Preface

According to Plutarch Lachesis was the third of the Sisters of Fate. She joined Generation and Destruction in the sublunar world. Nemesis, on the contrary, was a daughter of Tyche. Mythical thought in late Hellenic times saw in these goddesses an expression of Natural and Divine necessity dominating human life.

Carl Linnæus conceives Lachesis and Nemesis as symbols behind realities included in his views about human life and conduct. How he regarded *Lachesis naturalis* and *Nemesis Divina* is the subject of the present study. If it requires an apology it is that the secret of a genius always remains hidden to posterity that can never arrive at a final solution. Even at its best, the result may be, as Pliny said, "only some shadows of the truth" (*Hist. nat.* XXX, 6).

It is rather astonishing to find how much has already been said about Linnæus, and how much remains to be said to give us something deeper than the mere outlines of his personality. Thanks to the painstaking and meticulous work of the late librarian Arvid Hjalmar Uggla, M.D. and Ph.D., of Upsala new ways opened up for the study of the intellectual and scientific stature of this great naturalist of eighteenth-century Sweden. Well aware that my approach will not be the final word concerning these questions, I dedicate the following pages to the memory of my old friend Arvid Hj. Uggla. After his death a colleague of his, the librarian Dr. Ingrid Odelstierna of Upsala has with the greatest kindness rendered me considerable assistance.

These studies were made possible only with the aid of the Donner Institute for Resarch in Religious and Cultural History, connected with Åbo Akademi. My heartfelt thanks go therefore to the magnificient Patronage of this Institution, and to members of its staff, especially Dr. Sixten Ringbom and Mrs. Siv Storå. For several years the libraries of the University of Upsala and of the Swedish University of Åbo have assisted me in my efforts to gain an insight into these materials. My friend, T. Fredbärj, M.D., of Stockholm, well-

known for his Linnean research, has given me his tireless assistance at all times. The manuscript was given its shape in English by kind assistance of Mrs. Geraldine Hultkrantz of Stockholm. For further help I beg to thank Professors Åke Hultkrantz, Stockholm, Sten Lindroth and H. W. Donner, Upsala.

The origins of these essays on Linnæus are to be found more than ten years ago in an investigation of Swedish folklore in the 18th century and of the learned and popular traditions mirrored in Linnæus' writings, both published and unpublished. It was then found that Linnæus' ideas of natural magic were intimately connected with his opinions of the natural condition of man and divine retribution in this life. Behind his philosophical dietetics opened up a large vista whose outlines, though somewhat blurred, could yet be traced in science and the reflections on man, preserving the influence of the Renaissance and the Baroque.

In this manner four essays came to be written on four widely disparate topics, i.e. Linnæus' learning and ideas of magic, the elements of folklore in his writings, his moral and social attitudes and the philosophical background. The Reader will find connecting lines in the Introduction and Conclusion.

For the benefit of the reader it seems necessary to add some remarks about what is not fully referred to in the footnotes. Carl Linnæus, ennobled von Linné, was born on May 23rd, 1707, at Råshult, Småland, and died on January 10th, 1778, as Professor of Medicine and Botany at the University of Upsala. After the death of his son, Carl von Linné the younger, the collections, manuscripts and books passed into the possession of The Linnean Society in London, where they are still preserved. Several important works out of his considerable production have been posthumously edited, for instance the Journal of his Lappland journey in 1732 in a standard edition by Thore M. Fries. Bibliographically Linnæus' production is listed by M. Hulth. The great bulk of Linnæus' lecture notes on the Dietetic from the time of his professorship was edited in 1907 by A. O. Lindfors for the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Upsala (Lachesis naturalis, cited here as LN). Photostatic copies of the unedited parts of these manuscripts are deposited in the University Library of Upsala. These have been deciphered by Dr. Arvid

Hj. Uggla, and the copies were put at my disposal in 1959. These manuscripts are here referred to as LN-MSS. An early series of Linnæus' lecture notes on the Dietetic entitled Diæta naturalis 1733 (here abbreviated DN) was edited by Arvid Hj. Uggla in 1958 for the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences. The collection of Linnæus' personal notes, entitled by himself Nemesis Divina, are preserved in the University Library at Upsala. A selection of these notes, edited by Elias and Thore M. Fries (second edition Upsala 1878), has been used by the present author. The title is abbreviated ND.*

For biographical and bibliographical purposes the reader may be referred to Thore M. Fries' standard work of 1906. A short guide in English is given by Sten Lindroth in *Swedish Men of Science* (Stockholm 1952). A study by the same author, has recently appeared in *Lychnos*, 1965–1966, pp. 56–122, Upsala (with a summary in English). Works by Knut Hagberg and Elis Malmeström may also be mentioned. The Yearbook of the Swedish Linnean Society (*Svenska Linné-sällskapets årsskrift* abbreviated *SLSÅ*) is a very important source of information about Linnæus' life and traditional background.

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^{*} The new edition of *Nemesis Divina* by Elis Malmeström and Telemak Fredbärj 1968 could not be considered in the text. The reader may recur to the cited pages in the manuscript. Earlier editions by Knut Barr, 1923, and Knut Hagberg, 1960, follow mainly Fries.