West Indies and East Indies.
 50. *L. B.* — “Lectori Benevolo”
 51. Meisner (1721). The correct year is 1721.
 52. Lange (1684)
 53. Peters (1666)
 54. Marsigli (1685)
 55. Naironi (1671). Published in Latin by “Fausti Naironi Banesii,” Linnaeus refers to him as *Banesium*. The author, Antonius Faustus Naironi, was born in Bani (Lebanon) and was listed as *Banesius* in the English translation (Naironi 1710).
 56. Chamberlayne (1685)
 57. Togni (1675)
 58. de Blegny (1687)
 59. Dufour (1685). We were unable to locate a 1684 edition, and it is likely that Linnaeus was referring to the 1685 published in Lyon or its reprint published the same year in The Hague.
 60. It was not possible to determine the identity for this author. It is cited as *Magli* in Linnaeus (1776) and as *Maglius* in Linnaeus (2007).
 61. Galland (1699)
 62. Bradley (1721)
 63. Spon (1705)
 64. Douglas (1725)
 65. de la Roque (1717)
 66. Civinini (1731)
 67. Mapp (1695)
 68. Gmelin (1752)
 69. The Arabian Peninsula was divided into three sections: Arabia Petra, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix.
 70. In the 1761 spring lecture notes entitled “Diaetae pars continens potus et evacuantia” Linnaeus mentions that coffee is endemic to “Arabia Felici” (see Note 14, p. 32 verso). In page 3 of *Potus Coffeae*, defended in December 1761, he included “Æthiopia.” Thus, it appears that between spring and December, Linnaeus learned

- that coffee was endemic to Ethiopia. To the best of our knowledge this is the earliest mention of this important fact in the literature. It has been impossible to determine how Linnaeus learned this information. Given that no publications are known, it seems most likely that he gained this knowledge via personal communication. It was not until the mid-19th century that Yemen was discounted as an indigenous origin for *C. arabica*.
71. *Liber Avicenna* (Avicenna 1500) is a Latin translation of Avicenna’s (Abu Ali al-Husayn ibn Abdullah ibn Sina; ca.980–1037) *Canon medicinae*, also known as the “Canons of Avicenna,” written in Arabic. It includes a description of a beverage referred to as “bunchos,” which for a long time was believed to be the first description of the coffee drink. Such attribution is not reliable (Hünersdorff and Hasenkamp 2002, p. 72).
 72. Even though Linnaeus gives the year as 1591, he is referring to Alpini (1592), which contains the first graphic representation of a coffee plant and depicts a branch, not a tree (as stated by Linnaeus). Alpini (1591, pp. 122v and 123r) includes the preparation and drinking of coffee, referred to as “chaova,” but does not include a graphical representation of a coffee plant.
 73. The actual translation from Alpini (1592, p. 146) is: “I saw in the garden of Halybey the Turk a tree (whose picture you will now see) which is the source of those seeds, very common there, which are called Ban or Bon; ...” (Hünersdorff and Hasenkamp 2002, p. 32). Note that Alpini also refers to the illustration as a tree, when in fact it is a branch. It is relevant to point out that Leonhart Rauwolf (1535–1596; 1582, pp. 102–103) had previously described coffee as a social drink. This was the first time this had been done “in a printed book” (Hünersdorff and Hasenkamp 2002, p. 1221).
 74. Alpini (1591, p. 123r) includes a long description on the effects of coffee on menstruation and states “... I began to use it myself for all those whose menstruation had stopped, for whatever reason, and saw many good results” (translation by Hünersdorff and Hasenkamp 2002, p. 29). Linnaeus uses quotation marks but is not quoting verbatim; he is editing and choosing different parts of the original.
 75. Linnaeus used the asterisk and closing parenthesis to denote the following footnote on page 4: “Vid. b. m. Olav. Celsii S. Th. Doct. Prof. Hierobot. de plantie Sacr. Scripturae Ups. edit. MDCCXLV. it. MDCCXLVII.” The footnote refers to two books by Linnaeus’ friend, Olof Celsius (1670–1756; 1745, 1747). The Hebrew word “קֶפֶן” translates

- into *kali* (fabas or beans) and was conjectured to be a reference to coffee in the first book of Samuel 25:18 as well as in 2 Samuel 17:28 (Celsius 1747, pp. 231–234). Celsius (1747) possibly based this assessment on Verringa (1695, pp. 48–49). *Cahve* was one of the many names used for coffee at the time; see Gmelin (1752, p. 5) for additional names.
76. The year is incorrect, as he is referring to Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and his posthumous book *Sylva sylvarum* (Bacon 1627). Linnaeus’ “cent.§. 768” refers to “century section 768.” Each of the ten centuries referred to in Bacon’s book title contains 100 “experiments.” Linnaeus mistakenly assigns the coffee-related section to experiment 768, which instead should read 738. The title for “experiment” 738 (Century VIII; Bacon 1627, p. 191) reads as follows: “Experiment Solitary touching Medicines that Condense, and Releeve the Spirits.” The initial description for the “experiment” in Bacon’s book reflects Linnaeus summary and reads as follows: “They have in Turkey, a Drinke called Coffa, made of a Berry of the same Name, as Blacke as Soot, and of a Strong sent, but not Aromaticall; Which they take, beaten into Powder, in Water, as Hot as they can drinke it: And they take it, and sit at it, in their Coffa-Houses, which are like our Tavernes. This Drinke comfourteth the Braine, and Heart, and helpeth Disgestion.” According to Rusu and Lüthy (2017, p. 182), “The diversity in status of the 1000 so-called ‘experiments’ is moreover baffling, as they range from observational reports to experiments and to theoretical considerations, definitions, enumerations, medical recipes, and queries. In other words, though they are all labelled ‘experiments,’ most of them have nothing interventionist about them, and many are not even observational.”
 77. On page 4 Linnaeus states “*Historia plant. A:o 1690*” (i.e., the book title, followed by the year; *A:o* is the Latin abbreviation for year). The year is incorrect and should read 1688 for volume 2. In Ray (1686–1704) coffee is discussed in pages 1,691–1,693 of volume 2.
 78. In reference to “The Arabs destroy the seeds capacity to grow,” Anonymous (1754, p. 66) provides some insights: “... they lay them in the sun till dried, and then the pulp and the skin easily separate from the seeds on rubbing. It has been supposed, that, besides this, they use the caution of scalding them in water, to prevent their growing any-where else; but this is erroneous; the reason of their not growing is, that they are kept too long.”

79. The plant cannot be reproduced by planting living roots.
80. Ray (1686–1704, 2:1693) uses the phrase “*Draconem Caovetis*,” which Linnaeus has changed to “*Draconem coäveticis*.” *Draconem* could be snake or dragon, and *coäveticis* is another spelling of *cavetis* ([you] beware). Thus, “*Draconem coäveticis*” is an idiomatic expression meaning to beware.
81. Even though Linnaeus uses quotation marks, the text is drastically edited from Ray’s original.
82. This is a direct translation of *Belgii*. It seems likely Linnaeus referred to the area also known as the Low Countries, which then was made up of both the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands.
83. Linnaeus does not give a year; therefore, it could be Boerhaave (1720, 2:217) or Boerhaave (1727, 2:217).
84. Linnaeus Latinized Witsen’s first name as *Nicolaus*; the non-Latinized form is *Nicolaes*. Van Hoorn is Joan van Hoorn (1653–1711). Batavia is present-day Jakarta, Indonesia. The phrase “sent one to the great man” refers to Witsen.
85. Even though Linnaeus uses quotation marks in this paragraph, the selection is edited and not a verbatim translation.
86. Linnaeus used *Actis Parisinis* as a Latinized form for *Histoire de l’Académie Royale des Sciences*, which is where de Jussieu (1716) published his coffee description. De Jussieu’s article includes a botanical engraving of a coffee branch and not a tree as stated by Linnaeus, who also cites the wrong year (i.e., 1713). De Jussieu (1716) begins his paper by stating that he presented a coffee lecture at the Académie in 1713, in which he had included some inaccurate information that he was correcting with the present paper, read at the Académie on 4 May 1715 (as stated in the text). The paper was published in 1716. Pancras is Nicolaes Pancras (1622–1678). The garden being referred to is *Hortus Botanicus* Amsterdam. *Materia medica* is Geoffroy (1741), although the correct page is 431, not 432.
87. “each India” is a reference to the West and East Indies.
88. Lorenz Heister (1683–1758) was professor at the University of Helmstedt and University of Altdorf in Germany.
89. Sparschuch is referring to Linnaeus as “Nob. Dom. Praeses” (Nobilissimus Dominus Praeses or Most noble master presiding) and references Linnaeus’ *Coffea* description in *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus 1737b).

90. Jacquin is Nikolaus Joseph von Jacquin (1727–1817).
91. Linnaeus’ new species of coffee refers to Jacquin’s *Coffea occidentalis* from the Caribbean Islands, published in Jacquin (1760, p. 16). The taxon originally named *C. occidentalis* L. is now recognized as *Faramea occidentalis* (L.) A. Rich. (Rubiaceae), commonly known as false coffee. Coffee species are not endemic to the Americas. Linnaeus uses the abbreviation *Jaqu.* for Jacquin’s Latinized name, *Jaquinus*, which he used on page 6 of *Potus Coffeae*. The “16” refers to the page in Jacquin (1760). It is unclear what “gen.” refers to.
92. *Pavetta* is a genus in the Rubiaceae. Linnaeus is referring to Browne (1756). He copies the description for *Pavetta* from Browne’s p. 142. Linnaeus states the botanical plate for *Pavetta* is number 6 (i.e., “t. 6” with the “t.” being an abbreviation for *tabula* or plate) and that the figure is number 2 (“f. 2”). By doing this, Linnaeus corrected a mistake in Browne’s plate 6, in which he labelled *Pavetta* as figure 1, which depicted “*Coccocypselum*” (correct name: *Coccocypselum*).
93. Plumier (1758). Linnaeus is referring to page 150 and incorrectly refers to plate 156, figure 2 (“t. 156. f. 2”). The correct plate is 157, figure 1. It was not possible to determine what Linnaeus meant by “ic.”.
94. *Rubia* and *Crucianella* are genera in the Rubiaceae. *Caesalpinus* is Andrea Cesalpino (1519–1603). This sentence is the end of Section V, and the following sentence is the beginning of Section VI, but the dissertation omits this important detail. It is possible that Linnaeus failed to include the heading in his manuscript or that it is a typesetter’s mistake, corrected in the 1763 reprint in *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1763).
95. Linnaeus cites five of his own publications in which “*Coffea*” was mentioned: “*Syst. nat.* 10. p. 929” refers to Linnaeus (1758–1759, 2:929). “*Spec. pl.* 172” refers to Linnaeus (1753, 1:172), the first edition of *Species plantarum*, in which the binomial name *Coffea arabica* was used for the first time. “*Hort. Cliff.* 59” refers to Linnaeus (1737b, p. 59). “*Hort. Ups.* 41” refers to Linnaeus (1748), in which a list of plants growing at the University of Uppsala Botanical Garden is given, with coffee listed on pages 41–42. “*Mat. med.* 70” refers to Linnaeus (1749). In this case Linnaeus does not refer to page 70 but to number 70 in a list of plants; *Coffea* (no. 70) is discussed on page 24. Linnaeus’ citation “*Roy. lygdb.* 239” should read “*Roy. lugdb.*” with “*lugdb.*” referring to Lugduni Batavorum (i.e., Leiden). The reference stands for Royen (1740, p. 239).
96. Dale (1693, p. 491)

97. The page number (i.e., 1,691) is used and not the year of publication of the second volume (i.e., 1688, Ray 1686–1704). Linnaeus had previously used the incorrect year in p. 4 of *Potus Coffeae* (“*Rajus* in *Historia plant. A:o* 1690”). In Linnaeus 1786b (p. 377) it was changed to “*Raji hist.* 1691” and in Linnaeus 1789 (p. 167) to “*Raj. hist.* 1691.” Thus, four different names were used for the same author (John Ray, 1627–1705). The title page for volume 2 of Ray (1686–1704) uses the Latinized *Joannis Raii*. Different spellings for Ray were also used in *Species plantarum*: *Rajus*, *Raj.*, *Raji* and *Ray* (Linnaeus 1753).
98. Plukenet (1696a). Figure 1 in plate 272 depicts a coffee branch with six coffee fruits (botanically known as drupes) and three coffee seeds next to it.
99. “*Juss. Act.*” appears to be Linnaeus’ abbreviation for de Jussieu’s last name (“*Juss.*”) followed by the abbreviation for *Actis Parisinis* (“*Act.*”). See Note 86 for an explanation of the erroneous year (1713) used by Linnaeus and for the two names used for the journal. Linnaeus is referencing de Jussieu 1717 (the title page uses both years), a reprint of de Jussieu 1716. The 1717 copy we examined did not include “t. 7” (*tabula* or plate 7), which depicts a coffee branch (“*desc. figur.*” stands for “descriptio figura”). The pagination in the 1717 reprint corresponds to the page cited by Linnaeus (the article is on pages 388–399), while the pagination in the 1716 publication is 291–299. Linnaeus refers the reader to two different sources for the same article, the first one (*Actis Parisinis*) is cited on page 5 of *Potus Coffeae* and the second one (*Juss. Act.*) on page 7.
100. The original sentence in Commelin (1698, p. 72) reads as follows: “*Jasminum Arabicum castaneae folio, flore albo odoratissimo; cujus fructus coffy in Officinis dicuntur nobis.*” Linnaeus replaced *coffy* with *coffe* and *nobis* with *Belgis*. He had previously replaced *nobis* with *belgis* in *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus 1737, p. 59). With minor punctuation changes, Boerhaave (1720, 2:217) uses the same description published by Commelin.
101. The correct reference is Boerhaave (1710, p. 250) and reads “*Jasminum-castaneae; folio flore odoratissimo rubro; fructu, qui coffè, duro.*” Boerhaave based the description on Commelin (1698, p. 72), who correctly described the perfumed flower as white (“*flore albo odoratissimo*”). Boerhaave’s description mistakenly included *rubro* (red) to describe the flower (“*flore odoratissimo rubro*”), rather than the fruit. Linnaeus clearly saw the mistake and

- properly referred to the fruit as red but somehow managed to cite the wrong author, which he also did in *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus 1737, p. 59). Reference to the red flower was removed in Boerhaave (1720, 1727).
102. Typographical mistake: *Baum.* should read *Bauh.* and refers to Bauhin (1623, p. 428).
103. Parkinson (1640, pp. 1622–1623)
104. Bauhin and Cherler (1650–1651, 1:421–422). Bauhin’s co-author, Johann Heinrich Cherler (1570–1610), is not cited by Linnaeus.
105. Linnaeus combines two different books by Plukenet and treats them as one: “*Pluk. alm.* 69. t. 272. f. I.” “*Pluk. alm.* 69” refers to Plukenet (1696b, p. 69), and “t. 272. f.I” refers to figure 1 in *tabula* (plate) 272 in Plukenet (1696a).
106. The incomplete first reference (*Alp. Aegypt.* 36. t. 36), missing the author, corresponds to Vesling (1735, pp. 36–37), and the correct plate number is 16, not 36 as stated by Linnaeus. The second reference (*Vesl. Alp.* 21) refers to Vesling (1638, pp. 21–22).
107. Bauhin and Cherler (1650–1651, 1:421). Note that Linnaeus has already cited Bauhin three lines prior (*Bon vel Ban, arbor. Bauh. hist.* I. p. 422), and here he cites Bauhin again, *sans* Cherler, this time using three additional words to refer to coffee: “*Buna, Bunna, & Bunchos Arabum. Bauh. hist.* I. p. 421.” It is curious that all the words were not included in one reference and that they were cited in reverse order of appearance (i.e., page 422 is cited before p. 421).
108. See Note 94, explaining the reason for a missing Section VI.
109. “A line is the length of a lunula, extending from the root of a nail towards the nail (but not in the thumb)” (Linnaeus 2005, p. 283). A *lunula* is “The crescent-shaped white mark at the base of a finger-nail” (Linnaeus 2005, p. 348), equivalent to 2.25 mm (Stearn 2000, p. 111).
110. The figure given by Linnaeus probably reflects coffee plants growing in an Uppsala hothouse at lower temperatures and different photoperiod than those in the tropics, as *Coffea arabica* in the field requires 6–9 months from blossom to harvest (Wellman 1961, p. 353).
111. Linnaeus (1751). Order 44 is the *Stellatae* (star-shaped) while order 63 is the *Cymosae* (with cymes).
112. “in terra praegnante, e ventre equino parata” — most likely meaning earth mixed with horse manure.
113. Silander (1757). This is another example of Linnaeus’ use of an unorthodox abbreviation for a publication. Silander’s article was published

in *Kongliga Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar* (Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm), which Linnaeus abbreviates at *Actis Holm*. The quotation is not at all verbatim, and the Greek symbols are missing in Silander's article. *Musas* is a reference to the genus *Musa* (i.e., bananas and plantains), which are still commonly used to shade coffee plants. Linnaeus incorrectly ends the quotation mark after his own sentence and not at the end of Silander's quoted text.

114. Geoffroy (1741).

115. Linnaeus states “two pounds of water,” which we have converted to litres.

116. Linnaeus uses the term *murrhine* to refer to the cups used for drinking coffee. Below, he also refers to them as “China vessels,” which were also known as Chinese porcelain. The original murrhine cups used by the Romans were made of murrhine, a semiprecious stone (the mineral fluorite).

117. Note that Linnaeus specifically refers to the preparation of coffee as an art: “ARS *Coffeam* praeparandi” (p. 13).

118. Coffee house owners needed to apply from local authorities for a license to operate. Some of the licenses were distributed to poor women to provide them a livelihood. It is possible that Linnaeus is referring to this circumstance here (Knutsson and Hodacs 2021, p. 181).

119. This means the aroma produced by organic matter when subjected to high temperatures. Linnaeus is referring to roasting.

120. This is a slight variant of “Nob. Dom. Praeses” (see Note 89), spelled as “Nob. Domn. Praeses,” combined with a personal memory of Linnaeus' life.

121. Borborygmi was defined as “rumbling of the bowels” (Pulteney 1781, p. 182).

122. This concept of coffee having a drying effect, likely originated in Alpini (1591, p. 122v): “That decoction has a cooling and drying property ...” (translation by Hünersdorff and Hasenkamp 2002, p. 29).

123. Asphyxia was defined as “long failure of vital and animal power; as from Drowning, Mephitism, &c.” (Pulteney 1781, p. 180).

124. The statement can be traced to Willis (1679, p. 155): “great drinkers of Coffee become lean, and oftentimes paralytick and obnoxious to an impotency to Venus.” Shortly thereafter, Chamberlayne (1682, p. 5), wrote: “... that it often makes men Paralytick, and does so slacken their strings, as they become unfit for the sports, and exercises of the Bed, and their Wives recreations. ...”

125. A castrated male chicken. Linnaeus does not reveal who has used this derogatory term.

126. Olearius (1656). Linnaeus incorrectly states the page as 578; it should read 598.

127. At the time it was defined as a “disorder of intellect or judgement” and not always associated with melancholia (i.e., sadness; Kendler 2020, p. 863).

128. Hysteria was considered to be a disorder that primarily affected women, with many physical and physiological symptoms.

129. Erysipelatous refers to those suffering from a bacterial infection of the skin.

130. A carminative is a preparation that relieves flatulence by either preventing the formation of gas in the stomach or by promoting the expulsion of gas.

131. This is the third instance of the use of “Nob. Dom. Praeses” (see Notes 89 and 120) once again combined with another personal memory of Linnaeus' life. In 1740 Linnaeus was living in Stockholm where he worked as a physician at the naval hospital (Jackson 1923, pp. 177–179). Cardialgia is another term for heartburn.

132. Leukorrhoea is a mucous vaginal secretion.

133. An antiparasitic drug.

134. Emmenagogues are herbal medicines used to stimulate menstrual flow.

135. The Latin phrase “Manum de tabula” translates as “Hand off the table,” meaning that the work is concluded (i.e., the hands should no longer be creating).

136. Many dissertations, including *Potus Coffeae*, ended with the Latin word *Tantum*, which translates as “That's all” (Heller 1983, p. 220).

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