

Italian dreams, Roman longings

Vilhelm Lundström and the first Swedish philological-archaeological course in Rome, 1909

Abstract*

In Sweden, the future of Classical Philology and the study of the ancient past remain uncertain a century after the first Swedish university course in Rome, led by Vilhelm Lundström, Professor of Latin at Gothenburg, and the simultaneous establishment of the study of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History in Swedish academia in 1909. The institutionalisation of the Swedish scholarly presence in Rome materialised with the establishment of the Swedish Institute in Rome (SIR) in 1925, and its inauguration the following year—partly as a result of Lundström's pioneering initiative. The present article discusses the implications of Lundström's course in Rome as well as in Sweden, and sheds light on his neohumanist vision of an integrated study of antiquity; with Classical Archaeology and Ancient History as integral elements of Classical Philology. This vision lay abandoned throughout the twentieth century, but deserves to be taken into account when discussing how philology relates to archaeology, or considering the study of antiquity and the classical tradition in a modern comprehensive context of humanities in academia.

“Du har inte varit i Italien, du har icke passerat Alpena, du har icke med längtande blickar skådat ut öfver Medelhafvet; men du har mången gång drömt om Italiens blåa himmel, du har vid fantasiens hand lustvandrat bland myrten och oranger”.
“Carlino” (Carl Rupert Nyblom), 1864.¹

Eight students departed from Gothenburg on March 24, 1909 for Rome, led by Vilhelm Lundström (1869–1940);

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¹ “You have not been in Italy, you have not crossed the Alps, you have not longingly gazed out over the Mediterranean; but you have often dreamt of the blue Italian sky, you have strolled in your imagination among myrtle and orange groves”. Quote from *Bilder från Italien tecknade af Carlino* (Carl Rupert Nyblom), Upsala 1864.

Professor of Latin at Gothenburg (*Fig. 1*).² Sixteen years later at the constituting meeting for the Swedish Institute in Rome, held on May 8, 1925 at the Royal Palace in Stockholm, the board of the new Swedish Institute decided to send a telegraphic message to Lundström, acknowledging his contributions to the establishment of the Institute through his pedagogical activities in Rome in 1909.³

A few years later Axel Boëthius (1889–1969), the first director of the Swedish Institute, acknowledged the twentieth anniversary of the 1909 course: “Professor Lundström's course was a pioneering enterprise for Sweden [...] in the year 1929 the idea spontaneously occurred that March 24 would be a day of remembrance for Swedish students in the eternal city”.⁴ This took place in the form of a ceremony at the Swedish Institute, documented in the institute guestbooks.⁵ King Carl XVI Gustaf incidentally visited the Institute on the same

² Lundström presented a vivid description of the journey and the course in *Göteborgs högskolas årskrift* 1910 (Lundström 1910a, also published separately as Lundström 1911). The course participants were Harry Armini, John P. Boström, Sophie Carlander, Einar Engström, Axel W. Persson, Olof Rydholm, Gunnar C:son Tingdahl and the Finnish student Einar Pontán (Lundström 1910a, X–XI). Vilhelm Lundström's wife Enni also took part in the voyage. Enni Lundström wrote accounts of the journey and the course activities for the Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* (not consulted for the present article); in October 1909 she published an edition of the Italian journey of Olof Celsius in the seventeenth century; a work with which she probably was occupied during the sojourn in Rome (Lundström 1909).

³ “[...] med anledning av den verksamhet i samma riktning, som han utfört genom den av honom ledda arkeologiska kursen i Rom 1909”. SIR board meeting minutes, May 8, 1925, §20. See SIR board meeting minutes, preserved at the Swedish Institute. Cf. *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, I:1; *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, I:5; and *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III.B.1.

⁴ “Professor Lundströms kurs var för Sveriges del ett pionjärverk [och] år 1929 uppstod spontant tanken, att 24 mars vore en dag att högtidlighålla för svenska studenter i den eviga staden”. Boëthius 1929, 62.

⁵ Cf. the guestbook of the Swedish Institute in Rome for the year 1927, preserved at the Institute.

date in 2009, exactly one hundred years after the Swedish departure from Gothenburg. However, echoes of Lundström's achievements have faded somewhat today.

Vilhelm Lundström was born in Sigtuna in 1869. He studied Latin at Uppsala University, defended his PhD there and became a *docent* in 1893. Lundström assumed the newly formed chair in Latin in Gothenburg in 1907, where he remained until 1936 (Fig. 2). He was also active in the world of newspapers and politics; as editor-in-chief of the conservative *Göteborgs Aftonblad* 1901–1906, and as a member of parliament; a representative of the conservatives in Gothenburg 1912–1914. Lundström left his position as editor of *Göteborgs Aftonblad* as his positive attitude towards the universal right to vote did not sit well with the newspaper. He was one of the founders of the national assembly for the preservation of “Swedishness” abroad (*Riksföreningen för svenskhetens bevarande i utlandet*) 1908, and initiated several other organisations and periodicals (for example the Swedish philological review *Eranos* in 1896).⁶

Lundström travelled to Italy regularly between 1894 and 1913, after which he focused mainly on his activities in Sweden. He was not to return to Rome until 1932, when he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Rome (*La Sapienza*).⁷ Lundström's two main spheres of interest were Swedishness and Italy, ancient and modern. He spent his entire professional life striving to link these two geographic and cultural poles. A typical expression of his dedication to this cause was that his heart “beat faster as soon as he came across Swedes in Italy”.⁸

Lundström's promotion of all things Swedish and Italian also resulted in a historical survey of Swedes in Italy 1650–1850,⁹ in which he described the innate nostalgia for the south in true Nordic spirit—a romanticism that had, according to Lundström, been replaced by a more “realistic” attitude after 1850. Lundström described his own characteristic romanticism—one that encompassed the present and the past, nature and monuments, longing and dreams—in his ‘Svensk



Fig. 1. Vilhelm Lundström (third from left) with his students on the Palatine, May 26, 1909; from left to right Persson, Engström, Armini, Rydholm, Carlander, Pontán, Boström and Tingdal. From Armini 1944, 18.

⁶ For Lundström's teaching legacy at Gothenburg 1907–1936, cf. Armini 1936. Biographical notes regarding Lundström can be found in Boëthius 1971, Kleberg 1971, Lundström 1971, Bogårde 1992, Kummel 1994, and Limberg 2008, 24–28. Quoting former SIR director Carl Nylander (Nylander 2010, 18–19): “[...] ‘På den gamla Mälarstadens klassiska mark, bland dess grå ruiner och dess i min barndom ännu friskt levande sägner växte hos pilten kärleken till de två föremål, som skulle fylla hans liv: forntiden och fosterlandet.’ Så skriver 1930 mot slutet av sitt liv en annan ‘romersk’ Sigtunabo, Vilhelm Lundström, svärmisk professor i latin i Göteborg som genom sin berömda Romkurs 1909 kom att spela en pionjärroll i den svenska antikvetenskapen. Lundström, ‘svenskhetens hövding’ var storsvensk, danskhatare och allmänt anti-skandinavisk, medgav endast det svenska och latin som vetenskapligt språk, kultiverade ivrigt Lützen-minnet och firade 40-årig iförd svensk studentmössa Vallborg på en romersk trattoria. För hans sentida efterföljare skulle allt bli annorlunda.”

⁷ Boëthius 1971, 22.

⁸ “[...] hans hjärta slog dubbla slag, så fort han stötte på svenskar i Italien”; Boëthius 1971, 24–25. Lundström's belief in a more or less self-evident link between the formation legacy of classical studies and contemporary Swedish culture was widespread at the time. Cf. for example Bergstedt 1916, 7: “Vår skolundervisning, liksom hela vår kultur, är till sitt ursprung humanistisk. Dess tungomål var från början latin. [...] Alltså – den som tror, att det klassiska språkens avlägsnande skall göra den svenska skolan nationell, han känner icke roten och stammen av den svenska bildningen”.

⁹ Lundström 1932. The article was published in the review *Educazione Fascista*, which does not imply that Lundström sympathised with the Fascist regime. There are no indications of such sympathies in any of Lundström's letters, notes or other writings consulted by the authors of the present article. For Lundström and the promotion of “Swedishness”, see, for example, Nyberg *et al.* 1971, Bogårde 1992 and Kummel 1994.



Fig. 2. Vilhelm Lundström (1869–1940). Portrait by Carl Oscar Borg. Courtesy of the University of Gothenburg.

Romlängtan och Fontana di Trevi' from 1927: "The Romantic period gave us the wonderful gift of atmosphere [*stämning*], taught us the beauty of the mountains and the light, captured our senses with the attraction of ruins, Mediaeval remains and the past in general [...] and Italy, above all Rome, offered all of this at once".¹⁰

The future of Classical Philology and the study of the ancient past in Sweden remain uncertain a century after the first Swedish course in Rome. The present article discusses the centenary of that first course which coincided with the establishment of the study of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History in Swedish academia in 1909, and discusses future perspectives and structures of Classical Studies in Sweden. Why did Lundström's course take place in 1909 specifically? What were its implications locally in Rome as well as in Sweden?

Lundström's course related to the tradition of cultural pilgrimages to Italy since the formative Grand Tour-travels during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹¹ Italy (and the Mediterranean in general) became focal points of the search for common roots and higher forms of culture. At the same time, antiquity was used as a mirror image for cultural self-reflection.

As one travelled to Italy to see and confirm what one had already seen, in search of a past dream, so the pilgrim could be struck by a certain disappointment when met by the reality of contemporary Italy which did not correspond to the sought-after image of unspoiled origins. The perceived solution to this problem was to seek this preconceived image in the ancient world, reflecting an ambivalence which has imbued the study of Classics and antiquity with a certain degree of flexibility and ambiguity.

Lundström often referred to "cultivation" (*odling*), a recurring concept that is hard to pinpoint; it remains an abstraction serving multiple purposes depending on the context, regardless of whether it refers to Nordic or Mediterranean cultures. The idea of making the "cultivation of antiquity" available through formation ideals and value-systems had been transmitted since the Renaissance, and witnessed a rebirth with late eighteenth century Neohumanism and nineteenth century Romanticism. Vilhelm Lundström was particularly influenced by the romantic vein of this tradition. For him, Italy was the habitat of all longing: "Everyone who has felt the northerner's yearning for Italy knows what the senses

dreamed and hope painted".¹² In Italy the northerner seeks the sensation of "historical coherence which is so infinitely lacking in our political and especially spiritual cultivation at home", according to Lundström.¹³

At the same time Lundström was disillusioned by contemporary Italian political life and the constant strikes: "social reason struggles to break through in the extreme North and South".¹⁴ It is possible to find several examples of discontent within the swiftly emerging modernism and industrialisation in the young Italian nation, where the *tramway* clattered on the streets in the rapidly expanding city of Rome, disrupting the pastoral experience. Lundström was most likely aware of the Italian futurist manifesto published in February 1909 (in Paris), but as it challenged his conservative classical values he probably chose not to confront it, although he may well have met Filippo Tommaso Marinetti during his many visits to Caffè Aragno on Via del Corso.¹⁵

The futurists wanted to achieve a strong, free Italy, "no longer weighed down by its great past [...] turned towards its great future", by literally obliterating libraries, museums and academies and the like. The futurist movement turned against the stumbling block of nostalgia in its traditionally romantic form, opposing it through the symbolic image of moonlight in the manifesto *Uccidiamo il chiaro di luna!* (April 1909). Another manifesto dating from February 1910 stated that the movement wanted to combat the cult of the past, with a rising against the admiration of "old paintings, old statues, old objects and the enthusiasm for all that is [...] corroded by time".¹⁶

¹⁰ "Romantiken gav oss stämningens underbara gåva, lärde oss bergens och dagrarnas skönhet, fångslade vårt sinne med ruinernas, medeltidsminnenas, över huvud det förgångnas tjusning [...] och Italien, främst Rom, bjöd allt detta i förening"; Lundström 1927, 41.

¹¹ For the Grand Tour and antiquarian pilgrimage, see, for example, Champ 2000, Del Gesso 2010, Gardiner & Nichols 1986, and Hudson 1993. Cf. Grazia Lolla 2002, Scherer & Morey 1955 and Schnapp 2002.

¹² "Hvad sinnet drömde och hoppet målade, det vet hvar och en, som i sitt eget hjärta känt nordbons längtan till Italien"; Lundström 1910b, 168. For "cultivation" (*odling*), cf. also Lundström 1900, 5: "[...] genom antikens återfinnande kunde i humanismens dagar en ny västeuropeisk odling uppblomma, under århundraden har antiken varit och skall ännu i oöfverskådlig framtid blifva en folkens och utvecklingens spegel, "kunskapens träd på gott och ondt". Utforskningen af denna antika kulturvärld blef därför en af det västeuropeiska framstegsarbetet förnämsta uppgifter; så är den klassiska filologien såsom systematiskt drifven vetenskap årsbarn med den nya tidens odling samt på samma gång en af dess kraftigaste befordrare och en af dess mognaste frukter".

¹³ "[...] historiskt sammanhang [...] som så oändligt tryter både vårt politiska och vårt speciellt andliga odlingslif där hemma". Lundström 1910b, 179.

¹⁴ "[...] socialt förstånd har svårt att slå igenom i yttersta norden och södern"; Lundström 1910b, 180.

¹⁵ For Caffè Aragno and its regular patron Marinetti, see, for example, Nosari 1924. Lundström described Aragno as "the café which is the centre of Rome and thus of the world" ("kaffehuset som är Roms och alltså världens medelpunkt", in Lundström 1910b, 213); this "bar mondiale" was a favourite spot for the participants in the 1909 course (Armini 1944, 19).

¹⁶ Bonino 2009, 67. For futurism, see, for example, also d'Orsi 2009, Conversi 2009, and Martin 2005, 6–25.

In October 1908, Lundström applied for permission from the board of the University of Gothenburg (then *Göteborgs högskola*) to locate his teaching in Rome in April and May 1909. The primary incentive for this proposal arose from changes which followed the Swedish Education Reform (*läroverksreformen*) from 1904, when the study of Latin was moved to Upper Secondary level and the number of teaching hours was cut back. At the same time teachers of Latin were requested to incorporate history, archaeology, literature and art (*realia*) to a much greater extent than had previously been the case. The study of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History was not established as a field of study in its own right in the Swedish academic system until 1909. Thus, the target group for Lundström's course that year was future teachers of Classics, above all Latin, who were to be given the opportunity to "step on ancient soil and draw strength for their work from it".¹⁷

The simultaneous institutionalisation of the study of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History in Sweden (*Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia*) was partly the result of an increased specialisation in the field of Classical Archaeology, influenced by the German configuration of the discipline (*Altertumswissenschaft*), rather than the Anglo-Saxon "Classics" paradigm. This new field in the Swedish system had, to a certain extent, previously been covered by the *realia* section of the philological syllabi, focusing on the study of "antiquities" and historical context.¹⁸

Lundström was, however, of the opinion that these aspects should remain integrated with philology. He felt that direct contact with the ancient sources and monuments was of decisive importance to the activities of the Classical philologist. Classical Archaeology and Ancient History were thus to be regarded as auxiliary subjects in relation to Classical Philology, as he had discussed as early as 1898.¹⁹ A few years later, when commenting on science in general and the new field of Byzantine philology in particular, Lundström presented the image of scholarship as a vast river—enriched by

specialised disciplines through tributaries, expanding it and making it clearer, rather than as isolated rivulets of their own. This was typical of Lundström's comprehensive view of philology and Classical Studies.²⁰ The 1909 course thus became an active attempt to claim aspects of the sphere of *realia* for philology; a bold counter-move to the emergence of the new field of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History (*Klassisk fornkunskap*).

Lundström advocated that the course in Rome should be repeated every third or fourth year—corresponding with "the period of each student generation".²¹ The journey to Rome in 1909 amounted to an attempted shift in the sphere of philological teaching, illuminating central problems of definition and limitation. The two subjects (Philology and Classical Archaeology) meet at the crossroads of *realia* and constitute, then as well as now, two sides of the same coin in that regard.

The impetus for the conceptualisation of *realia* was philological, and answered the need to fill the abstractions of language and text with substance. Seen in this light, language (in this case primarily Latin) is the starting point and a prerequisite for *realia*. However, *realia* then at the same time becomes a prerequisite for the study of language and historical texts. *Realia* can thus be said to represent the "boundary" between Classical Philology and *Klassisk fornkunskap*. Together these two strands constitute the core identity of the field which encompasses the classical tradition and the study of antiquity. The legacy of this field cannot be understood without incorporating both.

The Swedish "total" approach to Classical Archaeology and Ancient History evolved from, and eventually claimed, the domain of *realia*; filling gaps in knowledge with historical, archaeological, art historical, philosophical and religious content. Classical Philology and Classical Archaeology, or the study of the ancient past primarily through history and archaeology, therefore have little to lose and everything to

¹⁷ "[...] trampa antik jord och därur suga kraft till sin lifsgärning". Lundström 1910a, XX. For debates predating the Swedish education reform 1904, as well as its consequences, cf. Bergstedt 1916, 17–22.

¹⁸ Hillbom & Rystedt 2009, 5–15. Cf. Nilsson 1945, 7: "Samma år [1909] inträdde en avgörande ändring i den klassiska arkeologiens ställning i Sverige, då genom riksdagens beslut de båda e. o. professurerna i klassisk filologi ombildades till professurer i klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia från och med den 1 januari 1910". For observations regarding Classical Archaeology in relation to philology predating 1909, see for example Bergstedt 1900, 3, Bergman 1901, 3, and Bergman 1906, 1–26. For Classical Archaeology and Ancient History in Swedish academia, cf. Frängsmyr 2010, 75–88; for Classical Philology, cf. Frängsmyr 2010, 137–157.

¹⁹ Lundström 1898, 14; Lundström 1910a, VII; Kleberg 1971, 59–60; Lindberg 1996, 135–136.

²⁰ "[...] Börjar icke vetenskapen, som för icke så länge sedan var en lugn flod med några få mäktiga bifloder, att nu i stället splittras sönder i en oändlig massa åar, bäckar och rännilar, som förvandla det stora forskningsfältet till ett sumpigt deltaland och till slut försvinna i ökensanden? [...] Betyder delningen, 'specialiseringen', ett förintande af det mänskliga vetandets organiska sammanhang? Nej, och tusen gånger nej! [...] Fasthålla vi den bild vi redan använt, så flyter den stora floden nu bredare och stridare än någonsin, och dess bräddar äro mer noggrant värnade än någonsin förr, så att icke en droppe kan flyta öfver och förlora sig i öknerna. Och de många bifloderna, åarna och rännilarna, som nu genomkorsa forskningsfältet, hafva icke afskilt sig från floden utan flyta i stället till densamma. De komma från nya källor, hvilka flöden icke kunnat eller velat rymmas inom de gamla biflodernas redan till brädden fyllda fåror utan letat sig nya, själfständiga vägar ned till den stora floden, som genom deras vatten blott blir bredare, stridare och klarare"; Lundström 1900, 3–5.

²¹ Lundström 1910a, XXI.



Fig. 3. Harry Armini, Einar Engström and John P. Boström on their way to Brenner, March 28, 1909. From Armini 1944, 17.

gain by acknowledging their mutual dependence in contributing to the greater field of “the Classical” as a whole.²²

Lundström’s vision regarding the understanding of antiquity contained a highly emotional and emphatic perception of the ancient sites and their remains, where the atmosphere itself or the *genius loci* was to evoke “a personal relationship” and “a profound and genuine understanding of the life and cultivation of antiquity.”²³ His was a romantic attitude, incorporating dreams, desire and poetry mixed with a traditional conception of the study of antiquity as a foundation for a value-infused ideal.

In his appeal to his employers in Gothenburg, Lundström developed analogies with other European nations’ establishment of cultural institutes around the Mediterranean, and emphasised the “most pressing” need for a Swedish “archaeological-historical” institute in Rome (following the German and French models from the late nineteenth century). However, Lundström felt that such a project “was not likely to be realised for quite some time”; it was precisely for that reason that his idea regarding such a course in Rome had evolved, as an initiative—a first experiment. Lundström himself referred

to inspiration from similar journeys organised by Heidelberg University, for example.²⁴

Lundström further emphasised that he intended to raise private funding for the course—this was organised through the revenues from a series of public lectures on the theme of “Images from the history of the eternal city”. The Gothenburg merchant Henrik Ahrenberg and his wife Anna, who were both in Italy in 1909 when the course was held, also contributed additional funding.²⁵

Crossing the alps: the Roman journey in 1909

Travelling to Rome from Sweden in 1909 required both a considerable amount of time and efficient planning. Lundström’s decision to spend ten days on the road was not only a prag-

²² Cf., for example, Settis 2006 and Grafton, Most & Settis 2010, vii–xi.

²³ “[...] ett personligt förhållande [och] en djup och innerlig förståelse af antikens lif och odling”; Lundström 1910a, VII.

²⁴ Lundström 1910a, VII.

²⁵ Boëthius 1971, 20, 38; Lundström 1910a, XVIII. Cf. Nilsson 1945, 7: “Lundström, som var en stor vän av Italien och en framstående forskare i Roms topografi samt inskriftskännare, en entusiastisk och initiativrik natur, kunde med friare former, som en privat högskola tillstodder, förlägga sin undervisning till Rom under större delen av vårterminen 1909”.

matic one, however. In classic Grand Tour-fashion he wanted to “enable impressions of the regions travelled through, where so many Swedish students have made their pilgrimage to Italy over the past centuries”. The students were urged to bring business cards, their ceremonial matriculation caps (for the May 1 celebrations) and an Italian phrase book.²⁶ The group stopped in Regensburg as well as Innsbruck before reaching the Brenner Pass, a deeply symbolic halt for Lundström (*Fig. 3*). In his writings he had often returned to his observations from earlier travels to Italy at Brenner and “the ancient white way, that carries the Nordic pilgrim over Brenner to Italy”.²⁷

To Lundström, crossing the Brenner Pass meant crossing a symbolic boundary, one between North and South, between past and present, between “Roman cultivation” and “Germanic spirit”; an arduous initiation rite for those who were soon to be privy to the mysteries of Italy and Rome. The “white way” (*den hvita vägen*) constituted “the thin string, on which the connection with the cultivation of the south, indeed of the world, has depended for centuries” for Lundström.²⁸

Lundström’s topographical romanticism is expressed here in typical form: while revelling in the natural sceneries of the present, he simultaneously evokes the image of the Roman legionaries of the past who had marched there for centuries.²⁹ Proof of the persuasive qualities of Lundström’s portrayal of his doctrine was offered by Harry Armini, one of his accompanying students. Armini described how “flames of enchantment and poetry illuminated us”.³⁰ Stops were made in Verona and in Florence on the Italian leg of the journey. If the departure from Gothenburg had been ceremonial and festive with a small assembly and choir singing by students,³¹ the arrival in Rome amounted to a minor anti-climax. In his travel narrative in *Göteborgs högskolas årskrift* in 1910, Lundström noted that “the arrival at the final destination took place on a delayed train, in darkness and pouring rain”.³² Together with four of the students, Lundström and his wife Enni took lodgings in a rented flat in Via Farini 5–7 on the Esquilina, where

a large room was used for lectures and seminars. Three of the remaining students were lodged in Via Napoli, and one in Via Sicilia.³³

Lundström’s course was constructed around two main themes; one of these was Roman topography, investigated through “demonstrations” and excursions as well as studies of the Constantinian regional catalogues; the other was dedicated to what Lundström referred to as “private Roman antiquities”—clay lamps, Arretine pottery, water pipes, stamped tiles and similar objects. The course participants were regular customers of the antique sellers in the area of the, as yet, unexcavated imperial *fora*; Lundström arranged the purchase of a study collection consisting primarily of funerary inscriptions to the benefit of the students.³⁴ Lundström felt that “the joy of working with authentic and unexplored material sharpened the desire for studying in a particular way”.³⁵

Axel W. Persson, one of the participants in the course, later gave an account of the intense course syllabus and the weekly extra-curricular “ten to twelve hours of demonstrations”: “Lundström had assumed a superhuman workload which demanded his enthusiasm and capacity for work in order to produce something of enduring value in the short period of time available”.³⁶

The course was characterised by Lundström’s idea of direct contact with the monuments as well as ancient objects. He felt that manuscripts and study collections were able to “spread ground-breaking rays of cultivation over Sweden”.³⁷ His small study collection was later transported to Gothenburg (where it is now incorporated with the collections of the University Museum of Antiquities)³⁸ only a few weeks before the enforcement of a law was enforced in June 1909, which increased the regulations regarding the expatriation of

²⁶ “[...] bereda [studenterna] tillfälle att få något intryck af de genomresta trakterna, genom hvilka under gångna århundraden så många svenska studerande gjort sina pilgrimsfärder till Italien”; Lundström 1910a, XI–XII.

²⁷ “[...] den uråldriga hvita vägen, som upp öfver Brenner för den nordiske pilgrimen till Italien”; Lundström 1910b, 165.

²⁸ “[...] den smala sträng, på hvilken under århundraden sambandet med söderns, ja med världens odling berott”; Lundström 1910b, 166.

²⁹ Lundström 1910b, 175.

³⁰ “[...] en eldstod av hänförelse och poesi lyste oss”; Armini 1944, 16.

³¹ Postcard from Lundström to his mother in Sigtuna, GLA Vol. F II c:1, n.d.: “Då vi reste från Göteborg var en stor massa människor nere vid tåget, och det var studentsång och riktigt högtidligt”.

³² “På ett försenadt tåg, i mörker och hållande regn, skedde ankomsten till resans mål”; Lundström 1910a, XIV.

³³ Lundström 1910a, XIV.

³⁴ For the antique sellers in Via Bonella, see Lundström 1928.

³⁵ “Glädjen att få arbeta på äkta och utforskadt material skärpte på ett alldeles särskildt sätt studielusten”; Lundström 1910a, XVI.

³⁶ “Det var en omänsklig arbetsbörda Lundström påtagit sig och det behövdes förvisso hans entusiasm och arbetsförmåga för att på den knappa tid som stod till buds verkligen kunna ge något av bestående värde”; Persson 1940, 437.

³⁷ “[...] spredde banbrytande strålar af odling ut öfver Sverige”; Lundström 1910b, 167.

³⁸ The Latin inscriptions purchased by Lundström are preserved in the Gothenburg University Museum of Antiquities (*Göteborgs universitets antikmuseum*), with the exception of four inscriptions donated by Lundström to the Röhsska Museum of Fashion, Design and Decorative Arts (*Röhsska museet för mode, design och konstslöjd*) in Gothenburg. The collection of inscriptions is published in Mattson 1976, 105–122, and in Thomasson & Pavese 1997, 77–83. Some of the inscriptions were published for the first time already in 1910 by the participants in the 1909 course, in *Göteborgs Högskolas årskrift* XVI, 1910a, 96–114. The Lundström collection of *terna sigillata*, also preserved in the Gothenburg University Museum of Antiquities, is discussed in Wetter 1993.

ancient objects from Italy.³⁹ This early cultural heritage legislation entailed a further development of earlier Papal decrees from the early nineteenth century, at the same time as it was in part a result of the establishment of the Italian Soprintendenza authority in 1907.⁴⁰ It is possible that the contacts in Rome that Lundström had established during his earlier travels kept him up to date with developments regarding the discussions that led to the enforcement of the 1909 legislation.

Further details concerning the journey to Italy and the course itself have been conserved in Lundström's 1910 account as well as in later descriptions by the participants Harry Armini and Axel W. Persson, and will thus not be further delved into here.⁴¹ The course ended "in a most beautiful atmosphere" on May 29, 1909, at the grove of the ancient Arval Brethren in Rome.⁴²

The July debate of 1914 and the Swedish Institute in Rome

Lundström gave an account of the merits of the excursion to Rome at the Swedish meeting of philologists and historians in Gothenburg in August 1912, and a committee was appointed for the development of recurring courses after Lundström's model. This committee consisted of Ernst Nachmanson (Professor of Ancient Greek at Gothenburg), Martin P. Nilsson (Professor of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History at Lund University) and the lecturer (*lektor*) Hugo Bergstedt. The planned new courses were to be aimed at future teachers of Latin and Ancient Greek. The courses were to encompass one academic term, requiring the services of one faculty member and one assistant. They were also envisaged to necessitate the establishment of physical premises and a reference library. The faculty member was not to be replaced in his absence, as his students were to participate in the course.⁴³

The suggestions of the committee were submitted to King Gustaf V in 1913. The King approved the suggestions, together with the University Chancellor and the humanities sections in Lund and Uppsala.⁴⁴ In January 1914 the process was, however, disrupted by a document written by Johan Bergman (1864–1951, at the time lecturer, later Professor of

Latin at Stockholm).⁴⁵ Bergman had developed and carried out a number of shorter "holiday courses" (*feriekurser*) in Italy and Greece for the culturally interested general public since 1898.⁴⁶ He had advocated a Swedish institute in Rome as early as 1906 in a published collection of essays entitled *Antiken*, and was of the opinion that the suggested course in Rome should be developed on the basis of his holiday courses. Bergman expected to be included in this endeavour, although his own input remained undefined. However, he suggested the affiliation of German scholars, as he considered them more competent than his Swedish colleagues. Bergman argued that his merits were in principle equal to a professorship, and that it would then be reasonable that his earlier educational achievements would be rewarded by the responsibility for the new course project. According to Bergman, the teaching resources for the course ought to consist of an external resource, in order to avoid a "disorganisation" of tuition in the Swedish university system.⁴⁷

When Bergman's document was scrutinised by Professor Nilsson in Lund, the latter questioned Bergman's competence on a general level as well as his suggestions for the planned course. Nilsson argued that the course by necessity had to be integrated with the university system; he also criticised Bergman's lack of specifications regarding the expansion of the course syllabus.⁴⁸

The matter was examined by an advisory committee in the Swedish parliament in 1914, following renewed protests from Bergman.⁴⁹ The committee turned down the matter, with three main motivations: the subject (Latin and Ancient Greek) might be considered to be given special treatment, the general university structure risked disorganisation, and implicitly the course seemed to serve the purpose of establishing a (permanent) institute in Rome in the future. Such an institute should in that case be funded primarily by patrons of the arts, not by state capital.⁵⁰

Lundström's position was strengthened by the fortunate circumstance of his double role as Professor of Latin and a member of parliament when the decision regarding a course in Rome for 1915 was to be made in July 1914. He once more

³⁹ Italian law no. 364, June 20, 1909.

⁴⁰ Dyson 2006, 22.

⁴¹ Lundström 1910a; Armini 1944; Persson 1940.

⁴² Lundström 1910a, XVIII.

⁴³ Lagercrantz 1913, 134–135; Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Kungl. Maj:ts proposition Nr 1, punkt 20, 208–214.

⁴⁴ Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Kungl. Maj:ts proposition Nr 1, punkt 20, 215–217.

⁴⁵ For Johan Bergman, see Lindberg 1987, 289–299. Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Kungl. Maj:ts proposition Nr 1, punkt 20, 217–219.

⁴⁶ For the syllabi of the first and second of Bergman's courses, see Bergman 1898–1899.

⁴⁷ Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Kungl. Maj:ts proposition nr. 1, punkt 20, 218.

⁴⁸ Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Kungl. Maj:ts proposition nr. 1, punkt 20, 219–223.

⁴⁹ Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Kungl. Maj:ts proposition nr. 1, punkt 20, 223–225.

⁵⁰ Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Statsutskottets utlåtande nr. 17, 24–28.

advocated a future institute in Rome, emphasising that the possible risk to the university structure from the double commitment of the teacher in Sweden and Italy would be outweighed by the improved quality of tuition as a result of the course.⁵¹

Lundström was not the only proponent of the importance of an independent Swedish scholarly presence in Rome in the July debate of 1914. He was joined by cabinet minister Karl Gustaf Westman (1876–1944); soon-to-be head of the Ecclesiastical Department (in effect Minister of Education). Westman justified special treatment of the study of antiquity, as in his opinion it represented “the unifying foundation, upon which Western culture is constructed, and if we wish to preserve our cultural affinity with the other Western peoples, if we wish to avoid isolation of our humanist culture, with meagreness as its defining characteristic, we ought to accommodate Classical Studies [...]”.⁵² The proposal for a regularly recurring course in Rome as a permanent manifestation of Lundström’s vision was rejected in the end by the parliament.⁵³

The institutionalisation of the Swedish scholarly presence in Rome was, however, to be realised a decade later with Royal involvement. As a keen archaeologist, Swedish Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf took an active role in the establishment of the Swedish Institute in Rome, originally discussed as a “Scandinavian institute”, with joint Swedish and Danish funding. Early negotiations were conducted by Professors Martin P. Nilsson and Frederik Poulsen (of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen) between 1921 and 1924. The joint Swedish and Danish institute, which was to uphold the “Scandinavian reputation”, was originally intended to be established in Athens rather than in Rome, partly as a consequence of the Swedish excavations at Asine in the Argolid, since 1922.⁵⁴

However, by January 1925, the Crown Prince and Martin P. Nilsson had agreed that the planned institute should be located in Rome rather than in Athens, following “very strong, even decisive reasons” in favour of Rome: one of them being the Vatican collections, another the accessibility of Italy

in practical terms.⁵⁵ By March 1925 the common Scandinavian project had ground to a halt, and the envisioned institute was discussed as Swedish only—“an inter-Scandinavian order must be postponed for the future”.⁵⁶ The shift of attention from Athens to Rome was furthermore related to debates advocating Swedish institutional presence in the Mediterranean from the turn of the century, mainly involving Vilhelm Lundström and Johan Bergman.⁵⁷

The Swedish Institute in Rome (SIR) was thus established in 1925, and was inaugurated the following year.⁵⁸ It remains a private foundation, with state subsidies applied for annually (since 1938) from the Ministry of Education (*Utbildningsdepartementet*). Potential state subsidies were delayed by the economic depression of 1929; such subsidies were successfully negotiated in the spring of 1938. Simultaneously, The Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation was prepared to supply the necessary capital for a new institute building in Rome.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Cf. Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf to M.P. Nilsson, January 4, 1925 (draft letter). *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:F:I.

⁵⁶ M.P. Nilsson to Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, March 10, 1925: “Vi erhålla ju för den närmaste framtiden, som betraktades som en försökstid, deltagande och stöd från Danmark, ehuru de danska kollegerna menade, att en eventuell interskandinavisk ordning måste ställas på framtiden”. Cf. Frederik Poulsen to Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, March 10, 1925. *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:F:I.

⁵⁷ Cf. Bergman 1898–1899 and Bergman 1906.

⁵⁸ Cf. Nilsson 1945, 8–9: “Under krigsåren och den därpå följande depressionstiden fick tanken vila, men var icke glömd. Hos de närmast intresserade befäste sig den meningen, att ett permanent institut i Rom, om också i blygsamma former, var den enda riktiga utvägen, därjämte höll man alltså fast vid tanken, att genom en kurs införa yngre studerande på kandidatstudiet, d. v. s. huvudsakligen blivande läroverkslärare, i antik miljö och antik kultur genom de arkeologiska studiernas och de klassiska ländernas stimulerande inverkan. Detta är alltså skillnaden mellan det svenska institutet och de övriga arkeologiska instituten, vilka äro utpräglade forskningsinstitut, och denna princip har väckt icke så liten uppmärksamhet och t. o. m. framställts som efterföljansvärd. Att denna tanke från början upptogs från den Lundströmska kursen och sedan alltså fasthållits, beror icke blott på det angelägna i att giva yngre klassiker, även filologer, en levande och åskådlig föreställning om antikens minnesmärken och liv utan även därpå, att ett så litet land som Sverige icke erbjuder tillräckligt underlag för ett institut, som enbart sysslar med forskning”. For the history of the SIR see Nilsson 1945, Claesson 1945, Östenberg 1976, Nylander 2002, Magnusson & Ahlklö 2010, Whitling 2010, 87–127, as well as Billig & Billig chapter 1. For the first SIR board meeting minutes, see *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, I:5; and *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:B.1. The board was constituted in 1925; the Institute in Rome was inaugurated in 1926. See also “Ändringsförslag till P.M. ang. Svenska Institutet i Rom” (1925). *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:F:I. Cf. also manuscript regarding the establishment of the SIR and its early activities (by Axel Boëthius); as well as M.P. Nilsson, ‘Svenska Institutet i Rom’, *SvD*, n.d. (1925), in ‘Svenska Institutet i Rom. Dagbok från Okt. 1925–15 april 1926’. *GUB*, H 80: 241–243.

⁵⁹ Cf. Whitling 2010, 87–118; as well as Nilsson 1945, 15–16, and Magnusson & Ahlklö 2010, 69–71.

⁵¹ Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Andra kammarens protokoll, nr. 33, punkt 9, 41–45; 49–51.

⁵² “[...] den enande grund, varpå hela västerlandets kultur är uppbyggd, och om vi vilja bevara vår kulturgemenskap med de andra västerländska folken, om vi vilja undvika att vår humanistiska kultur blir isolerad, att den får torftheten till kännemärke, böra vi tillgodose de klassiska studierna [...]”; Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Andra kammarens protokoll, nr. 33, punkt 9, 37–38.

⁵³ For the parliamentary debates and the development of the issue from 1912 to 1914, cf. also Nilsson 1945, 8. See also the section “Förspellet” in Billig & Billig, chapter 1.

⁵⁴ Cf. Frederik Poulsen to Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, November 28, 1924. *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:F:I. See also, for example, Nilsson 1945, 10–11.

The Swedish Institute focused mainly on archaeology rather than philology, although Latin and Ancient Greek remained an advantage when applying for the annual archaeological course at the institute. Classical Archaeology and Ancient History (*Klassisk fornkunskap*) was now in a position to offer “tuition by specific experts” for both languages, the rhetoric of which harked back to the July debate in 1914.⁶⁰ In the written parliament document regarding state funding of the Swedish Institute in Rome on May 3, 1938, the aspect of tuition and feedback into the Swedish education system was emphasised by the assertion that “the importance of the [Swedish] Institute for the education of teachers in Sweden and its stimulating influence on Classical Studies as a whole motivates state funding of the institute in the opinion of the parliament”.⁶¹

Johan Bergman’s “popular” courses were not excluded when the SIR was established in 1925; Bergman himself was not included in the framework of the institute, however. The institute premises were ‘offered for teaching together with the services of the institute directors as a teaching resource in [Bergman’s] course.’⁶² When the SIR was finally realised, time had passed by the almost 60-year old Lundström. When Lundström was in Italy in 1929, he wrote to Axel Boëthius, the first director of the SIR, that “I will not get to Rome this time around, and maybe never [again] as I know that both old and new tasks would tempt me there”.⁶³ Axel W. Persson later described Lundström as the “spiritual source”, or founding father, of the Swedish Institute in Rome (“institutets andlige upphovsman”).⁶⁴ This was clear also in the development

of the annual archaeological course by Boëthius, who was well acquainted with Lundström’s pedagogical philosophy and his research on Roman topography. Boëthius developed the structure of the archaeological course from Lundström’s model including its placement during the spring term each year.⁶⁵

Concluding remarks

Vilhelm Lundström shared his contemporaries’ nostalgia for and dreams of Italy, with projected perceptions regarding origins and common identities. The study of antiquity was organised following national frameworks and funding possibilities on a European level. Thus, it can with some authority be described as a “colonised” cultural heritage, in the respect that western Europe countries and the United States made claims to the common ancient heritage in national terms. The cult of the source material made direct contact with Italy indispensable.

Lundström was the first Swede to cross the Alps in his capacity as a teacher, in the context of his academic post, in order to seek contact and communicate with the ancient source material *in situ*. In Lundström’s view, the incentive and inspiration for this direct contact with the sources sprang from the new demands for knowledge made on upper secondary school teachers (*gymnasielärare*) as a consequence of the 1904 Education Reform. A more implicit strategic aim was to strengthen the position of Classical Philology in relation to the new field of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History.

On his way back to Sweden from Rome in June 1909,⁶⁶ Lundström reflected on his mission in life, once again through the symbolism of the Brenner Pass: “I feel as if my own humble aim in life is embodied in its own grand, immense eternal achievement: to conjoin North and South, to conduct the best of three thousand years of cultivation northwards, to mediate history and the future, to fuse the infinite poetry and power of the North with the clarity and culture of the South”.⁶⁷ In this passage Lundström clearly demonstrated his dramatically romantic side, in contrast with Johan Bergman’s more pragmatic wish that Sweden ought to take the

⁶⁰ Parliamentary document (*Riksdagstryck*) 1914, Kungl. Maj:ts proposition nr. 1, punkt 20, 226.

⁶¹ “Institutets betydelse för den svenska lärutbildningen och dess stimulerande inflytande på de klassiska studierna över huvud taget gör det enligt riksdagens mening befogat, att institutet kommer i åtnjutande av statsmedel”. See SIR board meeting minutes, preserved at the Swedish Institute. Cf. RA, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, III:B:1. See also for example Nilsson 1945, 15–16, and Magnusson & Ahlko 2010, 69–71.

⁶² “[...] ställa institutets samlingslokal till förfogande och att låta institutets föreståndare hålla föreläsningar och demonstrationer i [Bergmans] kurs”. SIR board meeting minutes, May 8, 1925, §9.

⁶³ “[...] till Rom kommer jag icke denna gång, och kanske aldrig [...] ty jag vet att både gamla och nya uppgifter där skulle locka mig”. Letter from Lundström to Boëthius dated Cesena, June 9, 1929, GUB. In a letter from Axel W. Persson to Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf (April 22, 1925, quoted by Erland and Ragnhild Billig in their unpublished historical narrative on the SIR), it was stated that Lundström had expressly declined a seat on the board of the SIR, mainly as he was not able to work alongside Martin P. Nilsson: “I ett brev från Axel W. Persson till kronprinsen den 22 april 1925 står att läsa att Vilhelm Lundström önskade ‘för sakens skulle helst icke komma i åtanke såsom medlem i Institutets styrelse’. Persson skriver: ‘Så vitt jag förstår måste tanken på Lundström, hur beklagligt det än är, uppgivas då han menar sig icke kunna samarbeta med Martin Nilsson.’” Billig & Billig, chapter 1.

⁶⁴ Persson 1940, 438.

⁶⁵ Boëthius 1929, 63; the Swedish Institute diaries 1925–1932, GUB.

⁶⁶ Lundström and his wife left Rome in early June; they made several stops along the way in order to “regather strength after the strenuous sojourn in Rome” (“samla krafter på nytt efter den ansträngande Romvistelsen”; Lundström 1910a, XIX).

⁶⁷ “Det är som kände jag mitt eget lilla lifsmål förkroppsligadt i dess egen stora, väldiga evighetsgärning: att förbinda norden med södern, att föra det bästa af söderns tretusenåra odling mot norr, att förmedla forntid och framtid, att smälta nordens oändliga kraft och poesi samman med söderns klarhet och kultur”; Lundström 1910b, 172.



Fig. 4. Vilhelm Lundström in his ceremonial matriculation cap (studentmössa) in Rome (on the corner of Via Cavour and Via Torino), May 1, 1909. Photograph in Vilhelm Lundström's papers, Courtesy of the Archive of the Royal Society for Swedish Culture Abroad, Göteborgs Landsarkiv.

opportunity to establish a scholarly presence in Italy in order not to be overtaken by other European nations.⁶⁸

Lundström represented an integrated vision of antiquity and Classical Studies, at the same time it was both conservative and persistently romantic. Such an encompassing vi-

sion is probably not sustainable in the modern educational climate, but still deserves to be discussed as Classical Studies (here defined as the two academic fields of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, and Latin and Ancient Greek) will face new choices and challenges in the future.

Tönnes Kleberg (1904–1984), head librarian at Uppsala University library and Lundström's successor as editor of *Eranos*, summed up Lundström's integrated vision of Antiq-

⁶⁸ Bergman 1906, 23. Cf. also Bergman 1924.



Fig. 5. Vilhelm Lundström. From Armini 1936.

uity and Classical Studies, as well as his thoughts regarding the *realia* aspect of philology (*Realphilologie*) by stating that “there is no Royal road” or shortcut “to knowledge regarding ancient literature and culture, but that one must work one’s way towards the goal arduously and reverentially” by studying as extensive a field as possible.⁶⁹

The course in 1909 was not a bilateral endeavour. Lundström’s vision of a dynamic axis between North and South through pilgrimages to Italy and its ancient heritage was ultimately aiming for Swedish-Italian cultural exchange, but in practice largely functioned more as a one-way street. Lundström chose to carry out his course without involvement

⁶⁹ “[...] det inte ‘går någon kungsväg’ till kunskapen om den antika litteraturen och kulturen utan att man måste mödosamt och ödmjukt arbeta sig fram mot målet”; Kleberg 1971, 58.

from the foreign research experts in Rome advocated by Bergman, for example, even though Lundström probably had well-established contacts in the Italian scholarly community.

Lundström’s ambitions regarding the “preservation of Swedishness abroad” was also expressed through picturesque manifestations of national belonging: for example, the course celebrated Walpurgis Night (*Valborgsmässoafton*), when “a dozen Swedes with young hearts in their breasts and white [ceremonial matriculation] caps on their heads” travelled along Via del Corso in carriages, celebrating Italy, “this wonderful country which is the cradle of our cultivation” (cf. Fig. 4).⁷⁰ The celebrations also included a much admired speech by the philologist and Latinist Einar Löfstedt (1880–1955), who was visiting Rome at the time.⁷¹

The parliamentary rejection in 1914 of the further development of Lundström’s course may have contributed to why Lundström returned to Rome only once after 1913. He reflected in the introduction to his *Undersökningar i Roms topografi* (1929) that “I will have to live with the conscious knowledge that the love for Rome has been the mainspring for my work, and although I may not have physically been in Rome during all these years, I have lived there in spirit over and over.”⁷²

The later institutional consequence of Lundström’s decision to carry out the course in Rome 1909, designed and partly funded by himself, was the establishment of the Swedish Institute in Rome. According to the first statutes of the institute in 1925, its task was to “bring Swedish culture in living contact with ancient culture.”⁷³ Axel Boëthius recalled how Lundström “fought against the division of the study of antiquity in specialised language- and material research” when Classical Archaeology and Ancient History (*Klassisk fornkunskap*) was established in its own right in Sweden in 1909. To Boëthius this was an example of Lundström’s lack of insight regarding “the absolute necessity of specialised archaeological research.”⁷⁴ Boëthius at the same time acknowledged the importance of the course in Rome in 1909: “The endeavour rests in a confident atmosphere of everyday and every step

⁷⁰ “[...] ett dussintal svenskar med unga hjärtan i bröstet och hvita mössor på hufvudet [...] detta härliga land, som är vår odlings vagga”; Lundström 1910b, 215–218.

⁷¹ Armini 1944, 19.

⁷² “[...] jag får bära det med jämnmod i medvetandet att kärleken till Rom varit drivfjädern i mitt arbete och att jag om också inte lekamligen, så dock andligen under alla dessa år åter och åter levat i Rom”; Lundström 1929, V.

⁷³ SIR by-laws and regulations, 1925. See SIR board meeting minutes, preserved at the Swedish Institute. Cf. *RA*, Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv, I:1.

⁷⁴ Boëthius 1971, 39–40.

being significant in creating something new in the history of Swedish university education and Roman research.”⁷⁵

Classical Archaeology and Ancient History meets Classical Philology in the sphere traditionally referred to as *realia*. The fields are mutually dependent in the sense that they both require the existence of the other. At the same time, the two fields together constitute a field in itself, an approach to the study of antiquity as discussed above—one sometimes referred to in general terms as that of the classical tradition. The original physical manifestation of co-operation between the two fields in common Classics departments has become a phenomenon of the past in the Swedish academic context. The need for close contact with the common source material remains, however, as do questions regarding the interpretative prerogative and which field functions as an auxiliary subject to the other. Is it possible to separate philological methodology from historical and archaeological context? Does the context establish the text, or does the text create the context? Such questions are as relevant today as they were in 1909. “Colonised” cultural heritage has quite likely often been a subconscious consequence of the national structures and frameworks employed in studying and assimilating those foundations for European self-perception that one has wanted to find in the ancient Mediterranean cultures. Northern and Western Europeans have, according to this perspective, sometimes perceived themselves to be most suited to study and handle this heritage.

Dreams of Italy and longing for Rome (*Romlängtan*) are based on equal measures of recognition and distancing. The geographical consequence of the relative “isolation” of Italy from most of mainland Europe, screened off by the Alps, should not be underestimated in a historical perspective. In that sense the Alps constitute a dividing line for dream and time travel, with the historical palimpsest and seductive climate forming the role of Italy as well as of antiquity in a constructed and dynamic European identity.

The epitome of longing for Rome, for Vilhelm Lundström, was bidding farewell to Rome at the Fontana di Trevi.⁷⁶ One of his most beautiful memories was when one of the participants in the course in 1909 made his way down to the fountain, “from the Palatine, carrying the classic ivy of the South and of antiquity, drank his drink and sacrificed his coin, while Dionysus’ dark greenery brought a salute from the infancy of mankind and tears were flowing from the

departee.”⁷⁷ Lundström was, in that regard, spiritually related to the Swedish lyricist Karl August Nicander (1799–1839), who was convinced that “no dream could be as delectable as the reality of Italy.”⁷⁸

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⁷⁵ “[...] från början till slutet vilar över det hela en segerviss stämning av att varje dag och varje steg hade betydelse och skapade något nytt inom den svenska universitetsundervisningen och Romforskningens historia”; Boëthius 1971, 21.

⁷⁶ Lundström 1927, 43.

⁷⁷ “[...] från palatinen med famnen full av söderns och antikens klassiska murgröna och så drack sin dryck och offrade sin penning, medan Dionysos’ mörka grönska bragte en hälsning från människosläktets barndom och tårarna runno ur den avskedstagandes ögon”; Lundström 1927, 48.

⁷⁸ “[...] ingen dröm så skön kan vara som Italiens verklighet”, quoted by Lundström in his essay on ceremonies of departure at Fontana di Trevi. Lundström 1927, 43.

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