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The bicentenary of the University of Lund in 1868. A low point in Scandinavian cooperation – or a rebirth?

Fredrik Tersmeden

The unfinished castle

On the 21st of January 1868 the subscribers of *Lunds Weckoblad*¹ found among the ordinary news reports and advertisements a fully reprinted poem, which had originally been recited at a "Nordic festivity" in Copenhagen about a week earlier. The two first stanzas read:

*Vi byggede paa Nordens Slot
I lyse Sommerdage;
Vi syntes, frem skred Værket godt,
Der var kun lidt tilbage,
For taget, lige høit og bredt,
Dets trende Floie dækked,
For Enhedspiret, frit og let,
Sig op mod Himlen rækked.*

*Men hvor er Slottet blevet af
I Vinternattens Mørke?
Hvar staaer det Værk, hvortil vi gav
Vor fulde Ungdomsstyrke?
Hvor blev hver Sten, hver Tømmerstok,
Vi troede fast forbunden?
Det er jo, som om neppe nok
Vi havde muret Grunden.*

We were building the castle of the North
during bright days of summer;
We thought the work progressed well,
that only little remained
until the roof, as high as it was wide,
crowned by its three vanes,
[and] the spire of unity, freely and easily,
would reach towards the sky.

¹ *Lunds Weckoblad* was the leading local newspaper in Lund at the time. Founded in 1790, it was by the time of its discontinuation in 1970 one of the oldest newspapers in Sweden. Originally a weekly publication, it was published three times a week from around the 1860s, later to become a daily paper (from 1897). As a politically conservative newspaper it had, since 1856, a local competitor in the more liberal – sometimes even radical – *Folkets Dagblad*.

But where did that castle go
in the dark nights of winter?
Where is the work, for which we gave
our full strength of youth?
What happened to each stone, each log
that we thought firmly joined?
It is as if we had hardly
built its foundation.²

The symbolism of this poem is hardly to be misunderstood. "The castle of the North" with its "spire of unity" is of course a picture of the dream of the Scandinavian movement: a unity of the Northern European brother nations. A dream which had been shared, during the 1840s and 1850s, by many Scandinavians – not least students – but which had been brutally shattered at the trenches of Dybbøl when the Swedish and Norwegian governments failed to aid and rescue Denmark from the Prussian aggression. Thus, the hopes of many Scandinavists were buried in "the dark nights of winter" of the poem.

But still, almost four years after the war, the poem's author refused to see the unfinished work as being done in vain. In a spirit of hope he ends with the words:

*Vi har ei bygt till Skam og Last,
Ei ødt vor Kraft og Møie;
Thi Nordens fælles Borg staaer fast
Med sine trende Fløie.
Om fix og færdig den at see
Os Lykken karrig negter,
Nu vel – saa veed vi, det vil skee
Ved Daad af yngre Slægter!*

We have not built for shame and vice,
we have not squandered our power and toil;
because the joint castle of the North³ stands firm
with its three vanes.
If to see it finished
a miserly fortune won't allow us
well then – we know that it will come
through the work of younger generations.

The author of the poem was certainly a person who himself could be said to have been a most active "construction worker" during the original attempts to erect the "the castle of the North";

² All the translations have been made by the author.

³ In some quotations, the word "Norden" is translated as "the North", rather than as the more common "the Nordic countries", because the latter translation tends to give a less poetic and more strictly geographical meaning to the concept than it was usually meant to have in the ceremonial poems and speeches of the period.

his name was Carl Ploug, a Danish poet, journalist and politician. Born in 1813, he had played a central role in student circles at the university of Copenhagen during the 1830s. In later years, he presented himself as the most prominent Danish face of the Scandinavian movement. As one of his biographers has written: "Ploug did not create the Scandinavian movement here at home, but for decades he was the carrier of its banner, and his name is insolubly tied to it."⁴

Lund, Copenhagen and the Scandinavian movement

Though the Scandinavian movement⁵ was embraced by various groups in all the three countries of Denmark, Norway and Sweden,⁶ it can justifiably be said to have had a special position in the cities of Lund and Copenhagen, and in particular among the students at the universities of these cities. Sometimes the triggering factor behind the fraternization between the students in Lund and Copenhagen has simply been ascribed to the little prosaic practical fact that the regular steamship connection between Scania and Zealand was opened in 1828. This gave the students of the small and village-like Scanian university city hitherto unknown possibilities to visit the impressive Danish capital, to meet their fellow students, and – not least – to observe and be inspired by some of the particular institutions that could be found in the student life of Copenhagen. Among these were firstly, the so-called *collegii*, i.e. special dormitories for the students (the most notable of them, Regensen, had been inaugurated already in 1623 by King Christian IV), and secondly, the *Studenterforeningen*, a voluntary association for students founded in 1820. Both of these Danish institutions served as partial inspirations for the foundation of *Akademiska Föreningen* in Lund in 1830.⁷

Akademiska Föreningen (AF) is an institution particular to Lund; mainly because it is an organization that is not a political students' union, but still embraces all the students of the university, irrespective of faculty or geographical background. Due to its size and central position AF, has played a very important role in the development of the social and cultural life of the students of Lund, certainly in the nineteenth century when the original student associations in Lund – the so called nations – were all yet individually too small and too poor to afford houses and to organize more advanced activities of their own. Thus, much of the creative output of the students was released through the activities of AF, in accordance with the motto that the association had adopted at its foundation: *coniuncta valent* [the united is strong]. Moreover, membership of AF was not restricted to the students. The association was also open to the

⁴ Engelstoft, Povl, "Ploug, Carl Parmo" in: *Dansk biografisk leksikon* (Copenhagen: C.F. Bricka 1940), vol. 18: 409-416.

⁵ One of the most in-depth and well-founded works on the Scandinavian movement is probably still Åke Holmberg's doctoral thesis from the 1940s, *Skandinavismen i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt* (Göteborg: Universitet 1946). For this chapter Holmberg's general work has been used, together with more detailed descriptions on the Lundian students: Carl Martin Collin, "Lund och skandinavismen", in: *Under Lundagårds kronor* (Lund: Gleerups Förlag 1918): 424, *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1911 - Festskrift vid invigningen av Föreningens nybyggnad den 20-22 oktober 1911* (Lund: Lindstedts bokhandeln 1911) and Hillerdal, Gunnar and Eric Starfelt, *Akademiska Föreningen i Lund 1830-1953* (Lund: Gleerups Förlag 1953)

⁶ The Finns, being part of the Russian empire, were given little opportunity to take part in the Scandinavian movement, whether they would have liked to or not.

⁷ "Några ord om Akademiska Föreningens uppkomst", *Lunds student-kalender 1863-64* 1 (1864): 3.

professors of the university, and several, mostly younger, academics took a lively interest and an active part in its activities. As will be shown further on in this chapter, several of the most prominent professors involved in the jubilee festivities of 1868, shared a common involvement in AF. Being in possession of one of the largest buildings in Lund at the time – a grand hall that could host at least 1750 people⁸ – AF also played an important part during the festivities from a purely logistical point of view.

Had the access to a steam ship been important in bringing the students from Lund and Copenhagen closer together; nevertheless, it can be said that it was the lack of sailable waters between them, which caused the symbolic birth of the Scandinavian movement among the students. During the cold winter of 1837-1838, the Sound froze entirely. Students from both shores decided to go for a walk on the ice and met halfway for an improvised gathering, which ended with the Danes receiving an impromptu invitation to an upcoming academic festivity in Lund. Some 70 of them actually turned up at the latter. It was followed with a return visit of not less than 150 Lundians to Copenhagen in the spring of 1839. A similar kind of visit followed in 1842.

During these mutual exchanges between Lund and Copenhagen, soon some people stood out as leading ideologists and spokesmen. Carl Ploug's position at the Danish side has already been mentioned. Among his early Swedish equivalents were Göte Thomé and in a somewhat later phase, Gustaf Ljunggren and Albert Lysander.⁹ In Lund, Carl Vilhelm August Strandberg was one of the most influential figures in this regard. Strandberg, being one of Sweden's most talented young poets of the period (known under the pen name "Talis Qualis"), supplied the youthful Scandinavian movement with fiery verses, starting with his "Greeting to the sons of Denmark", published in 1840:

*Tystnad är kanonens tunga,
Bajonetten skruvad av,
Våra kölar fredligt gunga
Nu utöver Sundets grav
Och i broderlig förening
Ungdom nu till ungdom flyr,
Fattar du de ungas mening,
Gläds, en hoppfull morgon gryr!*

[- - -]

*Nu må stridens fasor ila!
Hören skaldens siarord:
"Aldrig mer skall ovän vila
Ovan skandinavisk jord!"
Fjärran krigets åska bränner,*

⁸ This was the size of the audience at the inauguration of the building in 1851. Cf. *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1911* (1911): 101.

⁹ Hillerdal and Starfelt, *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1953* (1953): 42.

*Tränges blixten hit – vad mer!
Nordens folkslag äro vänner,
Ett är deras stridsbaner.*¹⁰

Silenced is the voice of the cannon,
the bayonet has been removed,
our keels roll the waves in peace
nowadays across the trench of the Sound
and in brotherly unison
youth hastens to youth.
If you grasp the intention of the youth,
Rejoice, a morning of hope is dawning!

[- -]

Now may the horrors of war flee!
Hear the prophetic words of the poet:
"Never again shall a foe rest
above the soil of Scandinavia!"
The thunder of war burns far away,
should the lightning finds its way here – so what!
The peoples of the North are friends,
One is their banner of fight.

In this early poem by Strandberg, the focus is still principally Swedish-Danish. However, the scope of the poet as well as of the entire movement was soon widened. Only a couple of years later, the Norwegians were included, and though the Finns had little practical opportunity to join as well, they were already involved in spirit – at least from Strandberg's viewpoint. Five years after his greeting to the Danes, Strandberg wrote one of his most celebrated poems at the time, called "Vaticinium [prophesy]". It painted a picture of a future in which cossacks "tumble bleeding to the ground", as fellow Scandinavians come to Finland's aid, cutting off "all of its bonds".¹¹

"Vaticinium" was read by Strandberg during the Scandinavian student meeting of 1845, in Copenhagen and Lund, – in front of an audience cheering each line of it. By then, the semi-informal exchange between students of Lund and Copenhagen had grown into a full-scale regular programme of recurring official student meetings at all the four universities of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The first of these official student meetings had been organised in Uppsala in 1843 and was followed by the meeting in Copenhagen and Lund two years later. Although the First Schleswig War of 1848 caused great disappointment within the Scandinavian movement,

¹⁰ Strandberg, Carl Vilhelm August, *Dikter – Förra delen 1835-1845* (Stockholm: Bonnier 1917): 104.

¹¹ Strandberg, *Dikter* (1917): 223. For a contemporary description of how this poem was received by the audience, see Hillerdal and Starfelt, *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1953* (1953): 61.

new student meetings were held in Christiania in 1851 as well as in 1852, and once again in Uppsala in 1856.

It was also during this period that the concept of "Nordisk fest" was established.¹² Suggested by the Norwegian students who had not been able to go to the meeting in Uppsala in 1843, this festivity was supposed to be arranged locally by the students at all the four universities, in order to celebrate "the memory of our fathers, as men of the North, and our brotherhood, as students". In Lund, the idea was realised for the first time in January 1845, and soon it became a regular event in the calendar of AF. It is somewhat unclear to what extent the idea of the Norwegians was followed by the students of Copenhagen and Uppsala during the 1840s and 1850s, but "Nordic festivities" were definitely set up also outside of Lund in the 1860s.

The meeting of 1862

The last of the great Scandinavian student meetings before the Second Schleswig War took place in Lund and Copenhagen in June 1862.¹³ Originally, the meeting had been scheduled for 1861 but it had been postponed a year due to the political tension between Denmark and Prussia over the Schleswig question. This was clearly alluded to in one of the many songs written and performed during the 1862 meeting, viz. "Song to the Danes" with lyrics by Lundian Albert Lysander:

*Det är din, det är ock Nordens
Egendom, du dyra broderstam!
Skandiens och danska jordens
Öden gå blott samma bana fram.
När ditt arf du djerfs bevara,
När i folkens sorl din röst är stark,
Svenska hjertans genljud svara:
Ewigt lefve gamla Dannemark!¹⁴*

It is your, [but] it is also the Nordic countries'
possession, you precious brotherly tribe!
The destinies of the Danish and the Scandinavian soils
go forwards only in unison.
When you dare to preserve your heritage,
when your voice is strong within the murmur of the peoples,
the resonance of Swedish hearts will answer:
Forever live old Denmark!

¹² Cf. Hillerdal and Starfelt, *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1953* (1953): 58 and 213.

¹³ For a detailed description of the student meeting of 1862, including the majority of speeches and poems, see: Hedin, Sven Adolf (ed), *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* (Uppsala: W. Schultz 1863).

¹⁴ Hedin, *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* (1863): 64. This song, together with several other Lundian contributions at the meeting, was also printed in *Lunds Student-Kalender – Wittert Album* (Lund: Gleerup 1863): 42.

Obviously, Ploug, the dean of Danish Scandinavism, also took part in the meeting of 1862. Although he was already 49 and had not been a student for decades, he was appointed member of the committee preparing the meeting and in this capacity he was one of the seven Danes who had, "on behalf of the students of Copenhagen", issued the official invitation to the students of the other Scandinavian universities. In addition, Ploug closed the official programme with the following words:

"With these words of mine, the second Nordic student meeting in Copenhagen comes to an end. I wish to close it with the same wish with which we opened it: that it may be fruitful for the North, for the associated lives and mutual progress of the Nordic peoples, and for the common future of Denmark and the North."¹⁵

At that moment, Ploug and his fellow committee members hardly had any reason to be disappointed when looking back at the arrangements. Apart from some bad weather, the meeting had been a large success. More than 1600 students and other academics had taken part in the festivities¹⁶ that had lasted for a week (the first day in Lund, the remaining six in Copenhagen). The students had been greeted by the bishop in Lund and by the rector and some high officials of the city administration in Copenhagen. In the latter city, the inhabitants had decorated the houses alongside the streets where the students' processions passed by. A special gala performance had been arranged at the Royal Danish Theatre, which was honoured by the presence of the Danish crown prince. Another highlight of the meeting had been the presentation by a group of ladies from Copenhagen of four hand-embroidered gonfalons as a gift to the four participating universities. The motifs, based on drawings by the Danish artists Constantin Hansen and Peter Christian Skovgaard, were gods from the ancient Norse mythology. Copenhagen received Heimdall, Christiania Thor, Uppsala Odin and Lund Freyr.¹⁷

Picture 1: The gonfalone with Freyr, presented to the students of Lund at the student meeting in Copenhagen 1862, seen here in a contemporary illustration from *Illustreret Tidene*. Picture courtesy of the archives of *Akademiska Föreningen*.

A last formal opportunity for the Scandinavian students to meet each other before the war happened in April 1863, when the *Studentforeningen* in Copenhagen inaugurated its new building. Once more, young academics from Uppsala, Christiania and Lund travelled to the Danish capital. As usual, a large number of ceremonial poems were written for the occasion, among them a

¹⁵ Hedin, *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* (1863): 204.

¹⁶ A complete list of the participants can be found in Hedin, *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* (1863): 239. The total number of guests can roughly be divided among the participating universities as follows: Copenhagen – 930, Christiania – 230, Lund – 190, Uppsala – 290. The number of participants from Lund only includes those who were present during the part of the meeting in Copenhagen. During the previous arrangements in Lund, this number was probably even higher, though it should be noted that the total number of students at the University of Lund during the spring semester of 1862 was only 343 (*Lunds Kongl. Universitets katalog för vår-terminen 1862* (Lund: Akademiska Föreningen 1862): 45).

¹⁷ Hedin, *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* (1863): 81. A detailed description of this donation is also given in a contemporary issue of the Danish magazine *Illustreret Tidene*. As far as the author of this article knows, only one of these gonfalones – the one given to the students from Lund – is preserved today.

special greeting to the guests from the "brother countries" (*broderrigerne*). "With the help of God, may we ride together", the author of the poem recited – no less a person than, again, Carl Ploug.¹⁸

Then came the last use of *Danewirke* and the Second War of Schleswig.¹⁹ The next large student meeting which had been planned to take place in Christiania in 1867 was cancelled, and, as Leonard Holmström – a student in Lund at the time – later wrote, a "sense of shame" spread among those enthusiasts who had failed to actually help their kindred fellowmen, when war broke out.²⁰ The "dark nights of winter" began.

A dead idea – or rather the contrary?

In the light of the ideological debacle of 1864 one might tend to regard the Scandinavian Carl Ploug in 1868 as a man who had outlived himself, an "eternal student" who, in fact, pathetically was clinging on to ideals that belonged to an earlier generation; a man flogging a dead horse so to speak. Still, the meeting in Copenhagen, where Ploug read the poem quoted at the beginning of this chapter, was not a singular event. During the winter of 1867-1868 *Lunds Weckoblad* reported on other "Nordic festivities" that were organised in Uppsala, Stockholm and Lund, as well as a "Scandinavian Christmas celebration" in Paris.²¹ At the event that took place in Lund, the main speaker had been Hans Henric Hallbäck, who in his speech addressed the Nordic universities in particular. Like Ploug, Hallbäck used the erection of a building as a metaphor, speaking of "the temple of truth, peace and beauty", the construction of which demanded

"[...] the recruitment of new fighters for the causes of science, religion and art, fighters who to the world will carry forth the ideas to whose flags they have sworn allegiance, and who do not shrink back from the powers of darkness and lies. This work of ideas, to enlist warriors for its cause, has continued for thousands of years in all points of the compass and in every country. And in each country where these warriors have arrived, they have established their workshops, where each individual is schooled for the honourable task of joining the service of the ideas, and is prepared for sacrificing his best abilities on their altar. Such workshops exist even in our North, and these workshops are the universities of the Nordic countries."²²

The subtext of Hallbäck's message is hardly difficult to catch: the Scandinavian movement may have failed when it came to help each other in the true acts of war, but this did not mean

¹⁸ Ploug, Carl, *Til vore gjæster fra broderrigerne. Den 17. April 1863* (S.l. s.d.).

¹⁹ The *Danewirke* is a system of Danish fortifications in Schleswig-Holstein. This important linear defensive earthwork was constructed across the neck of the Cimbrian peninsula during Denmark's Viking Age. It was last used for military purposes in 1864.

²⁰ Holmström, Leonard, "Hågkomster från 1860-talets studentliv i Lund", in: *Under Lundagårds kroror* (Lund: Gleerups Förlag 1918): 208.

²¹ *Lunds Weckoblad* (04-01-1868, 08-02-1868, 11-02-1868 and 03-03-1868).

²² *Lunds Weckoblad* (03-03-1868).

that there was not still another fight – a fight in spirit, an intellectual fight – to be entered in unison.²³

Ploug's poem, Hallbäck's speech and the various other events described above, certainly indicate that at least parts of the old spirit of Scandinavism had survived the "long nights of winter". Also, the fact that the planned student meeting of 1867 was cancelled did not mean that the more formal socialization between the students of Lund and Copenhagen stopped entirely. In November 1867, the student singers of the two universities had jointly arranged a charity concert in Copenhagen as a benefit for the people of northern Sweden who had been struck by bad crops.²⁴ Apparently a sense of mutual solidarity still prevailed among the students of the universities on both sides of the Sound.

Gustaf Ljunggren – a key actor

The question of celebrating the bicentenary of the University of Lund was formally raised for the first time during a meeting of the consistorium in April 1866. The minutes do not reveal who brought up the subject, but it might very well have been Gustaf Ljunggren, professor of æsthetics,²⁵ not only because of the leading position he would later take in the actual preparations and the carrying out of the festivities, but also due to the fact that he was already at this time most certainly aware that he would be in turn to hold the office of rector during the year of the jubilee, and thus function as the official host of the ceremonies. At the age of 45, Ljunggren was one of the most prominent personalities of Lund University as well as of the city of Lund.²⁶ Already a professor for nine years, he was also a member of the city council, at the time of the jubilee being its vice chairman. He held high offices in many societies such as the ancient guild of Saint Canute. And last but not least: in 1865 he had been offered the exclusive honour of being elected to one of the eighteen places of the Swedish Academy.

Picture 2: A photomontage made in connection with the bicentennial, showing all the employees of the University of Lund in 1868. Gustaf Ljunggren can be seen to the extreme right of the picture, fourth from bottom. Photo courtesy of the archives of *Akademiska Föreningen*.

²³ This concept of compensating the loss of war with the gains of spiritual and intellectual progress is reminiscent of Esaias Tegnér's famous poem *Svea* (1812), in which the author speaks of "reconquering Finland within the boundaries of Sweden" ("inom Sveriges gräns erövra Finland åter").

²⁴ Lund, Akademiska Föreningens Arkiv & Studentmuseum: *Concert af Student-sångföreningarna från Lund och Köpenhamn. November 1867*. During the "Nordic festivity" in Lund in March 1868, a special toast of gratitude for the Danish (and also Norwegian) help that they had received; had been proposed; see *Lunds Weckoblad* (03-03-1868).

²⁵ Aesthetics was the name used for the combined subjects of history of art and history of literature. The two would not be divided into separate subjects until 1919.

²⁶ Biographical information on Ljunggren mainly from Petersens, Carl af and Anders Malm, *Lunds universitets matrikel 1899* (Lund: Gleerup 1898-1999) and Lundström, Gösta, "Ljunggren, Gustaf Jordan Håkan" in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (Stockholm: Bonniers 1984), vol. 24. See also Gierow, Christer, *Lunds universitets historia, III. 1790-1867* (Lund: Gleerup 1971): 355.

Ljunggren was also known for his personal hospitality and his home was regularly filled up with guests – sometimes up to 90 people – ranging from mighty visitors from Stockholm, over professors and other intellectuals to young students. One of his regular guests, Knut Wintzell, has described Ljunggren as a "leading" force in the social life of the city.²⁷ The presence of young students in Ljunggren's home is symptomatic. In spite of having already reached the pinnacles of his academic career, the fact is that Ljunggren himself was, in heart and spirit, still very much a student. For ten years, between 1849 and 1859, he had been the curator of the Scanian Nation, the largest of the student nations at the university, and he had left that office only to be installed immediately as the nation's inspector – what he would remain for 30 years.²⁸ From 1860 until 1868, he combined this with being the chairman of *Akademiska Föreningen* in which he had earlier held the office of head of the "social committee", already two times. In that capacity, Ljunggren had helped to shape and to develop the cultural activities taking place within AF for many years, arranging various festivities, making speeches, writing short plays that were performed by the students and so on. Ljunggren and his associates, it has been said, gave the social committee "its importance as an element of education in the lives of the youth, and by their examples they conjured up a spirit of enthusiasm and sociality."²⁹

However, Ljunggren was not only a central figure in the local student life of Lund, he was also a living part of the Scandinavian movement. Born in 1823, Ljunggren had arrived at the university in 1839, right in time for the first large Scandinavian student meetings. Soon he made friends with Strandberg, Göthe Thomée and other leading local Scandinavists. Although he was unable to attend the meeting in Uppsala in 1843 in person, Ljunggren has himself described how he followed the newspaper report on each speech and poem anxiously, reading them with the same sense of joy as if they had been "reports on a battle won by Swedish arms".³⁰ Ljunggren would miss few of the following meetings, and at the meeting in Copenhagen in 1862 Ljunggren had definitely become one of the main representatives from Lund.³¹

On the basis of all this, Ljunggren was appointed as one of five members of a committee that was given the task to work out suggestions for the bicentenary celebrations. In this capacity he was responsible for the invitation essay, sent out to universities, learned institutions and scientific societies at home and abroad. As usual with this kind of official invitations and programmes issued by the university at the time, this document took the form of an academic essay, the subject of which, in this particular case, very evidently linked back to Lund's proud place in the Scandinavian movement. It was entitled "Tegnér and Oehlenschläger".³²

The essay opens with reminding the reader that one of the original names of the University of Lund was the *academia conciliatrix* – the academy of reconciliation. And although

²⁷ Wintzell, Knut, "Om Henrik Möller och om det ljunggrenska hemmet", in *Under Lundagårds kronor – Ny samling* (Lund: Gleerups Förlag 1921): 387. The quote regarding Ljunggren's leading role can be found on page 398.

²⁸ Sjöström, Carl, *Skånska nationen 1833-1889 – Biografiska och genealogiska anteckningar* (Lund 1904):13, 57.

²⁹ *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1911* (1911): 85; Hillerdal and Starfelt, *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1953* (1953): 90, 95.

³⁰ Holmberg, *Skandinavismen i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt* (1946): 67.

³¹ Collin, "Lund och skandinavismen" (1918): 430.

³² This invitation as well as speeches, poems and other documents concerning the anniversary, including a description of the festivities, were afterwards collected in an official publication entitled *Lunds universitets andra secularfest maj 1868* (Lund: Berlingska boktryckeriet 1868).

centuries of feuds between Sweden and Denmark had for a long time prevented this reconciliation, its time had finally arrived. The university regarded itself the "natural spokesman" of the aims to reunite the Swedish and Danish "kinsmen" within the fields of art and science.

This introduction is followed by brief descriptions of the works of Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger and Esaias Tegnér and a short analysis of how these were connected to the romantic movement. A comparison between the works of the two poets, focusing mainly on those with patriotic themes from the Viking age, closes the main part of the essay. The conclusion runs that, though both poets belonged to the same period and movement, there were differences between them in style as well as in aim. While Oehlenschläger is described as more epical and with primarily a purely aesthetic agenda, Tegnér is in contrast more of a lyricist combined with a moral cause. However, the writer makes clear, these differences should not be made the basis of a quality judgment of the two poets:

"The question regarding which of the two greatest poets of the Nordic countries should take precedence over the other is superfluous. None of them leaves the other in a shadow. The two nations can love and respect them both, as they did respect each other."

This mutual respect and friendship between the two poets is then finally illustrated by an excerpt from the poem written by Oehlenschläger at the death of Tegnér in 1846. Tegnér is described as someone who liked to visit Denmark with a "flock of brothers", reaching out with "a hand of love / To the Danes from the coast of Sweden". The writer's sympathy with this Danish-Swedish fraternization can hardly be misunderstood.

Later in life, Ljunggren himself wrote that "[m]aybe I will get closest to the truth if I say that Scandinavism was the religion of the students of that period, that it was the sum and flower of its most noble feelings. Naturally it had a varying impact on different natures; for some it was a rapture but without intoxication, for others a real fanaticism. Those who were not Scandinavists were infidels [...]".³³ Ljunggren's essay in the invitation clearly shows that he was still a believer in 1868.

Apart from Ljunggren, the organising committee of the jubilee consisted of the professors Carl Johan Tornberg (oriental languages), Carl Wilhelm Linder (Greek), Niklas Tengberg (history) and Albert Lysander (Latin).³⁴ It is remarkable that all the members represented the same faculty (of arts), what of course raises the question why no professors of theology, law or medicine were selected. Was this simply the result of a lack of interest, or was Ljunggren as a leading figure within the faculty of arts able to sort out a group of like-minded colleagues? Unfortunately, the brief paragraph of the minutes does not give any clue. Furthermore, it is worth to notice that out of these five professors three – Ljunggren, Lysander and Tornberg – had participated in the great Scandinavian meeting of 1862, the first two also as speakers during various parts of the programme.³⁵ Finally, Lysander and Ljunggren were both involved in the social committee of *Akademiska Föreningen*.

³³ Originally from an obituary that Ljunggren wrote for Göthe Thomée; quoted in *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1911* (1911): 94.

³⁴ Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Kansliets arkiv 1666-1930/31, vol. AIIa:137: *Större konsistoriets protokoll* (04-04-1866, § 7).

³⁵ Hedin, *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* (1863): 57, 64 and 251.

Two and a half months later, the committee presented its proposals to the consistorium.³⁶ In this first memorandum four main suggestions were made. The first one was purely a practical matter. Instead of having the celebrations at the actual inauguration date of the university – on the 28th of January – it was suggested to postpone the jubilee until the end of the spring semester in May.³⁷ Apart from this, it was suggested that the celebrations should include three main events: the publication of a new history of the university, the issue of a commemorative medal, and finally the organisation of promotions in all four faculties.

Weibull's appreciated jubilee history

When suggesting that the university's history should be written and published on the occasion of the anniversary, neither the committee nor the consistorium originally suggested a specific author. On the contrary, it was stated that this book would probably have to be the work of a group of people.³⁸ However, already at one of the first meetings of the consistorium after the summer recess Martin Weibull volunteered for this task.³⁹

Although Weibull was twelve years younger than Ljunggren, he shared many traits with his elder colleague.⁴⁰ Both stood firmly with one foot in the university and the other in the student organisations. During their career, both held offices as inspector of a student nation and as chairman of *Akademiska Föreningen*. As an academic, Weibull had received his laurel in 1862 as "ultimus" (the second best of that year). At the time of his appointment as the university's official bicentennarian historian, he had a position as docent in history. Only a few months after he showed his engagement to write the jubilee history, Weibull was promoted to the position of *adjunkt* (lecturer) in the same subject,⁴¹ an office that he held until 1877 when he received the title of professor. His achievements as historian have been described as being of "great importance and leaving very visible traces in Lund during the late nineteenth century".⁴² He died in 1902, having raised two sons – Lauritz and Curt – who both became professors of history like their father.

³⁶ Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Kansliets arkiv 1666-1930/31, vol. AIIa:137: *Större konsistoriets protokoll* (19-06-1866, § 1). Judging from the handwriting, the memorandum was written by Lysander.

³⁷ The same decision was taken at the centennial jubilee in 1768 and at the anniversaries in 1918 and 1968.

³⁸ Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Kansliets arkiv 1666-1930/31, vol. AIIa:137: *Större konsistoriets protokoll* (19-06-1866, § 1).

³⁹ Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Kansliets arkiv 1666-1930/31, vol. AIIa:137: *Större konsistoriets protokoll* (12-09-1866, § 5).

⁴⁰ So far, no major biography has been written about this important scholar. The basic data comes from: Petersens and Malm, *Lunds universitets matrikel 1899* (1898-1999): 154 and Lönnroth, Erik, "Weibull, Martin" in: *Svensk uppslagsbok* (Malmö: Förlagshuset Norden AB 1955), vol. 32: 1271.

⁴¹ Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Kansliets arkiv 1666-1930/31, vol. AIIa:137: *Större konsistoriets protokoll* (03-11-1866, § 3).

⁴² Lönnroth, "Weibull, Martin" (1955): 1271.

Like Ljunggren, Weibull too was a true Scandinavist.⁴³ At the student meeting of 1862, both had been member of the local planning committee at their university. When the Danish participants had arrived in Lund, Weibull had given the official welcome speech. In his address, he had reminded them that Lund, with its medieval cathedral in which several Danish kings had been crowned, was a witness to the fact that "the culture, if not also the nationality, here in the most southern parts of Sweden was once Danish".⁴⁴

The same degree of sympathy for the Danish brother nation was visible in Weibull's jubilee oeuvre. Especially in the first chapters, the author emphasized Lund's role as an important link between Sweden and Denmark. Already in his preface, Weibull reminded his readers that it was thanks to the University of Lund that Sweden benefited scientifically from "the same parts of Scandinavia, that once gave Denmark Tycho Brahe, the Bartholins and the Winslows".⁴⁵ He then continued with a description of the intellectual basis for the future university, which was established by the church during Lund's Danish times. Weibull extolled the virtues of King Christian III of Denmark in particular, because he allowed the church to retain its financial means to carry on its educational work in Lund, in spite of the advance of the protestant Reformation. The actual foundation basis of the new Swedish university is described in the following words:

"These were the institutions of learning, which were founded in this area and which worked in the service of education from that time, when the intellectual cultivation of Scandinavia began, until that fatal day in Roskilde on the 28th of February 1658, when the southern gothic provinces of the peninsula were torn from the governmental and educational context within one branch of the Scandinavian stem to which they had belonged for centuries, only to be grafted into another. These memories are in themselves unforgettable and have never been ungratefully forgotten, least by the university, which was founded on the same foundations as these educational institutions, and which, in the service of a kindred people's spirit, has continued the very same pursuit for education."⁴⁶

The appreciation for the university's Danish roots as well as for its role as a Swedish establishment, is also mirrored in Weibull's portrait of the first rector magnificus, Olof Bagger. Bagger, who was a native Dane, born in Odense in 1607, had been a teacher at the cathedral school in Lund since 1638 and was made a Swedish citizen when Charles X Gustav conquered Scania in 1658. Ten years later he was appointed professor of theology at the newly founded university. As one of the few teachers of the university who chose to remain in Lund when Denmark attacked the city in 1676, Bagger died there the following year, while the war was still

⁴³ And, according to Lönnroth, he would remain one: "[Weibull's] strong patriotic and Scandinavian interests shaped both his scientific and more literary writing; combined with his love of his native Scania, these ideas formed the basis of a new movement within Swedish historical research [...], which focused primarily on the joint Scandinavian development". Lönnroth, "Weibull, Martin" (1955): 1271.

⁴⁴ Hedin, *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* (1863): 63.

⁴⁵ Weibull, Martin, *Lunds universitets historia 1668-1868* (Lund: Universitet 1868), vol. 1: 2.

⁴⁶ Weibull, *Lunds universitets historia 1668-1868* (1868), vol. 1: 7. The word "gothic" was used here as a translation for the Swedish word "götisk", which referred to the southern parts of Sweden, known as "Götaland". At that time, people believed that this name derived from the ancient gothic tribes of the European migration period.

raging. Weibull described the mixed feelings that Bagger might have experienced in that period as follows: "he still remained faithful to his nationality, but also to his oath of allegiance".⁴⁷

Weibull's jubilee history is quite impressive, especially when taken into account the fact that it was a pioneering work⁴⁸ and that it was completed in less than two years. Consisting of two volumes – the first one contains a chronological narrative and the second is made up of short biographies of all its employees from 1668 onwards⁴⁹ – it counted almost 900 pages in quarto format. Although only about a third of the first volume (but almost the entire second one) was finished in time for the festivities in May 1868, the whole work was completed within the year.⁵⁰

The medal debate

Weibull's work was generally appreciated and almost no discussion arose, neither about the content of it, nor about the format or the timing. Something completely different happened with regard to the commemorative medal to be issued on the occasion of the bicentenary. No other topic with regard to the celebrations – neither the overall programme, nor the guest list or even the costs – caused such lengthy discussions within the consistorium as this medal. Every detail of it has been debated – from the inscription to the choice of symbols.⁵¹ The whole issue proves the importance that was given to official and allegorical symbols in that period. The fact that the university itself, in the end, was not allowed to take the final decision with regard to the medal underlines this further. The final decision lay in the hands of the chancellor in Stockholm.

Originally, two different designs for the medal were presented. Both carried the portrait of king Charles XV with the title "Carolus XV Rex Sueciae et Norvegiae" on the obverse, whereas the motives on the reverse varied. The first suggestion showed "a lighthouse on a seashore with a halo of light rays around its lantern" and the inscription "Continuo spargebat lumine terras". The second suggestion was described in much greater detail (thereby indicating the preference of the committee itself): "on a coast, over which the asterism of the plough is seen, a border column, broad but low (cippus), marked with the lesser coat of arms (3 crowns) and the monogram of Charles X Gustav; and Minerva laying down an olive twig on this

⁴⁷ Weibull, *Lunds universitets historia 1668-1868* (1868), vol. 2: 67.

⁴⁸ In the preface to the second volume, Weibull explicitly stated that his work was based mainly on original sources from the university archives and not on previously printed works. With this statement, he referred, at least partly, to the work of Paul Gabriel Ahnfelt (a vicar, writer and Lund University alumnus), who in 1859 had published the first volume of *Lunds universitets historia*, an ambitious attempt to write the history of the university. The first volume consisted of more than 400 pages, but still only dealt with the seventeenth century. No further volumes appeared and Ahnfelt died in 1863. In spite of Weibull's general claim, references to Ahnfelt's work do appear in his 1868 history.

⁴⁹ The second volume was written together with Elof Tegnér, amanuensis at the university library, from 1883 head librarian.

⁵⁰ By way of comparison: on the occasion of the tercentenary in 1968, a four volume history of the university was planned, but although in this case the work was divided over four different writers, only two volumes appeared during the actual jubilee year. The last volume was only published in 1982.

⁵¹ Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Kansliets arkiv 1666-1930/31, vol. AIIa:138: *Större konsistoriets protokoll* (03-04-1867, § 4).

boundary marker". The suggested motto in this case was "Academia Carolina Conciliatrix", i.e. the name that Charles X Gustav had allegedly given to the university that he had planned to found in Skåne, and which also appeared in Ljunggren's invitation, as quoted above. The committee gave the following full meaning to this motto, that it was "the former and present task of the University of Lund – through changing the military border into a cultural border – to reconcile not only the conquered provinces but also their former motherland with the conquest".⁵²

The first version won the acclaim of only one of the professors: Carl Johan Tornberg. The fact that Tornberg was himself a member of the committee probably explains why two suggestions were presented at all, because the first version was quickly dismissed by a vast majority of the professors present. Johan Jacob Borelius, professor of philosophy, noted that this design was "too general" and "equally fitting for any university". Or in other words, the Lundian professors preferred a medal that said something explicitly particular about the University of Lund. The second suggestion obviously did. However, the general preference for this design did not mean that it was accepted without debate.

It is not possible to give a full summary of the debate, but one question about which the views varied greatly was whether the name of Scania's conqueror, Charles X Gustavus, should be given in full or just as monogram on the medal. At least two of the professors, Skarstedt and Lysander, spoke in favour of the former alternative. Ljunggren on the other hand was very much against this: putting the focus too much on the name of the warrior king would lead people's thoughts towards "the conquest of the province" in a way that was not desirable. In his opinion, the references to the king could be omitted completely and replaced with just the Swedish coat of arms on the column. Lysander, in an extremely lengthy contribution to the debate, rejected his colleague's argument on several grounds. First of all, the reference to the warrior king would enhance the contrast between the conquest and the reconciliation. Secondly, historical facts could not be erased, and showing shame over Sweden's proud martial past was a sign of "false Scandinavism". Finally, Lysander believed the Danes to be clever enough to realize that the main emphasis was put on the symbols. Not without irony, Lysander asked whether a Dane ought to be enraged every time he heard the name Roskilde, just because the peace treaty where Denmark lost Scania was signed there?

Picture 3: The final design of the commemorative medal as reproduced on the university's official publication on the jubilee. The artist was Joan Ericsson. Picture courtesy of the archives of Lund University.

Lysander's eloquence and the support of some other professors did not help him. In the end, Ljunggren worked his will and only the coat of arms appeared on the medal. Apart from that, the net result was identical to the second design suggested by the committee. The final

⁵² During the debate that followed a third suggestion appeared, though it received not as much attention as the two other (official) proposals. The idea was to depict a sacred grove, which in Swedish is known as "offerlund", the latter part of the word being identical to the name of the city and as such it was sometimes given as historical explanation of that name.

version of the full inscription on the reverse ran: "ACADEMIA CAROLINA CONCILIATRIX SACRA SÆCULARIA ITERUM CELEBR:MDCCCLXVIII".

Evident and less evident invitees

In February 1868, the planning committee presented a second memorandum to the consistorium.⁵³ This rather brief document – only two handwritten pages – was written and signed by Ljunggren. It began with a list of organisations that ought to receive invitations, starting with the universities of Uppsala, Christiania, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Greifswald and Dorpat. Uppsala was a fellow Swedish university; Helsinki, Greifswald and Dorpat had all formerly been Swedish; the Christiania University of course represented the Norwegian half of the Swedish-Norwegian union of 1814; and thus the university of Copenhagen was the only fellow institution on the guest list that could be considered entirely "foreign". With the exceptions of Greifswald and Dorpat no non-Scandinavian universities were invited.⁵⁴

Apart from representatives of the universities listed above, the suggested invitees included the king, the crown prince (the king's brother, prince Oscar), the chancellor of the university,⁵⁵ the chancellor's secretary, the government minister for ecclesiastical affairs (under which the universities sorted), the commander-in-chief of the military forces in Scania, the county governor of Malmöhus County, and various Swedish academies of arts and sciences.

A striking group among the guests were the representatives from Finland, in particular a delegation of three Finnish students. As mentioned above, out of political reasons hitherto the Finns had had little if any possibility to take part in the Scandinavian movement, prevalent within the students' body of its neighbouring countries. Two Finns who had managed to join the student meeting of 1843 had even been exiled for a year as a punishment for their participation.⁵⁶ As late as in March 1868, Hallbäck had been talking, in his speech to the Nordic universities, about "a thunder in the air over the sea which no longer unites but separates Sweden from the old Finland, 'the home of loyalty', and this thunder even prevents our brotherly greeting to use that frail wire which is the only external connection between the former siblings".⁵⁷ Still in May, the newspapers reported on a struggle that was going on in Finland about who could

⁵³ Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Kansliets arkiv 1666-1930/31, vol. AIIa:139: *Större konsistoriets protokoll* (22-02-1868, § 6).

⁵⁴ According to the report in the official publication issued by the university afterwards, neither Greifswald nor Dorpat seem to have sent any representatives. Surprisingly enough, this published list of attendant guests instead includes an official representative from the University of Rostock (*Lunds universitets andra secularfest maj 1868* (1868): 6).

⁵⁵ The university chancellor was a governmental official, resident in the capital. Originally, the universities of Lund and Uppsala had separate chancellors, but from 1859 onwards these functions were permanently combined in one person. For long periods during the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, the crown prince held this office at one or both of the universities. In 1868, the chancellor was count Gustaf Sparre, a former prime minister of Sweden. At the bicentennial celebration in Lund, he was one of the persons who was offered an honorary doctoral degree by the law faculty.

⁵⁶ Hillerdal and Starfelt, *Akademiska Föreningen 1830-1953* (1953): 58.

⁵⁷ *Lunds Weckoblad* (03-03-1868).

represent the Finnish students. Later that month more positive news arrived, telling that the chancellor of the university of Helsinki – i.e no less a person than the Russian crown prince – had personally granted the Finnish students financial assistance for the journey.⁵⁸ Thanks to this, the jubilee in Lund became one of the first occasions for the students of Helsinki to meet their Nordic fellows, since the incorporation of Finland in the Russian empire. Not surprisingly, the Finns were thus embraced with an extra sense of warmth. Clas Theodor Odhner, chairman of the students' union (and later a well-known professor of history) greeted them, stating that

"You, Finnish brothers, are separated from us by a long distance, which has prevented us from seeing each other more often, but yet you are as close to our hearts that you are to us like old friends from our youth, which one has not met for a long time and which one does not meet again without tears of joy as well as of sadness."⁵⁹

In a poem, Hallbäck – who could be described as a kind of unofficial *poet laureate* of the Lundian students at the time⁶⁰ – stressed the common historical and cultural background shared by the Finns and the Swedes:

*Vi hafva ju samma minnens skörd
Att älska och vårda och vakta,
Och blodets stämma. I häfden hörd,
Den vilja vi ej förakta.*

*Och språket är ju detsamma också,
den älskade svenska tunga,
Och rundtom Bottnen kan man förstå
Hvad våra skalder de sjunga.*⁶¹

We share the same harvest of memories
to love and to guard and to watch over,
and the voice of our blood, heard through history,
we do not wish to scorn.

Our language is also the same,
the beloved Swedish tongue,
and around the Bothnian Bay you can understand
what our poets are singing.

However, the most notable person among the Finnish guest was not one of the students, yet one of the professors from Helsinki, the well-known writer and historian Zacharias Topelius.

⁵⁸ *Lunds Weckoblad* (05-05-1868 and 12-05-1868).

⁵⁹ The full speech is printed in Weibull, Martin and Otto Borchsenius (eds.), *Ydun – Nordisk studentkalender 1870* (Copenhagen: Gad 1869): III.

⁶⁰ See for example Nils Flensburg's essay on Hallbäck in: *Under Lundagårds kronor – ny samling* (Lund: Gleerups Förlag 1921): 423ff.

⁶¹ *Lunds universitets andra secularfest maj 1868* (1868): vol. 1, 51.

Though overwhelmingly greeted and honoured by the royalty present at the jubilee as well as by the Scanian nobility, Topelius himself seems to have been most profoundly struck by the richness and beauty of the landscape surrounding Lund – perhaps not surprisingly for the inhabitant of a country which had recently endured one of its gravest years of bad crop and famine.⁶²

The festivities

Like most of the other guests, Topelius was somewhat overwhelmed by the extensive day-to-day programme of the festivities from the 27th to the 29th of May. The main part of it was suggested by the organising committee in the memorandum mentioned above, together with the guest list. Only little discussion arose about the programme and with a few slight changes and additions it was accepted (including the authority for the committee to make changes in the programme as a result of circumstances outside of its control) and sent to the chancellor for final approval.

Picture 4: A contemporary illustration from the festivities in Lund published in the Danish magazine *Illustrerte Tidene*. The picture shows rector Ljunggren answering the greetings of the invited guests. At the left of the scene a student is seen holding the gonfalone of 1862. According to the inscription at the bottom of this copy of the picture, it has once belonged to Martin Weibull. Picture courtesy of the archives of *Akademiska Föreningen*.

After an early salute, the official programme opened on Wednesday the 27th of May with a morning service in the cathedral. This was followed at lunchtime by the "great procession" in which all the invited guests (apart from the royals), the teachers of the university, various representatives of the city, alumni of the university, and finally the students walked through the park of Lundagård again to the cathedral. After the arrival of the king and prince Oscar, a mixed choir of 100 voices performed a cantata, written for the occasion, followed by a lengthy array of short speeches, mainly consisting of greetings from the universities and other learned institutions present. After the ceremony in the cathedral, the various parts of the procession split up for a meal. The most important guests were received in the house of the bishop, whereas the students and their guest had lunch at the town hall. At the same time, 500 poor people of the city were also invited for lunch thanks to a subscription among the wealthier inhabitants. During the afternoon, a military orchestra provided open air music, and finally, at 9 o' clock in the evening, the university gave a ball for 800 people – including the royal guests – in the grand hall of *Akademiska Föreningen*.

After yet another morning salute, on Thursday the promotions of the faculties of theology and law were scheduled, both in the cathedral and separated only by some instrumental music. The two ceremonies were closed by a prayer of the bishop of Linköping, Ebbe Gustaf Bring, who earlier had been professor at the university. After this part of the jubilee, the king had to leave the festivities because his daughter was to undergo her confirmation. His younger

⁶² Matti Klinge has devoted a chapter to Topelius' visit to Lund in his book *Idyll och hot: Zacharias Topelius – hans politik och idéer* (Stockholm: Atlantis 2000): 324. I am grateful to Klinge for drawing my attention to this chapter.

brother Oscar stayed in Lund as the only royal representative. A banquet for 200 people at *Akademiska Föreningen* (with many official toasts) closed the official programme of the day. Although the banquet took place in a building owned by the students, it was, as the ball of the previous evening, organised by the university. The festivities that took place in the same building on Thursday evening were however arranged by the students themselves, containing several speeches, poems and songs. During this evening, a number of people were inaugurated as honorary members of *Akademiska Föreningen*, among them two prominent figures of the Scandinavian movement, viz. Strandberg and Ploug.⁶³

The next day passed off in a very similar way as the previous one, but now the faculties of medicine and arts were on. The highlight of the latter was the award of an honorary doctorate to crown prince Oscar. The prayer was held by professor Linder, one of the members of the jubilee committee, dean of the faculty of arts and also a clergyman. In the afternoon a "promotional meal" was served at *Akademiska Föreningen*, followed by an open-air banquet in the park of Lundagård with some 8000 participants. In the evening yet another ball at *Akademiska Föreningen* concluded the three-day programme.

Judging from reports in the press, the overall course of the jubilee was regarded a success. *Lunds Weckoblad* devoted a large percentage of its issues during and after the festivities to the celebration of the university. In a lengthy and detailed report of the last two days of the programme, the journalist closed his article by excusing himself for the "meagreness" of his account:

"[...] but to our excuse may be noted what we have written already in the Thursday issue, which is that it has been impossible not to get dragged along with the stream of these both serious and merry festivities, and thus a few days of calming down from these joyous pleasures will be necessary before a proper arrangement of the pictures of them can be made."⁶⁴

Picture 5: Scene from the ball given in the grand hall of *Akademiska Föreningen* on Wednesday evening as captured by the Swedish magazine *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*. Duke Oscar, the prince hereditary can be seen in the foreground a bit to right. Picture courtesy of the archives of *Akademiska Föreningen*.

The Scandinavianist character of the promotions and the rhetoric

Much of the enthusiasm derived from the large-scale, ceremonial promotions, if only because until the first half of the twentieth century this kind of promotions was taking place on a very irregular basis. Indeed, the faculty of arts, being the largest of the university, arranged promotions

⁶³ Although eight people were honoured in this way, according to Weibull, only Strandberg's and Ploug's names were deemed important enough to be mentioned in his account of the festivities in the calendar *Ydun*. Cf. Weibull and Borchsenius (eds.), *Ydun – Nordisk studentkalender 1870* (1869).

⁶⁴ *Lunds Weckoblad* (30-05-1868).

fairly regularly,⁶⁵ but such ceremonies were rare within the smaller faculties. At the faculty of law only one doctor was created during the half century preceding 1868.⁶⁶ The faculty of medicine even did not organise any promotion during the same period. The faculty of theology at its turn was not allowed to decide for itself whether promotions should be arranged, since a doctoral degree in theology was not awarded by the faculty, but by the king until well into the twentieth century. And when these degrees were awarded, the ceremony almost always took place at the university in the archdiocese of Uppsala, no matter what *alma mater* the recipient hailed from. Rare exceptions did exist, but the last doctoral degree in theology that was awarded in Lund before 1868, dated from as early as 1796.⁶⁷

Against this background, the bicentennial promotions were of course something extraordinary. All in all 49 honorary doctors and 41 "ordinary" doctors were created during the four ceremonies.⁶⁸ The notable overweight of honorary laureates confirms the impression of the promotions as part of an exceptional event, rather than an ordinary academic ceremony. The choice of the honorary doctors once more reflected the "Scandinavist touch" of the entire jubilee. Apart from the faculty of theology, which was not allowed to award honorary degrees to foreigners, all other faculties honoured Swedish, Norwegians and Danish citizens as *doctores honoris causa*. It was however the faculty of arts (out of which all the members of the jubilee committee came) that succeeded in covering all the Nordic countries. Not only did the faculty have a Finn on its list – Frans Ludvig Schauman – but one of the Danish recipients – Konrad Gislason – was actually born in Iceland.⁶⁹

Faculty	Swedes	Norwegians	Danes	Finns
Theology	26	0	0	0
Law	12	4	2	0
Medicine	6	5	3	0
Arts	5 ⁷⁰	3	4	1
Total	49	12	9	1

Chart 1: The number of *doctores honoris causa* for each faculty and country, awarded at the bicentenary of Lund University in 1868.

The fact that the Norwegians came second to the Swedes themselves is hardly surprising, given the political union between the two countries, but the fact that the Danes were only a few heads fewer speaks clearly of the university's wish to mark its closeness to the local

⁶⁵ Between 1820 and 1868, promotions were arranged every third year. Cf. Lund, Universitetsarkiv / University archives: Filosofiska fakultetens arkiv 1668-1956: *Handlingar rörande promotioner, vol FII:2-3*.

⁶⁶ Gierow, *Lunds universitets historia, III. 1790-1867* (1971): 261.

⁶⁷ Gierow, *Lunds universitets historia, III. 1790-1867* (1971): 185.

⁶⁸ The faculties of theology and law did not explicitly use the words *doctor honoris causa*, but from the lists of recipients it is still very evident that these persons did indeed receive their degree as an honour and not after defending a doctoral thesis.

⁶⁹ The lists of the *doctores honoris causa* are included in *Lunds universitets andra secularfest maj 1868* (1868).

⁷⁰ One of the "Swedish" recipients – inventor and mechanical engineer John Ericsson – was actually a citizen of the United States since 1848.

western neighbour. And at least one of the persons chosen to receive these honorary laurels had explicit connections to the Scandinavist movement, viz. Strandberg, who was hereby honoured a second time during the festivities.

A similar Scandinavist interpretation dominated the rhetoric used during the jubilee. As rector magnificus, Ljunggren was obviously one of the main speakers on the opening day of the celebration.⁷¹ Although the theme for his opening speech – the role of science, arts and knowledge within society – did not have an evident Scandinavist character (in contrast to the subject of his invitation essay), nevertheless Ljunggren made use of the opportunity by opening his speech with a retrospective on the foundation years of the university. Hereby, he did not focus on the Swedish origins of the university as a result of the military conquest of Scania, but instead he painted a picture full of the names of Danish kings, queens and bishops of the middle ages – from Valdemar the Great to Margaret I. The fact that the ceremony took place in the old cathedral of Lund also created the right atmosphere for doing so. As Weibull had attempted in the first chapter of his jubilee history, Ljunggren made clear in this way that the University of Lund – although being a Swedish university – was well aware of its Danish origin.

A large number of the representatives of the visiting universities enhanced this Scandinavist approach in their official greetings during the opening ceremony. The rector of the University of Copenhagen, Niels Ludvig Westergaard, was the first representative of another Scandinavian university to speak. He too related his own Danish origin to Lund's past, describing it as something that filled a Dane with memories of joy as well as of sorrow. But then he turned to the subject of the *academia conciliatrix*; to the fact that the University of Lund aimed to be a university of reconciliation and unity. This, Westergaard said, was more than accomplished. The University of Lund had given this idea definitely "a richer content and a greater goal". After referring to Tegnér's crowning of Oehlenschläger with a laurel wreath in 1829 and the famous words that "the time of division and discord is over", Westergaard looked into the future and declared it as his firm belief and wish that the University of Lund would "continue in the same spirit, with power and eagerness to contribute its part to the grand and sacred value of science: to gather all the free kindred peoples of the North in a mutual and united work, rich of fruits and glory, both for each people itself and for all of them in unison".⁷²

The representative from the University of Christiania, professor Fredrik Brandt, also made the intellectual collaboration over national boundaries into one of the themes of his speech. However, he tended to give it an even wider scope than the interaction between the Scandinavian countries. "Science", he declared, "is cosmopolitan". Still, he also underlined the "common national spirit", which in particular linked the Norwegian and Swedish universities together, and which made it one of the tasks of these universities to strengthen this bond "through the power of knowledge".⁷³

The accounts of these two official speeches demonstrate fairly clear that the Nordic guests had grasped the message that Ljunggren and his colleagues had wished to send in connection with the celebration, although this message was probably more deeply appreciated by the Danish guests, than by their Norwegian colleagues. Unfortunately, professor Lorenz Leonard

⁷¹ The speech is reprinted in full as supplement to *Lunds universitets andra secularfest maj 1868* (1868).

⁷² *Lunds universitets andra secularfest maj 1868* (1868): 15.

⁷³ *Lunds universitets andra secularfest maj 1868* (1868): 15f.

Lindelöf's speech on behalf of the Finnish delegation is not included in the university's official publication of the jubilee.

With regard to these official addresses it is always difficult to weigh the degree of politeness and the serious engagements for increasing Nordic cooperation against each other. Often, the messages sent out by the students give a much opener and fairer picture of the prevailing feelings and relationships. The visitors from the fellow Nordic countries were greeted by the historian Odhner. Together with his warm words to the "Finnish brothers", quoted above, he expressed his sense of affinity for the Danes and the Norwegians. To the former, "our closest neighbours and companions", Odhner declared that he hoped that they would, by now, see the loss of Scania and the resulting foundation of Lund University "no longer as a loss for your country, but rather as a gain, also for you through the founding of a nursery-garden for Nordic culture." Towards the Norwegians ("the youth of manly spirit, powerful will and strong national interests"), he expressed his hope that they and the Swedes would go into a "living companionship" to a further extent, not being satisfied with watching each other "over the mountains".⁷⁴

Student representatives from all the three countries present answered this welcome greeting. Vilhelm Rode spoke for the Danes, admitting that they had not been able to arrive "with all the attributes of youth", given the "grief of heart that Denmark had suffered" (in casu the war of 1864), but that their greeting still was heartfelt. Concerning the reason for the visit of the Danish students, Rode declared that "we Danes can look back with the University of Lund as well as we can look forwards with it; it was Lund, its poets, its students, its singers, who more than anyone else taught Sweden to know and to love Denmark".⁷⁵ The Finnish representative, Valfrid Alftan, stressed how Sweden had been Finland's natural link "to the culture of the occident" and praised the common memories that Swedes and Finns had of Charles XII ("the last Viking of the North") and of "the spiritual dawn that was lit by the throne of Gustavus III". He also underlined that the increasing fennicization of Finnish society should not be regarded as a renunciation of its Swedish heritage, but as the result of the wish of the learned higher classes to include the Finnish-speaking majority within its sphere of western civilization.⁷⁶

Finally, Frits Hansen spoke on behalf of the students from Christiania. He admitted that if Sweden had hoped to gain a new Finland through the union with Norway, they had reason to be disappointed. Whereas the inhabitants of Sweden and Finland had been one people, Norwegians and Swedes were two different peoples. But still, they were kindred peoples, siblings, and once the Swedes would have learned to accept the differences that such a relationship brought with it, Hansen saw a future where they would succeed to appreciate "the fraternal relationship" with "an independent brotherly people". And it was primarily among the Swedish students that the speaker had so far seen the best attempts to understand and sympathize with this Norwegian ambition.⁷⁷

The subject of kinship, brotherhood and united goals was thus brought up in many of the speeches. At the same time, most of the speakers emphasized that students and academics

⁷⁴ Weibull and Borchsenius (eds.), *Ydun – Nordisk studentkalender 1870* (1869): IV.

⁷⁵ Weibull and Borchsenius (eds.), *Ydun – Nordisk studentkalender 1870* (1869): V.

⁷⁶ Weibull and Borchsenius (eds.), *Ydun – Nordisk studentkalender 1870* (1869): VII.

⁷⁷ Weibull and Borchsenius (eds.), *Ydun – Nordisk studentkalender 1870* (1869): IX.

in general had a particular part to play within this context. Nevertheless, the degree of Scandinavist enthusiasm clearly varied from country to country, being most evident among the local Swedish and the Danish representatives, whereas the Norwegians and Finns expressed themselves a bit more carefully.

The aftermath

Like the local reporter from *Lunds Weckoblad*, most of the participants at the three days of academic celebrations probably needed "a few days of calming down" afterwards. The bicentenary was definitely an event that the people and scholars of Lund and its environs had not experienced for decades. But did something more long-lasting result out of it?

At least from a Scandinavist viewpoint in general and from a Danish-Swedish perspective in particular the answer is certainly yes. First of all, the hiatus in the regular exchange of Scandinavian students that had followed the war of 1864 now came to an end. The year after the jubilee in Lund the student meeting, which had been planned for 1867, but had been cancelled, was finally arranged, this time in Christiania.⁷⁸ Although this initiative formally came from the Norwegian students, the revival of the student meeting tradition would most probably not have occurred, at least not that soon, if the celebrations in Lund had not encouraged the renewed contacts between the Nordic students.

The student meeting of 1869 in turn resulted in a couple of spin-off projects. One of them was the publication of a Scandinavian literary calendar, called *Ydun*. The initiative came from Lund and was liked by the Danes who chose Otto Borchsenius as one of the two editors of the publication, the other one being no one else than the jubilee historian Weibull (who himself also made a rare appearance as a poet). Moreover, Weibull was not the only familiar name involved in the editing of this calendar: once more Ploug appeared on the list as well. Ploug was not only responsible for the title of the publication – the name of one of the ancient Norse goddesses – but also wrote the opening poem of the first issue.⁷⁹

Picture 6: Front page of the Danish-Swedish calendar *Ydun* which was published in 1869 as a result of the renewed contacts between the Scandinavian students. Picture courtesy of the archives of *Akademiska Föreningen*.

Ydun was evidently intended as an annual publication, but in the end only one volume appeared. Another Swedish-Danish initiative taken in connection with the student meeting of 1869 (and once again with Weibull and Ploug among the initiators), proved to be more lasting. A foundation was established, which awarded scholarships to students from Lund and Copenhagen who wished to study at a university in another Nordic country. The initial financial basis of the foundation was made up of money collected at a concert given by the student choirs from the two cities, just before leaving together for Norway.⁸⁰ The fund was

⁷⁸ Cf. *Studentmötet i Kristiania 1869* (Lund 1871).

⁷⁹ Weibull and Borchsenius (eds.), *Ydun – Nordiske studentkalender 1870* (1869): 1.

⁸⁰ *Studentmötet i Kristiania 1869* (1871): 13.

jointly administrated by *Studenterforeningen* in Copenhagen and *Academiska Föreningen* in Lund, and when a name had to be found for the scholarships, the founders picked the same two representatives of those cities that Ljunggren had chosen for his jubilee invitation. Thus the name became the Oehlschläger-Tegnér scholarships. In 1872 they were presented for the first time.⁸¹

Unlike the literary calendar *Ydun*, the Oehlschläger-Tegnér scholarships still exist today, and thus the fund – which has grown to considerable size – still gives the representatives from the two university cities within the board a reason to meet each other twice a year. And through practical financial means it endorses a continuous exchange of students between the Scandinavian universities. On a smaller scale, this can be seen as a way of recruiting the "new fighters" to the "workshops" Hallbäck talked about when speaking of the Nordic universities in 1868.

As a point of trivia, it could be noted that the year of the university's bicentenary was also the year of the foundation of the society "CC". This was the first Lundian student fraternal society of the semi-parodic kind that had already flourished in Uppsala for more than half a century, often mocking the rituals of freemasonry and celebrating – in the words of Luther – "Wein, Weib and Gesang".⁸² Originally centred around a small circle of members of the Smålandian Nation, CC soon grew to include many prominent characters at the university. From 1873 onwards however, it also became customary to induct a number of Danish "brothers" into the society.⁸³ This tradition has maintained until today and the exchange of speeches celebrating Denmark between representatives for the Swedish and Danish brothers is a long-established part of CC's ritual. Though this Swedish-Danish fraternization is of course of a much lighter nature than the continuation of the student meetings and the Oehlschläger-Tegnér scholarships, it is still a surviving symbol of the re-established connection between academics in Lund and Copenhagen after 1868.

One hundred years after Weibull had written his university history, Lund University celebrated its tercentenary, partly by the publication of a follow-up to Weibull's work. This time, the official history consisted of four massive volumes, the last of which was written by a grandson of Martin, the historian Jörgen Weibull. His task was to relate the last hundred years, and thus his obvious starting-point was a description of the festivities in 1868. Interestingly enough, the younger Weibull gives little if any consideration to the clear "Scandinavist" symbols and messages at the festivities. Instead, he focuses on the clash between younger and older views on the role of science that were expressed in the various speeches, in particular in these of Ljunggren and the conservative bishop of Lund, Wilhelm Flensburg, respectively. The bishop and the professor, wrote Weibull, represented "widely differing points of view: Flensburg the past, when education and research were bound in the straightjacket of tradition and religion; Ljunggren the future, the upcoming century with its demands for a science without restrictions, and education on a

⁸¹ For a general overview of the history of this scholarship foundation, see Svensson, John, *Oehlschläger-Tegnér's stipendiefond hundra år 1872-1972* (Malmö: Allhem 1972).

⁸² For an overview of this kind of fraternities in Uppsala, see Lundin, Tom, *Bland Tunguser, Turkar och Trattar - Studentkottierier och studentordenssällskap i 1800-talets Uppsala* (Universitets- och Studenthistoriska sällskapets i Uppsala skriftserie 4) (Stockholm: Atlantis 2009).

⁸³ *CC 1868-1893 - Minnesskrift utgifven med anledning af Sällskapet CC:s tjugofemårsfest* (Lund: Berlingska 1894): passim.

scientific basis".⁸⁴ These conflicting credos are definitely also to be found in the speeches of Ljunggren and Flensburg during the festivities, but it was not the main message that the university wanted to spread on the occasion of the bicentenary, neither was it perceived as such by the Scandinavian guests. The "Scandinavian message" of the event is hardly to get around.

A tentative explanation for Weibull's lack of interest in this aspect might be found in his personal ideology as well as in the time in which he was writing. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw an increasing tendency towards political interference within the sphere of Swedish universities. To a political liberal like Jörgen Weibull (apart from his academic career, Weibull was also an active member of the Swedish liberal party *Folkpartiet*, and was even briefly one of its members of parliament in 1988), writing under these circumstances and during the politically turbulent period following 1968, Ljunggren's defence of free and unbound science was probably more interesting than putting the stress on Scandinavian fellowship.

The original title suggested for this chapter was "1868: A low point in Scandinavian cooperation". However, it soon became obvious that this would not be a fair way of describing the Lundian jubilee of 1868. A low point had indeed followed the Second Schleswig war as far as the Scandinavian movement was concerned, but it seems that the bicentenary of Lund University as such should be seen not as the low point but rather as a turning point or even a rebirth for the exchange between the Nordic universities in general and between Lund and Copenhagen in particular.

⁸⁴ Weibull, Jörgen, *Lunds universitets historia, IV. 1868-1968* (Lund: Gleerup 1968): 6.