Pehr Löfling's Letter-book in the Archives of the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid

A catalogue with notes and an introduction by

Kenneth Nyberg



SKRIFTER FRÅN HISTORISKA INSTITUTIONEN I GÖTEBORG

Pehr Löfling's Letter-book in the Archives of the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid

A catalogue with notes and an introduction by

Kenneth Nyberg

GÖTEBORG 2008

The author gratefully acknowledges the support received from the European Commission's Research Infrastructure Action via the SYNTHESYS Project at the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid.

Pehr Löfling's Letter-book in the Archives of the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid: A catalogue

Skrifter från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg 12

© Kenneth Nyberg 2008 ISBN: 978-91-88614-69-8 ISSN: 1100-679X Printed in Sweden 7

Introduction

Pehr Löfling (1729–1756) was one of the most talented students of renowned Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus. In 1751 he travelled to Spain at the invitation of the Spanish government and spent the next three years in the Madrid area pursuing botanical research. In the spring of 1754, Löfling accompanied an expedition lead by José de Iturriaga to the Orinoco in present-day Venezuela, then a Spanish colony, where he continued his scientific work until his death in a tropical disease almost two years later.¹

Most of the manuscripts and drawings left behind by Löfling are today preserved in the Archives of the Real Jardín Botánico (RJB) in Madrid. This collection consists of some 2,200 sheets and is of unique historical and scientific importance due to Löfling's connections with some of the most distinguished naturalists of his time in both Sweden and Spain. Yet the collection is little known among scholars outside of Spain, and parts of it are in poor physical condition. For these reasons, efforts are underway to make the Löfling collection more known and accessible as well as to restore the items that need conservation. Both of these objectives require, in turn, a detailed and accurate catalogue of the collection, something that only partially exists today because of – among other things – the diversity of languages used in the documents (Latin, Spanish, Swedish and others).²

¹ There is a wealth of literature on the life and work of Pehr Löfling but no scholarly biography. For a brief biographical overview see "Löfling, Pehr," in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* vol. 24 (Stockholm 1982–84). The main Swedish work is still Stig Rydén, *Pehr Löfling. En linnélärjunge i Spanien och Venezuela 1751–1756* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell 1965). Since 1990 several publications in Spanish on Löfling and the Orinoco expedition have appeared, e.g., Francisco Pelayo López (ed.), *Pehr Löfling y la Expedición al Orinoco 1754–1761* (Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico 1990); Manuel Lucena Giraldo, *Laboratorio Tropical. La Expedición de Límites al Orinoco, 1750–1767* (Caracas: Monte Avila 1993); and M. Pilar de San Pío Aladrén (ed.), *La Comisión Naturalista de Löfling en la Expedición de Límites al Orinoco* (Madrid: Lunwerg 1998).

² A general catalogue exists and versions of this are included in both Pelayo López 1990 and San Pío Aladrén 1998. In the course of our recent survey of the collection, however, it has become apparent that there are some minor inaccuracies in this catalogue

In order to further the goals mentioned above – cataloguing, conservation and publication of the Löfling collection – a preliminary survey and examination of the entire collection has been carried out in 2006–2008 by the Curator of the Archives, M. Pilar de San Pío Aladrén, and myself. The purpose of this survey has been to document the contents and physical state of the collection, data which are intended to form the basis of future phases of the overall project. What follows below is one tangible outcome of this work: a catalogue of Löfling's "Letter-book" ("Bref-bok"), which contains drafts of letters written from May 1751 (when he left Sweden) until October 1754 (six months after his arrival in Venezuela).

The 172 entries in the letter-book seem to include virtually all of Löfling's letters to relatives, friends, teachers and patrons in Sweden and, occasionally, other parts of Europe during this period. With few exceptions it does not, however, include drafts of letters written to recipients in Spain and Venezuela; many of these are instead preserved in other sections of the collection. Previously, this whole volume – which is mainly written in Swedish – was only noted in the general catalogue as one item without any description of its contents, despite the fact that it has proven to be rich in valuable information on a range of subjects.

The significance of the Löfling collection

Through Pehr Löfling long-term direct contacts were established for the first time between leading Spanish and Swedish botanists.³ Löfling also made significant contributions to contemporary knowledge of the Spanish flora and, perhaps more importantly, was one of the first to study the plants of South America systematically according to the new principles of taxonomy advanced by Linnaeus. In this latter respect, Löfling was one of many disciples of Linnaeus who travelled to distant parts of the world in the mid- and late 18th century in search of new

and that summaries for some entries, especially items written in Swedish, are too brief to give an adequate idea of the contents. For this reason, and in order to provide summaries in English in addition to those in Spanish, we are preparing a revised and corrected version of the entire catalogue.

³ For more on this aspect see Tomas Anfält, "Pehr Löfling – Linnaeus' dearest disciple and his life in Spain," in *Carl Linnaeus and Enlightened Science in Spain* (Madrid: Fundación Berndt Wistedt 1998), pp. 103–111.

species and genera to define, describe and incorporate into the Linnaean system of classification.⁴

During his time in Spain, Löfling maintained an extensive correspondence with many Swedish naturalists. Most notably he stayed in very close contact with Linnaeus, who at this time was working on the global flora *Species plantarum*, first published in 1753 and later established as the formal starting point of botanical nomenclature. It has often been suggested that Linnaeus had a special regard for this former student of his, and it was to Löfling that he had earlier dictated the manuscript of another major work, the *Philosophia botanica* (1751). It also seems clear that Löfling exerted some influence on Linnaeus in the final stage of writing on the *Species plantarum*, but this topic has never been investigated in any detail.⁵

Altogether, Löfling's activities in the years around 1750 make him a significant figure in the history of 18th century science, particularly botany, and some of his work is also directly relevant to taxonomists of today. In his lifetime, however, only a few minor papers were published in Swedish scientific journals, while some of his more substantial manuscripts were edited and published posthumously by Linnaeus as the *Iter Hispanicum*. As a result, much of the details regarding Löfling, his work in Spain and South America and the extent of his influ-

⁴ Much has been written about the disciples of Linnaeus, but just to name a few recent works see *The Linnaeus Apostles: Global Science and Adventure*, 8 vols. (London: IK Foundation 2006– [the volume on Löfling was not available as of this writing]); Hanna Hodacs & Kenneth Nyberg, *Naturalhistoria på resande fot. Om att forska, undervisa och göra karriär i 1700-talets Sverige* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2007), esp. ch. 2 and 6; Bengt Jonsell, "Apostlarnas resor och gärningar. Linnélärjungarnas roll i upptäckten av världen," in Paul Hallberg (ed.), *Ljus över landet? Upplysningen som drivkraft i 1700-talets svenska vetenskap och vitterhet* (Göteborg: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället 2005), pp. 79–98; and Sverker Sörlin & Otto Fagerstedt, *Linné och hans apostlar* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur 2004).

⁵ See Mariette Manktelow & Kenneth Nyberg, "Linnaeus' Apostles and the Development of the *Species Plantarum*," in Inga Hedberg (ed.), *Species Plantarum 250 Years*. *Proceedings of the Species Plantarum Symposium held in Uppsala August 22–24, 2003*, Symbolae Botanicae Upsalienses 33:3 (Uppsala: Uppsala University 2005), pp. 73–80, and the references quoted there.

⁶ Pehr Löfling, *Iter Hispanicum eller Resa til spanska länderna uti Europa och America*, ed. Carl Linnaeus (Stockholm 1758). An electronic version of this work is available at *The Linnaean Correspondence*, http://linnaeus.c18.net/Editions/index.php (accessed 18 September 2008), and other websites.

ence on Linnaeus remain unknown. For future research into these and related questions, the collection of Löfling's unpublished manuscripts in Madrid will be of decisive importance.

The Löfling collection constitutes Div. II of the Archives of the RJB and its formal name is "Fondo 'Expedición de Límites al Orinoco. Pehr Löfling' (1743–1766)." There are two main sections of the collection: manuscripts (1,987 sheets with a total of 3,118 pages of content) and drawings (200 sheets). The manuscripts are in turn divided into five boxes with further subdivisions into folders, files and sheets while the drawings have a simple numbering system from 1 to 200. In general, the drawings are in very good physical condition and have been properly conserved, while the state of the manuscripts is more varied; some are in excellent condition and others need more or less extensive restoration work.

As mentioned above, there is a general catalogue of the Löfling collection but, as the name implies, it does not provide much detail. At least this is true for the manuscripts, while there are fairly comprehensive descriptions of the plants depicted in the drawings. Most notably, until now there has been no itemized catalogue of the letter-book where Löfling kept copies and outlines of the letters he wrote to Linnaeus and other Swedish correspondents. Many of the originals of these letters no longer remain, while those still surviving are scattered in a variety of archives and libraries; thus the letter-book is an important source of knowledge about Löfling's scientific work and the activities of other botanists with whom he corresponded.⁷

⁷ For detailed information on the location of the original letters and other manuscripts of Löfling, see "Löfling, Pehr," in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* vol. 24 (Stockholm 1982–1984). In brief, however, the letters to Linnaeus are preserved in the Linnaeus Society of London, while other original letters can be found at the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, Uppsala University Library and the Hagströmer Library at Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm. Very few of the letters that Löfling received have survived, except those from Linnaeus and the letters written (in Spanish) between members of the Orinoco expedition in Venezuela. It seems that the manuscripts and letters he left behind in Madrid disappeared or were destroyed, while some or all of the papers that were with him in Venezuela when he died have survived. For this catalogue it has not been possible to compare the drafts in the letter-book with all the originals in various archives, but a few sample comparisons (mainly with original letters to Linnaeus in the Linnean Society) indicates that there are only minor differences between the drafts in the letter-book and the actual letters.

The letter-book (RJB call sign II,2,1) consists of a folder of 124 sheets, mostly with writing on both sides which yields a total of 221 pages containing at least some text. The sheets have been ordered and individually numbered by archivists in modern times, but this numbering may in a few cases be erroneous or misleading; when applicable this has been noted. Nevertheless, the catalogue presented here is based on the current sequence of sheets in order to avoid confusion in finding any given letter in the folder. Many of the sheets, but far from all, have some text missing because of gaps or deterioration due to water stains or other marks; this has been pointed out when relevant. Unless otherwise noted, entries in the letter-book are written in Swedish.

The letter-book catalogue

In the catalogue, each letter or comparable item (sometimes no more than a fragment) has been given a sequential number. It is important to point out that numbers do not refer to sheets but to individual items, as some sheets contain several letters while some large items are spread out over several sheets. Each entry has a descriptive headline, usually consisting of the recipient's name and the date on which the letter was written (insofar as Löfling has provided it). If any text is missing, this is indicated before the summary of the letter's contents, where the main topics being discussed are indicated very briefly.

By necessity, the summary cannot be exhaustive or "complete" in any sense of the word; only when persons, places or taxa are treated in a more substantial way have their names been recorded. Especially for plants or insects there are sometimes lists of names that cannot be reproduced in full, and in such cases the omission has been explicitly noted at the end of the summary. In this regard as in others the present work is modelled closely on the general catalogue of the Löfling collection, which also gives brief abstracts (in Spanish) of the content of each entry. Since it has not always been possible to determine whether Löfling is discussing a species or genus that is still recognised as such in our times, names of plants and animals have not been italicized as is otherwise the normal practice today for valid scientific names.

It is inevitable that the summaries will concentrate on certain topics while being more perfunctory on others. Whatever bias may have been introduced this way, I have tried to make the text itself of the catalogue

as transparent as possible. Thus, when the wording of the text or other information is the result of assumptions and conclusions rather than explicitly stated in the letter-book, it has been placed within brackets. The spelling of names, the titles of various people and other data in the letter summaries are those provided by Löfling (which means they may be inaccurate or inconsistent), while standardized forms of names, titles etc. are used in the footnotes and in the index. One of the few exceptions is that whenever Löfling has addressed a letter to "Linnaeus" the name is rendered as "Carl Linnaeus" in the catalogue, as it quite certainly refers to his teacher and mentor and since, in the rare cases when he wrote to other members of the Linnaeus family, it is also very clear who the recipient is.

In keeping with the principle of transparency, dates are given as they appear in the letter-book or bracketed when they are uncertain or estimated from other information in the text. Löfling often gave the date according to both the Gregorian calendar prevalent in much of Europe at this time and the Julian calendar used in Sweden until 1 March 1753. In these cases the catalogue cites the Julian date first and the Gregorian date within parenthesis. When only one date has been given, unless otherwise noted it may be assumed to be Gregorian for letters written in Spain (or France) and Julian for letters written in Sweden. From 1 March 1753 all dates follow the Gregorian calendar.

The catalogue is accompanied by notes, which provide comments on the manuscript itself and give brief biographical information about persons mentioned in the text, sometimes also with references to relevant primary and secondary sources. It must be emphasized that neither biographical notes nor bibliographical references are in any way exhaustive; rather, they are intended to provide an elementary orientation and a few suggestions for further reading in order to facilitate understanding of the letters and the context in which they were written.

Many of the persons mentioned in the letter-book were (current or former) students of Linnaeus whom Löfling knew from his university days, and for biographical data on them I have relied heavily on Sven-Erik Sandermann Olsen's *Bibliographia discipuli Linnæi*. For other Swedes I have mainly used *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (Dictionary of

⁸ Sven-Erik Sandermann Olsen, *Bibliographia discipuli Linnæi. Bibliographies of the 331 pupils of Linnæus* (Copenhagen: Den Danske Linné-Samling 1997).

National Swedish Biography), *Svenska män och kvinnor* and the notes in Th. M. Fries' Linnaeus biography from 1903, which is still something of a standard work. For Spanish individuals I have relied on the index of authorities in the bibliographical catalogue of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), and for other nationalities I have consulted the *Britannica Online Encyclopedia*. Since this search pattern has been followed quite consistently and the biographical details provided are basic and general in nature, I have usually not given specific references to the source in each case for this type of data.

Acknowledgments

The catalogue has been prepared by me, but I want to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to M. Pilar de San Pío Aladrén for sharing so generously of her time and expertise, and for making our collaboration on the Löfling collection such an enjoyable experience. I would also like to thank the Director of the Real Jardín Botánico, Prof. Gonzalo Nieto Feliner, and the Head of the History Department at the University of Gothenburg, Prof. Göran Malmstedt, for supporting and encouraging this work in various ways.

Preparing and publishing the catalogue would not have been possible without funding by the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, the Per Lindecrantz Foundation at the University of Gothenburg, and the European Commission's Research Infrastructure Action via the SYNTHESYS Project at the Real Jardín Botánico. The final work of editing the manuscript for publication was greatly helped by grants from the foundations of Helge Ax:son Johnson, Wilhelm & Martina Lundgren and Gunvor & Josef Anér. For all of this generous support I am most grateful.

⁹ Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (Stockholm 1918–); Svenska män och kvinnor, 8 vols. (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier 1942–1955); and Th. M. Fries, *Linné*. *Lefnads-teckning*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Fahlcrantz 1903).

¹⁰ CSIC's catalogue can be found at http://aleph.csic.es and the *Britannica Online Encyclopedia* at http://www.britannica.com (both accessed in November/December 2008).

Catalogue

1. To Carl Linnaeus, 11 [Porto?] July 1751

Text partially missing

The sea journey from Stockholm to Porto. Discusses Fucus, Medusa etc. The landing at Porto 14 (25) July with a short description of the city. Valeriana, Linum, Reseda etc. Löfling hopes that Mårten Kähler¹² will soon be able to begin his planned journey and asks Linnaeus if he can have some of Pehr Kalm's¹³ plants from North America, promising to give Spanish plants in return. He also asks a few questions regarding the observations he has made so far. (*Mentions plants not listed here.*)

2. To his father, ¹⁴ [Porto?] July 1751

Text partially missing

The journey from Sweden to Porto, promising to write again in Lisbon.

3. To Lars Salvius, 15 [Porto?] July 1751

Text partially missing

Discussing books that he needs, among them Linnaeus' *Genera planta- rum* and *Iter Westrogothia*. Löfling also requests that his letters home should not be published without informing him first.

¹¹ Carl Linnaeus (or Carl von Linné [the Elder], 1707–1778), professor of medicine (and later botany) in Uppsala from 1741. Fries 1903, although dated, is still the most widely used Swedish biography while the standard work in English is Wilfrid Blunt, *The compleat naturalist: A life of Linnaeus* [1971] (London: Frances Lincoln 2001).

¹² Mårten Kähler (1728–1773), student of Linnaeus who later became a physician.

¹³ Pehr Kalm (1716–1779), professor of natural history and economics in Åbo from 1747, who studied for Linnaeus in Uppsala in the early 1740s and later made a scientific journey to North America in 1748–1751.

¹⁴ Erik Löfling, a bookkeeper at the Tolvfors iron works in the province of Gästrikland. Not much is known for certain about him, except that he was buried on 2 December 1759. See Eva Claesson, "Var föddes Löfling?", *Gestricia* 17:1 (2005), p. 9.

¹⁵ Lars Salvius (1706–1773), a prominent printer and publisher in Stockholm who in the middle of the 18th century was a key figure in the distribution and exchange of scientific books within the country as well as between Sweden and other countries.

15

4. Undated "Pro memoria"

A list of things to remember for future letters. Löfling asks Linnaeus if the King¹⁶ could instruct Swedish consuls to send home the collections he has made in Spain (cf. no. 5). Questions to Linnaeus about Fucus etc. and reminding himself to send Linnaeus some previously made descriptions. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

5. To [Carl Linn]aeus, Porto 27 July (7 August) 1751

Text partially missing

Löfling plans to go by sea to St. Ybes on 29 July with a Captain Gedda. He also requests that the King or the Board of Trade (Kommerskollegium) will order Swedish consuls to assist him in sending home his collections. Discusses a number of plants he has observed, among them Erica "of 4 kinds" ("4 slag funnit"), describes a few others and poses questions about some of them. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

6. To his father, Porto 27 July (7 August) 1751

About his intention to go by sea to St. Ybes with Captain Gedda and how the Portuguese celebrate religious services. He regrets the sad news from Stockholm about a major fire there. The food on board during the sea journey (peas, porridge etc.).

7. To S[ister] Br[ita] K[örning], 17 Porto 27 July (7 August) 1751

Describes the clothes etc. [of the Portuguese]. "Denmark and Porto."

¹⁶ Adolf Fredrik (1710–1771), king of Sweden 1751–1771.

¹⁷ According to Rydén, p. 64, Löfling had a sister named Brita Körning whom he wrote to in the spring of 1752, but while the letter Rydén refers to (no. 44) is addressed to "S[ister] Brita Körning" it is clear from the text that the recipient is in fact Löfling's aunt ("Moster"); at this time the term "sister" could be applied to almost any close female relative. No. 33 is explicitly addressed to an aunt Körning ("Moster Körning") and thus it is all but certain that the recipient of no. 44 is the same person. The "S. Br. K." mentioned in no. 7 may be someone else, but since this letter was written immediately after one to Löfling's father (which is also the case with no. 44) it is quite likely that the recipient here should be read as "Sister [i.e., aunt] Brita Körning." She could also be identical to the recipient of no. 119, a "Sister Brita" who may be someone else than his aunt Körning for reasons discussed in note 86.

8. Undated "Pro memoria"

Asks Linnaeus about a possible printing error in *Systema naturae*. Various discussions about plant descriptions, determination of species etc. (*Mentions plants not listed here.*)

9. To Carl Linnaeus, Lisbon 17 (28) September [1751]

Text partially missing

He last wrote on 27 July (7 August) and since then he has found some very "rare" plants, which he describes (Sibthorpia, Saxifraga etc.). The journey to St. Ybes took 8 days. Pehr Osbeck's description of Cadiz is mentioned. The plants that he found in and around Porto are listed. Löfling visited Lisbon "over land" ("öfr land") at the first opportunity, during which time he was very much helped and obliged by the Swedish deputy consult here, Podolijn. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

10. To [Georg Tycho] Holm,²⁰ Madrid 4 (15) November 1751

Text partially missing

Thanks Holm for his "friendship and company" ("vänskap och omgänge"). After a long and slow journey Löfling landed at Porto 12 (23) July [sic – cf. no. 1]. Went to St. Ybes by sea and then travelled overland to Lisbon on 13 (23) August where he remained until 22 September (3 October). Arrived in Madrid on 19 (30) October after 17 days of travel [sic; cf. no. 11]. In Lisbon he met a ship's captain with whom he sent some plants to Holm in Copenhagen. Löfling also lists a number of plants and gives short descriptions of them. He asks Holm to send him news from the learned world of Denmark, Sweden and Germany. The journey to Madrid (from Lisbon) had gone well and during this

¹⁸ Pehr Osbeck (1723–1805), naturalist, clergyman and former student of Linnaeus who at this time was making a voyage to China on board a Swedish East India Company ship. On his way to East Asia, Osbeck had made a landing at Cadiz where he collected plants and other specimens.

¹⁹ Johan Podolin (1708–1780).

²⁰ Georg Tycho (or Jørgen Tyge) Holm (1726–1759), Danish naturalist and student of Linnaeus who became professor of economics in Copenhagen shortly before his death.

time he had the good fortune of Mr. [Louis] Godin's company.²¹ In Madrid there are more scientists than in Lisbon, and Löfling briefly describes a few of those he has met so far: Vélez, Minuart and Quer.²² (Mentions plants not listed here.)

11. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 4 (15) November [1751]

Text partially missing

Describes briefly the landscape in the Madrid area, the mixture of hills, valleys and fields etc. and discusses the various plants to be found there. Löfling then mentions the pleasant company of Mr. Godin on the journey to Madrid, which took 14 days, and he arrived there on 9 (20) October [sic; cf. no. 10]. Shortly afterwards he continued to Escorial to meet [the chief minister] Mr. Carvajal, who mentioned the possibility of a journey to America. Löfling also gives names and short comments on some of the leading Spanish botanists: Minuart, Vélez and Quer. With the letter he has enclosed a description of two corals that he asks Linnaeus to review before submitting it for publication in the proceedings (*Handlingar*) of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences [cf. nos. 20–23]. (*Mentions plants not listed here.*)

At the end of the letter there is a separate section called "Res privatae" ("Confidential matters"), where Löfling further discusses the Spanish botanists, more specifically their sceptical attitude towards the Linnaean system of classification and how they might be influenced to take a more favourable position. He suggests that Linnaeus should personally send the leading Spanish botanists some of his writings, and he asks what other methods he himself might use to promote the same goal. Löfling also repeats his request that Swedish consuls be ordered to assist him in sending home collections of plants and other items.

²¹ Louis Godin (1704–1760), French astronomer who spent 15 years in South America as a member of the La Condamine expedition, which set out in 1735 and gradually dissolved over the following decades (cf. note 87).

²² Cristóbal Vélez (c. 1710–1753), Juan Minuart (1693–1768) and José Quer y Martínez (1695–1764), all prominent botanists and/or physicians in the Madrid area.

²³ José de Carvajal y Lancaster (1698–1754), Spanish politician who served as chief secretary of foreign affairs to Fernando VI from 1746 to 1754.

²⁴ These were later published in *Kongl. svenska vetenskaps academiens handlingar* vol. 13 (Stockholm 1752), pp. 109–122.

12. Undated fragment of a list of plants

Text partially missing

The document seems to be part of a list of plants, mentioning among others Erica three times (with no further description). (Mentions plants not listed here.)

13. Undated fragment of a letter

Text partially missing

The majority of the short text seems to be a discussion about one or more species of insects. Löfling suggests that he may travel to America soon, which is too early because he is not yet proficient enough in the language. ²⁵ (Mentions insects not listed here.)

14. To [Isaa]c Biberg²⁶ [Madrid 1751?]

Text partially missing

Undated, but probably from late 1751 and written in Madrid as he mentions his arrival "here" on 8 (19) October in the company of Mr. Godin. [Possibly this was written with other letters on 4 (15) November.] His salary has not yet been settled. He mentions Minuart, Vélez, Quer and Ortega,²⁷ of whom the latter is away travelling at the moment. He goes on to list his observations during the sea voyage, including measurements of the specific weight of water. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

15. To Jonas Hollsten²⁸ [Madrid 1751?]

Undated, but probably from late 1751 [cf. no. 14, which is on the same sheet]. Löfling writes about his journey, his stay at Escorial, the Spanish botanists and his new friend Mr. Godin. He asks if Hollsten is mar-

²⁵ Presumably Löfling refers to Spanish, which would mean that the fragment dates from late 1751 or early 1752 since he wrote in April of the latter year that his grasp of the language was becoming quite good; cf. no. 42.

²⁶ Isaac Isaacson Biberg (1726–1804), student of Linnaeus who later became teacher of Greek in Härnösand.

²⁷ José Ortega (or Hortega, 1703–1761), a leading Spanish botanist at the time.

²⁸ Jonas Hollsten (1717–1789), botanist who studied for Linnaeus and later became a schoolmaster in the north of Sweden.

ried yet and requests to have the writings of [Peter] Artedi²⁹ [on fishes]. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

16. To Lorens Wolther Rothoff³⁰ [Madrid 1751?]

Text partially missing

Undated, but probably from late 1751 [cf. no. 14, which is on the same sheet]. Löfling says that he is now "settled" ("komen i Ro"), presumably in Madrid. He then asks for the whereabouts of [Samuel] Nauclér³¹ and writes that he has seen a whole petrified turtle.

17. To Pehr Bjerchén³² [Madrid 1751?]

Undated, but probably from late 1751 [cf. no. 14, which is on the same sheet]. Writes about his journey and the Spanish botanists, and asks Bjerchén to convey a message to "Mr. Georgi."³³

18. To his parents ("Patri")³⁴ [Madrid 1751?]

Undated, but probably from late 1751 [cf. no. 14, which is on the same sheet]. Mentions that he has written three letters to them previously. The journey to Madrid and the visit to Escorial. Mr. Godin has left for Paris but will return. He also describes the great services the deputy consul Podolijn has done towards him. Finally he gives his regards to his brothers, the priest, his grandmother and other relatives.

²⁹ Peter Artedi (1705–1735), Swedish zoologist who at an early age became an expert on ichthyology (the study of fishes) and a close friend of the young Linnaeus. He died by drowning in a canal in Amsterdam, where he was working on the fish collection of a rich pharmacist, Albert Seba.

³⁰ Lorens Wolter Rothof (1724–1787), student of Linnaeus who published writings on natural history and agricultural economy; in the course of a varied career he worked, among other things, as a teacher and as a bookseller.

³¹ Samuel Nauclér (1724–1770), physician who studied in Uppsala at the same time as Löfling.

³² Pehr af Bjerkén (1731–1774), student of Linnaeus and one of Löfling's closest friends. He later became a prominent physician and held several senior medical posts in the armed services and in civilian government agencies.

³³ This may refer to Georg Tycho Holm (cf. no. 10) or Georg Svahn (cf. no. 25), but neither is very likely since Holm seems to have been in Copenhagen and Svahn in Paris at this time – unless, of course, Bjerkén too was in one of these cities.

³⁴ Erik Löfling (cf. note 14) and Barbro Strandman, of whom very little is known.

19. To [?], Porto [July 1751?]

This very short summary of a letter is on the same sheet as nos. 14–18, but it was apparently added afterwards as Löfling only states that he "wrote in Porto." The letter contained a description of the landing in Porto and a discussion of some theological issues.

20. To the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Madrid 17 (28) November [1751]

Text partially missing

A letter entirely concerned with a scientific paper on two corals (both called Millepora) that Löfling is submitting to the Academy [cf. no. 11 and nos. 21–23].

21. To Pehr Wargentin,³⁵ Madrid 17 (28) November [1751]

This letter to the Secretary of the Academy of Sciences is mostly concerned with Löfling's paper on two corals, which he has submitted to the Academy [cf. nos. 11, 20, 22 and 23]. He also mentions his debt of gratitude to Mr. Godin, reports briefly on the experiments he conducted during his sea voyage and regrets the loss of his thermometer.

22. To Abraham Bäck,³⁶ Madrid 17 (28) November [1751]

Mentions the paper on corals that he has just submitted to the Academy of Sciences [cf. nos. 11, 20, 21 and 23] and goes on to comment on the state of the sciences in Spain. Among other things, Löfling praises the progress of medicine in the country.

³⁵ Pehr Wargentin (1717–1783), astronomer and statistician who served as permanent secretary of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences from 1749 until his death. By virtue of his long and successful tenure of this post, Wargenting was one of the most important figures in Sweden's scientific and intellectual life during the period.

³⁶ Abraham Bäck (1713–1795), leading physician who from 1752 served as the influential president of the Swedish Board of Medicine (Collegium medicum). He was also one of the closest friends of Linnaeus, with whom he corresponded on an almost daily basis for thirty years. Bäck had wide-ranging scientific interests and contacts in the fields of medicine, natural history and economics within Sweden and abroad. Many of the travelling students of Linnaeus were careful to keep him informed of their activities as well as scientific developments in the countries they visited.

23. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 17 (28) November [1751]

Löfling still does not quite know the terms of his stay in Spain and is becoming impatient. He will apply for permission to go to the Canary Islands the following year and tells Linnaeus that he is now submitting his paper on two corals to the Academy of Sciences [cf. no. 11 and nos. 20–22]. He also promises that he will soon send some animal descriptions for the Royal Swedish Society of Sciences in Uppsala (of which Linnaeus was the secretary at this time).

24. To Olof Ingesson,³⁷ Madrid 17 (28) November [1751]

Several very short notes on various subjects, among them a procession he saw in Porto.

25. To Georg Svahn,³⁸ Madrid 2 (13) [?] December [1751]

[The exact date is uncertain as it has been changed, but it is clearly November or December 1751.] Löfling reminds Svahn about their "old friendship" and asks to hear his latest news. His position in Spain is still somewhat ambiguous and he has written Mr. Carvajal requesting clarification. Löfling also presents a list of twelve questions about the state of the sciences in Paris (where Svahn is residing), gives news of their old university friends (Kähler, Wahlbom³⁹ etc.) and other topics.

26. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 16 (27) December [1751]

Short letter about a variety of subjects, among them Löfling's wish to know more about mineralogy. He also briefly mentions the religious differences between the Spanish and himself and how he handles them.

27. To [Sara Elisabeth] Linnaea, 40 Madrid 16 (27) December [1751]

A "letter of compliments" for the upcoming new year in gratitude for all the favour shown him by Linnaeus' wife. [No further details given.]

³⁷ It has not been possible to identify Ingesson with any certainty.

³⁸ Georg Svahn (1722–1756), physician who had studied for Linnaeus. (Rydén, p. 38.)

³⁹ Johan Gustaf Wahlbom (1724–1808), physician, naturalist and student of Linnaeus.

⁴⁰ Sara Elisabeth Linnaea (or von Linné, 1716–1806). For a recent work on the female members of Linnaeus' circle of family and friends, see Mariette Manktelow & Petronella Kettunen, *Kvinnorna kring Linné* (Ryd: Artéa 2007).

28. To Carl Linnaeus the Younger, 41 Madrid 16 (27) December [1751]

Letter in Latin where Löfling promises to send Linnaeus' son "rarities" in the future and wishes him a happy new year.

29. To Lisa Stina L[innaea], 42 Madrid 16 (27) December [1751]

This letter to one of Linnaeus' daughters talks jokingly about the desirability of firm resolve in an inconstant fiancé [the full meaning is not clear], and then goes on to wish Lisa Stina a happy new year.

30. To Lars Montin, 43 Madrid 23 December 1751 (3 January 1752)

Löfling has sent plants to Montin from Lisbon. His journey from there went well and his salary in Spain has now been settled. He also discusses various plants briefly. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

31. To his parents, Madrid 30 December 1751 (10 January 1752)

He wishes everyone a happy new year and then asks to have news from home, especially since he has not heard from his family since leaving Sweden. He plans to make a trip to Estremadura in the spring.

32. To "Uncle Nils" ("Morbror Nils"), 44 Madrid **30 December 1751** (10 January 1752)

Löfling wishes his uncle a happy new year and asks him to give his regards to "the Brothers" ("Bröderna").

⁴¹ Carl Linnaeus (or von Linné) the Younger (1741–1783), the son of Linnaeus and his successor as professor of botany and medicine at Uppsala University.

⁴² Elisabeth Christina Linnaea (or von Linné, 1743–1782), Linnaeus' eldest daughter who at this time was eight years old. Löfling had lived in the Linnaeus household during part of his years in Uppsala and was well acquainted with the whole family.

⁴³ Lars Montin (1723–1785), physician and botanist who had studied for Linnaeus. He was one of Löfling's closest friends, as shown by their frequent (and often very personal) correspondence.

⁴⁴ Nils Strandman, the brother of Löfling's mother.

33. To "Aunt Körning" ("Moster Körning"), 45 Madrid 30 December 1751 (10 January 1752)

A letter elaborately thanking his aunt for her love and support. One day he hopes to once again be able to express his gratitude in person.

34. To Georg Svahn, Madrid 24 January 1752

Löfling regrets Svahn's misfortune lately and tries to encourage him, thanks him for the news from Uppsala and writes about his title and his salary, which have now been settled. He also mentions that he has written the French botanist Sauvages⁴⁶ earlier the same day and asks Svahn some questions about Sauvages and other French naturalists.

35. To Lars Salvius, Madrid 24 January 1752

The letter mainly consists of a list of 19 books, most of them works by Linnaeus, that Löfling asks Salvius to send him as soon as possible. Some works are requested in more than one copy, probably because Löfling intends to give away some of them to Spanish botanists.

Löfling notes that on 7 February 1752 he received a letter from Linnaeus dated in Uppsala 16 December 1751.⁴⁷

36. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 3 (14) February 1752

Löfling encloses some plants with the letter and discusses a few issues of species determination etc. apparently raised by Linnaeus. He also reports his new salary and asks that none of his letters be published in the future. The letter [in Latin] that Linnaeus sent him earlier has increased the Spanish botanists' trust and confidence in him. Finally he encloses a type of bark that Vélez has requested him to send to Linnaeus.

37. To his father, Madrid 3 (14) February 1752

Short letter asking when he will hear from his father, since he still has not received any letter from him.

⁴⁵ Cf. the discussion in note 17 about no. 7 and no. 44, and note 86 about no. 119.

⁴⁶ François Boissier de Sauvages de Lacroix (1706–1767).

⁴⁷ This letter is preserved in the archives of the RJB, call sign II,1,6,9.

Löfling notes that on 20 February 1752 he received a letter from Wargen[tin] and on 12 March one from Svahn.

38. To Georg Svahn, Madrid 2 (13) March 1752

Conveys some of the news he has received from Stockholm about Hasselquist's⁴⁸ progress in Palestine and the plans being worked out for printing Kalm's travel account from North America etc. The Swedish government has now made arrangements for Löfling to send home his collections through the Swedish consuls in Spain. He assures Svahn that he will not get married in Spain [and thus settle there, implying that on the contrary he intends to return to Sweden eventually].

39. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 2 (13) March 1752

Text partially missing

He last wrote to Linnaeus on 3 (14) February and will now reply to the questions he could not answer then. He is enclosing a work by Minuart from 1739 that he has been requested to forward to Linnaeus. Discussing Cistus, Alsine and briefly some other plants. Enclosed is also a letter from Vélez. Nothing is settled yet about the journey to America and to avoid misconceptions spreading Löfling (once again) asks Linnaeus that none of his letters be printed. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

40. To Pehr Wargentin, Madrid 8/9 (19/20) March 1752

Löfling begins by elaborately thanking Wargentin for his letter of 17 January and the kind review that his paper on corals has received by the Academy of Sciences. He has made an extract from the works of p. Feuillée⁴⁹ on the specific weight of water and describes his experiments with hydrostatic weights, a Fahrenheit thermometer etc. In less than a month he will go to Estremadura. Finally, he gives instructions about the address if Wargentin should send him a new [Celsius] thermometer, since the one he brought from Sweden broke during the journey.

⁴⁸ Fredric Hasselquist (1722–1752), naturalist, physician and student of Linnaeus who died near Smyrna in present-day Turkey during a scientific expedition.

⁴⁹ Louis Feuillée (1660–1732), French explorer and scientist working in the fields of astronomy, geography and botany among others. Löfling's extract from his writings can now be found in the RJB archives, call sign II,1,3,13.

41. To Dr. Gisler,⁵⁰ Madrid 8/9 (19/20) March 1752

Discusses the observations of p. Feuillée on the specific weight of water and asks Gisler to follow up on them, as he is more proficient in this field than Löfling.

42. To Lars Montin, Madrid 13 (24) April 1752

Löfling gives thanks for Montin's letter and then discusses in some detail practical issues of their correspondence (addresses etc.), plants he has sent and some answers to Montin's questions about them. He asks to have more news of mutual friends back home since he has received few letters so far. Löfling also requests to know if the things sent under Liedbeck's⁵¹ address arrived safely. He then gives a list of the plants he is enclosing with the letter (or possibly those he has sent earlier), and ends by declaring that he is now doing "well enough" with the Spanish language. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

43. To his father, Madrid 13 (24) April 1752

He is very happy about having received a letter from his parents at last on 11 (22) April, while at the same time being saddened by the news of his grandmother's death. Mostly the letter concerns family matters, but Löfling also writes about his health (which up to now has been good) and the religious situation in Spain.

44. To S[ister] Brita Körning,⁵² Madrid 13 (24) April 1752

A letter entirely concerned with family matters and the practical details of sending letters between Spain and Sweden. In many respects very similar to no. 43.

⁵⁰ Nils Gissler (1715–1771), physician and naturalist who studied for Linnaeus and Nils Rosén von Rosenstein (1706–1773) in Uppsala and later became the provincial physician in Härnösand in northern Sweden.

⁵¹ Eric Gustaf Liedbeck (1724–1803), a former student of Linnaeus who was director of the botanic garden in Lund when this letter was written. Later he became professor of natural history and economics at Lund University.

⁵² Cf. the discussion in note 17 about nos. 7 and 33.

45. To "Uncle Nils" ("Morbror Nils"), Madrid 13 (24) April 1752

Short letter on family matters which also mentions the valuable assistance Löfling has received from the Swedish deputy consul in Lisbon, Podolijn.

46. To [Johan] Podolijn, Madrid 13 (24) April 1752

Very brief note that Löfling has sent Podolijn a statement or affidavit of some kind ("attestation") apparently requested by Podolijn. [No further details given.]

47. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 20 April (1 May) 1752

Text partially missing

He apologizes for not replying as quickly as he should have, and then writes about how the winter has been in the Madrid area. Löfling assures Linnaeus that he has been working very diligently even though he has not yet sent any list of his collections, which currently amounts to 570 species of plants, almost 80 species of animals and less than 20 types of rock. Discusses his problems with determining the genera of plants in the class Tetradynamia and writes that for this reason he has made very careful descriptions of those plants. He also thanks Linnaeus for the seeds he sent, which had been very gratefully received by the Spanish botanists.

Löfling still has not had any word about his journey [to America], but was happy to hear in a letter from Wargentin received earlier the same day that Kähler had been given a grant towards his future travels. The letter contains descriptions of both plants and insects (particularly Scarabeus), and Löfling lists seeds from three plants that he has enclosed. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

Löfling notes that on 1 May he received letters from Wargentin, Bäck and Bjerchén "from Aranjuez."⁵³

⁵³ Most likely the Swedish envoy, under whose address Löfling received much of his mail, attended the royal court in Aranjuez and forwarded the letters from there.

48. To Abraham Bäck, Madrid 4 (15) May 1752

Löfling elaborately thanks Bäck for his letter of 16 March and asks to remain in his favour in the future. He then gives a detailed report on the state of the science and practice of medicine in Spain, a field in which he himself regrettably knows less than he would wish. In particular, he discusses Dr. [Francisco] Solano de Luque⁵⁴ and the Madrid Academy of Medicine. Löfling writes that in return for the items Bäck asks him to collect and send home, he does not want payment in money but in books that he needs both for himself and to give to his fellow botanists in Spain. Since he has not received any reply from the bookseller Salvius to his requests for books [cf. nos. 3 and 35] he asks Bäck to intercede for him, and writes that if the issue is not resolved soon he may turn to Salvius' competitor [Gottfried] Kiesewetter instead.

49. To Pehr Wargentin, Madrid 4 (15) May 1752

Begins by thanking Wargentin for his letter of 19 March, received on 1 May, which he could only respond to now due to a "botanical journey" ("En liten Botanisk Resa") with the Baron Leuhusen, Swedish envoy to the Spanish court. He is happy to hear the news of Kähler's grant, which will help him travel to the Cape of Good Hope. He is surprised by the "genius" ("snille") and quick progress of [Daniel] Rolander as an observer of nature but pleased to hear of it. Löfling also comments somewhat unfavourably on [Johan Otto] Hagström as being gifted but also a little too impatient in his observations. Finally, Löfling discusses his need of some books and how they can be sent to him in Spain, and mentions that he has also written to Bäck about this (cf. no. 48).

50. To Pehr Kalm, Madrid 4 (15) May 1752

Löfling excuses himself for troubling "Professor Kalm" but recalls how they two met long ago when Löfling still knew nothing about botany

⁵⁴ Francisco Solano de Luque (1684–1738), Spanish physician and scientist.

⁵⁵ Baron Carl Lehusen (or Leuhusen, 1724–1795), Swedish envoy to Spain 1752–55.

⁵⁶ Daniel Rolander (1725–1793), naturalist and student of Linnaeus who had a special interest in entomology and made a scientific expedition to South America in 1755–56.

⁵⁷ Johan Otto Hagström (1716–1792), physician, naturalist and student of Linnaeus who spent much of his life as the provincial physician of Östergötland.

and he accompanied Kalm on excursions in his own home area ("Hillebola bruk"). He congratulates Kalm on his return from the successful voyage to North America and asks if he can have any plants or seeds from Kalm's collections, promising to do his very best to give Spanish plants in return.

51. To Pehr Bjerchén, Madrid 4 (15) May 1752

One of Löfling's previous letters to Bjerchén has been lost, and he now writes in detail about how letters between them should be addressed etc. He also asks Bjerchén for all the news he has about old friends, the university in Uppsala and other topics of interest. Then Löfling encourages him to work hard, in which case Linnaeus will certainly give him a suitable scientific assignment. He also gives Bjerchén other advice on how to plan and carry out his studies in Uppsala.

52. To Mårten Kähler, Madrid 4 (15) May 1752

Löfling has heard the news about the grant Kähler received for a journey to the Cape of Good Hope and wishes him all the best for the trip. He also asks if his letter from Lisbon reached Kähler and requests him to write back. The same applies to Olof Ingesson and [Lorens Wolter] Rothoff, who had not replied to his letters.

53. To Joh. Podolijn, Madrid 4 (15) May 1752

Letter in Spanish concerning the affidavit mentioned in no. 46, which Löfling has apparently sent to his uncle Nils Strandman in Stockholm where Podolijn can collect it.

54. To Georg Svahn, Madrid 4 (15) May 1752

Löfling has received letters from Linnaeus, Bäck, Wargentin, Bjerchén, his father, mother, siblings and "girls" ("flickor"), and he conveys to Svahn some of all the news he has had from Sweden. Among these he mentions that Linnaeus is working on the *Species plantarum* and that Kalm's travel account from North America is now underway (in both cases revealed to him by Bäck). He also asks Svahn for news from the French Academy of Sciences (as Svahn is in Paris at this time) and ad-

vises him to go to the East Indies on the same ship as Kähler when the latter travels to South Africa.

Löfling notes that on 9 June he received Linnaeus' letter of 28 April and his father's letter of 28 January.

55. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 1 (12) June 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling thanks Linnaeus for his letter of 28 April and then laments the death of Hasselquist, writing that it has taught him never to postpone the submission of his observations and specimens to Linnaeus as the future is always uncertain. At the same time he does not want to be too hasty in his work as this may lead to unfounded conclusions and mistakes of various kinds. He then gives descriptions of plants previously sent to Linnaeus. Soon he will make a trip with Dr. Barnades,⁵⁸ who will help him collect birds and plants. He praises the Baron Leuhusen for all his help and kindness and at the end mentions "Montin's recommendation" [probably asking Linnaeus to recommend Montin for a position]. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

Löfling notes that on 17 June he received letters from Wargentin, Liedbeck (dated 17 April) and Wahlbom.

56. To Eric Gustaf Liedbeck, Madrid 8 (19) June 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling is very happy to have heard from Liedbeck and discusses practical details of how letters should be addressed etc. He also promises to collect plants for the botanical garden in Lund (where Liedbeck was a professor), but writes that Uppsala must come first when specimens are scarce. Discusses the career prospects of their mutual friend Montin and complains about his salary in such an expensive place as Madrid, and about the fact that so few of his friends in Sweden have replied to his letters.

⁵⁸ Miguel Barnades (1708–1771), Spanish naturalist and physician.

57. To Lorens Wolter Rothoff, Madrid 8 (19) June 1752

Löfling bitterly scolds Rothoff "in verse and prose" ("på vers och prose") for not having written him any letters yet.

Löfling notes that on 28 June he received a letter from Salvius and on 30 June letters from both Montin and Svahn.

58. To Lars Salvius, Madrid 3 July 1752

Text partially missing

Entirely concerned with books that Löfling has requested from Stockholm for himself and some of the Spanish botanists. He begins by apologizing for having criticized Salvius in his last letter to Bäck.

59. To Consul Bellman,⁵⁹ Madrid 4 July 1752

Short note discussing the practical details of forwarding from Cadiz to Madrid a package of books that Löfling is expecting from Sweden. He also mentions that he was a guest of the consul's last Christmas.

Löfling notes that on 7 July he received a letter written by [Johan Gustaf] Wahlbom on behalf of Count Henning Adolph Gyllenborg.⁶⁰

60. To H[enning] A[dolph] Gyllenborg, Madrid 10 July 1752

Text partially missing

Very courteous letter thanking Gyllenborg for the money he has sent and requesting more detailed instructions on what items he would like Löfling to collect for him.

⁵⁹ Jakob Martin Bellman (1706–1786), Swedish consul in Cadiz 1744–1766 and uncle of the poet-musician Carl Michael Bellman (1740–1795). (Leos Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce: The Swedish Consular Service and Long-distance Shipping, 1720–1815*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia 213 [Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2004], p. 107.)

 $^{^{60}}$ Count Henning Adolph Gyllenborg (1713–1775), one of Sweden's leading diplomats, civil servants and politicians in the middle of the 18^{th} century.

31

61. To Johan Gustaf Wahlbom, Madrid 10 July 1752

Text partially missing

The letter discusses what it is more specifically that Count Gyllenborg, Wahlbom's employer, would like Löfling to collect for him in Spain. Löfling also says that he still does not know anything for certain about his potential journey to America or the financial terms of the expedition. He is worried that the Spanish will become suspicious of him, so he requests that it will be kept quiet that he is sending collected specimens home to Sweden. Löfling finally writes that he has now collected 800 species of plants and lists all the people back home for whom he has been asked to collect specimens.

62. To Lars Montin, Madrid 10 July 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling begins with his hope to hear news very soon of Osbeck's return from China. Liedbeck has told him that Montin is to become a lecturer in Gothenburg; he himself (i.e., Löfling) has recently asked Linnaeus to assist Montin in this matter. He also writes about Hasselquist's death and how it has made him realize the importance of regularly sending home his collections and observations. Löfling then discusses some of the plants sent to Montin earlier. After conveying some of the news he has heard from Sweden, he gives a numbered list of those who he will or must send his collected plants to, starting with himself and Linnaeus and continuing with Montin, Bäck, Kalm, Gyllenborg (in that order) and others. He mentions Linnaeus' work on the *Species plantarum* and thanks Montin for the plants he sent. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

Löfling notes that on 18 July he received letters from Consul Bellman, his father, mother, uncle Nils, brother Nils, sister Greta, Joh. Podolijn and Nils Bergsten. ⁶¹ On 21 July he received a letter from Linnaeus.

63. To Georg Svahn, Madrid 24 July 1752

Text partially missing

Apologizes for taking so long to write, which is because of all his other duties, not least the fact that he is now gathering together much of what

⁶¹ An acquaintance of Löfling from the area where he grew up; cf. no. 69.

he has observed and collected in Spain so far in order to send it home. He thanks Svahn for the news from France and then writes about the complicated situation concerning Hasselquist's collections and the massive debts he accumulated during his travels. ⁶² He also gives various news and gossip from Uppsala, most of it apparently coming from Linnaeus' recent letters. Löfling requests Svahn to give his regards to Jussieu⁶³ and ask him a few questions regarding the location of the herbaria of Tournefort, ⁶⁴ Anton Jussieu, Feuillée etc. He also asks Svahn to forward some plants to Jussieu "for the sake of synonyms" ("för synonyma skull").

64. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 20 (31) July 1752

Text partially missing

Thanks Linnaeus for his letter of 5 June, which arrived on 10 (21) July and gave many pieces of news from Sweden. Three weeks ago he sent a collection of plants and he now encloses his descriptions and questions regarding those. Most of the letter consists of discussions of a number of them, or possibly plants sent even earlier. Löfling also mentions that both Vélez and Minuart recently left Madrid for travels in Andalusia and Avila, respectively, on behalf of the Academy of Medicine. He then praises the good fortune of Kähler who will go to South Africa to collect plants. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

⁶² After the death of Hasselquist his collections were seized by his creditors, who demanded a substantial sum of money to return them; the amount was later paid through the intervention of the Swedish Queen Lovisa Ulrika and Hasselquist's collections were recovered. This episode generated much discussion in the correspondence of the students and acquaintances of Linnaeus at the time; see Arvid Hjalmar Uggla, "Fredric Hasselquist. Ett tvåhundraårsminne," *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsskrift* 1952, pp. 5–17.

⁶³ Several members of the distinguished French botanist family of Jussieu were active in the early 1750s, but here Löfling is probably referring to Bernard (1699–1777) since the older brother Antoine (1686–1758) is mentioned shortly afterwards in a manner that suggests Löfling is no longer talking about the same person.

⁶⁴ Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), French botanist and physician who developed one of the most widely used systems of plant classification prior to the introduction of the Linnaean system in the 1730s.

33

65. To his father, Madrid 20 (31) July 1752

Text partially missing

Mostly family matters, greetings to various relatives etc. Löfling complains that he has not been allowed to go anywhere during the summer and has not had any orders from the Spanish authorities. "If they do not want to have me, they might as well send me home." ("Vilja de ej hafva mig så kunna de skicka mig hem.")

66. To his mother, Madrid 20 (31) July 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling apologizes for not having written separately to his mother until now. He then goes on to describe, apparently at her request, his daily life in Madrid, where he lives and what he eats etc.

67. To his sister [Greta?],65 Madrid 20 (31) July 1752

Text partially missing

Short letter mostly occupied with family news and greetings to various acquaintances. Löfling asks if it was long since his sister "came from Linnaeus," and apparently she also knows [Abraham] Bäck's daughter.

68. To his brother Eric, Madrid 23 July [3 August] 1752

Text partially missing

[Letter written in Spanish but the draft is in Swedish.] Very brief letter asking Eric to make a catalogue of the books and papers Löfling entrusted him with [at his departure from Sweden].

69. To Nils Bergsten, Madrid [3 August?] 1752

Text partially missing

The letter recalls the friendship of Löfling and Bergsten in their youth and then describes how Löfling is now becoming more and more used to Spain and proficient in the Spanish language, bringing him out of the isolation in which he has lived until now.

⁶⁵ As noted earlier, "sister" could refer to almost any close female relative. However, since no name is given here the likely recipient is Löfling's sister Greta (short for Margareta), from whom he had had a letter two weeks earlier (see p. 31) along with other family letters that he also answered on 31 July. Cf. no. 116, which is a letter to "sister Greta."

70. To his brother Nils, Madrid [3 August?] 1752

A very short letter with a few personal notes to his brother and advice on how to properly write the address on his letters to Löfling.

Löfling notes that on 25 August he received a letter from Linnaeus.

71. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 17 (28) August 1752

Text partially missing

Thanks Linnaeus for the letter of 3 July, received on 14 (25) August, and for responding so favourably to Löfling's plea on Montin's behalf in an earlier letter. He then proceeds to a fairly extensive discussion of various plants Linnaeus has commented on or which he has enclosed with the present letter. At the end he expresses his joy at Osbeck's safe return and acknowledges him as the first Swedish botanist to work on the Spanish flora. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

Löfling notes that on 9 September he received letters from Montin, Osbeck, Bäck and Wargentin.

72. To Lars Montin, Madrid 31 August (11 September) 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling discusses various news regarding his and Montin's fellow student friends, much of it coming from the last few letters of Linnaeus. He is happy to hear about Osbeck's return, reports Kähler's financial troubles and Bergius'66 journey to the Swedish island of Gotland and refers to Kalm's soon-to-be-published travel account from North America etc. He tells Montin about the heat of Madrid's summer and then discusses the three new genera he has found in Spain thus far. The letter is signed "Don Pedro." (Mentions plants not listed here.)

⁶⁶ Peter Jonas Bergius (1730–1790), student of Linnaeus who went on to become a physician, botanist and professor of natural history and pharmacy in Stockholm. He was a brother of Bengt Bergius (1723–1784), who also studied for Linnaeus but pursued a career as a historian and a banker.

35

73. To Pehr Osbeck, Madrid 31 August (11 September) 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling thanks Osbeck for his letter with the news of his safe return to Sweden from China. He also acknowledges Osbeck as the first Swedish botanist to work on the Spanish flora and asks to take part of his observations, notes etc. as soon as possible. He then discusses some sea birds observed by Osbeck and at some length debates the latter's findings about "the Sargazo" and compares them with previous research. Finally Löfling urges Osbeck to perform hydrostatic experiments on his next journey to China and expresses his hope that they can meet in Cadiz next winter. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

Löfling notes that on 15 September he received a letter from Svahn.

74. To Georg Svahn, Madrid 18 September 1752

Text partially missing

Thanks Svahn warmly for his letter of 31 August and for his continuing friendship. He then communicates some of the news he has heard from Sweden: the happy return of Osbeck and Torén,⁶⁷ Wahlbom's journey to Berlin to study anatomy, Linnaeus having been quite ill but now recovering etc. Löfling also thanks Svahn for forwarding some advice for him (or replies to questions) from Jussieu and gives a description of the leading botanists in Madrid (some names missing due to gaps in the paper, but at least Vélez and Ortega are mentioned). In that context he briefly discusses the relative standing of Tournefort's and Linnaeus' systems of classification among the Madrid botanists.

Löfling notes that on 30 September he received a letter from Bjerchén.

75. To Abraham Bäck, Madrid 21 September (2 October) 1752

Text partially missing

A long letter where Löfling begins by elaborately thanking Bäck for his latest letter and assuring him that if at all possible he would like to

⁶⁷ Olof Torén (1718–1753), student of Linnaeus who, as a ship's priest with interests in natural history, travelled to India and China in the service of the Swedish East India Company. He died at age 35 after returning from his second voyage.

come home first before travelling to America. Things are now moving so slowly, however, that he fears the journey will never take place at all. He has not been allowed to leave the Madrid area all summer and would like in winter to go to some coastal town, to Andalusia or most of all the Canary Islands.

Recently he met a fellow Swede, Angerstein, ⁶⁸ who had been travelling through much of Europe and who told him that the people of southern Spain were very knowledgeable in plants and herbs. Löfling also has been talking to some Spaniards recently returned from America about the plants growing there and seems to be longing to go there himself. He then reports on the state of medicine in Madrid, and informs Bäck about the latest travels of Minuart and Vélez on behalf of the Madrid Academy of Medicine. Finally, he brings up the issue of recommending his good friend Montin for a position (something he has already asked of Linnaeus).

76. To Pehr Wargentin, Madrid 21 September (2 October) 1752

Löfling is grateful for Wargentin's letter of 31 July (received on 9 September), for his help in sending him books and for how his paper on corals was received by the Academy of Sciences. Writes about [Antonio de] Ulloa, 69 whom he met just after the latter's return from Sweden, and then briefly discusses the affairs of the late Hasselquist.

77. To Pehr Bjerchén, Madrid 21 September (2 October) 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling gives Bjerchén advice on his academic plans, what subjects to pursue etc., emphasizing that whatever he does he should not neglect botany. Löfling also thanks him for the news from Uppsala and requests to have more in future.

⁶⁸ Reinhold Rütger Angerstein (1718–1760), mining and ironworks official who travelled extensively in the 1750s to study the European mining and metal industry. See Anders Florén, "I industrispionens öga. Reinhold Rücker Angerstein och resan genom de södra Nederländerna år 1755," in Hanna Hodacs and Åsa Karlsson (eds.), *Från Karakorum till Siljan. Resor under sju sekler* (Lund: Historiska Media 2000), pp. 127–162.

⁶⁹ Antonio de Ulloa (1716–1795), Spanish scientist, explorer and naval officer who spent long periods of time in both South and North America.

Löfling notes that on 13 October he received a letter from Angerstein in Bourdeaux.

78. To Pehr Osbeck, Madrid 16 October 1752

Text partially missing

[According to a note the letter was dated 29 September (9 October – sic) but actually sent on (5) 16 October.] The letter mainly concerns a list of some plants, collected by Osbeck in the Cadiz area, which has been published in a Swedish journal and which Löfling now discusses and has questions about. He also hopes to meet Osbeck in Cadiz next year [when Osbeck was expected to land there on his way to China]. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

79. To Lars Montin [between 16 and 30 October 1752]

Text partially missing

Almost entirely a list of discussion points about various plant species and genera, apparently in response to earlier comments by Montin. At the end Löfling writes that he is enclosing a few plants (seeds?) given to him by Vélez and Minuart. He also says that he has written to Bäck on Montin's behalf 2–3 weeks ago (cf. no. 75). (Mentions plants not listed here.)

80. To Rutger Angerstein, Madrid 30 October 1752

Text partially missing

Löfling thanks Angerstein for his letter of 3 October. He regrets his inadequate knowledge of rocks and minerals and defers to Angerstein's superior expertise in the field, and then proceeds to discuss various aspects of rock formation raised by Angerstein. Among these is the question of whether, and if so how, plants are connected to the formation of different types of rock, which Löfling admits is a very difficult issue. He requests instructions from Angerstein on what and how to observe regarding these matters when he gets a chance during his travels.

Löfling notes that on 6 November he received a letter from Linnaeus.

81. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 2 (13) November 1752

Text partially missing

He thanks Linnaeus for his letter of 22 September, which he received eight days ago. He reports the return of Minuart and Vélez from their travels in various parts of Spain and their collections of hundreds of species of plants, mentioning especially that both brought with them the "long wished for Juncaria" ("den länge efterlängtade Juncaria"). Löfling himself would also like to travel now. He then proceeds to discuss some of his previously dispatched plants, possibly in reply to comments or questions by Linnaeus.

Löfling thanks Linnaeus for deciding to name a plant after him, but requests that this honour be postponed until he has proven his worth more than now. Also, in order to promote the Linnaean system in Madrid, he thinks it would be advisable to name four genera after prominent Spanish botanists. He points out that Linnaeus has mistakenly combined Quer and Vélez into one name, Querezia, and asks that it be corrected into two genera called Queria and Velezia. In addition to these two he suggests naming one genus Minuartia and one Ortegia.

At the end of the letter Löfling mentions his contacts with Angerstein and regrets to hear about Osbeck's ill health, which may prevent him from going to China again. He has enclosed descriptions as well as plants and seeds with the letter. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

82. To Lars Salvius, Madrid 16/17 (27/28) November 1752

A brief note about the payment of books sent by Salvius earlier in the year.

83. To Consul Bellman, Madrid 5 December 1752

[In the letter-book this entry is empty, but certain parts of the text in no. 82 suggest that the letter to Bellman concerned payment to Salvius for books sent to Löfling.]

Löfling notes that on 1 December he received letters from Montin and Osbeck.

84. To Lars Montin, Madrid 25 December 1752⁷⁰

Text partially missing

Thanks Montin for his letter of 10 (21) October. Continued discussion about plants previously sent to Montin and about Osbeck's collections. Löfling seems to defend Osbeck against some critical remarks made by Montin and mentions that he has met Ulloa. He encloses Juncaria Clusii with the letter and regrets that Montin lost the position he was seeking in Gothenburg despite the recommendation of Linnaeus. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

Löfling notes that on 30 December he received a letter from Bjerchén. On 3 January he received letters from Linnaeus, his father, mother, sister, ⁷¹ brother Nils and Nils Bergsten.

85. To Carl Linnaeus, [Madrid?] 28 December 1752 (8 January 1753)

Text partially missing

Most of this letter consists of comments on plants that Löfling had sent to Linnaeus earlier and answers to the questions from his old teacher about those plants. He also encloses descriptions of some plants from the Pyrenees after having examined Dr. Barnades' herbarium from that area. He has met Godin again after the latter's return from a visit to Paris. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

86. To his father, [Madrid?] 28 December 1752 (8 January 1753)

Text partially missing

Thanks his father for the letter of 12 (23) October that he received on 3 January. Hen then goes on to assure his parents that he is not going on an even longer journey just to spite them, but in order to complete the work he once began. He asks his parents not to worry about him if he should go away on a great expedition [to America] and emphasizes that

⁷⁰ The letter is dated "12 (25) December" which means that either the Julian or Gregorian date is wrong. As Löfling was in Spain, the former is more likely, and if so the Julian date should be 14 December.

⁷¹ Probably Margareta (Greta) Löfling, but it could also be Brita Körning whom Löfling sometimes refers to as "sister" and sometimes as "aunt." See note 17.

nothing is decided yet. Some family matters are discussed and various greetings exchanged, and much of the rest of the letter is concerned with the religious customs of Spain (mass, prayer, the rosary, funerals).

87. To his mother, [Madrid?] 28 December 1752 (8 January 1753)

Text partially missing

Löfling writes in reply to his mother's last letter, telling her about the cost of food and housing in Madrid and his salary. He says that he would much prefer a seaside town to Madrid, which is often quite dry and also a very expensive place to live in.

88. To his sister, 72 [Madrid?] 28 December 1752 (8 January 1753)

Text partially missing

The letter mostly concerns family matters and news of several marriages back home.

89. To Pehr Bjerchén, [Madrid?] 28 December 1752 (8 January 1753)

Text partially missing

Thanks Bjerchén for the letter of 2 (13) November that he received on 30 December. He was happy to get the latest news from Uppsala and praises Bjerchén for his progress in the study of insects. Löfling then comments on the skills and character of several students of Linnaeus: Solander, ⁷³ Bergius, ⁷⁴ Rolander, Hartman ⁷⁵ and Osbeck. He gives Bjerchén advice on suitable subjects for his dissertation and then discusses at some length his own lack of grounding in medicine, which is now difficult to repair since he has so much work to do in other fields. Löfling is fairly satisfied, however, with the new genera and species he has

⁷² Probably Margareta (Greta) Löfling, but it could also be Brita Körning whom Löfling sometimes refers to as "sister" and sometimes as "aunt." See note 17.

⁷³ Daniel Solander (1733–1782), one of Linnaeus' most talented students who went to London in 1760 and later participated in James Cook's first expedition 1768–1771 together with Joseph Banks.

⁷⁴ This is almost certainly a reference to Peter Jonas Bergius (cf. note 66).

⁷⁵ Probably this refers to Johan Johansson Haartman (1725–1787), a physician who studied for both Linnaeus and Rosén in Uppsala. He was the provincial physician of Åbo for ten years before being appointed professor of medicine there in 1765.

found so far. He also discusses mutual acquaintances in Uppsala and asks Bjerchén to give his regards to some of them.

90. To Louis Godin, [Madrid?] 16 January 1753

Text partially missing

Letter in Latin where Löfling, on Linnaeus' behalf, informs Godin that he has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Society of Sciences in Uppsala [in recognition of his services to Löfling].

Löfling notes that on 1 February he received letters from Angerstein and Osbeck.

91. To Rutger Angerstein, Madrid 12 February 1753

Text partially missing

After thanking Angerstein for his recent letter, Löfling regrets that his own last letter never arrived. He then discusses in general terms the differences between trees and bushes in Sweden and in other countries, apparently in response to questions by Angerstein. He also comments on the latter's thoughts on the colour of grapes (with polite scepticism) and finally explains his own views on the nature of corals.

92. To Jacob Hultstedt, Madrid 13 February 1753

Text partially missing

This letter to the Swedish deputy consul in Cadiz concerns practical details regarding the payment of books from Lars Salvius in Stockholm, and the forwarding of additional book shipments from Sweden to Löfling in Madrid.

93. To Pehr Osbeck, Madrid 19 February 1753

Text partially missing

Begins by warmly thanking Osbeck for his two latest letters, which contained comments and answers to Löfling's questions about plants and animals observed by Osbeck during his voyage to China. Then follows extensive discussions of those plants and animals. Löfling especially thanks Osbeck for the use of his catalogue of Spanish plants while working on his own Spanish flora. He also asks Osbeck to tell

him if he is about to publish his travel account soon. A few plants are enclosed with the letter. (*Mentions plants not listed here*.)

94. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 26 February 1753

Text partially missing

Short letter with a few questions about the use of certain plants, which the Marquis de Grimaldi⁷⁶ has asked Löfling to forward to Linnaeus.

95. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 5 March 1753

Text partially missing

The letter is in Latin and seems to have been forwarded by the Marquis de Grimaldi to Linnaeus. Löfling has noted that the letter was "open" (i.e., not sealed) and it is partially related to the content of no. 94.

Löfling has noted that on 4 March he received a letter from Eric [Gustaf] Oxenstierna⁷⁷ and on 10 March one from Jacob Hultstedt.

96. To Baron Eric Gustaf Oxenstierna, Madrid 12 March 1753

Text partially missing

Due to large gaps in the paper the content of the letter is uncertain, but Oxenstierna appears to have asked Löfling to send him some suitable Spanish plants, either decorative flowers or fruits and vegetables, for his country estate's garden. Löfling elaborately acknowledges the letter and the request and replies that he will do his best to oblige, but there are few things he can send since he is stationed in Madrid. He then lists some of the most common "kitchen fruits" ("köksfrukter") of the area and asks the Baron to indicate which ones would be of greatest interest to him. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

⁷⁶ Marquis Pablo Jerónimo Grimaldi (1720–1786), Spanish diplomat and politician who served as ambassador to Sweden at the time of Löfling's departure for Spain. He went on to become Spain's secretary of state for many years in the 1760s and 1770s.

⁷⁷ Baron Eric Gustaf Oxenstierna (1725–1796), a member of one of Sweden's most influential and prestigious noble families.

97. To Jacob Hultstedt, Madrid 13 March 1753

Text partially missing

A letter mostly consisting of Löfling's expressions of gratitude for the vice-consul's help in some practical matters regarding book shipments. Hultstedt seems to have asked Löfling what Spanish literature there is in the field of economy, and he replies that while he is not familiar with many such works he will notify the consul if he finds any (cf. no. 106). Also, Löfling briefly refers to the possibility of an American journey.

Löfling has noted that on 18 March he received a letter from Angerstein.

98. To Rutger Angerstein, Madrid 26 March 1753

Text partially missing

Thanks Angerstein for his letter of 28 February, which he was prevented from replying to immediately because of a trip to Las Salinas de Espartinas near Aranjuez. Much of the letter is concerned with discussion about the formation of rock, different types of rock, how new (volcanic) islands emerge etc., and in that context seashells, pine resin and corals are also mentioned. Löfling seems to be responding (fairly extensively) to questions or doubts raised by Angerstein about his own opinion regarding the origins of corals. Towards the end there is a short list of plants of which Angerstein has sent him descriptions and which Löfling has questions about. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

Löfling has noted that on 8 April he received a letter from Montin, and on 21 April a shipment of plants from Montin and Osbeck as well as letters from Linnaeus, Pehr Bjerchén (2) and Daniel Solander.

99. To Lars Montin, Madrid 30 April 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling expresses his gratitude for Montin's letter and the plants from him and Osbeck. He then apologizes for his delay in replying, which is mainly because has been helping the Swedish envoy Leuhusen with some writing work. He congratulates Montin on the success of his medical practice and then goes on to answer a few questions about plants he previously sent home. [The letter (i.e., the draft) is short compared

to others addressed to Montin, and no. 100 is a more extensive draft of the same letter.] (Mentions plants not listed here.)

100. To Lars Montin, Madrid 30 April 1753

Text partially missing

[A second and much longer draft of the same letter as no. 99.] Löfling thanks Montin for his letter and the plants from him and Osbeck. He has been helping the Swedish consul Leuhusen with some writing work. He congratulates Montin on the success of his medical practice and then goes on to answer a large number of questions about plants he previously sent home. He also comments on the printing of the *Species* plantarum and the genus bearing his name (Loeflingia), as well as the confusion with plants named after Spanish botanists; Linnaeus has now had a few sheets of *Species* reprinted with corrections for these genera. Discusses "electricity medicine" and its curiously different success in different countries, as well as the latest news from Uppsala and Lund (Liedbeck, Adler, 78 Sidrén, 79 Hasselquist), and the classification of snakes and molluscs. He also writes about the limited amount of travelling he has been allowed so far, earlier in the year only visiting Ciempozuelos and Las Salinas de Espartinas. Soon he will go to Escorial, Aranjuez, S. Fernando and Alcalá de Henares. He has enclosed a few plants with the letter. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

101. To Pehr Bjerchén, Madrid 14 May 1753

Löfling thanks Bjerchén warmly for his two letters and apologizes for being so late in replying, which is because of his many other duties. He discusses in some detail the practical aspects of their correspondence; asks for notes from Linnaeus' lectures on the classification of molluscs, where Linnaeus has recently made some changes, and suggests that Solander could assist with this; advises on the topic of Bjerchén's dissertation in medicine, where Löfling may help with material from the Ma-

⁷⁸ Carl Fredric Adler (1720–1761), a student of Linnaeus who went into the service of the Swedish East India Company as a surgeon. He made several journeys to East Asia and died on Java in 1761.

⁷⁹ Jonas Sidrén (1723–1799), physician who studied for Linnaeus and later became a professor of anatomy and medicine in Uppsala.

drid Academy of Medicine; and comments on Rolander's work on the cause of dysentery.

Löfling is aware of Professor Rosén's⁸⁰ high opinion of him but does not yet have any suitable findings in medicine about which he could write to Rosén; in general he feels inadequate in this field, which is one reason he has not yet paid his compliments to Rosén. He mentions De Geer's⁸¹ work on insects and that he has obtained a sample of the metal "Platina del Pinto." When Löfling visited the salt works near Aranjuez in April he did so with the Swedish envoy, Baron Leuhusen.

He is enclosing a specimen of the newly named Loeflingia, which Bjerchén has asked for, and responds to the latter's complaints about receiving so few plants. Löfling makes it clear that he only sends specimens to those who pursue botany seriously and from whom he may get something in return. He promises that in future he will send plants to Bjerchén and Solander.

102. To Daniel Solander, Madrid 14 May 1753

Solander apparently wrote a note to Löfling in Bjerchén's last letter. Löfling apologizes for the late reply and says that he is about to go to Aranjuez and Toledo. Solander seems to have written Löfling once before, but the letter which was enclosed with one from Linnaeus (dated 22 September 1752) never reached Löfling. He is sorry for not having sent any plants and explains that he was simply not aware of Solander's interest in and great talent for botany, which is now so obvious to all. Löfling promises that in future Solander will receive his share of plants, and he thanks him for the news he has provided from Uppsala.

103. To [Pehr Wargentin], Madrid 14 May 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling thanks Wargentin for his letter of 29 March and all the news it contained, as well as for his recommendation to Mr. Ulloa (which Wargentin had made in response to an earlier request). He hopes there will be a decision about his American journey before the end of the year but fears that he may be sent to "India" instead. He mentions that Ortega

⁸⁰ Nils Rosén von Rosenstein; cf. note 50.

⁸¹ Charles De Geer (1720–1778), distinguished Swedish entomologist and politician.

has returned from his travels and discusses Bäck's promotion to president of the Swedish Board of Medicine as well as the fate of the late Hasselquist's collections and the death of Baron Hårleman.⁸²

He then describes and comments on the "Platina del Pinto" and reports on the whereabouts of Godin, before moving on to practical matters regarding book packages from Sweden and payment for them. He also complains about the very dry climate in Madrid lately, which has meant that there is not much for a botanist to work with. Finally he discusses Kalm's collections from North America, particularly his findings about the use of Lobelia against venereal disease and the attention this has attracted in Spain.

104. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 14 May 1753

Text partially missing

Begins by thanking Linnaeus deeply for his letter of 13 March and for quite undeservedly having a genus of plants named after himself. He reports that he has forwarded the extract from the *Species plantarum* to the Spanish botanists, who were all grateful for the genera named after them. Ortega recently came back from travels in Italy, France, Holland etc. and Löfling paid him a visit together with Minuart. He was happy to hear about the Swedish Queen's decision to recover the late Hassel-quist's collections from his creditors by committing the substantial sum of money this required. He comments on the planned expedition of Mylius⁸³ to America in order to collect specimens for a large number of botanists.

Löfling has found very few plants so far this year due to the intense drought plaguing the country since last autumn. He plans to visit Aranjuez, Toledo, Escorial and St. Ildefonso soon but still has not had any word about the American journey. The few new plants he has found lately he encloses with the letter, where he is also giving descriptions of them. The Spanish botanists and the Marquis de Grimaldi have asked Löfling about Kalm's findings regarding Lobelia and he now forwards the questions to Linnaeus. He also thanks him for the promise of

 $^{^{82}}$ Baron Carl Hårleman (1700–1753), prominent architect and senior court official.

⁸³ Christlob Mylius (1722–1754), German writer with an interest in science who died in London while preparing for the expedition to America mentioned by Löfling.

De Geer's new book on insects and asks Linnaeus to convey his gratitude to the author. At the end he briefly discusses how to distinguish between different species of snakes and forwards a request for advice from Minuart on how to obtain a copy of the rare *Hortus Cliffortianus*. He has enclosed some seeds with the letter. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

105. To Consul Bellman, Madrid 15 May 1753

Short letter with many corrections where Löfling thanks the consul for his help with some book packages recently arrived from Sweden [to Cadiz, from where the consul forwarded them to Löfling in Madrid].

106. To Jacob Hultstedt, Madrid 15 May 1753

The letter mostly concerns Spanish books on agriculture that Hultstedt had asked Löfling about (cf. no. 97), and especially Herrera's *Agricultura*⁸⁴ which he had requested Löfling to purchase for him. Löfling also conveys his gratitude for all the assistance with his book packages and asks when Hultstedt's planned return to Sweden will take place.

107. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 28 May 1753

Text partially missing

Thanks Linnaeus for the letter of 10 April that he received the previous week, and which contained Linnaeus' reply to a question on the use of certain plants raised by the Marquis de Grimaldi. Löfling has met Ortega several times but still not heard of any firm decision about his American journey. Then he asks Linnaeus to postpone the naming of plants after Grimaldi and Carvajal for reasons he does not want to discuss in detail. He is somewhat critical, however, of both men's behaviour towards him and his work in that they only seem to value scientific results that have economic implications. Löfling has been happy to work on the Spanish flora but wishes that he would have been allowed to complete it properly, while instead he is now restricted to stay in Madrid and the surrounding area.

⁸⁴ *Agricultura general* by Alonso de Herrera (1470–1539), which was first published in 1513 and continued to appear in new editions throughout the 18th century (and later).

108. To Carl Linnaeus, Aranjuez 24 June 1753

Text partially missing

Begins by thanking Linnaeus for his letter of 20 April, which he received at Aranjuez by way of Grimaldi, and which contained answers from Linnaeus to Grimaldi's questions on the use of certain plants (cf. no. 107). Löfling also discusses the cultivation of mulberry trees in Spain. He has now heard informally from Grimaldi that the journey to America has been decided, but officially he will not be informed until the court returns from Aranjuez to Madrid. During the last three weeks of travelling outside Madrid he has made some new observations, which he will submit to Linnaeus as soon as he is back in the city.

109. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 2 July 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling elaborately congratulates Linnaeus on being made a knight by the King of Sweden, which Linnaeus informed him of in a letter of 14 May that he received when returning to Madrid from his travels in the surrounding area. He asks to be allowed to pay homage not with words but with a new genus of plants he has found, which he then proceeds to describe in the letter. Other recently observed and collected plants are also described. [The end of the letter is missing, but it is probably to be found in no. 112.] (Mentions plants not listed here.)

110. To [Montin (?), later than 23 August 1753]

Text partially missing

[The first part of this letter is missing. The text consists of numbered points, which was usually the way Löfling wrote to Montin, and from other details in the text it may be assumed, but not with certainty, that he is the recipient of the letter.] A fairly detailed discussion about the identification of snake species based on notes from Linnaeus' lectures that Löfling has received from the recipient of the present letter. He also comments on what will happen with the late Hasselquist's collections of plants and then describes the religious situation in Madrid, how it is to be a Protestant there etc. He then writes about his travels in the area surrounding Madrid and the collections he has made, especially mentioning his discovery of a new genus of plants (cf. no. 109).

While Löfling was at Aranjuez his American journey was discussed and he is now making plans for how to deposit his manuscripts in Madrid, maintain the correspondence with his friends in Sweden etc. Recently he had letters from Solander, Biberg and Bergius. He cannot write more now since he must go and visit his good friend Dr. Barnades, but before he ends Löfling briefly recounts his visit to a bullfight a few days earlier. (Mentions plants and animals not listed here.)

111. To his father, Madrid 2 July 1753

Thanks his father for the letter of 12 April, which he received on 29 June after returning from Aranjuez. Regrets the death of his aunt but is happy to hear that his other relatives are well, and he hopes that his own good health will continue during the long journeys that he may soon undertake. Löfling describes his recent travels in the Madrid area and how expensive they have been. He has been told to prepare for the trip to America but does not yet know which part of it he will be visiting. He will have assistants, however, and go as part of a larger "company of Spanish Gentlemen" ("sällskap af Spanska Herrar"). Löfling then discusses some family matters and ends the letter with an account of a religious procession in Madrid. In a P.S. he has added that a good friend of his among the Spanish botanists [Vélez] just died; he will miss both the man and his books, and he attended the funeral as the only "heretic" (non-Catholic).

112. To [Linnaeus, 2 July 1753 (?)]

Text partially missing

[The first part of the letter is missing and this item seems to be the continuation of no. 109.] Descriptions and discussions of various plants. Löfling writes that during his last trip he had the pleasure of visiting Chinchón. He wishes Kähler the best of luck during his travels and adds that he himself hopes to be in America soon. He asks Linnaeus to convey his respects to Bäck and Rosén and requests instructions from them on what he should observe in America. Löfling also wants Lin-

⁸⁵ It seems probable that Löfling wanted instructions specifically regarding plants for medical use, as Bäck and Rosén were two of Sweden's most influential and respected physicians at this time.

naeus' guidance and advice about the journey and what to do with his Spanish manuscripts, and finally requests most humbly to have a copy of the *Species plantarum* sent to him as it would be an indispensable help in his work on the American flora. Descriptions, seeds and plants are enclosed with the letter. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

113. To Carl Linnaeus [1753]

Text partially missing

Apparently the draft of a part of a letter to Linnaeus (there is empty space both above and below the text on the page), thanking him for the honour of being appointed to make collections for the Swedish Queen. Löfling asks that the consul Bellman in Cadiz be ordered to give him a sum of money that he can use in America for sending home collections. His way of referring to the American journey strongly suggests that the text was written sometime during the second half of 1753, maybe in July. The page also contains a short list of plant descriptions entitled "Descr. Epist. No. 9," but it is not certain that this was written at the same time as the letter fragment. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

114. To Carl Linnaeus [1753?]

Text partially missing

[On the reverse of the same sheet as no. 113 and with a reference to the "Descr. Epist. No. 9." Date uncertain but probably 1753.] Consists entirely of descriptions and discussions of plants. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

115. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 2 July 1753

Fragment of a letter on the same page as no. 114, but separated from it by empty space and some ink marks. Löfling here tells of the death two days ago of Cristóbal Vélez, botanist and a very good friend of his. Contains a farewell greeting and signature that shows it to be the end of a letter. [Considering the date it is probably the end of no. 109, but it is likely that no. 112 and maybe 113 and 114 belong to the same letter.]

51

116. To his sister Greta, Madrid 2 July 1753

Text partially missing

Mostly concerned with family matters, greetings to various relatives and some upcoming weddings back home.

117. To his brother Nils, Madrid 2 July 1753

Text partially missing

He thanks his brother (a student) for his letter and congratulates him on his progress in skill and learning, which is obvious from his manner of writing. Löfling then explains the monetary system in Spain, the exchange rate with the Swedish currency etc. At the end he instructs Nils on how letters to him should be addressed and paid for.

118. To his uncle Nils Strandman [?], Madrid 2 July 1753

Text partially missing

A letter of condolence sent to Löfling's maternal uncle after the death of his wife, Löfling's aunt. [According to the list of correspondence in no. 143 the recipient was "uncle Nils."] He says that he has been asked by his superiors to prepare for a journey to Peru in America, which he has accepted to undertake. He knows it is not without risk, but hopes that God will bring him home safely again one day.

119. To "sister Brita," Madrid 2 July 1753

Text partially missing

Thanks for his sister's letter of 9 April, which he received after returning to Madrid [from Aranjuez] a few days ago. Löfling then congratulates her elaborately on her recent marriage and expresses his joy at the news of this. He also writes about his upcoming journey to America and hopes to stay in contact with her during his travels. Finally, the let-

⁸⁶ According to the list of correspondence in no. 143 the recipient of this letter was "sister Brita," but Löfling's manner of writing suggests that it was written to a cousin. If that is so, she may have been the daughter of his aunt Brita Körning, the recipient of nos. 33 and 44 (and maybe no. 7), and in that case had the same name as her. Another possibility and perhaps the most probable is that all four letters (7, 33, 44 and 119) were written to the same person, his aunt; speaking against this, however, is the very different tone and mode of address between nos. 33 and 44 on the one hand and no. 119 on the other.

ter includes some discussion of other marriages among Löfling's acquaintances back home.

120. To his mother, Madrid 4 July 1753

Informs his mother that he has now been told to prepare for a journey to America. This is a longer trip than he had expected, as he always thought that the purpose of inviting him to Spain was that he would visit the various Spanish provinces and explore their flora. Apparently at his mother's direct request, he then gives a description of how Spanish people dress. The letter ends with greetings to several relatives and acquaintances.

121. Undated letter or note [Madrid July 1753?]

A fragment of a letter or a very brief note, possibly to Löfling's father, asking him [?] to convey Löfling's regards to various acquaintances.

122. To Eric Gustaf Liedbeck, Madrid 16 July 1753

Text partially missing

Begins by thanking Liedbeck for his letter of 20 May which Löfling received on 29 June when returning from Aranjuez. He congratulates Liedbeck on his new position as director of plantations in one of Sweden's southern provinces, and then informs him that he is about to travel to "America and Peru" in a company of Spanish gentlemen, naval officers etc. He regrets not being able to finish his Spanish flora, now amounting to 1,300 species, but is otherwise happy to go.

Apparently in reply to questions by Liedbeck he writes about the cultivation of mulberry trees and production of silk in Spain, and promises to try to send some mulberry trees to Sweden. He also discusses suitable plants to use for hedges (particularly agave which is used in southern Spain) and mentions the cultivation of sugar cane in Andalusia. For the rest, he says, there is not much for Swedish farmers to learn from Spain since their crops, methods of cultivation etc. are quite similar. Löfling then gives a detailed account of the Spanish practice of bullfighting.

At the end there is a description of Spanish dress, but Löfling seems to have crossed out that paragraph and not included it in the final version of the letter. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

53

123. To Abraham Bäck, Madrid 30 [?] July 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling elaborately congratulates Bäck on being named president of the Swedish Board of Medicine, informs him of the upcoming journey to America and requests instructions on what to observe regarding medically useful plants there. He does not yet know what part of America he will visit, but has heard that he will travel the length of the Amazon river in a large company of scientists just as La Condamine⁸⁷ had done a few years earlier, and then go on to other parts of the continent. The journey will be dangerous but Löfling has decided to undertake it since the potential scientific rewards are so great and since he wants to honour his country. Once again he asks for Bäck's instructions on what to look for in terms of medicinal plants, and goes on to speculate about what he might find such as "China bark" ("China barken"). He also promises Bäck to do his utmost to collect plants for him and present a good collection at his return.

124. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 9 [sic] July 1753

Text partially missing

Begins by discussing the new genus of Spartum that he has found, which he proposes to name Lygea. Löfling has enclosed a very detailed description of it and, if Linnaeus finds it appropriate, he would like to submit it to the Society of Sciences in Uppsala as a token of his respect and regard. Also enclosed with the letter are seeds and plants, while the letter itself is entirely devoted to plant descriptions. He mentions that he was accompanied by a Dr. Antonio Fernández on some of his recent excursions. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

125. To Pehr Bjerchén, Madrid 30 July 1753

Text partially missing

Acknowledges Bjerchén's letter of [?] June, which he received on 20 July, and comments on the nature of their correspondence as Bjerchén apparently complained that Löfling is slow in replying to his letters. He

⁸⁷ Charles-Marie de La Condamine (1701–1774), French naturalist, mathematician and scientific explorer who is mostly known for an expedition to South America that set out in 1735 to measure the length of a degree of the meridian near the equator.

then says that he is planning his American journey and currently looking for suitable assistants, as he has been instructed to take several with him and train them in natural history. Löfling will be in good company as there will also be many other scientists travelling with him. He then comments briefly on Bjerchén's decision of not going on a trip to Lapland, which he had been considering for a while. He also writes about a Dr. Vincente Perez, who is currently much talked about in Madrid for his theories on how all diseases can be cured by water.

When he comes to America he hopes to be able to find the location of the "China bark," which was named after the countess of Chinchón, a small town that Löfling recently visited. He then discusses the practical arrangements of their correspondence while he is away and thanks Bjerchén for always giving him the latest news from Sweden. He also tells Bjerchén of the new genus (tentatively called Lygea) that he has found this year, and looks forward to all the discoveries of medicinal plants he is certain to make in America; he only wishes he knew more medicine than he does as he is not very proficient in this field.

126. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 27 August 1753

Text partially missing

Thanks Linnaeus for his last letter, which included a catalogue of the plants now grown up in the Uppsala botanical garden from seeds earlier sent by Löfling. He then discusses some of the plants sent last time, apparently responding to comments made by Linnaeus. He also mentions the planned journey to America in some detail, as he now knows more about it himself; on 15 August he met both Ortega and Carvajal to discuss the matter. He will have four assistants under his command: two physicians who are to be trained in natural history and two illustrators. There will also be other scientists on the journey, each responsible for his speciality and with his own assistants.

The exact destination is not yet clear but Löfling reports some of the rumours he has heard and speculates that the length of the journey may be 4–5 or even 8–9 years. He will have an instruction [from the Spanish government] to follow, and has already been ordered to send his collections home whenever there is a ship back to Europe. Redundant specimens will be used for exchange with other countries' collections, of which the Swedish Queen's and Linnaeus' will take precedence.

55

Löfling regrets the death of Sten Carl Bielke⁸⁸ and writes that the *Species plantarum* would be necessary for him to have in America; he asks Linnaeus if a copy could be sent to Spain before he leaves the country. (*Mentions plants not listed here.*)

127. To Lars Montin, Madrid 10 September 1753

Text partially missing

[Parts of the letter are badly damaged and the end seems to be missing.] Löfling begins by thanking Montin for his letter of 31 July which he received recently [9 September?] and goes on to discuss the journey to America in very similar fashion to nos. 125 and 126. He then comments on plants sent earlier that Montin had asked questions about. He also communicates some of the latest news from the botanical world in Madrid: Quer will soon publish a major and richly illustrated work, Vélez who was a good friend of his died on 31 [sic] June etc. Löfling thanks Montin for the news he has given from Sweden and reports that he has been instructed to collect "curiosities" for the Swedish Queen. A Danish student of Linnaeus, Georg Tycho Holm, has passed through Gothenburg without visiting Montin, which Löfling comments briefly on. Linnaeus has told him that the *Species plantarum* is now finished, but regrettably it looks like he will not be able to get this valuable work before he leaves for America. (*Mentions plants not listed here.*)

128. To Isaac Biberg, Madrid 17 September 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling thanks Biberg for his letter of 8 June, which he received on [?] September. Some of the letters between the two seem to have been lost and Löfling comments briefly on this before thanking Biberg for news from Uppsala and asking him to convey his regards to some old friends and former fellow students. He then gives a short summary of his situation and his work in Madrid over the last few years, before describing the journey to America he is about to undertake; the wording is very similar to nos. 125–127 (there will be a large company of scientists, he

⁸⁸ Sten Carl Bielke (1709–1753), naturalist with a special interest in botany and economy who was one of the five founders of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1739. He was a good friend of Linnaeus (also one of the founders) and patron of several of his students, especially Pehr Kalm (cf. note 13).

will lead the natural history part of the expedition with two assistants and two illustrators under his command etc.). After this he gives an account of the customs, especially in religious matters, of Spain, and writes briefly about bullfights before ending with greetings to various mutual friends and acquaintances in Uppsala.

129. To [Peter Jonas] Bergius, Madrid 17 September 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling received Bergius' letter of 27 July on 9 September. He scolds him for not having written earlier and then discusses the practical details of keeping up the correspondence between Spain and Sweden. He congratulates Bergius on the progress of his studies but again admonishes and criticizes him, now for having too high an opinion of himself, of being a good "observer" but too quick to make conclusions etc. Löfling then informs Bergius about his planned journey to America in a fashion similar to nos. 125–128, adding that he will probably be away for "6, 8 or 10 years."

He congratulates Bergius on the journey to East India he has heard rumours about and gives some advice on how to prepare for such a voyage, or rather what aspects of natural history one must master in order to make the most of such an expedition. Löfling also gives a short account of his recent travels in the Madrid area and what he found there; he promises to give Bergius specimens of all the plants he can spare. Again he criticizes Bergius, this time for his unclear and indistinct way of writing, which is unworthy of "a learned correspondence" such as theirs and makes it difficult to know what he actually means. Most of this section seems to have been crossed out by Löfling and not made it into the final version of the letter. He ends with a few more admonitions and greetings to mutual acquaintances in Sweden. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

130. To Daniel Solander, Madrid 17 September 1753

Text partially missing

Thanks Solander for his letter of 20 June, which he received on 9 September. Writes about the current drought in Spain, leading to very few plants being found compared to previous years. At least some of those he has found, however, he will share with Solander. He then tells him

about his American journey, that there will be a large company of scientists and that he will have two assistants and two illustrators under his command, that the exact destination is not known but that there are speculations etc. He expresses his concern about not having the *Species plantarum* with him when he leaves Spain, and also mentions that Linnaeus has made corrections to *Species* according to Löfling's suggestions after it was printed, exchanging Querezia for Queria and Velezia and so on. At the end of the letter is an extensive list of greetings to friends and acquaintances in Uppsala.

131. To Pehr Wargentin, Madrid 1 October 1753

Text partially missing

Begins by thanking Wargentin for his letter of 20 August, which he received the previous week, and for all the news and advice it contained. Löfling briefly mentions the problem of securing a copy of the *Species plantarum* before he leaves Spain, something Wargentin is trying to help him with. He sums up what he has learned so far about the American expedition and its composition, destination etc. (cf. nos. 125–130), and thanks Wargentin for the instructions from Dr. Gisler. Finally, he promises to do his best to maintain contact with Wargentin and the Academy of Sciences while in America and to send descriptions and other materials whenever possible.

132. List of plants sent to Henning Adolph Gyllenborg in October 1753

The list consists entirely of numbers that seem to be referring to entries in Löfling's catalogue of the Spanish flora. [No further information is provided.]

133. To Doctor [Gisler], Madrid 1 October 1753

Text partially missing

Thanks for the letter of 9 July, which he received the previous week, and for the instructions in the area of "physics" that the Doctor has given him. [According to the list of correspondence in no. 143 this is Dr. Gisler.] He informs Gisler about his imminent trip to southern America in a large company of scientists etc. Discusses the specific weight of water after p. Feuillée, an extract of which he sent to Gisler

the previous year (cf. no. 41), and also the ebb and flow of the tide. He then goes on to the subject of earthquakes, especially in South America, and he has enclosed an extract from the travel account of Antonio de Ulloa on earthquakes. Löfling comments on the potential connections between electricity, magnetism, aurora borealis and earthquakes as well as on how Spaniards behave during thunderstorms. Finally, he discusses the question of rock generation and formation and mentions his contacts with Angerstein on this matter. [This paragraph is crossed out in the letter-book, so it is uncertain whether it made it into the final version of the letter. According to a note, apparently in Löfling's hand, below his signature, extracts from Ulloa as well as the count Marsigli⁸⁹ (on the properties of water) were enclosed with the letter.]

134. To Pehr Bjerchén [Cadiz January/February 1754?]

Text partially missing

Begins by thanking for the letter of 9 October, which he received after arriving in "this place" in late November ("Sedan min hitkomst hit på orten i slutet af November"). He left Madrid on 20 October 1753, two years to the day after his arrival there, and 15 days later he came to Cadiz. After two weeks he was ordered to move to the nearby Puerto de Sª Maria, and while there he went to Cadiz frequently to purchase supplies for the journey. For some time now he has again been staying in Cadiz, and he will embark his ship the following day. Löfling discusses the financial and other terms of his assignment and gives details on his collections of plants, books etc. that are now with the consul in Cadiz, whence they will be sent home as soon as possible. At the end he gives instructions on how letters to him should be addressed and thanks Bjerchén again for all the news from Uppsala. Finally, he asks that his regards be conveyed to all their mutual friends and acquaintances.

135. To his father [Cadiz January/February 1754?]

Text partially missing

The reason he has not written since arriving in Cadiz is that the journey has seemed imminent but then been postponed again and again, week

⁸⁹ Probably Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658–1730), an Italian nobleman, naturalist and officer.

after week. He has also been very busy with all the preparations for the trip, purchasing supplies etc. Löfling briefly describes the ships and the leading members of the expedition (in the draft he has left blanks for most of the actual names) and the probable itinerary of his upcoming travels. He then gives detailed instructions on how letters to him should be addressed (and information on how they will be relayed to him), and ends with many greetings to family, friends and relatives.

136. To his mother [Cadiz January/February 1754?]

Text partially missing

A very short, unfinished draft of a letter without a signature or date that mostly consists of apologies for not having written earlier. Löfling says that he is on the verge of boarding the ship and starting his journey.

137. To Pehr Osbeck [Cadiz January 1754]

Text partially missing

Begins with clearing up a misunderstanding on Osbeck's part that Löfling has not replied to his letters, and then informs Osbeck that he will board the ship for America the next day. A clerk on a Swedish East Indiaman, Tholander, has forwarded some questions from Osbeck on Löfling's botanical and zoological observations that he now tries to answer briefly. He also writes that he has put aside a package of plants for Osbeck that will be sent to him by consul Bellman in Cadiz.

The next day, when he will board the ship, is his birthday [which means that the letter was written on 19 or 30 January]. He also gives some details of the company he will travel in, naming the leader of the expedition as Joseph de Iturriaga and saying that he will journey up the length of the Orinoco river. Finally, Löfling (apparently writing in

⁹⁰ Possibly this refers to Gustaf Thollander, who is mentioned as a supercargo in the Swedish East India Company some years later by Kristina Söderpalm & LarsOlof Lööf, "Förlista skepp," in Kristina Söderpalm (ed.), *Ostindiska Compagniet. Affärer och föremål* (Göteborg: Göteborgs stadsmuseum 2000), p. 114.

⁹¹ Löfling was born on 20 January 1729 according to the Julian calendar then used in Sweden, which corresponds to 31 January in the Gregorian calendar used in Spain (and adopted by Sweden in 1753). As it is not clear which calendar he is referring to here we do not know exactly when the letter was written, but it was sometime in January 1754.

⁹² José de Iturriaga y Aguirre (1699–1767), Spanish naval officer and explorer who, as Löfling writes, was the leader of the Orinoco expedition.

great haste) tells Osbeck that he can ask Bjerchén for details about how letters to him should be addressed.

138. To Carl Linnaeus [Cadiz January/February 1754?]

Text partially missing

A short letter greeting Linnaeus farewell and informing him that the copy of the *Species plantarum* requested by Löfling had arrived from Madrid to Cadiz at the very last minute. Löfling assures Linnaeus of his respect and regard and hopes that he will be allowed to return safely from his long journey. [No signature or date given.]

139. Undated instruction [Cadiz January 1754?]⁹³

Instruction, which seems to be in Löfling's hand but probably was copied or dictated from someone else, on what to collect for "The Royal Cabinet" ("Kongl. Cabinettet") and how to prepare and preserve those collections. The list consists of 15 entries covering land animals, birds, fishes, insects, worms, plants, seashells, corals, birds' nests, different types of wood and rocks "every where" ("Stenar samlas öfver alt").

140. To Carl Linnaeus [Cadiz late 1753]

Text partially missing

The first part of the letter is missing and the fragment begins in the middle of a botanical discussion about Minuartia and other plants. Löfling then mentions books he will need [in America] and says that he is now in Cadiz where he is preparing to begin his journey; he is still waiting for the *Species plantarum* which, according to the latest report, is in Lisbon. He then asks Linnaeus to help his friend Svahn to secure a minor academic position that may soon become available. He also discusses the French Dr. Simon and his involvement in the affairs of the late Hasselquist, and writes about Godin with whom he has renewed his earlier acquaintance in Cadiz. He does not yet know exactly when his ship will sail, but some of the participants in the expedition have received orders to be ready to leave by 30 December.

⁹³ The dating is uncertain but the paper is of the same type used for several of Löfling's last minute notes from Cadiz in January/February 1754. Half of the second sheet (of two) is missing.

He has enclosed a lengthy P.S. describing the details (as far as he is aware of them) of the planned expedition, the destination, his salary etc. His reason for not including this in the letter itself is that the journey is supposed to be secret. (Many of the names of places and persons have been crossed out in the draft.) Once he has left Spain, however, Löfling suggests that Linnaeus should have the news published in some of Sweden's learned journals, not forgetting to mention the two young physicians and the two illustrators under his command. Since his parents are worried for him, Löfling asks Linnaeus to write a brief, comforting note to his father. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

141. To Carl Linnaeus, Madrid 15 October 1753 [sic]

Text partially missing

A few weeks ago he received Linnaeus' letter of 20 August, which was in reply to Löfling's own letters of 24 June, 2 July and 9 July. Nothing has changed regarding his journey since he last wrote Linnaeus on 27 August. He is grateful for Linnaeus' approval of his new genus and has no objections that it be called Lygeum instead of his proposed Lygea, and goes on to make a few more remarks on the description and drawing of this genus that he previously sent to Linnaeus. He also discusses a few other plants and the draft ends in the middle of this discussion. [The end of the letter is missing but may be identical to no. 144.]

142. To Georg Svahn, Cadiz 12 November 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling thanks Svahn for his letter of 21 September, which he received as he was about to leave Madrid, and he is sorry for not replying earlier. It has been over a year since he last heard from Svahn so Löfling informs him of his upcoming journey to America, his salary and conditions of service, the large company of scientists he will travel with, his four assistants (two physicians and two illustrators), the expected route etc. They have been told that they will board the ships within 2–3 days [which in reality took place only a few months later].

He then goes on to sum up all the news from Sweden over the past year, noting that Svahn probably has better information since he is in Berlin and thus much closer to home, often meeting fellow Swedes etc. Among those mentioned by Löfling are Adler, Kähler, Osbeck, Solander, Bielke, Kalm, Victorén, Medlercreutz and Risell.⁹⁴ He briefly discusses a college of surgeons in Cadiz led by Dr. Pedro Virgilio⁹⁵ and tells Svahn about the death of his good friend Vélez. Ortega, however, is very helpful and has some influence at court.

At the end Löfling asks Svahn to write him occasionally with news from home and gives instructions on how to write his address. In an added paragraph below his signature, at the bottom of the last page, he discusses the "water doctor" in Madrid, Dr. Vincente Perez. [It is unclear if this paragraph is part of the letter to Svahn or not.]

143. List of correspondence for 1753 with a fragment of a poem

A list of letters sent and received from 16 January to 12 November 1753. On one of the two pages there is also what appears to be a fragment of a poem. The year is not given explicitly, but the entries match Löfling's preserved correspondence for 1753. It is also confirmed by the partly overlapping list of correspondence in no. 162, which covers the period from 30 April to 18 December 1753 and does state the year clearly. With a few exceptions, for the overlapping period the two lists are identical. The exceptions are: receipt of a letter from Liedbeck on 29 June mentioned in no. 143 but not in no. 162, and receipt of letters from "uncle Nils" on 29 June and Bäck on 7 November mentioned in no. 162 but not in no. 143.

144. To [Linnaeus, Madrid c. 15 October 1753]⁹⁶

Text partially missing

The fragment begins with Löfling saying he will leave for Cadiz the next day, and then he describes some other members of the expedition: Iturriaga, Joseph [or José] Solano who was Löfling's link to Carvajal before he knew Spanish, his own assistants Benito Paltor and Anton[io] Condal, and his two young illustrators Bruno Salvador and Juan de

⁹⁴ It has not been possible to identify Victorén, Medlercreutz and Risell with any certainty.

⁹⁵ Pedro Virgilio (1699–1776), Spanish physician and surgeon who founded the botanic garden in Cadiz.

⁹⁶ The first part of the letter is missing, or at least the usual introductory greetings. It may be the continuation of no. 141, especially considering the date, but neither the paper nor the ink is the same.

Dios Castel. He also gives an account of his salary and conditions of service, and says that according to what he heard the expedition will first go to Caracas. Löfling is enclosing a letter from Ortega and discusses the practical details of keeping up their correspondence while in America. Ortega has done great favours to Löfling with regard to the upcoming journey.

The previous day Löfling received his instructions for the expedition and he promises Linnaeus to send a translation from Cadiz [this may be no. 139 above]. He will also bring with him some plants, manuscripts etc. that will be sent home from Cadiz later that autumn or early next spring. He has been given direct orders to leave his own collection of plants in Madrid. He has not yet received the instructions from Bäck he requested earlier and asks Linnaeus to give his regard to Bäck. Löfling finally hopes that he will have the *Species plantarum* before he leaves Cadiz. In a P.S. he says that the departure for Cadiz has been delayed a few days and he proceeds to discuss a curious plant in Quer's garden. At the back of the second sheet of the letter there is a list of plants, possibly referring to specimens, seeds etc. included with the letter. *(Mentions plants not listed here.)*

145. To his father [Madrid 15 October 1753]⁹⁷

Very short note about a letter sent to his father with information about the journey, his salary and other conditions, how letters should be addressed in future etc. Löfling thanks his father for his last letter.

146. To Baron [Lehusen, Cadiz January 1754]

[The recipient is probably Baron Lehusen, Swedish envoy to the Spanish court.] Thanks the Baron for his letter of 1 January. Löfling asks that the books from Sweden, which have now arrived in Madrid, will be delivered to Ortega so they can be sent to Cadiz immediately. He also says that the departure has been delayed again and again, but the latest he has heard is that it will take place on 15 January so there is not much time left.

⁹⁷ Dating based on context and the list of correspondence in no. 143.

147. To Consul [Arfwedson, 98 Cadiz 10 December 1753]

Löfling requests that the books he expects from Sweden will be sent directly by ship to Cadiz where he is now, unless they have been sent to Madrid already. The books are Linnaeus' *Species plantarum* in two volumes, the first volume of Kalm's travel account from North America and some minor items. He is expecting to board his ship by Christmas or the end of the year.

148. Letter from Carl Lehusen to Consul [Bellman], Madrid 20 October 1753

A note by the Swedish envoy in Madrid to a consul, probably Bellman in Cadiz, to give money and all the assistance Löfling may need in his work to collect "curiosities" (i.e., natural history objects) for the Swedish King and Count [Carl Gustaf] Tessin.⁹⁹

149. To Lars Montin, Puerto de S^a Maria 4 December 1753

Text partially missing

Löfling thanks Montin for his letter of 16 October, which he received on 26 November. He has been in the Cadiz area since 2 November and left Madrid on the 20 October, two years to the day after his arrival there. At the moment he lives in Puerto de S^a Maria with his four assistants and two cosmographers, with whom he will make the journey to America. Löfling then gives some details about the expedition as they are now more settled and known to him: his salary and conditions of service, his assistants and illustrators, the destination (which is now said to be first Cumaná and then the Orinoco river) and so on. He has plants that he promises to send Montin with the first available ship to Sweden, and mentions some news from Uppsala about the Danish student of Linnaeus [Peder] Ascanius and others. He also comments on

⁹⁸ The recipient is almost certainly Arvid Arfwedson, Swedish consul in Lisbon 1738–1756 (Müller, p. 80). According to the list of correspondence in no. 162, Löfling wrote a letter to him from Cadiz 10 December 1753.

⁹⁹ Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770), leading Swedish diplomat and politician who reached the peak of his power during the years 1747–1752 as chief minister.

¹⁰⁰ Peder Ascanius (1723–1803), student of Linnaeus who became professor of natural history in Copenhagen.

the late Hasselquist, whose talent was obvious but whose patience and thoroughness he questions.

He discusses his new genus Lygeum, with which Linnaeus is very pleased, and the arrangements he has made for his manuscripts ahead of the American journey. Some he has left with Carvajal together with his herbarium. He has not yet decided what he will do with his main Spanish flora manuscript, if he will send it to Sweden or deposit it with Carvajal. Löfling gives detailed instructions on how to address letters to him and then writes about a conflict between Barnades and Ortega that has saddened him since he is a friend of both. After thanking Montin for his news, he reports what he himself has lately heard from Uppsala about Kähler, Bergius, Fornander, Wahlbom, Solander, Osbeck and others. After a short comment on a few plants he ends by asking Montin to give his regard to his old friend Alander; he would write to him himself, if he were not obliged to pay an urgent visit to Godin. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

150. To Carl Linnaeus, Puerto de S^a Maria [18 December] 1753¹⁰³

Text partially missing

Thanks Linnaeus for his letter of 2 October, which he received a few weeks ago, and then elaborately expresses his gratitude and respect for Linnaeus not only as master and teacher but also as a father. He will try to absolve the American journey as well as he can to Linnaeus' honour etc. Then he describes how he left Madrid on 20 October, exactly two years after his arrival, and came to Puerto de S^a Maria on 2 November and Cadiz on 5 November. After two weeks there he returned to Puerto de S^a Maria where he has been collecting fish for the Queen of Sweden. He would have wanted to discuss the fish in the area with Osbeck who has been there before him.

Löfling also writes about some plants he saw when travelling from Madrid to Cadiz, as well as the cultivation of saffron in La Mancha and the possibility of starting saffron plantations in the south of Sweden. When commenting on the Arbor draconis he says that Pedro Virgilio in

¹⁰¹ Anders Niclas Fornander (1715–1794), physician who studied for Linnaeus and later practiced medicine in Stockholm for many years.

¹⁰² It has not been possible to identify Alander with any certainty.

¹⁰³ Dating based on the list of correspondence in no. 162.

Cadiz has promised to help him secure some specimens of this plant in flower. Possibly Ortega is also mentioned in this context; part of the page is missing. [It seems that a whole section of the letter is lost since the text ends in the middle of this botanical discussion. It is possible, however, that there is a brief final greeting and signature in the missing part of the page.] (Mentions plants not listed here.)

151. To Lars Montin [Venezuela late 1754 or early 1755]

Apparently an unfinished draft or fragment of a letter as it ends in the middle of a sentence declaring that he will give a brief account of his travels so far in southern America (which he never does). Löfling does say, however, that almost one year has passed since he arrived and that he has twice written letters home (to Linnaeus and his father two times each and to Bäck once), but not yet received any letters himself. He apologizes for not having written Montin earlier but asks to be forgiven on account of all the work and duties that must take precedence [over the pleasure of writing old friends]. He asks to have news from Sweden and writes that Carvajal died in April; the whole government of Spain has been changed and he does not know now what will become of him. For now, at least, he is "loved" by the commander of the expedition, Iturriaga, and God will provide for the rest.

152. List of correspondents [early 1754?] 104

In fragmentary form a list of names, apparently of those who have written to Löfling (or to whom he plans to write), with some names crossed out and check-marked in a way that suggests he had written (back) to them. Among the former names are Linnaeus, Ortega and "uncle," and among the latter are Baron Leuhusen, Minuart and Barnades.

153. To [Linnaeus?], Canary Islands [23?] February 1754

[Letter with partially very faded ink, making some of the content difficult to determine with certainty.] Löfling describes the departure from Cadiz and mentions that he was very happy to receive the *Species plan*-

Dating based on context, as the list appears with the same ink and on the same page as no. 153 below, which was almost certainly written in late February 1754.

¹⁰⁵ Probably this refers to Nils Strandman.

tarum before he left. He says that he did not find much to observe during the journey to the Canary Islands, where the ship is now, except a phenomenon with fluorescent creatures in the sea that lit up like sparks of fire (cf. no. 156).

154. To Consul [Bellman?], Canary Islands [23?] February 1754

Brief note where the main purpose is to say a more proper farewell to the consul than Löfling could at the time of his departure from Cadiz, since this took place at very short notice. They left Cadiz on 15 February accompanied by three frigates and arrived eight days later at the Canary Islands, where the frigates will leave them and return to Cadiz. Löfling is sending the letter with one of these ships.

155. To Baron [Leuhusen], Cadiz 22 January 1754

Text partially missing

Löfling has recently written the Baron but does so again since he has belatedly received a letter from him of 23 December 1753, for which he gives thanks. He then reports the latest news he has heard, including how the Swedish consul in Istanbul was able to recover the late Hassel-quist's plants from the French naturalist Dr. Simon who had acquired them after Hasselquist's death. Löfling also comments on the activities of [Olof von] Dalin¹⁰⁶ and the "escape" of the botanist [Albrecht von] Haller¹⁰⁷ from his university in Göttungen [sic] to Switzerland.

In Sweden young physicians now must do an internship at the hospital in Stockholm before practicing medicine on their own. Löfling also mentions the affairs of a Dr. Balk¹⁰⁸ in Uppsala and discusses "platina del Pinto," in which context the names of Pedro Virgilio, Cristóbal Vélez and Joseph Quer come up. Löfling has prepared a barrel of different types of fish and other sea animals, which the consul [Bellman?] will send to the Queen as soon as possible. Finally he thanks the Baron for informing him about the new Swedish envoy to Spain, [Henrik Jacob]

¹⁰⁶ Olof von Dalin (1708–1763), teacher, writer and state historian (rikshistoriograf).

¹⁰⁷ Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), leading Swiss biologist who made contributions in many scientific fields including botany and medicine.

¹⁰⁸ This probably refers to Lars Balk (1726–1790), a physician who studied for both Linnaeus and Rosén in Uppsala before earning his M.D. degree in 1754.

Hildebrand, ¹⁰⁹ and for all the help the Baron has given him the last few years. He also promises to write more about his journey [to America].

156. Undated zoological description [early 1754?]

A fragment of a description or a discussion about a small fluorescent sea creature where the first part is probably missing, as the extant text seems to begin in the middle of a sentence. Löfling says that its shape is very similar to the "sea scolopendras" ("hafsskolopendrerne") and it must be a very small animal as, in one instance, he has crossed out the word "insects" to replace it with "creatures." These can be seen glowing in the water, and considering that he had noted such a phenomenon on the sea voyage from Cadiz to the Canary Islands in February 1754 (cf. no. 153) this manuscript may date from the same time.

157. To Baron Leuhusen [1752?] 110

Short summary of a letter requesting a recommendation for Löfling to a consul [Bellman?], and asking for an explicit agreement that the consul would serve as a safe channel of communication with Sweden for him. He also wants the consul to be instructed to provide him with the necessary money for purchases of rare natural history objects on behalf of Count Tessin, who would then reimburse him the amount in question.

158. To Consul Bellman, [Madrid] 4 July 1752

A short letter to Bellman in Cadiz about payment for some books that Löfling expects to receive from Lars Salvius in Stockholm. The consul will send money to Sweden and Löfling will reimburse him, but as he lacks experience in such matters he asks about the practical details of how to transfer money to the consul. [There is no greeting at the end so a part of the draft may be missing, but probably it is complete.]

¹⁰⁹ Henrik Jacob Hildebrand (1707–1775), Swedish envoy to Spain 1754–1762.

¹¹⁰ The content here is very similar to Baron Lehusen's letter of 20 October 1753 (no. 148) and may be connected to it, but the present letter is written in the same ink and on the same page as no. 158, where apparently Löfling himself has later added the date 4 July 1752. The content of that letter also corresponds with such a dating.

69

159. Undated page of notes, calculations and drawings

At the back of the sheet containing nos. 157 and 158 there are various undated scribbles by Löfling including calculations, a few lines of what appears to be verse and some simple line drawings or illustrations.

160. Fragment of a travel journal, October [1751]

A list of distances covered each day from 9 to 13 October in the course of a journey (year not given). The places mentioned are (as spelled in the text): Badajoz, Talavera, Logon, Merida, S. Pedro, Miajada, Sierra de Sta Cruz, Truxillo, Torreon and Montes. Based on these names and the month, the document is most likely a record of Löfling's itinerary when he first arrived in Spain in 1751 by road from Lisbon to Madrid.

161. To Consul [Bellman], [Madrid] 1 August 175[2]¹¹¹

Short letter thanking the consul for his reply of 11 July regarding the remittance of money [cf. no. 158] and discussing the further handling of this matter. No formal greeting at the end, but since there is empty space below the text no part of the letter is likely to have been lost.

162. List of correspondence for 1753

A list of letters sent and received from 30 April to 18 December 1753. In no. 143 there is a partially overlapping list of correspondence that covers the period from 16 January to 12 November 1753. For the overlapping period the two lists are identical with the following exceptions: receipt of a letter from Liedbeck on 29 June mentioned in no. 143 but not in no. 162, and receipt of letters from "uncle Nils" on 29 June and Bäck on 7 November mentioned in no. 162 but not in no. 143.

163. Undated fragment of a plant description

Short fragment of a plant description, beginning with the words "Spartum herba alterum Clusii." At the bottom of the page and on the reverse page of the sheet are a few scribbles whose meaning is unclear. On the reverse there are also more extensive botanical notes in Latin writ-

¹¹¹ One digit is missing in the dating, but considering the context the letter is almost certainly from 1752.

ten with a pencil (which is highly unusual), but it is uncertain if they are by Löfling's hand. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

164. To Consul [?], [late 1753]

Short, unfinished draft of a letter to a consul, informing him that the decision has finally been made that Löfling will go to America with several other scientists and he expects to board the ship next week. [As the decision was made long before Löfling actually travelled to Cadiz it is difficult to date the draft, but it was probably written in late 1753.]

165. To Carl Linnaeus [May 1753]

Text partially missing

[Apparently this is an alternative draft of the same letter as no. 104.] Löfling gives thanks for Linnaeus' letter of 13 March, which mentioned among other things the death of Baron Hårleman. He is also grateful that he has been cited in the *Species plantarum* as the author of several new genera and especially for having one genus named after himself, although he considers himself too young and unworthy of such an honour. Löfling has shown the extract from *Species* that Linnaeus sent him to the Spanish botanists, and they were all very pleased with the honour paid to them by the naming of the new genera.

Ortega recently returned from travels in Europe, and Löfling visited him with Minuart the day before writing the letter. He also comments on the decision by the Swedish Queen to pay the debts of the late Hasselquist so that his collections and manuscripts can be released from the creditors, and on the plan of some German botanists to jointly fund a journey by Mylius to America in order to collect plants.

[Here there seems to be at least one sheet missing from the letter since the second sheet of two begins in the middle of a plant discussion not related to the subjects on the first sheet. The last part of the letter may also be missing since there is no formal greeting at the end of the second sheet. Possibly what remains is sheet one and three out of an original four.]

Discussion of various plants, among these an issue where Linnaeus appears to have asked Löfling if a Malva he has sent should be considered to be a new genus, to which Löfling now responds in some detail. (Mentions plants not listed here.)

71

166. To "brother Abraham," Madrid 2 July 1753¹¹²

Text partially missing

Löfling apologizes for not writing earlier but he has had regular reports of Abraham's good health in the letters from his parents [suggesting he actually is a brother or at least a close relative]. He discusses the state of architecture in Spain and mentions that the Royal Palace in Madrid is now being built. He asks Abraham to inquire on his behalf about the whereabouts of the former Swedish deputy consul in Lisbon [Podolin], who is said to have returned home. At the end Löfling gives his regards to various family members and relatives.

167. To Consul [?], [Cadiz late 1753 or early 1754]

Fragment of a letter where Löfling gives thanks for the letters of 8 December and 25 December 1753 from the consul and the [Swedish East India?] Company that he received the previous week. He is grateful for their support and for wishing him well during his American journey, and he hopes that one day he will be able to return and show them once again his esteem and regard in person. [Here the fragment ends without any formal greeting. Consul Bellman is mentioned in the letter in such a way that it was probably not addressed to him but to someone else, possibly consul Arfwedson in Lisbon.]

168. Undated sheet with various notes [1752 or 1753?]

This single sheet mostly consists of lists of names with short notes appended. On one page under the heading "Sodales" are some of his most frequent correspondents such as Montin, Biberg, Svahn, Bjerchén etc. with notations that seem to indicate what type of objects or descriptions Löfling has sent or will send to them. On the reverse page under the heading "Magnates" he has listed persons of influence and their main area of scientific interest, apparently so that he will remember what to emphasize in his correspondence with them. Among those mentioned

¹¹² As the text suggests (and as in several other cases of Löfling addressing a "sister" or a "brother") it is uncertain who the recipient of this letter is; it could be a brother, a cousin or other relative. The date has been added later but apparently by Löfling himself, and the letter is also mentioned in the lists of correspondence in nos. 143 and 162.

here are Linnaeus (first in the list), Rosén, Bäck, Celsius, ¹¹³ Wargentin and Kalm. Under a separate heading on this page, "paying respects" ("upvagtn."), he mentions Grimaldi, De Geer, Piper, ¹¹⁴ Gyllenborg and other prominent persons. [As Sten Carl Bielke, who died in July 1753, is also listed at the end it might be assumed that at least the majority of these notes were made no later than summer 1753.]

169. Undated fragment of an insect description

Text partially missing

A fragment of paper with (parts of) a description of an insect, where Löfling also refers to illustrations that are not to be found on the extant sheet. In the margin of both pages are scattered words in French, which seem to be translations of key passages in the main text.

170. Undated "Index of Relations" ("Slägt-Register")

An alphabetical list of 76 names, in most cases supplied with a short title (Professor, M.D. etc.). The people listed are not Löfling's blood relatives (with one or two exceptions) but people he was related to in some other way, most of them Swedish and many or possibly all being fellow students from Uppsala University. In many cases he has also added what "nation" (i.e., province in Sweden or its corresponding association of students in Uppsala) the person belongs to.

171. To Pehr Bjerchén[, Venezuela late 1754 or 1755]

In this short letter fragment Löfling says that while he has sent letters home to Europe twice since his arrival in South America, he has not had the time to write Bjerchén individually. He hopes that this has not lessened Bjerchén's affection for him and asks to have news from Sweden, and writes that he has not yet received any letters from home since arriving in America. [Here the fragment ends. Its content is very simi-

¹¹³ This may refer to either Olof Celsius the Elder (1670–1756), clergyman and professor of Greek with a deep interest in botany, or Olof Celsius the Younger (1716–1794), clergyman, professor of history and later bishop of Lund.

¹¹⁴ Probably Count Carl Fredrik Piper (1700–1770), a senior official and politician who was also a Fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

lar to the beginning of the also unfinished letter to Montin in no. 151, apparently written at around the same time.]

172. To D. Eugenio [Alvarado, 115 Venezuela 1754 or 1755]

Very brief note or letter to D. Eugenio, asking some questions about seashells on a mountain in Cumaná and requesting to have La Condamine's book sent to him.

¹¹⁵ The recipient is quite certainly Don Eugenio Alvarado, the deputy commander of the Orinoco expedition of which Löfling was a member.

References

- Anfält, Tomas, "Pehr Löfling Linnaeus' dearest disciple and his life in Spain," in *Carl Linnaeus and Enlightened Science in Spain* (Madrid: Fundación Berndt Wistedt 1998), pp. 103–111.
- Blunt, Wilfrid, *The compleat naturalist: A life of Linnaeus* [1971] (London: Frances Lincoln 2001).
- Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://britannica.com (accessed in November and December 2008).
- Catálogo CSIC Bibliográfico, http://aleph.csic.es (accessed in November and December 2008).
- Claesson, Eva, "Var föddes Löfling?", Gestricia 17:1 (2005), pp. 8–10.
- Florén, Anders, "I industrispionens öga. Reinhold Rücker Angerstein och resan genom de södra Nederländerna år 1755," in Hanna Hodacs and Åsa Karlsson (eds.), *Från Karakorum till Siljan. Resor under sju sekler* (Lund: Historiska Media 2000), pp. 127–162.
- Fries, Th. M., *Linné*. *Lefnadsteckning*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Fahlcrantz & Co 1903).
- Hodacs, Hanna, & Kenneth Nyberg, *Naturalhistoria på resande fot. Om att forska, undervisa och göra karriär i 1700-talets Sverige* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2007).
- Jonsell, Bengt, "Apostlarnas resor och gärningar. Linnélärjungarnas roll i upptäckten av världen," in Paul Hallberg (ed.), *Ljus över landet? Upplysningen som drivkraft i 1700–talets svenska vetenskap och vitterhet* (Göteborg: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället 2005), pp. 79–98.
- Kongl. svenska vetenskaps academiens handlingar vol. 13 (Stockholm 1752).
- The Linnaean Correspondence, http://linnaeus.c18.net/Editions/index.php (accessed 18 September 2008).
- The Linnaeus Apostles: Global Science and Adventure, 8 vols. (London: IK Foundation 2006–).
- Lucena Giraldo, Manuel, *Laboratorio Tropical. La Expedición de Límites al Orinoco*, 1750–1767 (Caracas: Monte Avila Editores Latinoamericana 1993).

- Löfling, Pehr, *Iter Hispanicum eller Resa til spanska länderna uti Europa och America*, ed. Carl Linnaeus (Stockholm 1758).
- Manktelow, Mariette, & Petronella Kettunen, Kvinnorna kring Linné (Ryd: Artéa 2007).
- Manktelow, Mariette, & Kenneth Nyberg, "Linnaeus' Apostles and the Development of the *Species Plantarum*," in Inga Hedberg (ed.), *Species Plantarum 250 Years. Proceedings of the Species Plantarum Symposium held in Uppsala August 22–24, 2003*, Symbolae Botanicae Upsalienses 33:3 (Uppsala: Uppsala University 2005), pp. 73–80.
- Müller, Leos, Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce: The Swedish Consular Service and Long-distance Shipping, 1720–1815, Studia Historica Upsaliensia 213 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2004).
- Nationalencyklopedin, http://ne.se (accessed in November and December 2008).
- Nyberg, Kenneth, & Mariette Manktelow, "Linnés apostlar och till-komsten av *Species plantarum*," *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsskrift* 2002–2003, pp. 9–30.
- Pelayo López, Francisco (ed.), *Pehr Löfling y la Expedición al Orinoco 1754–1761* (Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico 1990).
- Rydén, Stig, *Pehr Löfling. En linnélärjunge i Spanien och Venezuela 1751–1756* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell 1965).
- Sandermann Olsen, Sven-Erik, *Bibliographia discipuli Linnæi*. *Bibliographies of the 331 pupils of Linnæus* (Copenhagen: Den Danske Linné-Samling 1997).
- San Pío Aladrén, M. Pilar de (ed.), *La Comisión Naturalista de Löfling* en la Expedición de Límites al Orinoco (Madrid: Lunwerg Editores 1998).
- Svenska män och kvinnor, 8 vols. (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier 1942–1955).
- Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (Stockholm 1918–).
- Söderpalm, Kristina, & LarsOlof Lööf, "Förlista skepp," in Kristina Söderpalm (ed.), *Ostindiska Compagniet. Affärer och föremål* (Göteborg: Göteborgs stadsmuseum 2000), pp. 106–119.
- Sörlin, Sverker, & Otto Fagerstedt, *Linné och hans apostlar* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur 2004).
- Uggla, Arvid Hjalmar, "Fredric Hasselquist. Ett tvåhundraårsminne," *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsskrift* 1952, pp. 5–17.

Index

Note: This is an index to the catalogue, not to the letter-book itself, and it covers only historical persons and taxa mentioned in letter summaries and footnotes. Taxa are listed as they appear in the letter-book and do not necessarily represent scientific names that are still valid today. "Letters to/from" refer to a person's correspondence with Löfling, and in the case of "letters from" they invariably refer to a mere mention by Löfling that he has received a letter from the person in question.

Adler, Carl Fredric, 44, 61	Bellman, Carl Michael, 30		
Adolf Fredrik (king of Sweden),	Bellman, Jakob Martin, 30, 50, 58,		
15, 48, 64	59, 64, 67, 68, 71		
Alander, 65	letters from, 31, 69		
Alsine, 24	letters to, 30, 38, 47, 67, 68, 69		
Alvarado, Don Eugenio, 73	Bergius, Bengt, 34		
letter to, 73	Bergius, Peter Jonas, 34, 40, 65		
Angerstein, Reinhold Rütger, 36,	letter to, 56		
38, 58	letters from, 49, 56		
letters from, 37, 41, 43	Bergsten, Nils		
letters to, 37, 41, 43	letter to, 33		
Arbor draconis, 65	letters from, 31, 39		
Arfwedson, Arvid, 64	Biberg, Isaac, 18, 71		
letters to, 64, 71	letters from, 49, 55		
Artedi, Peter, 19	letters to, 18, 55		
Ascanius, Peder, 64	Bielke, Sten Carl, 55, 62, 72		
Balk, Lars, 67	Bjerkén, Pehr af, 19, 35, 45, 60, 71		
Banks, Joseph, 40	letters from, 26, 28, 39, 43, 58		
Barnades, Miguel, 29, 39, 49, 65,	letters to, 19, 28, 36, 40, 44, 53,		
66	58, 72		

Bäck, Abraham, 20, 31, 33, 37, 46,	6, Hasselquist, Fredric, 24, 29, 31,			
49, 63, 66, 72	32, 36, 44, 46, 48, 60, 65, 67, 70			
letters from, 26, 28, 34, 62, 69	Herrera, Alonso de, 47			
letters to, 20, 27, 35, 53	Hildebrand, Henrik Jacob, 68			
Carvajal y Lancaster, José de, 17,	Hollsten, Jonas, 18			
21, 47, 54, 62, 65, 66	letter to, 18			
Celsius, Olof (the Elder), 72	Holm, Georg Tycho, 16, 19, 55			
Celsius, Olof (the Younger), 72	letter to, 16			
Cistus, 24	Hortega, José. See Ortega, José			
Condal, Antonio, 62	Hultstedt, Jacob			
Cook, James, 40	letter from, 42			
Dalin, Olof von, 67	letters to, 41, 43, 47			
De Geer, Charles, 45, 47, 72	Hårleman, Carl, 46, 70			
Dios Castel, Juan de, 63	Ingesson, Olof, 28			
Erica, 15, 18	letter to, 21			
Fernández, Antonio, 53	Iturriaga, José de, 59, 62, 66			
Fernando VI (king of Spain), 17	Juncaria, 38			
Feuillée, Louis, 24, 25, 32, 57	Juncaria Clusii, 39			
Fornander, Anders Niclas, 65	Jussieu, Antoine de, 32			
Fucus, 14, 15	Jussieu, Bernard de, 32, 35			
Gedda, Captain, 15	Kalm, Pehr, 14, 24, 28, 31, 34, 46,			
Gissler, Nils, 25, 57	55, 62, 64, 72			
letter from, 57	letter to, 27			
letters to, 25, 57	Kiesewetter, Gottfried, 27			
Godin, Louis, 17, 18, 19, 20, 39,	Kähler, Mårten, 14, 21, 26, 27, 29,			
46, 60, 65	32, 34, 49, 61, 65			
letter to, 41	letter to, 28			
Grimaldi, Pablo Jerónimo, 42, 46,	Körning, Brita, 15, 39, 40, 51			
47, 48, 72	letters to, 23, 25, 51			
Gyllenborg, Henning Adolph, 30,	La Condamine, Charles-Marie de,			
31, 57, 72	17, 53, 73			
letter to, 30	Lehusen, Carl, 27, 29, 43, 44, 45,			
Haartman, Johan Johansson, 40	64, 66			
Hagström, Johan Otto, 27	letter from, 67			
Haller, Albrecht von, 67	letters to, 63, 67, 68			

letters from, 29, 52, 62, 69 letters to, 29, 52 Linnaea, Elisabeth Christina, 22 letter to, 22 Linnaea, Sara Elisabeth, 21 letter to, 21 Linnaeus, Carl, 14, 15, 20, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72 letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70 letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham letter to, 71 Margareta Löfling, Margareta, 33, 39, 40 letters from, 31, 39 letters from, 31, 39 letters to, 34, 51 Löfling, Nils letters to, 34, 51 Malva, 70 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58 Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuarti, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65 letters from, 34, 38, 41	Liedbeck, Eric Gustaf, 25, 31, 44	Löfling, Greta. See Löfling,
Linnaea, Elisabeth Christina, 22 letter to, 22 letter to, 22 letters from, 31, 39 letters to, 33, 40, 51 Löfling, Nils letter to, 21 letters from, 31, 39 letters from, 31, 39 letters from, 31, 39 letters from, 31, 39 letters to, 34, 51 Löfling, Nils letters to, 34, 51 Malva, 70 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58 Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham letters from, 31, 39 letters to, 33, 40, 51 Löfling, Nils letters to, 34, 51 Malva, 70 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58 Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	letters from, 29, 52, 62, 69	Margareta
letter to, 22 Linnaea, Sara Elisabeth, 21 letter to, 21 Linnaeus, Carl, 14, 15, 20, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72 letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70 letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham letters to, 33, 40, 51 Löfling, Nils letters from, 31, 39 letters to, 34, 51 Malva, 70 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58 Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	letters to, 29, 52	Löfling, Margareta, 33, 39, 40
Linnaea, Sara Elisabeth, 21 letter to, 21 Linnaeus, Carl, 14, 15, 20, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72 letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70 letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Löfling, Nils letters from, 31, 39 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58 Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	Linnaea, Elisabeth Christina, 22	letters from, 31, 39
letter to, 21 Linnaeus, Carl, 14, 15, 20, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72 letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70 letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham letters from, 31, 39 letters to, 34, 51 Malva, 70 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58 Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	letter to, 22	letters to, 33, 40, 51
Linnaeus, Carl, 14, 15, 20, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72	Linnaea, Sara Elisabeth, 21	Löfling, Nils
33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72 letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70 letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Malva, 70 Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58 Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	letter to, 21	letters from, 31, 39
54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72 letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34,	Linnaeus, Carl, 14, 15, 20, 28, 31,	letters to, 34, 51
letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70 letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, letter to, 22 Tailone, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Medlercreutz, 62 Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, Löfling (?), Abraham 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 48,	Malva, 70
37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70 letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Medusa, 14 Millepora, 20 Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	54, 55, 57, 64, 66, 72	Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 58
letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letters to, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 12, 12, 12, 12, 12, 12, 12, 12, 12, 1	letters from, 23, 28, 29, 31, 34,	Medlercreutz, 62
24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	37, 39, 43, 47, 48, 61, 65, 70	Medusa, 14
46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham 37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70 Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	letters to, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23,	Millepora, 20
61, 62, 65, 66, 70 Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Tallows, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 46 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Minuartia, 38, 60 Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42,	Minuart, Juan, 17, 18, 24, 32, 36,
Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22 letter to, 22 Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus, Carl Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71, 73 letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64 letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60,	37, 38, 46, 47, 66, 70
letter to, 2273Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus,letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64Carlletters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39,Linum, 1443, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66Lobelia, 46Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70Loeflingia, 44, 45Nauclér, Samuel, 19Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47,Lygea, 53, 54, 61Ortegia, 38Lygeum, 61, 65Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38,Löfling (?), Abraham39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	61, 62, 65, 66, 70	Minuartia, 38, 60
letter to, 2273Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus,letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64Carlletters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39,Linum, 1443, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66Lobelia, 46Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70Loeflingia, 44, 45Nauclér, Samuel, 19Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47,Lygea, 53, 54, 61Ortegia, 38Lygeum, 61, 65Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38,Löfling (?), Abraham39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	Linnaeus, Carl (the Younger), 22	Montin, Lars, 22, 29, 34, 36, 71,
Carlletters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39,Linum, 1443, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66Lobelia, 46Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70Loeflingia, 44, 45Nauclér, Samuel, 19Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47,Lygea, 53, 54, 61Ortegia, 38Lygeum, 61, 65Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38,Löfling (?), Abraham39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65		73
Linum, 14 Lobelia, 46 Lobelia, 45 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham 43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66 Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	Linné, Carl von. See Linnaeus,	letters from, 30, 34, 38, 43, 64
Lobelia, 46 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Cyseum, 61, 65 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	Carl	letters to, 22, 25, 31, 34, 37, 39,
Lobelia, 46 Loeflingia, 44, 45 Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70 Nauclér, Samuel, 19 Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Cyseum, 61, 65 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	Linum, 14	43, 44, 48, 55, 64, 66
Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65		Mylius, Christlob, 46, 70
Lovisa Ulrika (queen of Sweden), 32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Lygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	Loeflingia, 44, 45	Nauclér, Samuel, 19
32, 46, 50, 54, 55, 65, 67, 70 Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Cygeum, 61, 65 Löfling (?), Abraham 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 Ortegia, 38 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	_	Ortega, José, 18, 35, 45, 46, 47,
Lygea, 53, 54, 61 Ortegia, 38 Lygeum, 61, 65 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, Löfling (?), Abraham 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	× 2	
Lygeum, 61, 65 Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38, Löfling (?), Abraham 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65	Lygea, 53, 54, 61	Ortegia, 38
Löfling (?), Abraham 39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65		Osbeck, Pehr, 16, 31, 34, 35, 38,
		39, 40, 43, 44, 61, 65
, , ,		
Löfling, Erik, 14, 52, 66 letters to, 35, 37, 41, 59	Löfling, Erik, 14, 52, 66	
letters from, 25, 28, 29, 31, 39, Oxenstierna, Eric Gustaf, 42		
letter from, 42		
letters to, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, letter to, 42	letters to, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25,	letter to, 42
33, 39, 49, 58, 63 Paltor, Benito, 62		
Löfling, Erik (the Younger) Perez, Vincente, 54, 62		
letter to, 33 Piper, Carl Fredrik, 72		

Podolin, Johan, 16, 19, 26, 71	Strandman, Barbro, 19		
letter from, 31	letters from, 25, 28, 31, 39		
letters to, 26, 28	letters to, 19, 22, 33, 40, 52, 59		
Quer y Martínez, José, 17, 18, 38,	Strandman, Nils, 28, 66		
55, 63, 67	letters from, 31, 62, 69		
Querezia, 38, 57	letters to, 22, 26, 51		
Queria, 38, 57	Svahn, Georg, 19, 21, 60, 71		
Reseda, 14	letters from, 24, 30, 35, 61		
Risell, 62	letters to, 21, 23, 24, 28, 31, 35,		
Rolander, Daniel, 27, 40, 45	61		
Rosén von Rosenstein, Nils, 25,	Tessin, Carl Gustaf, 64, 68		
45, 49, 72	Tetradynamia, 26		
Rothof, Lorens Wolter, 19, 28	Thollander, Gustaf, 59		
letters to, 19, 30	Torén, Olof, 35		
Salvador, Bruno, 62	Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de, 32,		
Salvius, Lars, 14, 27, 38, 41, 68	35		
letter from, 30	Ulloa, Antonio de, 36, 39, 45, 58		
letters to, 14, 23, 30, 38	Wahlbom, Johan Gustaf, 21, 35,		
Sargazo, 35	65		
Sauvages, François de, 23	letter to, 31		
Saxifraga, 16	letters from, 29, 30		
Scarabeus, 26	Valeriana, 14		
Seba, Albert, 19	Wargentin, Pehr, 20, 72		
Sibthorpia, 16	letters from, 24, 26, 28, 29, 34,		
Sidrén, Jonas, 44	45, 57		
Solander, Daniel, 40, 44, 45, 62,	letters to, 20, 24, 27, 36, 45, 57		
65	Vélez, Cristóbal, 17, 18, 23, 24,		
letters from, 43, 49, 56	32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 49, 50, 55,		
letters to, 45, 56	62, 67		
Solano de Luque, Francisco, 27	Velezia, 38, 57		
Solano, José, 62	Victorén, 62		
Spartum, 53, 69	Virgilio, Pedro, 62, 65, 67		

SKRIFTER FRÅN HISTORISKA INSTITUTIONEN I GÖTEBORG

- 1. Magnus Mörner (ed.), Göteborgshistorikernas resa till Estland i maj 1990. (1990)
- 2. Magnus Mörner & Aare R. Mörner (ed.), *Towards a new history in the Baltic republics: Historical perspectives at the time of the recovery of independence.* (1993)
- 3. Birger Simonson & Annette Thörnquist (ed.), Arbete, genus, fackförening. Tre teman vid den tredje nordiska arbetslivshistoriska konferensen i Holmsund juni 1991. (1993)
- 4. Thomas Magnusson, *Traditionalism och ekonomism. Västsvensk särart i fattigvårdsdebatten ca 1800–1850.* (2001)
- 5. Hans Abelius, Thomas Småberg & Sune Åkerman (ed.), Kors och tvärs bland teorierna. Ett undervisningsexperiment vid Göteborgs och Karlstads universitet. (2002)
- [6.] Carl Holmberg, *Utanförskap och uppbrott. Fyra essäer om flyktför-sök från civilisationen.* (2005)
 - 7. Maria Cavallin Aijmer, Göran Malmstedt, Kenneth Nyberg, Adam von Schéele & Monica Weikert (ed.), *Arbete, kultur, politik. En vänbok till Lennart K Persson.* (2007)
 - 8. Lennart Andersson Palm & Maria Sjöberg (ed.), *Historia. Vänbok till Christer Winberg 5 juni 2007.* (2007)
 - 9. Christer Ahlberger & Pia Lundqvist (ed.), Varans vägar och världar. Handel och konsumtion i Skandinavien ca 1600–1900. (2007)
- 10. Anders Ottosson, Sjukgymnasten vart tog han vägen? En undersökning av sjukgymnastyrkets maskulinisering och avmaskulinisering 1813–1934. (2007)
- [11.] Thomas Magnusson, "... till rikets oboteliga skada och deras winning..." Konflikten om Ostindiska kompaniet 1730–1747. (2008)
 - 12. Kenneth Nyberg, *Pehr Löfling's Letter-book in the Archives of the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid: A catalogue.* (2008)

Pehr Löfling (1729–1756) was one of the most talented students of Carl Linnaeus. He made important contributions to contemporary knowledge of the Spanish flora and was one of the first to study the plants of South America according to the new principles of taxonomy advanced by Linnaeus. Through him direct contacts were also established for the first time between leading Spanish and Swedish botanists.

Most of Löfling's manuscripts and drawings are preserved in the Archives of the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid, but despite its scientific and historical significance this collection is not very well known. Efforts are now underway to make it more accessible and one tangible outcome of that work is this catalogue of Löfling's "Letter-book," where he kept drafts and outlines of letters to Linnaeus and other Swedish correspondents (relatives, friends, colleagues and patrons) from May 1751 to October 1754.

Many of the original letters no longer remain, while those still surviving are scattered in various archives and libraries; thus the letter-book is an important source of knowledge about Löfling's scientific work and the activities of other botanists with whom he corresponded. This catalogue provides an overview of its contents and includes an introduction as well as notes with brief references.

Kenneth Nyberg is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Gothenburg.

ISBN: 978-91-88614-69-8

ISSN: 1100-679X