CONTENTS

Preface · ix

Who Was He? · 1

PART I A GREAT MAN CAN COME FROM A SMALL HOUSE, 1707–1741 · 13

1 The Guardian Tree · 17

2 Studies in Växjö and Lund · 30

3 The Academy in Uppsala · 45

4 In a Mythical Landscape: Lapland · 61

5 Diaeta Naturalis · 82

6 In the Mountains and under the Ground: County Dalarna · 91

7 In the Land of Tulips · 103

8 Nature’s Order 1 · 119

9 A Stockholm Interlude · 130

PART II AT THE HEIGHT OF THE AGES OF MAN, 1741–1758 · 143

10 Uppsala and Enlightenment · 147

11 Three Programmatic Speeches · 153

12 Provincial Travels on Behalf of Parliament · 158

[v]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>A Language in Which Everything Matters</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Flora et Fauna Svecica</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Family Life 1: Scenes from a Marriage</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>In the Garden, at Herbations, among the Collections</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ex Cathedra</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Academic Amusements</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Appetite for Work, Weariness, Communication</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>When Linnaeus Wrote, Salvius Printed, and Tessin Bought the Books</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Linnaeus, “the Sexualist”</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Curiosity-Driven Research</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nature and Culture</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Entrepreneur and Economist</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>To Describe the World</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Nature’s Order 2</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Homo sapiens</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>PART III</strong> THE OLD LINNAEUS, 1758–1778</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Honors</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Among Students and among Senior Academics</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Family Life 2: Hammarby</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Friends and Enemies</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Problems</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>A New Synthesis?</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>A Philosopher of Science or a Scientist?</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>The Back of God and God’s Footsteps</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Nemesis Divina</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Solomon on Growing Old</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Epilogue I. Family Life 3: Mother and Child</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Epilogue II. Linneanism</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations** · 411  
**Notes** · 413  
**Sources and Literature** · 437  
**Index** · 459
A BIOGRAPHY BEGINS long before the subject’s birth and does not end
with his or her death: the lifespan it charts is inextricably linked to time
and natural surroundings. A human life depends on weather and wind as
well as guardianship. The personal narrative is given shape by parents and
by those others who remember or care enough to investigate, to follow the
tracks in the grass and in the archives.

We live in the shade of trees. In ancient times, Nordic people believed
that the World Tree was an ash and the protective guardian tree a linden—a
Tilia. The biography of Linnaeus should surely begin with a linden. In the
late sixteenth century, a huge, split specimen with three trunks grew in
Jonsboda in the Småland parish Vittaryd. Three local families were said
to stem from the tree and to have taken their names from it: the Lindelius,
Linnaeus, and Tiliander families. The great linden had once been declared
dead but is still alive. This is Linnaeus identifying himself: “God let him
spring forth from a stubborn root, replanted him into a distant place and,
praise be, allowed him to soar and grow into a worthy tree.”¹

On the 23rd day of the lovely month of May, the newborn boy, who
would be called Carl, opened his eyes to see the world around him: “The
most beauteous spring, when the cuccu hailed the summer between frons-
descentiae [coming into leaf] and florescentiae [flowering].” His place of
birth was the rectory in Råshult, County Småland and near the border
with County Skåne, which within living memory had belonged to Den-
mark. Carl was born in 1707, during the night: “Between the 12th and
13th day by the Gregorian style of reckoning, at one in the morning, in
the realm of Sweden, the parish of Stenbrohult, the village of Råshult.”²
As this quote shows, the “old-style” calendar was still in use. Sweden had
not yet adopted the new order, so was “behind the times” and would, from then on, try in all things to catch up with the international lead.

The year of his birth fell during the somber final stages of the Great Northern War. Just two years later, the Swedish army would lose the battle against the Russians at Poltava and, by then, the country was exhausted from never-ending warfare. In 1709 the Danish government set out to reoccupy the Swedish territory lost after the peace of Roskilde. The Danish army landed near the coastal city of Helsingborg in November that year. The governor general of Skåne, Magnus Stenbock, retreated to Växjö in central Småland but ultimately led the defensive forces to victory.

The witch-hunting hysteria, particularly feverish in the north, had reached Småland by then. A few generations earlier, Johanne Pedersdatter, a distant Norwegian relation on Linnaeus's mother's side, had been convicted of witchcraft and burned at the stake in Stavanger. Linnaeus seems never to have referred to this relative and may not have known about her. He also makes no reference to the plague that followed in the wake of the war and caused at least a hundred thousand deaths, nor to other forms of contagion made worse by poverty and starvation, nor to the King's taste for war games. A freer, more sensible world was on its way, though. Little Carl's arrival might have been seen to counterbalance the unrest of the time, or as heralding better days to come.

Carl was the firstborn child of his parents, Nils Linnaeus and Christina Brodersonia, but several siblings were to follow. Nils was a minister in the Lutheran Church and, as the son of a clergyman, Carl was to follow in his footsteps and, ideally, succeed him. It was not to be; the baton—or, rather, the hymnbook—went to his brother Samuel.

Both Linnaeus's early homes, first in Råshult and later in Stenbrohult, burned down, but a look-alike house and garden have been created in Råshult, lovingly cared for and popular with tourists.

In his several autobiographical works, Linnaeus writes of his parents with warm affection. His father was a farmer's son, born Nils Ingemarsson and a man who “walked slowly throughout his world, finding his pleasure in the ordering and care of his garden with its several and sundry plants as, in such matters, he found all his peace.” A few years after Carl's birth, Nils was promoted from curate to rector in Stenbrohult parish. He now had a home near the parish church as well as his house and grounds in Råshult. The document confirming his position as rector was properly signed by the king on 12 August 1708, though Charles XII was at the time somewhere near Mogilev in White Russia (Belarus). His wife Christina, Linnaeus's mother, was the daughter of the former rector of Stenbrohult.
She was “heedful and indeed so industrious as to never give herself time to rest. She feared God greatly and was the mother of 5 children. . . . She was a beautiful young girl. . . . The boy was nursed, suckling his own mother’s breasts.” This last remark reflects a significant element in Linnaeus’s later instructions about natural nutrition. Christina’s stepmother was a harsh, difficult woman, which might be why the younger woman accepted Nils’s proposal—“although otherwise, she had not been thus inclined.”

Carl’s parents are both described as “of middling height”—that is, “short” by present-day standards—but the differences between them are more striking. Nils was heavily built and she was slender; furthermore, “his spirit slow to anger, even-tempered, and good, hers sharp-tongued, quick, and workaday.” Linnaeus is mostly rather silent about his mother, which might suggest secret reservations.

“For her, the day of 13 May 1707 was a day of mourning, as she gave birth, with the greatest difficulty and danger to her life, to a well-formed son: this despite her wish that the child would have been of the gentler sex. . . . The man was however made happy indeed and his gladness atoned for her grief. Thus, they joyfully christened this child, their firstborn, on the 19th day of that same month.” Here, the writer is Samuel, Carl’s younger brother by eleven years; he is addressing the Småland “nation” at Uppsala University after his eminent brother’s death in the New Year 1778. How is it that Samuel knows about his mother’s regrets? Why mention it in this context? We don’t know. One explanation might be found in the “tradition of conservation”—a form of social support based on the rule that the young clergyman should marry the dead pastor’s widow and support any children. The pastor’s grown daughter would be free to marry “out.”

Linnaeus speaks of his mother only once more: “At 6 o’clock [6 June 1733] after midday, my most dear and pious mother departed, causing me in my absence an ineffable anxiety, grief, and harm.” There is nothing more. Nils wrote about his wife in her book of remembrance: “She always feared God and ordered her home well, always diligent and cautious, generous and heedful, and gifted with fine understanding.”

“A great man can come from a small house,” Linnaeus remarked, referring to himself. Physically, he was a small man, even for his time (estimated height about 153 cm), and seems fascinated by the tall and strongly built: “Those living here [in Stenbrohult], as well as in most Småland parishes, incline to be larger than elsewhere, as is true for both sexes, for the probable reason of belonging to the old tribe of Göthaland, as strangers are seldom seen here and a farmer rarely has his daughter marry anyone not born in the parish.” Linnaeus’s notes contain occasional references to
a tall Finn called Daniel Cajanus, and one note mentions that the Sami are shorter than himself. Johan Lång (Tall) was a member of Linnaeus’s student “nation”—the Småland nation at Uppsala University—and his height caught the attention of its recordkeeper: “Master Tall from Tall Lycke village is tall—a tall man’s tall son.”

In 1703 Stenbrohult parish had 206 inhabitants but, by 1729, the local population had increased to 578. Local authority was embodied in the rector, who kept the parish records of births and deaths, went to people’s homes to make sure that they knew their catechism, and would advise in day-to-day matters. People understood their country in the terms of the Protestant exposition of the relationship between the state, the working people, and the church; this text was printed and distributed with hymnbooks and catechisms. Its fundamental thesis was Luther’s teaching about the three hierarchies or estates: church, political establishment, and household. These three entities were also defined respectively as the learned, exploitative, and nourishing estates, and their roles illustrated by a dozen short passages from the Bible.

Nils was a practical man, well able to restore the decaying parish church and keep the rectory in good repair. He was a man of learning but also a farmer who knew how to speak to other farmers. The parish supported their rector generously and helped him to construct a morgue and an ossuary near the church, and also to restore the rectory after a fire.
The rector paid for guest rooms, farm laborers’ quarters, and a bathhouse. Everyone was forthright and trusting, the old soldiers as well as other villagers. What was said of the farmer Åke Kvick in Råshult was more or less generally true: “Well versed in the Bible, a patient man who never let the world weigh on his spirit.”

Linnaeus writes in *Spolia Botanica*: “Stenbrohult is a parish found some 30 miles from Wexiö, toward the border with Skåne in the municipality of Allbo, and which, compared with all other places, in appearance is like a queen among sisters; preferred to others even in the location of rare and wondrous herbs not often to be seen elsewhere in the country. Indeed, the very rectory here is as if adorned by Flora herself; I would doubt if any space in the whole world could present itself more pleasantly. Surely it is not strange that I have reason to lament along with the poet: ‘Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos / ducit et immemores non sinit esse sui’” (Our native land charms us with inexpressible sweetness and never allows us to forget that we belong to it).7

Much later, when Linnaeus reluctantly agrees to describe landscapes, he declares that he is like a lynx abroad but a mole at home, and knows more about “what is produced by Virginia in America, Cap de Bonne Sperence in Africa, and Zeylon in the East Indies, than in my own native land which I left before I had properly woken and rubbed the sleep from my eyes.”

He had hardly seen more than Stenbrohult, the village where he was born, and Växjö, the city where he went to school. He had left these places before reaching adulthood and had, ever since, hardly seen more of any one place than a wandering goose in its flight—a migratory bird. “What I saw in my youth, or through the eyes of old Cubae or of Arvid Månsson Rydaholm, I still recall as if it were a dream and, now, it is all I can speak about.”8 He goes on, however, to describe uplands and high hills, forests, meadows, fields, marshes, and lakeshores before getting around to the plants, the animals, and the minerals—in fact, he turns out to be a man with an excellent memory. Far from being a blind mole, he was a lynx also in the forests of his childhood.

Göran Wahlenberg, a colleague of a later generation, provides an explanation of Linnaeus’s scientific approach in the 1822 issue of the yearbook *Svea*, based on what he believes was a natural kind of cultural simplicity. “A beautiful and solitary situation, in a setting of low hills pierced by many streams and cloaked in vigorous birch woods. The scarcity that affected Linné in his first youth here appears in its way to have made him stay close to his natural surroundings, indeed to unite his lively spirit with them and thus develop in him that natural sensibility, which to
such a great extent nourishes the imagination and so becomes a source of the finest qualities.”

In other words, Råshult and Stenbrohult were the right places to foster qualities such as characterized Linnaeus the man. Wahlenberg develops his theme and argues that the long, low ridge that runs through Uppsala has helped to change the university town into a source of creativity—of the “imaginative power” so cherished by the Romantics. Linnaeus would later admit that his home “appeared as if adorned by Flora herself. Here I have with my mother’s milk been infused by the shapes of a multitude of plants.”9 When he grew up, the enclosures were still in the future, and the village was surrounded by woodland meadows, a form of cultivation typical of southern Sweden. Species diversity is an outstanding characteristic of these hay meadows, and in Stenbrohult they were “richer in tree canopies and fuller of flowers than in any other province. . . . When you sit there in summertime, hearing the song of the cuccu and also songs of many other birds as well as the piping and humming of insects, and you see the bright and splendidly colored flowers, you cannot but be astounded at so excellent a creation.”10 Where the Taxås ridge enters Lake Möckeln, the views from the top of the steep rock face leave you with a sense of a great and spacious world.

Impressions of the landscape’s striking natural beauty were instilled in Linnaeus from childhood. He had learned to recognize all the flowering plants around Stenbrohult: viper’s grass, common milkwort, quaking grass, yellow rattle, heath spotted orchid, wolf’s bane—the poetry of the names alone was wonderful. The church and the rectory stood in the middle of the village. The rectory had a garden and an avenue ending at a circular drive in front of the main house. The guardian tree grew next to the house, and behind it stretched a kitchen garden and a somewhat wild “pleasure park.” These were quite large cultivated areas looked after by hired workers rather than the pastor himself. The practices and layout followed ancient patterns, perhaps going back to monastery gardens. Most of the inspection records reflect such traditions, including cabbage patches, hops cages, and ponds stocked with Crucian carp. At Råshult, they had an unusually well laid-out cabbage plot as well as an herb garden and several hop cages—hops for brewing the dark local beer. In his Travels on Öland, Linnaeus describes the garden of his childhood home: “It had many more species of plants that any other garden in Småland had and did with my mother’s milk inflame my spirit with an unquenchable love of plants.”

The rectories around the lake formed part of a distinctive culture. The inhabitants were related, and shared interests and tasks. The care taken
of gardens and plants is documented; one of the clerics actually owned *De plantis* (1583) by Andrea Cesalpino, the great Italian botanist.\(^{11}\) Families, neighbors, and at least some members of the local gentry bonded with each other by being godparents when children were christened—as was carefully noted down.

Rectory kitchen gardens were “sermons made real.” Clergy who traveled abroad brought back ideas and plants—lilacs, for example, and herb gardens and arbors. We know about the gardens at Råshult from Samuel’s letters and later from Linnaeus’s *Adonis stenbrohultensis* (1732), in which the plants were already ordered by their sex.

His father, Nils, was impressively knowledgeable about plants. Carl was barely four years old when, one afternoon when house guests were resting on the grass, Nils held forth about Latin plant names: “The little one found listening to this a heart’s delight. Ever since, the lad would give the Father no peace.” Once, he had forgotten a name and was scolded by his father, but “since that moment, the boy’s entire will and thought was to remember the names and never cause his father displeasure.”\(^{12}\)

Nils had an interest in botany that went well beyond even what might be expected. Linnaeus writes: “How come the boy fell in love with Flora I do not know. What I do know is that his Father had always loved the company of plants.” As a student in Lund, Nils had learned the Latin nomenclature of plants, and collected and pressed some fifty specimens. Linnaeus continues: “It was known that when the boy was troubled and could be soothed in no other way, he would soon fall quiet the moment he was given a flower to hold. This, what I believe to be his innate delight, was heightened when the boy listened to his Father speaking of some characteristic of a plant that seemed noteworthy.” Young Carl was given “a garden *en migneateur*, where in a small space he grew samples of all that was found in the garden.”\(^{13}\)

Samuel Linnaeus comments in his letters on his father’s keenness for gardening and how it captivated his older brother. He also describes how Nils went about planting: “In this garden, my dear departed father had with his own hands created a round, elevated area like a table around which plots with herbs and shrubs represented the guests, and groups of flowers, the dishes served on the table. Our mother often went to see it: this was at the time when my brother was conceived.” The layout was recreated in 1982, the round table “set” with wild thyme, sweet William, lavender, feverfew, and musk mallow

Samuel tells another story about Carl at play with his siblings during school holidays: “At the slightest suggestion of someone’s ailment he would
palpate the sufferer’s pulse, make as if to use a thumb lancet of wood (for bloodletting), and search for herbs with which to cure his sisters.” 14 As a boy, Linnaeus played at medicine and, by his own system, he was then at the third age of life “when, by running hither and thither in constant pre-occupation, the child practices his body incessantly, day after day”—as he would later describe it. 15
How does an interest start? How does it become an obsession? Linnaeus speaks of a vision: “I was ill in 1718 from winter until Whitsun, then came out into the greenery which appeared to be not of this world but of Paradise.” Then:

I believe there are persons who, when stepping outside, see the ground in front of them as green with some other colors, the cloud he sees like shadows and the sun like a bright disc, so enthralled is he by economic, political, fanatical, arrogant, lustful, mercenary, vengeful, etc. concerns and impulses that he cannot see further into what comforts our Creator has provided and placed us in the midst of. . . . I admit in my own case, one summer in my youth when ill with a strong fever, I did not look at nature from medium Martii until Juli and then, when I was allowed outside, I saw the world in a very much changed manner, different from before and all spread out in front of me, being so high, so beautiful . . . . Then consider Adam and Eve: perfectly made, in their finest, most healthful flourishing, free of prejudices, and so shown hills and green valleys with rivers running wherever the most temperate weather might be (in Mesopotamiae terras or alibi), everywhere clad in grass, plants, trees, all green and also with every kind of flower of great loveliness, divers form and couleur, animals who run about, birds on the wing flit through the air, singing and calling, fishes silently wander in the pellucid river gently flowing forth, insects seated on flowers and trees like small jewels, wings shimmering like a pocader, everything together in migniatyr, then would it not be the proper moment to admire the Creator as if only then had they been given eyes to see with and in their joy could not decide where to turn to see more, to observe sun and moon, stars, sky, and wander in the night. As their ears hear the murmuring of the weather, the sounds of animals and songs of the birds, would they not easily mingle with many.

The Fall from Grace awaits . . .

Linnaeus came home to Stenbrohult to visit in the summer of 1728 and at Christmas in 1731 and 1732. In spring 1735, he stops by on his way to Holland and stays from 19 March to 15 April. All his siblings are there, and his old father: “Mother missing as she had died since one was last at home. House in confusion.” On 15 April: “Finally, after a month of staying at home, one must valedict one’s sweet natale Stenbrohult with one’s Patre in his sixties and 4 siblings. . . . My elderly father commended his Biblioteque and also my youngest sister to my protection should a fatality
come to afflict him.” Linnaeus returned for a few weeks in the summer of 1738, again in 1741 on his journey to Öland, and in May 1749 on his way to Skåne. It adds up to about eight visits, surely evidence of what he calls his **nostalgia**.

When he visited in 1749, his father had died and the rectory had burned down. He wrote: “Here, I found the birds dead, the nest burned, and the young ones dispersed. I could hardly recognize the room where I had myself been hatched and felt as if present at campum, ubi olim Troja [the field where once stood Troy], the place where my dear departed father the rector Nils Linnaeus planted his garden that formerly glowed with the finest plants in Sweden but was utterly destroyed by fast flames before time took him away on 12 May of the past year. The pleasures of my youth, the rarest plants once growing wild in this location had not yet emerged. I, who 20 years ago knew every person in the parish, could hardly find 20 of them now; those who were stout lads in my youth had gray hair and white beards, their lives were done and a new world had taken the place of the old.”

This passage bears witness to his sense of alienation. Linnaeus had been born in an impoverished country where little was thrown away. Hordes of starving, homeless people drifted along the roads in the years when the harvest failed. Nowadays, visualizing such scenes makes us uneasy; they are very different from the glamour we believe characterized the last half of the eighteenth century.

Linnaeus tells us of his own poverty: “He could lie awake all night as he lacked the money for evening meals when he was a student.” He had to “incur debt to afford food, had no coins to have mended the soles on his shoes but must walk with his bare foot on some paper that he put inside the shoe.” Later, he would try the natural foods eaten by the Sami as well as share sumptuous meals in the homes of the wealthy but still find his years of hardship difficult to forget. In *Nemesis divina*, his book of exemplars, Linnaeus shows compassion for the poor, as in this example: “The poor farmer labors all year, has barely the straw to rest on, and is paid but little; sic vos, non vobis [thus you work but not for yourselves]. Consider the poor slave, at work while you sleep. You would say of him, he ploughs my field, it is my farm and I decide. I tell you: nothing is yours. God has lent you all.”

In such times, a healthy child might well be the best insurance and old age pension. The injunction to “be fruitful and multiply” was taken seriously not least by the reverend clergy. It went without saying that Linnaeus had siblings. In 1730 his eldest sister, Anna Maria, married *magister* Gabriel Höök, appointed rector in Virestad in 1742. Her son Sven Niklas
painted a group portrait of Linnaeus’s only son Carl and his sisters. In 1749 the next eldest sister, Sophia Juliana, married *magister* Johannes Collin, pastor in Ryssby. Both women gave birth to a dozen children. Once widowed, Sophia was destined to live in poverty, and Linnaeus pleaded with the diocese on her behalf. Her daughter Anna Sophia married *magister* David Widegren, also rector in Ryssby. Carl’s younger brother Samuel (born 1718) studied in Lund, where his doctoral thesis was supervised by Sven Lagerbring, professor of history. He fathered twelve children, of whom only three reached adulthood: two daughters who married into the clergy and a son, Carl Samuel, born 1778. The boy had made Stenbrohult the subject of his doctoral thesis in Lund but died at the age of twenty-two. Carl’s youngest sister, Emerentia (born 1723), married in 1749 to the clerk to the local authority, a Mr. Branting from Virestad. This overview indicates the social circles of country clergy.

In deepest Småland, spirits roam and can be glimpsed in the moonlight: “In Stenbrohult, when the moon shone at night, everyone could see three dancing white-clad ghosts, around three musket shots away. I denied their existence and laughed at those who believed therein but they promised to show me. One evening, when Dr. Rothman, the local judge, was present, a farmhand came with the message: ‘Now they are dancing.’ We went outside and saw them with our very own eyes. Then Rothman took me and my father to the place where a boulder striped with white moss seemed to shift in the moonlight.” Later, he wrote self-confidently that “Spectra are seen in Smoland every night. . . . I believe there are as many in the world as there are in just Smoland.” Rothman and Nils and Carl Linnaeus undeniably come across as a trio of enlightened men in a dark place. Even so, Linnaeus was always uncertain about the validity of many popular beliefs.

Linnaeus insists on the importance of birthplace. Rather than an astrologist, he is a “topologist.” He would instruct his students under the subject line *Solum natale* that your health is always at its best in the place of your birth and where you were brought up because you are used to the air. Migratory birds, returning in spring to their native homes, are examples of this principle. “In this context, an illness called *nostalgia* [homesickness] is found, which principally causes the sufferer to be weak, anxious, *cacheticus* [cachexia, a wasting syndrome] and look as though having contracted pneumonia.” Swedes have found that traveling to Holland can bring on this condition: “The symptoms afflicted also *regius medicus* [royal physician] Linnaeus when he was in Holland and contracted the ague before he left the place where he stayed and arrived at
the sandy heathlands of Brabant where the air was clean and, on that day, he was well again.” Linnaeus has another example at hand: an Inuit girl from Greenland who lived briefly with the late queen of Sweden [Ulrika Eleonora the Younger]. He observes that no Lapp living high on a hill is a *melancholicus*, but the opposite is the case with those who live in forests. The place where you live and the air you breathe are critically important, and it follows that homesickness is very strongly felt by people born at high altitudes who have ended up living in lowland areas, for instance Swiss people in Holland.

Linnaeus also stressed that inheritance matters, for instance to be conceived by healthy parents, and points to himself as living evidence. True, his temperament at least was very different from that of his placid father, who was content to live quietly in his own small world. Linnaeus was perhaps more like his mother, with her “quick” mind.

When he died at the age of seventy-four, Nils Linnaeus was celebrated in learned journals for his beautiful garden but above all for instilling a ceaselessly active mind in his eldest son. Fredrik Hasselquist, a naturalist who had traveled widely, writes in praise of the son as much as of the father: “His son sprung from his root / and brought his country honor; as Nature’s spokesman he stood out / peerless in the Nordic lands.”

What were Linnaeus’s thoughts about childhood, his own and more generally? He insisted that babies should continue to suckle mother’s milk for a few years because he saw it as important on moral and practical as well as medical grounds. Worm infestations can follow drinking cow’s milk but not mother’s milk. The baby consumes milk at will, without forcing, and the mother need not chew the food for her little one. A child must never be deprived of rest and sufficient sleep; for boys, he recommended sleeping twelve hours out of every twenty-four. Parents often urge their children on: “[They] think it will give their children quicker minds, but instead of catching fish they get frogs. . . . Is it not so that every day you can observe the children of the wealthy families who, from the age of 4 years until they are 24, have been made to study and tutored daily whereas the poor farmer’s son who begins with books 10 years later, has come much further in his studies and also in his *ingenio* although having taken the same length of time while the other’s youth had passed in silence.” The physical effects are dire, too: “To force the children to sit all day over the books in *scholis* distresses them and makes them smaller and thinner.”

He summarizes: “All that is done to bring up a child is directed toward this: to teach them good habits.” On the other hand: “Habits are of the Devil. God help whoever has been given a bad habit. . . . As when children
are told to fear the villain who lurks in the darkness beyond the window-pane so that they must not step outside at night and must be quiet. . . . As for me, I did not dare go outside alone until my twentieth year and, in some places, I shudder even though I know better. . . . Caveat hinc [beware here]: If you instill a belief in a child, it will stay in his mind for far too long a time.”

What were the factors that contributed to shaping the young Linnaeus? He grew up in a rural-agrarian Sweden, in a Lutheran pastor’s home, and experienced its natural surroundings, but also in wartime, with all its consequences of poverty, pestilence, and a high mortality rate. Oscar Levertin, who has written a classical account of Linnaeus’s childhood, ends with the following passage: “On one of the innumerable pieces of paper on which, in his high old age, he noted down his solitary thoughts, is written in the shaking, perhaps stroke-troubled hand of an old man, a single word under the heading Nostalgia: Stenbrohult.” True, Linnaeus discussed nostalgia in his large manuscript on dietetics and also in his taxonomy of illnesses. We know that, for him, childhood is bathed in a blessed light. As for that “piece of paper,” no one except Levertin has ever seen it.

The image of Linnaeus as a child is an integral part of the cult of the man. As the “child of nature,” he gained by instruction in natural learning of a kind approved by Rousseau. He was, by definition, a child of nature, and his authenticity implies that he shared ancient wisdom and natural religiosity. Even as an adult, he was thought naïve, innocent, and, hence, charming. There are risks, though, when you gild a childhood like his—especially as he himself was lending a helping hand.
INDEX

“About the Necessity of Investigative Journeys in Our Native Country,” 154
About the way to become together (Om sättet att tillhopa gå), 250–51
Academia, 223–24
Academia Naturae Curiosorum, 306
Académie des sciences (Paris), 118, 135
Academy of Sciences: application to, 131; censor for, 332; competition to find the best ways of fighting infestations in fruit trees, 307; contacts with Ekeblad de la Gardie, 165; founding of, 77–78; Gregorian calendar, adoption of, 149; illustrators working under the aegis of, 241; Kalm’s journey to America supported by, 276; Latin-based approach idealized by, 417n30; Linnaeus’s proposal of membership for Swedenborg, 361; membership in, 232, 327; motto of, 76, 243; origin of, 134–37, 147; questions about the country, publication of memorandum with, 158; revision of Fauna Svecica, proposal for, 183; role in Swedish education, 314; Skåne, eagerness to see, 168; Swedish language and, 177, 239; the Tärnström case and, 277; thermometer purchased from, 197; translation of works in Latin, 182–83; yearly scientific mission abroad, 272–73
Acharius, Erik, 242, 406
Acrel, Olof af, 373
Acrel (or Acrell), Johan Gustaf: descriptions of Linnaeus, 4–5, 382; on Linnaeus as a lecturer, 208–9, 229; on Linnaeus leading his students in outdoor excursions, 204; on Linnaeus’s authorship of disputations, 225; mixing of rabbit and hen, observation of, 343; text on journey to Lapland, reading of, 419n28
Adanson, Michel, 341, 404–6
Adolf Fredrik (king of Sweden), 177, 332
Adonis stenbrohultensis, 23
Adonis Uplandicus, 53
Adorno, Theodor, 433
Afzelius, Adam, 275, 325, 388, 392–93, 406
Agamben, Giorgio, 429n1
Agardh, Carl Adolph, 406
aging: description of, 380–82; descriptions of Linnaeus, 387–88; dulling of senses, 345, 355; Linnaeus’s mind and, 363, 433; Linnaeus’s self-perception of, 385–86; sources on Linnaeus, 435; the transformation of the body and, 381–82; the young versus the old Linnaeus, 359
Ährling, Ewald, 192, 234, 277, 438–39
Åkerman, Anders/Andreas, 149, 271–72, 295
Akrell, Fredrik, 319
Albinus, Bernhard Siegfried, 103, 109, 356
Alcherr, Jonas, 135
Alois Adanson (Academic Amusements), 224–25
amphibians, 337. See also frogs
anatomy, 47, 212, 222
Andersen, Hans Christian, 6
Anderson, Johann, 107
Andromeda caerulea, 70
Animalia composita, 286
Animalia per Sveciam observata, 54
animals: apes, 294–95; birds (see birds); compassion for, 260–61; earthworms, 40; frogs (see frogs); human beings as, 83; hybridization in the natural system for, 343; learning from, 84–85; moral sense of, 201; natural system for ordering, 342; opossum, slipper-eating, 431n4; pets (see pets); plants and, distinction between, 286; souls of, 370; at the Uppsala garden, 199–200. See also Fauna Svecica
Annerstedt, Claes, 197, 439
Anthropomorpha, 294–95
ants: “Notes on the Practices of Ants,” 137, 140

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
apes, 294–95
“apparent death,” 36–37
appearance of Linnaeus. See descriptions aristocracy, contempt for, 86
Aristotle, 33–34, 56, 121, 282, 392
Armfelt, Ulrika Charlotta, 360
Arndt, Johann, 56, 365
Artedi (Arctedius), Petrus: advice about places to stop for the night on the coastal road, 64; death of, 114–15, 231; influence on Linnaeus, speculation about, 124; low profile of, 58–59; method in ichthyology worked out by, 121; the siren included in work by, 128; the unicorn/narwhal identified as Monodon by, 124 atheism, accusation of, 343–44, 365–66 Auctores botanici, 246 Augustine, Saint, 427n1 Aurivillius, Samuel, 332, 371, 396 autobiographies of Linnaeus, 2–4, 437 awards. See honors Bach, Johann Sebastian, 11, 368–69 Bäck, Abraham: background and life of, 328; biographer, consideration as, 437; on Clifford and the conflict between Linnaeus and Cramer, 116–17; collaboration with Linnaeus, 111, 222, 234, 281, 285–86, 328; corals, question of, 285; correspondence with Linnaeus, 157, 177, 198, 202–3, 230–33, 240–41, 285, 312–15, 317–18, 330, 333, 341, 348, 356–57, 381, 386, 389, 433n19, 433n26; correspondence with Linnaeus Jr., 396; correspondence with Rosén, 329; diary entries about Holland, 109; donation for foreign explorations, 276; on the friendship between Artedi and Linnaeus, 58; friendship with, 2–3, 109, 328–30, 348, 387; Holland, diary entries about, 109; on the improbability of seeing Linnaeus's correspondence in print, 437; on Linnaeus after his death, 247, 387; Linnaeus as part of the new generation in science, 131; Linnaeus's autobiography, delivering the text of, 2–3; on Linnaeus's collaboration with God, 305–6; Linnaeus's death and, 389; Linnaeus's moaning about becoming a courtier, 335; on Linnaeus's offering of alms to starving persons, 265; on Linnaeus's sorrow over the loss of disciples abroad, 277; on Linnaeus's writing style, 177–78; on the purity of Linnaeus's religious faith, 372; residence in Stockholm, 330; translation of Latin works into Swedish, proposal for, 182; tribute to Linnaeus, 3; warning to not mention trip to Stockholm to his wife, 193 Bäck, Anna Charlotta, 329 Bäck, Carl Abraham, 329–31 Backman, Johan, 46, 197, 216 Bacon, Francis, 56, 60, 83, 254, 361 bacteria, 340 Bagge, Peter, 267 bananas, 268–69 Banks, Joseph: correspondence with Mrs. Solander, 399; hostility to Linnaeus, 387–88, 399; Linnaeus Jr. and, 396; painting of, 397; reports from Cook's explorations, source of, 340; on Solander's work habits, 229; study of Linnaeus's works by, 404 Bartsch, Johann, 111–12, 116, 277 Bassaport, Madeleine, 118 Bataille, Georges, 373 Bauhin, Caspar, 41, 50, 201 beards, 87, 104, 131, 300, 382 Beckmann, Johann: conversations with Linnaeus, 382–83; description of Linnaeus, 2, 131, 382; description of Sara Lisa, 399; description of the Uppsala fire, 319; at Hammarby, 323–24; Linnaeus's ideas about electricity, peculiarity of, 333; on the plants named for Browallius, 235; on the relations between Carl Jr. and his mother, 394; religion, Linnaeus and, 370; Tagebuch, 440 Bedoire, Frans, 199 Bellman, Carl Michael, 263 Bengtsson, Frans G., 408, 410 Bentham, Jeremy, 404 Benzelius, Greta, 51, 185 Benzelius, Erik, 51 Benzelius, Mathias, 159 Benzelstierna, Gustaf, 172 Berch, Anders, 147, 249, 316, 395 Berch, Anders, Jr., 249–50, 395 Berch, Christer, 152 Bergencrantz, Carl Fredrik, 234, 392, 401 Bergh, Sven Richard, 408 Bergius, Bengt, 220, 332
Bergius, Peter Jonas, 332, 396
Berglund, Karin, 408
Berglund, Kerstin, 442
Bergman, Torbern: as an anti-Linnaean, 332; faculty at Uppsala, member of, 148; on the judge's bench at Uppsala, 316; letter to Wargentin on the elderly Linnaeus's condition, 387; Linnaeus Jr. and, 396; lover of natural history, described as, 236; Physisk beskrifning öfwer jordklotet (Physical description of the earth), 271–72; prize from the Academy of Sciences, winner of, 307
Bergquist, Carl, 241
Berlin, Andreas, 277
Bemigeroth, Martin, 261
Beronius, Magnus Olai (archbishop of Uppsala), 3, 390, 437
Bible, the: absence of in Linnaeus's library, 366; authority of in Stenbrohult parish of Linnaeus's youth, 20–21; bananas, as a presumed source of information about, 268; botany of, 369; “consider the lilies” in, 34; final words of Diaeta Naturalis and, 374; geography, as a source on, 271; Linnaeus quoting/frequent references to, 215, 366; Linnaeus's faith in the words of, 359, 363; Linnaeus's science and, 368–70; Linnaeus's use of in “On the Growth of Habitable Parts of the Earth,” 154–56; Linnaeus's writing style influenced by, 177; misuse of words from, warning about, 254; the study of nature and, 366–70. See also Creator/Creation/role of God; religion
Bible Commission, 370–71
biblical philology, 369
Bielke, Sten Carl, 135, 181, 268, 327
biomolecular nomenclature, 8, 129, 226, 255, 291–92
biographies of Linnaeus, 438–42
biology: creation of the concept of, 406; double name convention introduced into, 291; ethnobiology, notes on from Lapland journey, 65; recognition of “hybrid” as classic moment in the history of, 284; sexual system of, 247, 250; significance of Systema Naturae for, 119; taxonomic base of, 346 (see also taxonomy project)
birds: classification of, 59–60; dissection of, 214; drawings of, 42, 49; migratory, 27; pelican, old tale about, 124; as pets, 199–200; short-eared owl, drawing of, 67; song of, 22, 25, 104, 260–62; stuffed in Linnaeus's collection, 50; swallows spend winter underwater, belief that, 128; in Sweden, 154; work on classifying, 59–60
birth/birthplace, 17–18, 20, 27–28
Biurman, Georg, 160
Björck, Henrik, 410
Björck, Eric, 137
Björck, Sanne, 443
Björck, Tobias, 117
Björnståhl, Jacob Jonas, 244, 275, 403
Blackburne, Anna, 246
black henbane, curious effects of, 34
Blackwell, Elisabeth, 246
Blake, William, 6
Blom, Carl Magnus, 286
Blunt, Wilfrid, 79, 242, 442
Boerhaave, Herman: dislike of Linnaeus, 112; in the first rank of students of nature, 392; as an iatrochemist, 213; illness of and farewell to, 113; Institutiones medica, 57; as learned celebrity from Holland, 103; meeting, 111–12; notice of Linnaeus by, 47; as a patron/supporter, 111–12, 141; portrait of in Linnaeus’s grand salon, 235; publication of Swammerdam’s work supported by, 366
Boëthius, Jacob, 87
bog rosemary (Andromeda polifolia), description of, 69–71
Böhme, Jakob, 35
Bontius, Jacobus, 126
books: hiding the books at Uppsala from the Russians, 45; illustrations and drawings in, 241–44; library borrowing while at Lund, 41–42; Linnaeus's library while a student at Uppsala, 57–58; literary works provided by Nils Linnaeus, 33–34; medical texts, Linnaeus's library of, 56; number of written by Linnaeus, 238; publication of (see publication/publishing); reviews, 245; Stobæus's library, 39–41; target readership of Linnaeus's, 245; texts owned while a grammar student, 33–34
Börzt, Daniel, 373
Boström, Christopher Jacob, 363

botany: Book of Herbs kept while at school, 1725–1727, 34–35; definition of, 255–56; “herbations” as excursions focused on, 203–6; introduction to, 97; irritation at restructuring of plant nomenclature by Linnaeus, 129; lectures on, 134; Linnaeus’s approach to teaching, 410; Linnaeus’s reputation as a student at Uppsala in, 49; medicine and, 220; Nils Linnaeus’s interest in, 23; as the people’s science, 245; taxonomy (see taxonomy project); teaching, concerns about, 408, 410; women attracted to, 245–46. See also reproduction

Boyce, Robert, 372

Brandes, Jan, 278

Braw, Monica, 443

Bredberg, Sven, 108

Bref och Skrifwelser (Letters and Writings), 246

Broberg, Lars, 199, 376

Brodersonia, Christina, 18

Bromelius, Olaus (or Olof), 34, 181, 292

Bromell, Magnus von, 242

Browallius, Carl Fredrik Andreas, 54–55, 95–96, 100

Browallius, Johan: academy membership, Linnaeus’s support for, 136; as biographer, 437; bishopric, appointment to, 367; correspondence with, 104; Dalarna, journey to, 93, 101; description of Linnaeus’s room in Rudbeck’s estate, 59; destruction by fire of letters to, 233; ghost writing for Linnaeus, 96–97; as go-between for Linnaeus and Sara Lisa, 98–99; on the intellectual status of Linnaeus, 119; as “Joseph” in Nemesis divina, 375; “Journey in Dalarna,” plans to publish, 101; Lapland, journey to, 80–81; naming of plants for, 235; as part of the new generation in science, 131; political beliefs held by, 132; Sara Lisa Moraea, flirtation with, 99–100, 117, 132, 375; Siegesbeck, conflict with, 100

Brown, W.J.S., 397

Brusewitz, Gunnar, 408

Bryset, Jean Marie, 342

Bryk, Felix, 242, 251–52

Bryson, Bill, 248

Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de, 283–85, 396, 404–5

Burman, Johannes, 112, 404

Burser, Joachim, 201

Busser, Johan Benedict, 147, 150

“buttonology,” 406

Byström, Niklas, 402

Cain, Arthur, 441

Cajanus, Daniel, 20

Cajanus, Gustaf, 208

Cameralism, 269

Camerarius, Rudolf Jakob, 54

Camper, Peter, 405

Caps, the, 31, 132, 141, 192, 265, 312–13

Carlander, Christopher, 391

Carl Linnaeus Notebook, 34

Carlshdotter, Stina, 315–16

cataloging, method of, 340

celebrity, faked interviews and, 383

Celsius, Anders: as colleague, 111; cover illustration for Arithmetica, or the Art of Counting, 151; French expedition to the north, participant in, 61, 64; on his deathbed quip about the possibility of eternal life, 148–49; as inspector at Uppsala, 310; nephew of Olof, 47; as part of the new generation in science, 131; ranking of candidates for professorial chairs at Uppsala, 141; reduction in water levels following the Flood, observation of, 156; support for Linnaeus’s expedition to Lapland, 64; on teaching of medicine at Uppsala, 49; thermometer, manufacture of, 197; as the university’s most brightly shining light, 152

Celsius, Olof: “Captain,” playful designation as, 306; correspondence with, 116–17, 129; on Flora Lapponica, 65; Flora uplandica, 181; friendship with, 47; Hierobotanicon, 369; lodgings for Linnaeus, assistance in finding, 59; Praeludia dedicated to, 53; ranking of candidates for professorial chairs at Uppsala, 141; on the sexual relationship of plants, 54; species of local flora, figure for, 204; theology examination required for study abroad, examiner for, 103

Celsius family, 44

censorship, 130, 171–73

Cesalpino, Andrea, 23
Cesnecopherus, Johannes, 213
Charles XII (king of Sweden), 18, 30, 131, 305
childhood: biographers on, 414n1; Book of Herbs kept while at school, 1725–1727, 34–35; education (see education); grammar school, 30–33; Linnaeus’s thoughts about, 28–29; medicine, playing at, 23–24; plants, interest in, 23, 25; religion, 365; Stenbrohult, growing up in, 22–24, 29
Christensen, Mogens, 443
Christina (queen of Sweden), 160, 219, 272
Cicero, 219, 331
Classes Plantarum, 111, 129, 341
classification: of birds, 59–60; of illnesses, 221–22, 353, 355–56; of mammals (Mammalia), 210, 280; of man (Homo sapiens), 254; of minerals, 96–97; of nature, systematic (see Systema Naturae; taxonomy project); of plants according to their “medical powers,” 355; sexual system of, 59, 123, 128, 130, 137 (see also sex)
Clavis Medicinae Duplex, 11, 346–53, 356–58
Clerck, Carl, 232, 242–43
Clewberg, Carl, 92
Clifford, George: apes in the vivaria of, 294; dedication of Hortus Cliffortianus to, 113–14; favorite of, competition for, 116–17; irritation at restructuring of plant nomenclature by Linnaeus, 129; Linnaeus as garden manager for, 112–13, 198; London trip for Linnaeus, paying for, 117; staying with, 99, 114, 116, 118, 324
climate: dietetics, included in, 213; foreign plants and, 267–68; Gothic understanding of, 417n31; interconnectivity and interdependencies in nature and, 258; lives of men shaped by, 84, 86–87, 132, 297; of the mountains, 75, 78; zones of, 87, 155
Colden, Jane, 246
collections/collection: compulsive/obsessional, 5, 202; compulsory in the senior school, 408; devoted list-maker and orderly hoarder, 178; fate of following death of Linnaeus, 401; insects, 5, 35, 50; maintaining the university and royal, 202–3; minerals, 92; plants, 35; popularity of, 201–2
Collegium Medicum, 353
Collin, Johannes, 27
Collinson, Peter, 404
continuity: in Darwin, 283; derivation of concept of, 281; fascination with, 282; of life, letter about, 288; of life, marrow providing, 350; of life, sentence summing up aspects of ideas on, 351; in a map model of the orders, 341; in nature, aphorism on, 439; in nature, the egg as symbol of, 123
Cook, James, 340
Corallia baltica, 285
corals: animal-plant boundaries and, 282–83; as animals, development of understanding of, 285; classification of, 290; collection of, 328, 401
Cornelius Agrippa, 56–57
Cornelianus Nepos, 33
correspondence/letters: conditions of professional, 234; from the family, 233; of introduction, 234; number of correspondents, 233; professional networks via, 232–33; publishing, 233–34, 437–38. See also Bäck, Abraham, correspondence with Linnaeus; Mennander, Carl Fredrik, correspondence with; Roberg, Lars, correspondence with; Salvius, Lars, correspondence with; Sauvages de Lacroix, François Boissier de, correspondence with; Stobæus, Kilian, correspondence with; Tessin, Carl Gustaf, correspondence with; Wargentin, Per Wilhelm, correspondence with
Cosmographical Society, 271
Creator/Creation/role of God: electricity, God and, 371; Eve, Linnaeus on the creation of, 370–71; Genesis as the starting point for Linnaeus’s thought/work, 121, 154–56, 281, 367–68; on God’s judgment, 374–75 (see also Nemesis divina (Divine retribution); God’s plan for the world is sensible and straightforward, 349–50; hybridization and the laws of nature, 342–44; “know thyself” means realizing that you are the aim of Creation, 299; nature and, union of, 365; perfection of and science, difficulty of reconciling, 338. See also Bible, the; religion
Crichton, Alexander, 5
crickets, 164, 324–25
*Critica Botanica*, 129, 296–97
Cronhheim, Gustaf, 83, 91, 101
*Cui bono?*, 255, 274, 279
culture: as a factor shaping the lives of men, 84–86; natural form of medicine and, 82–83; nature and, combinations of, 260; nature and, opposition of, 87, 257; Sami, ruining, 78; Sara Lisa as lacking in, 324, 400; Swedish, 15, 406; variants of species created by, 121
*Curiositas naturalis*, 367
curiosity, 253–55, 427n1
Dahle, Lars, 94
Dalarna, journey to: account of, 93–97; availability of the account of, 173; commission for, 92; entertainment breaks during, 97–99; personnel for the expedition, 92–93; praise of, 95–96
*Dalarna resa*, 173–74
Dali, Salvador, 5
Dalin (later Dahlin), Olof von, 107, 132–33, 177, 203, 327
Darwin, Charles: creation of coral reefs, first to explain, 225; Down, comparison of Hammarby to, 320; earthworms, fascination with, 40; journey on *The Beagle*, 81; Linnaeus, comparison with, 404; Linnaeus as inspiration for, 259, 283–84; marriage, thoughts on, 189; methods of, concept of “biology” and, 406; “nature doesn’t jump,” reference to, 283; questions of Creation, approach to, 368
Darwin, Erasmus, 248, 404, 443
data management, 229–30
death: burial spot, 1; causes of, 389–90; dream on the night of Linnaeus’s, 392; fate of collections following, 401; the funeral, 392–93; funeral instructions, 390–91; instructions for managing, examples of, 391; interest of Banks and Solander in Linnaeus’s, 387–88, 399; of Linnaeus, 388–89; self-perception as close to, 382; the will, 392, 394
*De curiositate naturali*, 230, 253–54
*De effectu et cura*, 349
defining by exclusion, practice of, 210
De Geer, Charles, 242, 281, 327
*De inebriantia*, 352
De la Gardie, Catharina Charlotte, 246
De la Gardie, Eva Ekeblad, 165, 246
*Deliciae Naturae*, 216, 246
*De Peloria*, 284
depression, 230–31
Derham, William, 366
Descartes, René, 57, 119, 254, 257, 362
descriptions of Linnaeus: by Acrel, 4–5, 382; appreciation from a professor of literature, 1; by Bäck, 3; by Beckmann, 2, 131, 382; eyes described by Fabricius, 384; by Frondin, 4; by Queen Lovisa Ulrika, 333; as an older man, 382, 387–88; by Rothman, 4; self-portraits and self-praise, 1–2, 4, 6–7; size/height, 19–20; as summation of multiple images, 9–11; temperament, 28. See also portraits of Linnaeus; professional career/accomplishments
*Diaeta Naturalis*, 82–90; on American Indians, 72–73; animals portrayed as moral exemplars in, 300, 325; city and countryside, differences between, 260; coffee and tea are always to be drunk hot, 145; compiled by Uggla, 437; on God’s judgment, 374; health, critical importance of taste and smell to, 353; intended audience for, 357; introduction to, melancholy and bitterness in, 89–90; on Lapps never having seen a snake, 77; life-affirming/changing experience of the beauty of nature, 367–68; observations of folk customs in foreign countries in, 272; precursor to *Paradoxa* list included in, 126; sex drive, observations linked to, 249; vegetarianism discussed in, 115; views from Lapland journey in, 67–68; work on beginning in 1733, 91
*Diaeta per Scalam aetatis humanae* (Order of life and the different ages of mankind), 381
dictionary of natural history, 342
dietetics: drinking and alcoholism, 216–17, 219, 324; eating practices, 213–16, 324; harsh judgment of contemporary Swedes’ practices, 219; iatrochemists
in the seventeenth century and, 213; introduction to the course on, 385; journey to Lapland and, 72; lecturing on, 89, 207–8, 211–21; luxury, ridding the nation of, 266; path to wisdom and, 299; six main elements of, 83; subject matter of and focus on, 213, 221; texts on, 58; warm drinks, dangers of, 217

Dillenius, Johann Jacob, 117, 235

Diogenes, 83–84

Dioscorides, 392

Döbelius, Johan Jacob, 42

Dodoens, Rembert, 41

double name convention (binomial nomenclature), 8, 129, 226, 255, 291–92
drawing, Linnaeus’s abilities at, 242
dreams: contempt for, 64–65; about the murder of Caesar, 261; on the night of Linnaeus’s death, 392; at the outset of the expedition to Lapland, 65; of primitive humans in a state of innocence, 73; Swedenborg’s erotic fantasies, 109

Drelincourt, Charles, 287

Dryander, Jonas, 404

earthworms, 40

East India Company, 272–73, 277

economics: Linnaeus’s lack of knowledge about, 427–28n1; Linnaeus’s optimism about, 265–66; Linnaeus’s pronounce ment on the importance of, 136; proposals (mostly unrealistic) for addressing, 266–70; travels through Swedish landscapes and, 77–78, 102, 265

Edberg, Rolf, 408

Edison, Thomas Alva, 5

education: disputations and dissertations, 223–27, 425n15; focus shifting away from the sciences in, 345; geography, early teaching of, 271; at grammar school in Växjö, 30–33, 365; introduction to the course on dietetics, 385; Linnaeus’s approach to botany, 408, 410; Linnaeus’s engagement in and opinion of, 314–15; at Lund University, 37–42; moving from Lund to Uppsala, 42–44; at Uppsala University, 45–60 (see also Uppsala University). See also teacher/teaching

Education Commission, 148
egg(s): every being has its origin in an, 120–21, 281, 368; in Linnaeus’s coat of arms and seal, 123, 403; Mammalia as class that does not grow in, 210; number laid linked to size of animal, 259; as a representation of the world, 123; seed and, similarities of, 52, 121, 123, 226; seed and bud of plants, difference in, 288; seed as the egg of the plant, 55; sorting birds by number laid, 59; sperm and, combination of, 55–56

Ehrenholm, Lisa, 99

Ehrensvard, Augustin, 134

Ehrensvard, Carl August, 335

Ehrensvard, Gustav Johan, 408

Ehret, Georg Dionysius, 122, 129, 241, 318

Ehrhart, Friedrich, 204

Ehrström, Anders, 269, 324

Ekeberg, Carl Gustaf, 145

Ekeblad, Clas, 170

Ekman, Kerstin, 408, 430n18, 443

Ekman, O. C., 373

Ekström, C. U., 197, 408

electricum/electricity, 351–53, 371

electrotherapeutics, 351

Ellis, John, 282, 340, 345, 404, 432n13

Elvius, Johan, 55

Emporelius, Erik, 92

enemies/rivals/criticisms, 230, 331–32; Adanson, 405–6; Bengtsson, 408, 410; “buttonology,” 406; Camper, 405; dismissal of Linnaeus’s work as mere collecting and organizing, 441–42; noisy opponents, dealing with, 237; Siegesbeck, 100; the “Solander issue,” 387–88; upstart, criticism as an, 96.

See also Bergman, Torbern; Haller, Albrecht von; Ihre, Johan; Rosén von Rosenstein, Nils; Solander, Daniel; Wallerius, Johan Gottschalk

entrepreneur, Linnaeus as, 276

equilibrium, 373. 377. 379

Eriksson, Gunnar, 408, 442

Erik XIV (king of Sweden), 333

“eternity machine,” possibility of building a, 136

Eugen (prince of Sweden), 408

Euhemerus/euhemerism, 77

Eurén, Erik, 211
Exanthemata viva (Live Eruptions), 340

extinction, species at risk of, ix

Fabricius, Johan Christian, 320, 323–24, 359, 384, 394, 399–400

Fagerstedt, Otto, 277

Faggot, Jacob, 136, 158

Fahlstedt, Ingel, 92

Fahrenheit, Daniel, 195

Falck, Anders, 382, 435n5

Falun, Sweden: birth of first child in, 187; description of mines in, 95; laughing sickness in, case of, 267; partying (without Linnaeus) in, 99; post as medic in, 44, 90; return to, 118; 1734 as the year of, 92–93

family life: at Hammarby (country manor house) (see Hammarby); members of the household in Uppsala, 193; at the prefect’s house in Uppsala, 186–87. See also romance

famine: of 1733, 76; of 1756, 255; of 1773, 309

Fant, Erik Mikael, 370–71

“fauna,” introduction of the term, 292

Fauna Svecica, 181–83, 185; checking proofs of second edition, 228; frontispiece of, 184; gifts to sponsors of, 234; kinds of people who live in Sweden, account of, 297; Linnaeus called “The Second Adam” in reference to, 305; publication of by Salvius, 240; quote from foreword to, 357; the wolverine included in, 126

feminist, Linnaeus as, 350

Fischerström, Iwan F., 408

Fjellström, Johan, 159

flattery: appreciation of, 7; ingratiating, 50–51; not heard in the north, 65; of royal recognition, 333

“flora,” introduction of the term, 292

Flora Dalecarlica, 93

Flora Lapponica: Boerhaave’s refusal to write an introduction for, 112; descriptions from Lapland journey incorporated into, 65; frontispiece for, 62, 242; inventory of plants in Lapland as an international contribution, 129; metaphors in the foreword to, 178; mushrooms, inedibility of, 216; passages on the Fury and Andromeda in, 69; printing plans for, 101

Flora oeconomica, 265

Flora Svecica, 15, 181–85, 207, 240–42, 244–45

Florin, Magnus, 443

Flygare, Gustaf, 391–92

food: cooking and cookbooks, 219–20; evolution of the human diet, 85; at Hammarby, 324; kitchen interior, drawing of, 218; recommended eating practices, 213–16; suggestions for, hunger and, 265; vegetarianism, 216; warm/hot drinks, dangers of ingesting, 217. See also dietetics

foreign, suspicious of the, 264–66

Forsell, Jonas, 443

Forsskål, Peter, 149, 382

Forsslund, Jonas, 395

Forster, George, 340, 387

Forster, J. R., 340

Foucault, Michel, 79, 404, 441–42

Fowles, John, 194

Fraga vesca, 303

Franklin, Benjamin, 351

Fredrik I (king of Sweden), 30

Fredrik the Great (king of Prussia), 333

French, dislike of, 82, 87, 170, 264, 296

Freud, Sigmund, 248

Friedrich, Adolph, 162

friends, 327–31. See also Bäck, Abraham; Härelman, Carl; Höpken, Anders Johan von; Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden); Mennander, Carl Fredrik; Tessin, Carl Gustaf; Wargentin, Pehr Wilhelm

Fries, Carl, 408

Fries, Elias, 155–56, 373, 439

Fries, Thore M.: anecdote on the naming of plants for Browallius, dismissal of, 235; attribution of essay to Linnaeus, 430n18; auguries and portents not taken seriously by Linnaeus, 377; battle with Aurivillius, 332; Beckmann’s Tagebuch, editing and publishing of, 440; biography of Linnaeus, 439–40; commitment to Linnaeus, 406; complications of Linnaeus’s private life not addressed by, 192; on the death messages from Linnaeus, 392; desperation, 1733 as a time of, 91; drawing from Lapland journey, 75; dutiful attender at meetings, Linnaeus as, 312; Iter Lapponicum, publication of, 440; letter from Celsius referring to a “new method,” 54; letters, compilation
of, 438–39; Linnaeus's flexible attitude toward facts unremarked on by, 80; on Linnaeus's theory of all species being present at the Creation, 156; on Linnaeus's writing style, 177; loyalty to the king as a "good" quality, 313; on the marriage celebration for Linnaeus and Sara Lisa, 137; politics, minimizing references to, 312; publication of Lapland travelogue, 416; publication of Linnaeus biography, ix; publication of Linnaeus correspondence, 234; the rivalry/conflict with Rosén, 50

Friess, Frederick Christian, 373

frogs: children catching, 28; as a member of the "ugly family," 203; mythical figures and, 68, 70; potential illness associated with, 216; vocalizations by, 104, 171

Frölich, Charlotte, 165

Frondin, Birger "Berge," 4, 189–92, 197

Frondin, Elias, 189

Frondin, Erik, 189, 191

Fuchs, Rutger, 162

Fundamenta Botanica: belief that all species today were present at the Creation as core concept of, 155; botany, definition of, 256; Cartesianism in, 362; classifying plants by their "medical powers," 355; echoes of Descartes in foreword to, 57; lecture notes, mentioned in, 210; print run planned for, 100; publication plans for, 101; quotes from the introduction and postscript to, 53–54

Fundamenta Medicinae, 58

Fundamentum fructificationis, 342

Galen, 34

Galileo Galilei, 296

Gall, Franz Joseph, 439

gardens: application for a post at the botanical garden in Uppsala, 47–48; botanical in Skåne, 170; Clifford's, 113–14; dangerous, keeping Samuel out of, 35; experimental, 268; Hortus Upsaliensis, 225–26; Linne garden, photo of, 407; as living libraries of plants, 194; locations of significant, 194; in London, 117; Lund as a city of, 38; of Nils Linnaeus, 18, 23, 26, 28; Paradise, Linnaeus's garden known as, 306; at Råshult, 22–23; rectory, 22–23; Royal Academic Garden in Upsala, statue of Venus in, 249–50; at Uppsala (see Uppsala University Botanical Garden)

Geijer, Erik Gustaf, 363

Geisler, Johan Tobias, 55

Gemmae arborum, 287–88

Genera morborum, 221

Genera Plantarum, 15, 116–17, 141, 242–43, 342–43

genus: emphasis on, 342. See also taxonomy project

gazography: climatic zones, 272; early teaching of, 271; Linnaeus's learning about, 271–72; research effort in (see travel)

Gesner, Johann, 404

Gesner (or Gesnerus), Conrad, 125, 306

Gibson, Susannah, 79

Gieses, Albert, 271

Giseke, Paul Dietrich, 341, 352, 438

Gjörwell, Carl Christoffer: on the aging Linnaeus, 388; correspondence with, 437; on Döbelius, 42; on flattery, 7; Linnaeus's foreign correspondence, as potential publisher of, 233; sale of Linnaeus's collections, inquiry regarding, 401; traveling clothes of, 152

glowworms, 168

God. See Creator/Creation/role of God

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 326, 403–4

Goffman, Erving, 307

Gorter, David de, 404

Gorter, Johannes de, 110

Gothicism, 72

Gotland, 225

Gotländska resa, 173

Gouan, Antoine, 404

Gourlie, Norah, 66

Gregorian calendar, adoption of, 149

Gripe, Maria, 443

Gronovius, Jacob, 404

Gronovius, Jan Frederik: America, travel to, 273; assistance/support from, 111, 112, 116; association of Linnaeus with Linnaea borealis, 15, 235; "Colonel," playful designation as, 306; irritation at restructuring of plant nomenclature by Linnaeus, 129; letter of introduction for Linnaeus, 234; visiting, 118; warning against challenging Seba over the Hamburg hydra, 127
Grundtvig, N.F.S., 217
Guinea pig, illustration of, 227
Gustafsson, Lars, 373
Gustafsson, Mikael, 321–22
Gustav III (king of Sweden): absolute monarchy reinstated by, 130–31; anonymous contribution for the Linnaeus memorial in Uppsala cathedral, 391; Bible Commission of, 370; birth of, 165; contributions to Uppsala University in commemoration of Linnaeus, 402; coup by, 309, 333; donation of royal garden to Uppsala University, 402; friendship with, 335; opulent image of the country under the rule of, 264; references by Linnaeus to, 135; remarks on the death of Linnaeus, 393
Gustav Vasa (king of Sweden), 134
Gyllenborg, Carl, 141, 186, 200, 234, 323
Gyllengrip, Gabriel, 76, 78–79, 92, 111, 159
Haak, Dirk, 123
Haartman, Johan, 247, 353
habits: bad, the upper class as the source of, 110, 217; to be noted by explorers, 273; of gifted men, 228–29; lives of men shaped by, 28, 84–85, 297; nature and, 85; of the Sami, commitment to, 428n7; as second nature, 219; sticking to simple, 83
Haeckel, Ernst, 258
Hagberg, Knut, 66, 80, 373, 408, 441
Hägerström, Axel, 362
Hagström, Johan Otto, 236, 366, 391
Halenius, Engelbert, 230, 311, 313
Hallenberg, Jonas, 392
Hallenberg, Carl, 173–74
Haller, Albrecht von: accusation of atheism conveyed by spokesman for, 343; “Colonel,” playful designation as, 306; correspondence with, 98–99, 438; death of, 389; dedication of Clavis Medicinae Duplex to, 356; Die Alpen, 102; irritation at restructuring of plant nomenclature by Linnaeus, 129; number of letters in the archives of, 232; portrait of hung upside down in Linnaeus’s grand salon, 235; praise for Linnaeus’s work, 404–5; publication of collection of letters, 386; publication of letters from Linnaeus without permission, 233; “The Second Adam,” Linnaeus referred to as, 305; Wargentin as mediator between Linnaeus and, 332
Hallman, Johan Gustav, 195–96, 354
Hammarby: crickets at, 325–26; escaping the Uppsala fire at, 319–20; etching of, 319; as a farm, 320; life at, 320; obligations as member of landed gentry, 318; portraits of three daughters hung on the walls of, 322; purchased by the state in 1879, 400; purchase of, 317–18, 430n1; rebuilt and decorated with portraits, 318–19; visitors at, 383–84; wallpaper in Linnaeus’s bedroom and study, 321
Hammarskjöld, Dag, 408
Härleman, Carl: disturbing letter from, 230; drawings for the remodel of the prefect’s house, 187; expansion of the botanical garden in Skåne by, 170; friendship with, 312, 327; journey to Skåne, support for, 168; objection to clearing land by slash-and-burn, 172; as patron, 111; portrayed as heroic figure in New Year’s greeting to, 7; post-fire rebuilding, 147, 309; restructuring of the garden at Uppsala, 195; warning about the new style of clothing worn by the young, 206
Harvey, William, 121, 199, 251
Hasselquist, Fredrik, 28, 114, 174, 276–78, 291, 369
Hats, the: characterized in a flippant pamphlet, 313; formation of, 30–31, 132; Linnaeus and, 111, 282, 312–13; mercantilism of, 240; silkworm cultivation, medal struck for, 149; Uppsala University and, 148; war against Russia waged by, 309
Health: critical importance of taste and smell to, 353; height of residence and, 317; illnesses (see illnesses); importance of and practice related to, 212–17; “medical primitivism” as an approach to, 417n4; mental (see mental health); riding as beneficial for, 160; visiting the country house and, 317; wild strawberries for (see wild strawberries). See also dietetics; medicine; near-death experiences
Heckscher, Eli, 159
Hedbom, Karl, 390
Hedenblad, Petrus, 92
Hedenius, Ingemar, 363
Hedin, Sven

A

.: biography of Linnaeus, 438–39; on Clavis, 357; on Iter, 419n28; on Linnaeus as lecturer, 211; on the relationship of Carl Jr. and his mother, 396; 1733 as a time of desperation for Linnaeus, 91; on Soul and Nature in Linnaeus’s approach to medicine, 432n5
Heister, Lorenz (Laurentius), 306
herbations, 203–6
Hermann, Johan, 338
Hernquist, Peter, 433n24
Herodotus, 271
Hesselius, Andreas, 54
Hiärne, Urban, 242

hierarchy: the Bible and, 370; derivation of the concept from three basic principles of nature, 281; imposed on nature, 9; in Linnaeus’s taxonomy, 369; Linnean, Darwin and, 404; in the map model of nature, 341; in nature, difficulty of maintaining notion of, 282; ordering humanity with a model of, 300; of the senses, 353
Hildegard of Bingen, 246
Hill, John, 404
Hippocrates, 56, 212

history: ideology and approaches to,
417n33; natural (see natural history); pansexual view of, 249
Hjorth, Harriet, 408
Hodacs, Hanna, 442
Hoffman, Martin, 88–89, 106–7, 119
Hoffmann, Friedrich, 58, 213
Hofsten, Nils von, 5
Högström, Pehr, 366
Höijer, Anna Ovena, 216
Holberg, Ludvig, 133, 177, 179
Holgersson, Nils, 408

Holland: almanac kept during the journey to, 104, 109–10; Artedi, death of, 114–15; Boerhaave, interaction with, 111–13; celebrities in science and medicine from, 103; Clifford’s garden, manager of, 113–14; club for scientists in Leyden, 116–17; freedom to worship in, 108; hydra affair, 107, 127; illness contracted while in, 27–28; improvement in health upon leaving, 117–18; interest in Linnaeus’s line of thought in, 404; no “influence of the Enlightenment” from his years in, 363; sinful goings-on in, 109; travelogues from, 108–9; widening of horizons while in, 272
Homo sapiens, 294–300; introduction of, the two-name classification system and, 291; selection of as name for human beings, 254, 293, 298
Homo troglodytes, 125
honors: Academia Naturae Curiosorum, election to, 306; knighthood and change of name, 230, 250, 306–7; official titles, 307–8; Order of the Polar Star, 230, 382; professional pinnacle reached by Linnaeus, 305–6
Höök, Gabriel, 26, 31, 104
Höök, Sven, 399
Hoorn, Johan, 57, 251
Höpken, Anders Johan von: friendship with, 312, 327; on Linnaeus’s scientific theology, 254; political face-making by, 111; portrait of at Hammarby, 318; recognition of Linnaeus’s professional status by, 305; Royal Academy of Sciences, member of, 135; on the “utility of plenty,” 266
Hoppius, Christian Emanuel, 295
Horace, 263
Horn, Arvid, 30–31, 77, 132–33, 312
Hortus Agerumensis, 130
Hortus Clifortianus: Bartsia in, 111; erotic in, 248; four continents of the world represented in the frontispiece of, 271; frontispiece, drawing of, 105; gold standard in publication (illustrations, binding) for, 241, 243–44; Hamburg hydra in the frontispiece of, 107; imported plants listed in, 271; introduction to, 113; Linnaeus in the frontispiece of, 306; thermometer in the frontispiece of, 197; writing style of, 176
Hortus Uplandicus I–IV, 53, 56
Hortus Upsaliensis, 195–97, 225–26, 235
Hottentots, 87–88, 251, 297–98, 300
Hottuyn, Maarten, 404
Hübner, Johann, 271
Hult, J. M., 438
human beings: as animals, 83; tapeworms and, 287; two factors shaping the lives of, 84. See also Homo sapiens
human sexuality, 250–51
Humble, Johannes, 47
hunting, 260
hybrids/hybridization, 284–85, 290, 342–43
hydra in Hamburg, 107, 127
Hydrén, Eric, 393
Hydrén, Lars, 152
Hyltén-Cavalius, G. O., 171
iatromechanical school of medicine, 111
Ihre, Johan: attacked at a meeting of the consistorium, 376; as brilliant linguist, 152; description of the aged Linnaeus, 388; election of inspector, votes received in, 310; farm sold to Linnaeus, 318; flippancy characterization of, 333–14; as part of the new generation in science, 131; ranking of candidates for professorial chairs at Uppsala, 141; rivalry with, 331; wealth of, 148
illnesses: aging and, 382 (see also aging); ague contracted in Holland, 27–28; causes of, 381, 390; classification of, 221–22, 353, 355–56; gout, 303, 382, 389; laughing sickness caused by saffron, 267; Linnaeus's medical history, 389; in 1718, 25; Uppsala fever, 148, 192, 381, 390
Inebriantia, 263
Ingeborg in Mjärhult, 167
insects: bees, 86, 137, 140, 255; collections of/collection, 5, 35, 50; crickets, 164, 324–25; “Curious Features of Insects,” 153–54, 177–78, 259–60, 299; eating, 215; Furia infernalis, the “monster” insect, 40, 68, 339, 416n14; Miracula insectorum, 8, 40; mosquitoes, 81; “Notes on the Practices of Ants,” 137, 140; overflowing of records and the emergence of entomology, 338; transformations of, 290
Instructio perigrinatoris, 274
Insulin, Stephan, 272
interconnectivity, 258, 285
Isidor of Seville, 290
Iter ad Superos & Infernos (“Travels in heaven and hell”), 101–2
Iter Lapponicum: Andromeda episode described in, 107; classical motifs in, 179; drawing of Andromeda threatened by a dragon in, 71; drawing of a short-eared owl in, 67; evaluations of, 79–80; language in/writing style of, 65; on a list of planned publications, 130; primitivism in, 296; publication of, 172, 440; read by Meldercreutz, possibility of, 79
Jacquin, Nicholas Joseph, 228, 404
Jaenson, Jaen, 375
Jews: in Hamburg, 104; worship by, 108
Johan af Wingård, 161
Jonsell, Bengt, 429n17, 442
Jönsson, Ann-Mari, 443
Jonsson, Marita, 442
Jonstone, John, 125
“Journey in Dalarna,” 80, 101, 418
“Journey in Lapland,” 93
Julinschiöld, Peter, 375–76
Jussieu, Antoine de, 118
Jussieu, Bernard de, 118, 285, 306, 404
Kalm, Pehr: appointment to a chair without sitting for examinations, 223; discouraged by Linnaeus from publishing account of 1742 journey, 172; herbaria of, number of specimens in, 291; on Linnaeus's Biblical account of Creation, 155; “Major,” playful designation as, 306; plan to search at “Swedish latitudes” for useful plant and animal specimens, 267–68; printing of Flora Svecica, support for, 181–82; realization of the extent of “biodiversity” upon landing in America, 337; slippers eaten by opossum, 431n4; travels by, 275–76
Kalmeter, Johan Olof, 324
Kant, Immanuel, 155, 404
Karlfeldt, Erik Axel, 408
Karl XI (king of Sweden), 61, 202
Karl XII (king of Sweden), 134
“key” metaphor, 348–49, 358
Kiellman, Tiburtius, 115
Kiesewetter, Gottfried, 172, 238–39
Kiöping, Nils Mattson, 156, 293
Kjellberg, Fritjof, 409
Kjellgren, Johan Henric, 7
Klein, Johann Theodor, 299
Klinckowström, Johan Maurit, 202
Klingenberg, Carl, 141
Klingstenierna, Samuel, 119, 131, 148, 205, 327, 331
Klintberg, Bengt af, 171
knighthood, 230, 250, 306–7
Knös, C. J., 331
Knös, Olof, 401
Koerner, Lisbet, 159, 428–29n1, 442
Koula, Samuel, 39–40, 42
Krafft, Per, Jr., 9, 378
Kraken sea monster, 128
Kramer, Johann, 116–17
Krok, Thorgny, 425n5
Krüger, Johan Fredrik, 366
Kuhn, Adam, 308, 320
Kvick, Åke, 21
Lachesis Lapponica, 63, 416
Lachesis Naturalis: dietetics, thoughts on, 212; on habits, 219; on music and dance, 110; near-drowning incident described in, 36; new material for teetotalers' propaganda provided in, 217; notes on sexual and erotic matters in, 251; Swedenborg, reference to, 361
Lagerberg, Anna Christina, 246
Lagerbring, Sven, 27, 39
Lagerström, Magnus, 200, 202
Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste, 406
La Mettrie, J. O. de, 230
Lamm, Martin, 179–80
land, steady expansion of, 155–56. See also water
Landell, Nils Erik, 442
Landell, Torbjörn, 442
Lange, J. G., 241
language: choice of for a speech to the royal family, 177; double name convention as contribution to, 291–92; Latin as the best for science, 176; Linnaeus's use of, 176–80 (see also writing style); naming items in Swedish in the royal collections, problem of, 202–3; reform of naming, significance of, 429n17; teaching Carl Jr. Latin, 188; translation of works in Latin, 182–83
Lapland: commission to journey to, 63–72, 174 (see also Iter Lapponicum); discussion of journey to with Reuterholm, 92; evaluation of Linnaeus's travels in, 79–81; ideas adopted from journey to, 72–73; luggage, contents of, 64; melding of economics and natural history in, 77–79; pragmatic goals of the expedition, 73–75; proposals for changes to, 75–77; travels among the Lapps, 73–75
Lapps. See Sami, the
Larson, Marcus, 408
Larsson, Lars-Erik, 408
Laurent, Antoine, 404
Lawson, Isaac, 116–17
Laxman, Erik, 178, 383
Leche, Johan, 39, 183, 306
lecturer/lecturing: on botany in Stockholm, 134; on classification of illnesses, 221; climatic zones in botanical lectures, 272; content, examples of, 209–10; description of Linnaeus as, 208–9, 211; on dietetics (see dietetics); number of lectures per term, 207; popularity of Linnaeus as, 208, 219
Leeuwenhoek, Antonie van, 103
Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 119, 374–379
Lenngren, Anna Maria, 345
Lepenies, Wolf, 373
Lesser, Christian, 366
Levertin, Oscar, 29, 177, 373, 440
Levnadsordning vid en surbrunn, 303
Lidén, Johan Hinric, 108, 177, 405
Lidforss, Bengt, 441
Lieberkühn, Johann Nathanael, 116–17, 129
Liedbeck, Eric Gustaf, 165–66
Liljefors, Bruno, 408
Lindblom, J. A., 204–5
Lindeboom, G. A., 112
Linder, Johan, 181, 292, 300
Lindfors, A. O., 217, 437–38
Lindroth, Sten, 80, 148, 441–42
Lindström, Gustaf, 439
Linnaea borealis: association of Linnaeus with, 11, 15; cultivation of, 332; Dalarna, observed in, 93; drawing of, 14, 236; as example of the two-name convention, 291
Linnaean/Linnean Society: London (see London Linnean [or Linnaean] Society); Swedish, 251, 443
Linnaean methodology/"Linneanism," 275
Linnaeus, Carl, Jr.: accusation of father's atheism, response to, 343–44; on Arctedi, 58; birth of, 137, 187; career achievements, his father's position and, 395–96; cataloging information for Systema Naturae, role in, 340; death of, 397; death of his father, aftermath of, 392; dedication of Nemesis divina to, 374; on his father's visit to a madhouse in France, 118; his mother's hatred of, 394–96; installed as his father's successor at Uppsala, 316; last days of his father's life described by, 389; on the mouth-to-mouth resuscitation of his sister, 36; portrait of, 395; recruitment to be a demonstrator in the Uppsala garden, 199; on time, 149; upbringing/education of, 187–88
Linnaeus, Nils: background and career of, 18, 20–21; botany and gardening, knowledge of and interest in, 23; death of, 230; his son as a legacy of, 28; literary works provided by, 33–34; revelatory nature study approved by, 365
Linnaeus, Samuel: daughters of regretted not gaining from their uncle's knowledge, 189; education and children of, 27; on his brother's childhood play at medicine, 23–24; on his father's keeness for gardening, 23; intelligence of, 41; promise he would be kept out of dangerous garden, 35
Linnaeus, Sara Lisa (née Moraea): Bäck family, relations with, 329–31; birthdate, 99; courtship of, 97; death of, 400; drawing of, 399; family defense of, 400; as firstborn child, 350; flirtations by, 99; at Hammarby, 320, 323–26, 399–400; hatred for her son, 394–96; inheritance of, 186; letters to/from, 104, 137, 384; Linnaeus's funeral, not attending, 393; marriage of (see marriage); period of separation from Linnaeus, 97–99; shopping by, 193; skirmish between Browallius and Linnaeus over, 99–100; unflattering descriptions of, 324, 400; Uppsala fever contracted by, 381; wedding portrait, 139
Linnaeus family: absence of letters from, 233; Anna Maria (sister), 26; Bergerantz, Carl Fredrik (brother-in-law), 234; Carl the Younger (son) (see Linnaeus, Carl, Jr.); Christina Brodesser (mother), 18–19, 35–36; Elisabeth Christina (daughter, a.k.a. Lisa Stina), 188, 326, 398–401; Emerentia (sister), 27, 37; hatred of mother for her son, 394–96; Johannes (son), 188, 192; Linnaeus's will and, 392; Lovisa (daughter), 188; marriage of Linnaeus and Sara Lisa, 136–39; Nils (father) (see Linnaeus, Nils); rare mention of, 331; Samuel (younger brother), 18–19 (see Linnaeus, Samuel); Sara Christina (daughter, a.k.a. Sara Stina), 188–89; Sara Lisa (wife) (see Linnaeus, Sara Lisa [née Moraea]); Sara Magdalena (daughter), 188; siblings and extended family, overview of, 26–27; Solander and, 397–99, 401; Sophia (daughter), 36–37, 188–89, 192–93, 400; Sophia Juliana (sister), 27; widow Moraea (mother-in-law), 318. See also parents
Linnean cameralism, 428n1
Linnéan Foundation, 406
Linneanism, 402–10
Linné Institute (previously Zoophytolithic Society; Societas pro historia naturali), 406
Linnerhielm, Jonas Carl, 408
Locke, John, 148, 362
Löfling, Pehr, 182, 226, 277, 287–88, 291–92
London, England, 117
London Linnean (or Linnaean) Society: Åhrling and, 439; books donated by, 438; Camper's refusal of honorary membership in, 405; drawing from The Linnean Herbarium of, 236; founding of, 403; Letters to Linnaeus published by, 405; Linnaeus's working notes kept in, a few sheets of, 371; source material held by, 64, 401, 437; Uggla's visits to, 443
Louis XV (king of France), 177
Lovejoy, Arthur O., 441
Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden): bananas presented to, 269; collections amassed by, 201–2; dedication of Västgöta resa to,
INDEX [473]

165; demonstration of Münchhausen’s “discovery” sent to, 339–40; failed coup by, 333; friendship with, 327, 332–33; language skills of, 177; as patron, 111; references by Linnaeus to, 135; views on Linnaeus’s sexual system not known, 248

 Löwenhielm, Carl Gustaf, 314
 Lucretius, 353
 Ludwig, Christian Gottlieb, 404
 Lund, Sweden, 37
 Lundborg, Herman, 80
 Lund University, 37–43
 Luther, Martin, 20, 217, 407
 luxury: debate about, 266; the primitive versus, 72; of the royal court, mixed emotions about, 333; slavery to pleasures and, 113
 Lyell, Charles, 259

 Magnus, Olaus, 61, 64, 80, 126
 Malmeström, Elis, 370, 373, 375, 440–41
 mammalian class: defining by exclusion in recognizing the need for, 210; fish species placed in, 128; launching of, 280; name of, reason for selecting, 292–93; teeth as a defining characteristic of, 382. See also Homo sapiens

 Månsson, Arvid, 34
 Manuscripta medica, 128, 159
 Manuscripta Mennandria, 119
 marriage: events of and leading to, 136–39, 189; rumors about, 189–92; as a union of convenience, 189
 Marshall, Joseph, 383
 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 285
 Martin, Anton, 383
 Martin, Elias, 408
 Martin, Roland, 286, 332
 Martenson, Harry, 408
 Martyn, Thomas, 340
 Masson, Francis, 235
 Materia Medica, 221
 Maupertuis, Pierre de, 61
 medicine: alcoholism, 217; animal derived, 43319; bedding a child inside a slaughtered sheep, practice of, 37; benefits of traveling for doctors, 154; botany and, 220 (see also botany); Clavis Medicinae Duplex, 346–53, 356–58; clinical work, status of, 221–22; country healers, visits with, 166–67; doctorate in, travel to Holland for, 103–4, 110–11 (see also Holland); iatro-mechanical school of, 111; illnesses, classification of, 221–22, 353, 355–56; “keys” to, 348–49; lecturing in, 211–12; medical texts, Linnaeus’s library of, 56; medications, formulation and classification of, 222; mistakes in contemporary, 220; natural form of medical primitivism, 82–83; number “five,” central role of, 349; pharmacy interior, frontispiece showing, 354; plan for, creation of, 358; populist approach to education in, 220–21; schools of thought on, 212–13, 349; serious study of, human dissection and, 134; single (as opposed to composite) medicines, champion of, 353, 357; Stahlian, 38–39; study of at Lund, 38, 42; study of at Uppsala, 48–49; synthesis of nature and, 356; use of human senses in, 355–56; vegetation-derived and from native sources, preference for, 356; wild strawberries as (see wild strawberries); youthful determination to become a doctor, 34–35. See also dietetics; health
 Melander, Eric, 313
 Melanderhjelm, Daniel, 205, 316, 402–3
 Meldercreutz, Jonas, 78–79, 152
 Mendez da Costa, Emanuel, 248
 Meniskans cousiner (The cousins of human beings), 298

 Mennander, Carl Fredrik: biographer, consideration as, 437; bishopric, appointment to, 367; Browallius’s “falsehood” revealed by, 100; correspondence with, 133, 385; defense of animals, vegetarianism and, 216; friendship with, 328; Homo in lecture notes of, 293–94; humans as animals, 83; lectures commissioned by, 53; Linnaeus’s autobiography and, 2–3; as part of the new generation, 131; peacocks passed on to, 201; as pupil of Linnaeus, 91; Rosén married into family of, 92

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.
mental health, 5–6
Merian, Maria Sibylla, 124, 246
*Metamorphoses plantarum*, 289–90
*Metamorphosis humana*, 186, 192, 305, 381
metaphors, use of, 350
methods: cataloging, 340; data management, 229–30; Linnaean methodology/“Linneanism,” 275; natural, 281
*Methodus*, 124
*Methodus avium sveticarum*, 60
Michaelis, Johann David, 371
Miller, Philip, 116–17, 234, 404
mineralogy: importance to explorers, 273; Linnaeus’s interest in, 56, 59, 93, 101, 273; sculpture icon, 409; subject of study, 38, 42–44
minerals: classifying, 96–97; collection of willed to son, 392; dowsing rods used to find, 170; lecture on, 170; origin of, 258; shells of crustaceans/mollusks and corals classed as, 215, 285; Stobæus’s collection of, 38. See also stones
*Miracula insectorum*, 8, 40. See also insects
Momma, Peter, 238–39
Monson, Lady Anne, 246, 308
*Monstrosi*/monster, 297–98
Montelius, Oscar, 407
Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de, 87, 148
Montin, Lars, 37
*Mundus invisibilis* (The Invisible World), 339
Munthe, Isac, 37
Murray, Johan Adolph, 347, 349, 383, 388, 392–95
*Musa Clifortiana*, 106, 124
*Museum Adophii Friderici*: drawing of white-throated capuchin monkey, 336; drawings of fish, 334
*Museum regis Adophii Friderici*, 241
*Museum Tessinianum*, 241
music written in honor of Linnaeus, 442–43
Musschenbroek, Pieter von, 103, 351
Mylius, Martin, 56
myths/mythology: Andromeda in Lapland notebook, 69–71; Charon myth, 416n14; classical imagery in species names, 427; description of nature and, 263; mobilized in support of present-day motives, 77; old wives’ tales, 164; persistence of myths, 164; Samson, 50, 92; “the hydra in Hamburg,” 107
Näcken (capricious water spirit), 36
naming of plants, 235, 246
Näsmar, Reinhold, 92
natural history: alchemical genealogy of the first steps of development of, 361; battle against the old, 107; consequences of lacking knowledge about, 8; contributions to, 128–29; “crypto-zoology” addressed in *Para-doxa*, 124–27; curiosity and sensual pleasure in the study of, 253–55; debate between Buffon and Linnaeus, 283–85; declining interest in, 344–45; development from Genesis onward through continuous change, theory of, 155–56; dictionary of, 342; first Swedish book of, 125; global explorations of, 273–78; illustrations/“epistemic images” and, 426n11; “natural philosophy” of Linnaeus, 56–57; utility in the study of, 255
*Naturaliesamlingar* (Collections of *Naturalia*), 287
nature: appreciation of numerical order in, 11; cameralism and the attempt to rule over, 269; “chain of” and “ladder of,” distinction between, 282–83; change in, status of continuity and hybridization in, 281–82; completeness, growing toward, 282; creating order in, fixed terminology and the double-name convention, 290–92; 429n17; growth as a fundamental characteristic of stones, 361–62; interconnectivity in, 258, 285; man and, division between, 257; meanings and descriptions of, 257–63; order of/systematic classification of (see *Systema Naturae*; taxonomy project); as “plenitude” in the eighteenth century, 431n1; religion and (see Creator/Creation/role of God; religion); sexual reproduction relied upon by, 128 (see also sex); study of in the service of
God, scientific theology and, 254–55; three principles showing the foundation of, 281; tripartite subdivision of, 340; universal laws of, 127–28
Nauman, Johan Justus, 227
Neander, Andreas, 311, 377
near-death experiences: drowning, 36; insect bite, 40–41; on three occasions, 41
Nemesis divina (Divine Retribution), 373–79; as a collection of moral fables, 179; compassion for the poor in, 26; execution of child-murderers, discussion of, 316; foreign policy fiasco, note on, 132; Fries’s self-censorship in discussing, 440; Malmeström’s defense of Linnaeus’s morality in, 440–41; moving in the deep shadows where ghosts are lurking, 6, 9; the punishing God and stories from the Old Testament, passages on, 366; roll call of rightly punished sinners in, 132; story involving his brother and a fortune teller, 41; the supernatural addressed in, 171
Neptunist, 156–57
networks. See professional networks
Newton, Isaac, 205, 305, 361, 372, 402
Nietzel, Dietrich, 195, 197–98
Noctiluca marina, 263
Norberg, Matthias, 275
Nordenflycht, Hedvig Charlotta, 174
Nordström, Lubbe, 408
nostalgia/homesickness, 27–29
Notata subitanea, 349, 351
“Notes on the Practices of Ants,” 137, 140
Notke, Bernt, 107
novels about Linnaeus, 443
Nutrix noverca, 134, 293
Nyberg, Kenneth, 442
Nygren, Anders, 362
Observationes in Regna Naturae, 156
Obstacula Medicinae, 220
occult, the: ghost story in Lund, 41; Linnaeus’s interest in, 8, 359–61, 363–64; Näcken (capricious water spirit), 36; number mysticism, 364; spirits roaming at Stenbrohult, 27; supernatural phenomena, belief in, 171; witchcraft, 18, 164
Odhelius, Lorens, 286
Ödmann, Samuel: biblical philology, studies of, 369; on excessive drinking, 217; full revision of Fauna Svecica proposed by, 183; on herbations, 205; on the lake of Linnaeus’s near-drowning experience, 36; Linnaean impact on the writing of, 408; Linnaeus’s school years illuminated by, 31–32
Oeconomia Lapponica, 64–65, 75–76
Oeconomia naturae, 226, 258–59, 337
Olai, Benedictus, 213
Öland, 225
Öländska och gotländska resa, 178, 239
Olivercrona, Karl, 362
Olofsson, Rune Pär, 443
Om, Tahitian, 397
“On Lapland and the Lapps” (Om Lappland och lapparne), 73
“On the Growth of Habitable Parts of the Earth,” 155–56
Oratio de incremento, 258
Oration de increment telluric habitable, 267
orderliness, passion for, 368–69
Örn, Nils, 107
Osbeck, Pehr, 161, 205, 221, 268, 383
Osslund, Helmer, 408
Östenson, Pia, 442
Ovid: the Golden Age, vision of, 72; identification with, 70; Linnaeus’s mental geography, as an element in, 65; Linnaeus’s preference for, 177; Metamorphoses, 381–82; mistaken attribution of quote to, 353; motto above the bedroom door at Hammarby from, 318; mythology in descriptions of nature, 263; as “the poet,” 68; shepherds, stories about, 73
Oxenstierna, Axel, 71
Oxenstierna, Erik, 170–71
Palmberg, Johannes, 34
Palmstruch, Johan, 14
Pan Europaeus, 126
Pan Svecicus, 167, 291
parents: career choice, response to, 35; description of, 19; father (see Linnaeus, Nils); mother, 18–19, 35–36
Paris, France, 118
Patriotic Society, 3, 102
pearl fishing, 267
Pedersdatter, Johanne, 18
Peterson-Berger, Wilhelm, 408
Petri, Laurentius, 325
Petri, Olavus, 177
petrified objects, 120
Petry, M. J., 373, 375
pets: cat, 200; childhood dog, 35, 37, 199; dogs defended against vivisection experiments, 199; list of in Uppsala, 200; parrot and Pompe the dog at Hammarby, 325; peacocks, 201; raccoon, 200; talking parrot at Uppsala, 200–201
Peyssonal, Jean André, 285
Pfeiffer, Johan August, 144
Pharmacopoeia Svecica, 222, 328, 353, 356
philosopher, Linnaeus as, 362–63
Philosophia Botanica: color is of no value for definitions, 296; immutability emphasized in, 121; investigation of nature regarded as philosophy, 362; the marrow-bark thesis in, 288; Methodus reprinted in, 124; names, centrality of, 290; “natural system,” suggestion of, 341; “nature abhors a vacuum” phrase crossed out in private copy of, 341; “nature does not jump” dictum found in, 281; “nulla species nova” phrase crossed out in private copy of, 342; piece of paper with Sophia’s name glued into, 189; principles for any flora established in, 183; travels of great botanists, listing of, 273
Physicotheological thought, 366–67
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, 298
Pilgren, Johan, 380
Pitton de Tourneforts, Joseph, 49, 53–54, 100, 235, 273
Plantae esculentae patriae, 265
Plantae Surinamenses, 389
Plato, 283, 287, 355
Pliny the Elder, 271, 392
Plumier, Charles, 273, 318
Plumier, Ehret och, 321
Plumtree, James, 442–43
Plutarch, 373
Poe, Edgar Allan, 5
poet, Linnaeus as, 179
Polhem, Christopher, 73–74, 131–32, 216
Politia naturae, 258–59
politics: education policy and, 314; limited appeal of, 282; loyalty to the king, 313; party association, 282, 312–13
polyps, 272, 280, 285–86, 339, 359, 383
Pontins, Samuel, 108
Porphyry, 115
portraits of Linnaeus: age 67 by Krafft, Jr., 378; by Bernigeroth, 261; bust with Greco-Roman gods and goddesses, 10; in his normal clothes by Rehn, 262; by Roberg some time prior to 1735, 98; in Sami costume, 88; statue by Kjellberg, 409; wedding portrait by Scheffel, 138; the young Linnaeus, 24, 32
poverty: of grammar students at Växjö, 32–33; Linnaeus’s food consumption shaped by upbringing in, 324; Linnaeus’s self-description of his, 26; in Sweden, 264–65; at Uppsala, 46; “walking the parish” in Stenbrohult, 33
Praelectiones Botanicae Publicae, 53
Praeludia sponsaliorum, 53
Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 135
primitivism, 72, 83, 296, 417n4
Printing Trade Society, 238
professional career/accomplishments: career options, 90; choice of career, 44; disputations and dissertations, 44; inventions, 8–9; number of books written by Linnaeus, 238 (see also publication/publishing); parental reaction to early career preferences,
INDEX [477]

35; summary of, 8; at Uppsala (see Uppsala University). See also honors
professional networks: correspondence/letters, 232–34; disciples/traveling
students, 235–37; methods of strengthening, 234–35; need for, 231–32; variety
of, 232
professional rivals. See enemies/rivals/criticisms
publication/publishing: of correspondence/letters, 233–34; “epistemic images,”
426n11; fees and payments, 244–45; fine writing, ambitions to produce,
102; illustrations and drawings in, 241–44; of Linnaeus’s works, 238–42;
plans for, 100–102, 130; reviews, 245; in Sweden, 238–40; of travelogues,
censorship and, 172–73. See also books;
writing
Pulteney, Richard, 437
rabbit-hen chimera, 284, 343–44, 415n4
Rabenius, Olof, 315
racism, 299
Ramazzini, Bernard, 229
Råshult, Sweden, 17–18, 20–23
Ray, John, 49, 58, 125–26, 347
Réaumur, Ferchault de, 284–85, 343–44
Rehn, Jean Eric, 184, 241, 262, 391
religion: atheism, accusation of, 343–44, 365–66; Bible, references to, 360–61,
366; the Bible, zoology and botany of, 369; “Book of Nature,” the Bible
as, 365–67, 369–70; clergy, distrust of, 254, 367; examination in theology
required before foreign travel, 103; on the freedom to worship in Holland,
108; influence on Linnaeus, 363, 365; Linnaeus as one of the elect reading
the Book of Nature, 369; Linnaeus’s view of, 7, 370; minor role in writings,
68; physicotheological thought, 366–67; science and, 367; sources on Linnaeus’s,
434. See also Creator/Creation/role of
God; Nemesis divina
reproduction: eighteenth-century theories
of, 287–89; Linnaeus on (see marrow-bark
thesis; sex)
Retzius, Anders Jahan, 345
Retzius, Nils, 39, 41–42, 159
Reuterholm, Axel Gottlieb, 92, 133, 267
Reuterholm, Esbjörn, 170
Reuterholm, Gustaf Adolf, 323
Reuterholm, Gustaf Gottlieb, 92–93, 99
Reuterholm, Nils: Academy of Sciences, role in founding, 78; Classes Plantarum
dedicated to, 111; Dalarna, commission to journey in, 92; praise of Linnaeus
for his travels in Dalarna, 95–96; proposal for Lapland by Linnaeus, 76;
provincial travel project, idea for, 159; shifting dependence to, 89; spending
Christmas with, 92; Wolff, impressed by, 119
rhubarb, 268
Rhyzelius, Andreas, 33
rivalries. See enemies/rivals/criticisms
Robeck, Johan, 231
Roberg, Lars: Artedi as student of, 58;
correspondence with, 64, 66, 71–72,
102; death of, 186; egg and seed, thesis
discussing the similarities of, 121; honor-
ing the memory of, 154; illustrator,
skill as, 242; leave from professorial
chair at Uppsala, 140–41; on the medical
faculty at Uppsala, 48; as part of the
street scene in Uppsala, 152; portrait
of Linnaeus painted by, 98; Spolia
Botanica dedicated to, 53; on youth in
the kitchen, 219
Rolander, Daniel, 188, 192
Rollin, Carl Gustaf, 375, 377
romance: courtship of Sara Lisa Moraea,
97; period of separation from Sara Lisa
Moriae, 97–99; skirmish between
Browallius and Linnaeus over Sara
Lisa, 99–100
romantic nature philosophy, 345
Rosen, Björn von, 408
Rosenberg, Erik, 408
Rosén von Rosenstein, Nils: apparent
death, childhood experience of, 36; Bäck, correspondence with, 329;
Benzelia scandal, role in, 51; Bible
Commission, member of, 370; compe-
tition for professorial chairs at Uppsala,
140–41; conflict/rivalry with Linnaeus,
49–50, 92, 332, 374–75, 440; deal with
Linnaeus regarding subject matter
to be addressed, 186, 212, 221, 312;
dedication of Clavis Medicinae Duplex
to, 356–57; honor rescued by Fries,
Rosén von Rosenstein, Nils (continued) 192; management of Uppsala garden assumed by, 195; as part of the new generation in science, 131; reconciliation with Linnaeus, 331; Roberg, as a pupil of, 48; the Sami, question about, 63; Stobæus, as a pupil of, 39; student rowdiness, writing off, 311; tapeworm and polyps, paper on, 286; Uppsala, move to, 43; at Uppsala in the 1740s, 148

Rosicrucianism, 360, 363
Rosicrucian Order, 56
Roslin, Alexander, 9
Rostius, Christopher, 38
Rotheram, John, 387–88, 390
Rothman, Johan: co-author of Hortus Agerumensis, 130; dancing spirits at night, observation of, 27; decision to go to Uppsala as a student, contribution to, 43–44; gifts of books to Linnaeus, 57; Hortus Agerumensis, co-author of, 130; international standing of, 31; as mentor/contribution to development of Linnaeus's mind, 31, 37, 39, 111; notice of Linnaeus by, 47; visit from and time spent with Linnaeus, 104
Rothman, Johan Gabriel, Jr., 4, 189–90, 192
Rothof, Lorens, 264
Rourke, Kelley, 430n4
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 29; death of, 389; distrust of formal schooling, 188; era of, 317; positive comments on Linnaeus's writing style, 177; praise for Linnaeus, 403; primitivism influenced by, 72; use of senses, appeal of, 355
Roux, Frederic François Joseph, 32
Royal Academy of Sciences. See Academy of Sciences
royal court: collections, working on, 202; distancing himself from in funeral instructions, 391; interaction with, 322–33, 335–36; as patron of the Royal Academy of Sciences, 135. See also Gustav III (king of Sweden); Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden)
Royal Printers, 238
Royal Society (London), 135
Royal Society of Sciences (Uppsala), 61, 63, 66, 71, 73–74, 80
Royen, Adriaan van, 306, 404
Rudbeck, Johan Olof, 70
Rudbeckianism, 89
Rudbeck the Elder, Olof: anatomical dissection theater built by, 151; Atlantica, 64, 123–24; botany, as professor of, 403; herbarations arranged by, 203; son as successor to, 395; species inventory by, 48
Rudbeck the Younger, Olof: as academic successor to his father, 395; accusation against the Sami rejected by, 300; Benzalia scandal in the home of, 51; birds, illustrations of, 42, 49; botany, as professor of, 403; Campus Elysii, 41, 273; celebratory poem addressed to, 50–51; Charon myth, version of, 416n14; creation of the garden at Uppsala, 194–95; Gothic ideas on geography, 271; home-based science education for the family of, 188; Hortus II dedicated to, 53; illustration of Linnaea borealis, 15; illustrator, skill as a, 242; initial meeting with, 47; interest in the climate of Lapland, 75; journey to the north with Karl XI, 61; leave from professorial chair at Uppsala, 140; lecture on sexual biology attributed to, 250; Linnaeus as successor to, 142; manna, search for the real substance of, 369; as mentor/patron, 48–49, 58, 64, 69, 111; mythical references in writings of, 69, 73, 416n14; prefect's house built for, 186; professor of medicine at Uppsala, 47–51; pygmies of antiquity compared to the Sami, 77; residence of Linnaeus with, 59, 440; resources of Lapland praised by, 73; shifting dependence from, 89; third wife of, Linnaeus's condemnation of, 51, 53; writings on Lapland, 64
Ruskin, John, 217
Russian spy, suspected of being, 163
Ruysch, Fredrik, 103
Sachs, Julius, 441
Sahlgren, Jöran, 251
Said, Edward, 433
Salvius, Lars: anecdotes about in conversations with Beckmann, 383; correspondence with, 241, 245; donation for travel by Linnaeus's students, 276; on
fees and payments in the publishing industry, 244; *Flora Svecica*, printing of, 181–82; Linnaeus in *Learned News* published by, 254; as printer for Linnaeus, switching to, 172; publication of works by Linnaeus, 239–40; as Sweden’s leading publisher, 238–41; *Systema Naturae*, printing of, 279; *Västgöta resa*, printing of, 161

Sami, the: celebration of, 82, 86–89; dressing like/telling stories about during journey to Holland, 107; endangering the culture of, 78; as enlightened but wild, 300; habits of, commitment to, 428n7; identification with, 88–89; ideological content of the Linnaean discourse on, 79; limited interest of the Society of Sciences in, 63; Linnaeus in dress of the, 88; Native Americans and, 296; as our teacher, 88; Native Americans and, 296; as our teacher, 88–89; recalling while aboard a ship, 104; religion of, 68; running speed of, question regarding, 84; sorcerers, defense against rumors that they were, 299–300; travels among the Lapps, 73–75; woman on the mountainside, drawing of, 75

Samson, 50, 92
Sand, Benjamin, 92
Sandgren, Gunnar E., 443
Sapot medicamentorum, 348
Säthberger, Herman, 39
Satyricon, 373
Sauvages de Lacroix, François Boissier de: anecdotes about shared in conversations with Beckmann, 383; correspondence with, 133, 221, 438; dedication of *Clavis Medicinae Duplex* to, 356; high number of illnesses, belief in, 356; ideas for schooling his baby son, 187–88; plant smells, testing the effect on the nervous system of, 352; positive comments on Linnaeus’s writing style, 177; support for Linnaeus from, 141; systematization, following Linnaeus in supporting, 404

scandal(s): appointment to the Lars Roberg chair as, 141; Browallius and, 99; Greta Bengzelia, 51; Linnaeus’s easygoing attitude on sex as, 100, 247–48; rumors about the Linnaeus household, 189–92

Scheele, Carl Wilhelm, 148–49, 352
Scheffel, Johan Henrik, 138–39
Schefferus, Johannes, 61, 64, 319
Scherson, Emma, 407
Schiebinger, Londa, 292–93
Schillmark, Nils, 360
Schimmelpenninck, Helen, 442
Schönberg, Anders, 318
Schück, Henrik, 51, 177, 179–80
Schultz von Schultzenheim, David, 332
science: fantasy and, drawing the boundary between, 125; Linnaeus and, 6–8; myth combined with, 361; new generation in Sweden of, 131–36; publicizing, information overload and, 338–39; religion and, 367 (see also religion); search for completeness/truth, difficulty of reconciling perfection of God’s Creation and, 338; wit and literary learning as more valued than, 345

scientific rivals. See enemies/rivals/criticisms

scientific theology, 254–55, 259, 273, 275
Scopoli, Johann Anton, 404, 438
Scriven, Christian, 365
sea, fear of, 104, 163
Seba, Albertus, 103, 107, 114, 116, 127, 201
Sefström, Eric, 200
Selander, Sten, 408
Sennium Salomonum detectum, 123
Sermius, Jacob, 158

senses: acquisition of knowledge through, Lucretius on, 353; as channels of information, 355; hierarchy of, 353; Linnaeus as a sensual man, 353; plant smells, effect on the nervous system of, 352; tastes and smells as the basis for a natural system of plants, 355; use of in medicine, 355–56

Sérenius, Jacob, 158
sex: advice about plants and, 35, 221; as a basis for classification, 59, 123, 128, 130, 137; human sexuality, text on, 250–51; human sexuality, transformations with age of, 192; man and woman, differences between, 300; plant sexuality, drawing of, 122; reactions to Linnaeus’s interest in, 247–52; reproduction in plants, illustration from *Sponsalia*
sex (continued)

*plantarum*, 52; reproduction of plants and, 54–56; reproduction of plants based on, 54–56; reversal of established sexual norms, 350

Shaw, George Bernard, 5

Sherard, William, 117

shoes: without heels, 84; wooden clogs, 174

short-eared owl, drawing of, 67

Sidrén, Jonas, 376, 393

Siegesbeck, Johann Georg, 100, 306

silicosis (“stone dust lung”), 95

silk from worms eating mulberry tree leaves, 268

Skåne: journey to, 168, 170–75; map of, 169

Skånska resa, 170–74, 230

Skjöldebrandt, A. F., 15

Skuncke, Marie-Catherine, 8

Skyttean Foundation/Society, 66, 416

Sloane, Hans, 112, 116–17, 135

Smith, Adam, 266, 427n1

Smith, James Edward, 233, 337, 401, 404, 438

social conscience, 265–66

Society of Sciences. See Royal Society of Sciences (Uppsala)

Söderbaum, Henrik Gustaf, 439

Söderberg, Olof, 170–71

Sohlberg, Claes, 92, 97, 103–4, 112, 115

Solander, Carl Daniel, 398

Solander, Daniel: available light and work habits of, 229; on the death of Johannes (younger son), 192; hostility to Linnaeus, 332, 387–88, 399; Linnaeus Jr. present at the death of, 396; love for as a scientist, 236; painting of, 397; parentage of and relations with the Linnaeus family, 397–99, 401; as part of the street scene in Uppsala, 152; reports from Cook’s explorations, source of, 340; study of Linnaeus’s works by, 404

Solander, Magdalena (née Bostadia), 398–99

*Sommus plantarum*, 262

Sörlin, Sverker, 277, 442

Soulsby, Basil, 438

Sourander, Patrick, 390

sources on Linnaeus: autobiographies, 2–4, 437; biographies, 438–42; correspondence (see correspondence/letters); lecture notes, 437–38

Sparre, Ulla, 246–47

Sparrman, Anders, 213, 273, 387, 399

species: Buffon’s critique of Linnaeus’s definition of, 283; challenges of defining and changing role of, 342; classical imagery in names of, 427; concept of in *Systema Naturae*, 121; counted by Linnaeus, 405; estimated number of, 337–38, 405; extinction, at risk of, ix; generation of new through hybridization, 284–85, 290, 342–43; of local flora, number of, 204; “splitters or lumpers” on the issue of how to define a, 338, 356; of Swedish fauna, number of, 185; theory of rooted in Genesis, 155–56, 281. See also taxonomy project

*Species Plantarum*: absence of images in, 242; book production, considerations addressed in, 239–40; countries and gardens studied by Linnaeus, list of, 194; double name convention applied to all known species, 291–92; foundation of Linnaeus’s fame, contribution to, 279; list of planned publications, on a, 130; new edition of, rivalry between Banks and Solander and, 388; on the number of plants, 337; pain from kidney stones while working on, 389; plants given names based on Swedish notables in, 235; three principles showing the foundation of nature, 281; working himself to death on, question of, 292

Spegel, Haquin, 125

Spolia Botanica, 21, 53

*Sponsalia plantarum*, 52, 226

Spöring, Herman, 141, 286

Spreckelsen, Johann Heinrich von, 107

Stauffer, Richard C., 259

Stearn, William T., 248, 291, 442

Steever, D. H., 37

Steinmeyer, Johann, 203

Stenbock, Magnus, 18

Stenbrohult parish, Sweden: birth and childhood residence in, 17–18; fostering of Linnaeus’s qualities in, 21–23; Linnaeus’s description of, 21; population and local authority in, 20; return visits to, 25–26, 91; spirits roaming at, 27; summers at, 35–36; Växjö, distance from, 30–31; “walking the parish” in, 33

Stobæus, Florentina, 43
Stobæus, Kilian: correspondence with, 49–50, 56, 126, 234; description of, 38–39; fact-finding in the field, inspiration for, 158–59; as mentor and patron, 38–44, 111; notice of Linnaeus by, 47; wishing to go back to, 46
Stobæus the Younger, Kilian, 43
Stockholm, Sweden: coffeehouses in, 132–33; Linnaeus in, 132–37
Stoics, the, 257
"stone dust lung" (silicosis), 95
stones: creation of rocks, 120; generation of, water and, 361; growth of, 55, 120–21, 282, 361–62; lifted by the sky, 127.
See also minerals
Strabo, 271
Strandell, Birger, 390
strawberries, wild. See wild strawberries
Strindberg, August, 179, 406–8
suicide, 231
Sundbärg, Gustav, 407–8
Sundgren, Jöran, 315
supernatural phenomena. See occult, the
Svanberg, Seger, 78
Sven in Bragnum, 166–67
Svensson, Sigfrid, 171
swallows spend winter underwater, belief that, 128
Swammerdam, Jan, 7, 103, 366
Swedberg, Jesper, 87
Sweden: abolition of absolute monarchy and the Hats vs. the Caps, 30–31; the Age of Liberty, 130–31, 148, 175; divisions within the country, 265; love of nature in, Linnaeus and, 407–8; new generation in, science and, 131–36; orderly subdivision of, 369; poverty in (see poverty); public road network in, 160; the publishing industry in, 238–39; Skåne as showplace for, 170 (see also Skåne); small population of, 266; tea cultivation, attempt at, 145; wars against Russia and Denmark, 18, 309
Swedenborg, Emanuel: “About the Motion of the Earth and the Planetary Movements and Relationships,” reference to, 82; academy membership, Linnaeus’s support for, 136; the egg used as a representation of the world by, 123; erotic fantasies recorded while visiting Holland, 109; Linnaeus and, 361–62; myth and science combined by, 361; new generation of Swedish scientists, influence on, 131; observations on Amsterdam, 108; occult undercurrents driven by, 360; as the original teacher, 407; outdoor privy, seated in, 137; positive effects of wandering in a garden, 352; Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, entry in, 362
Swedish Linne Society/Swedish Linnaean Society, 183, 251, 443
Swedish Medical Association, 123
Swedish Tourist Association, 408
Swieten, Gerard van, 356, 404
Sydenham, Thomas, 57, 355
Sydow, Carl Otto von, 80
Systema morborum, 252
Systema Naturae: aging and a diminished capacity to work on, 386; all things beginning in water, concept of, 361; arthritis hindering work on, 230; banana, name for, 268–69; begins with instruction to “know thyself,” 299; biblical references/references to God in, 360–61; cataloging method for the new edition of, 340; daughters in, 193; double name convention applied in the tenth edition, 291; expansion through successive editions of, 279–80, 358; first appearance of in 1735, 101; frontispiece of 1760 edition, 306; the “Furia” mentioned in, 40; Geographia naturae as early title of, 19; geographic boundaries not indicated in, 273; grand design of illustrated in selected passages, 119–21; Histoire naturelle (Buffon) as the only rival to, 283; human population divided by continents in first edition of, 296; “key” metaphor used in presentation of sexual classification system, 348; Kraken sea monster included in, 128; as a long-term project, 338, 358–59, 364; Mantissa as supplement to, 339; manuscript taken on trip to Holland, 119; marginal annotations as method of storing data for, 229–30; Methodus as a printing on one sheet, 124; Mundus invisibilis (The Invisible World) as a commentary on the animal section
Systema Naturae (continued)
of, 339; naturalistic view of humanity in, 254; new human species included in, 370; numerical order in The Well-Tempered Clavicle and, 11; Paradoxa group of, 344; Paradoxa (zoological curiosities) taken up in, 12; printing of the first edition, 123–27; printing of the fourth edition supervised by Bäck, 328; publication, note regarding delays in work for, 241; published at Gronovius’s expense, 116; religion in introductory words of later editions, 367; special contributions to the completion of, 406; species, concept of, 121; target readership for, 245; theory of spontaneous generation excluded from, 127–28; three principles showing the foundation of nature, 281; title page, 280; twelfth edition as crowning achievement, 347–48; Wallerius’s criticisms of, 141; working on at Hammarby, 323

Täckholm, Vivi, 408

Taenia, 286, 289
tapeworms, 226, 286–89, 370

Tärnström, Christopher, 145, 277
taxonomy project: evolution of in successive editions of Systema Naturae, 279–81; feasibility of, 337–39; fixed terminology/nomenclature and the double-name convention in, 290–92, 42917; map model for, 341; the microlevel world and feasibility of, 339–40; names of classes, selection of, 292–93; “natural system” as a basis for, dream of, 341–42; orderliness reflected in, 369; ranks of the taxonomic system, 123; sexual system of classification used in, 123 (see also sex); species (see species); summary of, 128–29; travel and, 86; tripartite subdivision of nature and, 340. See also classification; Systema Naturae
teabush, 144–45
teacher/teaching: disciples of Linnaeus, 235–37; faculty roles at Uppsala, 310–16; lectures, 207–10 (see also lecturer/lecturing); populist educator, role as, 245; populist medicine, 220–21; students, number of, 208; supervising dissertations and presiding at disputations, 224–27; tutoring at Uppsala, 50. See also education

Tegnére, Esaia, 402

Telander, Johan, 31

Tersmeden, Carl, 58, 115

Tessin, Carl Gustaf: bound copy of Fauna Svecica given to, 234; collections maintained by Linnaeus, 202; correspondence with, 279, 337, 438; dictionary of natural history project offered to Linnaeus, 342; friendship with, 312, 327–28; gold medal awarded to Linnaeus, 281; horticultural experiments by, 266; Linnaeus as the stoat or ermine in fairy tale by, 306; mind of Linnaeus, description of, 78; as patron/supporter, 111, 133; portrait of at Hammarby, 318; portrait of Linnaeus in the home of, 348–49; support from Linnaeus for, 240; visiting in later life, 271; wife’s interest in natural history, 246

theodicy problem, 379

thermometers, 195, 197

Thorild, Thomas, 403, 406

Thornton, Robert John, 442

Thunberg, Carl Peter: biblical philology, studies of, 369; contemptuous reference to, 403; contribution to Systema Naturae, 406; herbariums built by, 338; naming of a plant for, 235; number of dissertations supervised by, 224; on private enterprise in Holland, 108; travels by, 275, 277

Tilas, Daniel, 99, 350

Tillandz, Elias, 34

time, 149, 281

Tirén, Johan, 408

Tissot, Samuel-Auguste, 5
tobacco, 4, 32, 110, 191, 217–19, 383

travel: “About the Necessity of Investigative Journeys in Our Native Country,” 154; characteristics of the ideal traveler, 274; to Dalarna (see Dalarna, journey to); dangers of and Linnaeus’s sorrows over the deaths, 277–78; by disciples of Linnaeus, 274–78; financing, 276; to Holland (see Holland); “inland passport” required for domestic, 160; to Lapand (see Lapland); Linnaeus as
traveler, 171, 174; Linnaeus on, 274; London, England, 117; marketing of the travelogues, 173; Paris, France, 118; provincial, 158–75; Skåne, journey to, 168–75

_Travels on Öland_, 22

Trembley, Abraham, 272, 285

Treviranus, Gottfried, 406

Triewald, Mårten, 42, 134–36

Trolle, Stina, 35

Tullberg, Otto, 188

Tullberg, Tomas, 400

Tullberg, Tycho, 98, 438
twinflower. See *Linnaea borealis*

Uddenberg, Nils, 442

Uggla, Arvid, 129, 437–38, 443

Ullén, Petrus, 376

Ulrika Eleonora the Elder (queen of Sweden), 30, 250

Ulrika Eleonora the Younger (queen of Sweden), 28

Uppsala, Sweden: appearance from the south side, drawing of, 150; changes in circa 1764, 309; contemptuous description of, 403; fires in, 45, 147–48, 309–10, 319–20; geographic layout of, 149; upon Linnaeus’s arrival, 45–46; move to in 1741, 142; post-fire restoration of, 147; street scene, elderly academics as part of, 152; as an unhealthy place, 147–48; Uppsala fever, 148, 192, 381, 390

Uppsala University: central university building, depiction of, 153; competition for two chairs at, 140–42; Faculty of Theology at, 254; history and facilities of, 45; judicial action at, 315–16; Linnaeus as faculty at, 154, 310–16; Linnaeus as rector, 316; Linnaeus as student at, 46–60; Linnaeus documentation held at, 437–38; medical faculty and curriculum at, 48–49, 311–12; move to, 42–44; pamphlet providing flippant overview of faculty at, 313; peak period during the Age of Liberty, 148–49; the prefect’s house, residence in, 186–87; Society of Sciences, 310; speech as the departing rector, 384–85; students at, 45–46, 148, 152, 310–11

Uppsala University Botanical Garden: allowed to “run to waste,” 42; animals as part of, 199–200; creation and care before Linnaeus, 194–95; dung from the university stables, fight over acquiring, 199; map of, 196; prospectus for, engraving of, 195; restructuring of and management by Linnaeus, 195, 197–99; thermometer, use in, 197

utility: botany as a study shorn of, 256; of centers of industry, 257; the Creation and, 255, 275; curiosity and, 255; from the “Earth,” 209; of economics, 136; of etymology, 243; of keeping healthy, 160; of learning about herbs, 134; of measuring time, 149; of music, 262; “of plenty,” 266; political prioritization of, 130; practical, 178, 255; of using natural resources, 428n1

Vaillant, Sébastien, 31, 54, 235

van Royen, Adriaan, 112, 118

van Swieten, Gerard, 116–17

_Västgöta resa_: dedication of, 165, 170; final passage of, 180; foreword focused on practical utility, 178; publication of, 172–73; title page, 161

Växjö, Sweden: population of, 30; Stenbrohult, distance from, 30–31

Virgil, 68–69, 263

_Vita Caroli Linnaei_, 2–3, 58, 114, 429n17, 430n1, 437

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), 330–31, 389

Wachendorff, Evert Jacob, 404

Wägner, Elin, 408

Wahlenberg, Göran, 21–22, 406

Wahlström, Anders, 366

Wallenberg, Jacob, 108, 306

Wallenius, Jacob, 383

Wallerius, Johan Gottschalk: electricity as the subject of a dissertation supervised by, 351; lecturing post in medicine won by, 43; mineralogical conceptus by Linnaeus, assessment of, 361; as part of the new generation in science, 131; professorial chair at Uppsala, candidacy for, 140–41; on rumors about Linnaeus’s sexual teachings, 250; unfriendly relations with, 331–32; on the university faculty in the 1740s, 148

Wallerius, Nils, 148, 244
Wallin, Georg, 54, 103
Wandelaar, Jan, 105
Wänman, Carl, 223
Warg, Cajsa, 149, 218, 220, 324
Wargentin, Pehr Wilhelm: Bible Commission, member of, 370; complaint about the cost of travel to Stockholm, 330; on the condition of the elderly Linnaeus, 387; correspondence missing from, 233; correspondence with, 332, 380; Linnaeus's supposed atheism, letter raising, 366; mediation between Solander and his mother, attempt at, 399; as mediator for Linnaeus, 332, 431n20; as part of the new generation in science, 131; request that letters to Haller be burned, 386–87
Warmholtz, Carl Gustaf, 50
Wästberg, Pär, 443
water: all things beginning in, 361; decreasing levels of, 156, 166; Linnaeus's fear of the sea, 163, 171; steady expansion of land coinciding with reduction of, 155–56
Weber, Max, 292
Wedberg, Anders, 363
weddings, spring and, 55
Weibull, Martin, 43
Westbeck, Sacharias, 136
Westerberg, Mats, 46
Wetzel, Walter, 403
Widegren, David, 27
Wiklund, Karl Bernhard, 80, 417n35
Wikman, K. Rob, 171, 433
Wilcke, Johan Carl, 340
wild men raised by animals, 298
wild strawberries: drawing of, 302; medicinal qualities of, 303, 382, 389; regular consumption of, 323
wild-strawberry girl, 360
Willughby, Francis, 58
Wilson, Edward O., 404–5
Winge, Erik, 47
wisdom, 84, 298–300, 362–63
witches, witchcraft, and witch-hunting hysteria, 18, 164. See also occult, the Wolff, Christian, 119, 362, 366
Wolffianism, 57
wolverine, 126
women: as botanists, 165, 245–46; Eve, creation of, 370–71; example of nobility in, 376; fashion for, views on the topic of, 264; interest in during provincial travels, 165; in Linnaeanism, 408; reaction to Linnaeus's sexual system, 247–48; on women's dress in Sweden and Holland, 108
wooden clogs, 174
work habits: data management, 229–30; daylight and, 229; depression and, 230–31; hours devoted to work, 228–29; publication, 241 (see also publication/publishing); volume and variety of work piling up, 231. See also professional networks
Wrangel, Carl Henrik, 201
Wrede, Elsa Beata, 246
Wrede foundation, 91
writing style, 1, 53; comparison of the Lapland and Dalarna travelogues, 94–95; electricity and lyrical, 352–53; in Lapland travelogue, 65; legacy of, 408; Linnaeus's standards for, 177; metaphors, use of, 350; mixed comments on Linnaeus's, 176–78; mythological references in Lapland travelogue, 68–72; as an old man, 386; poet, Linnaeus as, 179; in provincial travelogues, 162–63, 167–68; superlatives in letters, 178. See also language
Zeidenzopff, Ernst, 31
Zetzell, Pehr, 351
Ziervogel, Frederic, 201
Zimmerman, J. G., 343
Ziöberg, Magnus, 284
Zoëga, Johan, 320, 323
Zoll, Kilian, 408
zoology: beginning of modern/scientific, 125, 128 (see also taxonomy project); creation of orderly system for, 120–21; overtaking of botany in Linnaeus's work by, 279
zoophytes, 280, 282, 286
Zschotzscher, J. C., 31