

THE INVITATION  
to the Academy's  
Linnaeus jubilee in  
1907 included a typical  
image of the subject  
of celebration.



## A Linnaean triptych

*Henrik Björck*

Carl Linnaeus was born in 1707, the son of a parish priest in Råshult in Småland, a rural county in southern Sweden with a strong regional identity. He died in Uppsala in 1778 as Professor Carl von Linné, ennobled by the Swedish king and celebrated throughout the scholarly world. As one of the founders of the Academy of Sciences, and its first president, he had a decisive role in the early history of the Academy.

How have subsequent generations curated the memory of this “king of flowers”, as he came to be called? What image of Linnaeus has the Academy made and conveyed, and how has this image changed with the institution and its standing in the ideologies of various eras? What follows is an attempt at a condensed historical summary using a specific perspective, that of the centenaries of Linnaeus’ birth. Although the three essays deal with the same subject, we will see how this subject changes over time.

### *A classic man of Småland*

The Academy of Sciences has always taken up space somewhere, from its beginnings in Riddarhuset – the House of Nobility – to its contemporary presence on the internet. At the time of writing, those who wish to visit the Academy in physical form must travel to Frescati in northern Stockholm, where it moved to a new home in 1915. Up on the hill, the building makes a monumental impression. The sense of encountering something almost ageless contrasts with the banal noise from the neighbouring six-lane motorway, a reminder that the elevated sciences are always situated in space and marked by the multitudes of history.

The visitor also encounters history on entering the building. Prominent scientists gaze down from the portraits on the walls – powerful people who



**JONAS FORSSLUND'S BUST** now stands in the foyer of the Linnaeus Hall at the Academy.

both contributed to and made use of the Academy's influence. The paintings express various eras' ideas of what was fitting for a member; many have been given attributes that indicate position and occupation. Still, items such as scientific instruments, once of the most modern kind, can contribute to dating the pictures and making them part of history. There are also busts in the rooms, which can be more difficult for the occasional visitor to comprehend. For example, one may encounter a man gazing upward, past the observer, with a reserved, perhaps slightly proud smile. He lacks such a clear attribute as an instrument, but the visitor sees that this marble-white man is draped in a toga. Is this a classical poet who has ended up at the Academy? Or is this a "short-haired Roman emperor", as former secretary Carl Gustaf Bernhard expressed it in 2000?

Actually, this is Carl Linnaeus, modelled in 1807 using *bisque*, which develops a marble-like surface when unglazed.

However, this bust was not made on the initiative of the Academy of Sciences which, like many other academies, was hardly at its best during a period characterised by revolutions and the Napoleonic Wars. In fact, there were no plans at all to mark the centenary of its most famous member. The initiative was instead that of Gustav IV Adolf, who had succeeded to the throne as a minor, following his the murder of his father. In February 1807, the king announced that royal physician-in-ordinary Sven Hedin had submitted a proposal: that Linnaeus' centenary should be celebrated in Växjö, the county capital of Småland, at the cathedral school, with a commemorative speech and the erection of a bust. The proposal was supported by the county governor and numerous others "of the Smålandic Nation". With his devotion to the growth of the sciences and all those who sought to advance them, the king granted Hedin's initiative, and would also be delighted to see that the Academy of Sciences purchased a copy of the bust produced by Professor Forsslund.

Jonas Forsslund came from an agricultural background in Jämtland, but found work in Uppsala, where he was noted for his portrait of Gustav III. He came under the king's patronage and studied at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, of which he became a member and, in 1800, it appointed him professor of drawing, despite opposition within the Academy. Forsslund was hardly regarded as a great artist, but became popular as a portrait painter. He was fastidious and worked according to the conventions of the time, finding most renown for his paintings of Gustav IV Adolf, both as a young prince and as a reigning monarch. The rise of Neoclassicism made relief medallions fashionable, and from around 1800 he also sculpted these.

The Academy of Sciences understood the king's letter as a favourable command and charged the administrative committee, the *Inspectura ærarii*, with arranging a purchase. A quandary arose. At the following meeting, members who had known Linnaeus explained they did not recognise him in the bust exhibited by Forsslund at the Academy of Fine Arts. Perhaps the famous Johan Tobias Sergel could be requested to sculpt a bust in marble instead? Surely the king would not object to such an exchange? Reflection appears to have dampened enthusiasm, and these bold ideas were omitted from the minutes. Instead, the verdict was that the president would inspect the bust before any decision was made to purchase it. In early May, it was suggested that Forsslund should be invited to make the design a better likeness of Linnaeus before it was recast. Meanwhile, the Academy president, who was undersecretary of state at the Home Office, clarified that the Academy probably had to buy a bust in accordance with the king's wishes; at the following meeting, he explained that the king had agreed to the proposal to rework

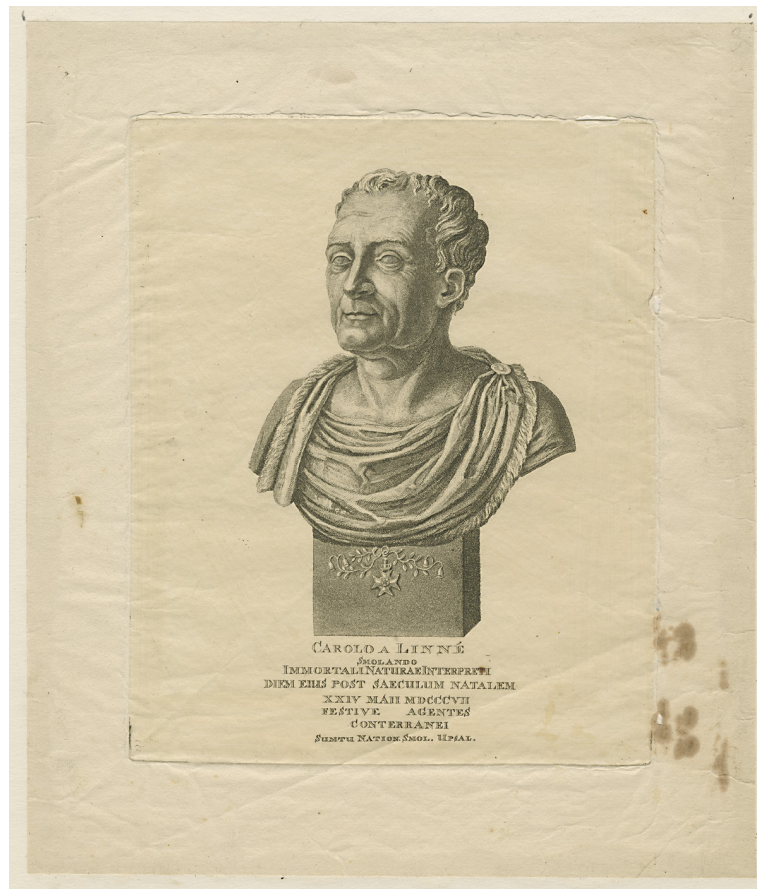
the design, about which the secretary would inform Forsslund. The bust arrived in early 1808 and was displayed at a general meeting. The *Inspectura ærarii* had not been so bold as to determine a pedestal or location, but the Academy decided it should be placed in the Session Hall, opposite the bust of von Höpken, and asked its member superintendent to draw up a proposal for a pedestal. Two years later, the superintendent was reminded of his task.

We can note that the Academy, in 1807, was hardly interested in honouring Linnaeus. Sven Hedin, however, was. This son of Småland had studied at the cathedral school in Växjö and Uppsala University, becoming a dedicated apostle of Linnaeus, who tried to help his adept progress in various ways. Gustav IV Adolf appreciated Hedin and appointed him royal physician-in-ordinary in 1798; eventually he took a seat in the *Collegium Medicum*. He was proposed for membership of the Academy of Sciences in 1793, but personal opinions of the less diplomatic kind had garnered him influential critics, so his election had to wait until 1804.

Hedin had already started working towards a Linnaeus jubilee in 1806. He did not gain the support of his friends from Småland, the Uppsala professors Carl Peter Thunberg and Samuel Ödmann, who were also Linnaeus apostles, but the county governor and bishop of Växjö were with him. In early September, he published a call to action in the press – “Beloved and Honoured Countrymen of the Nation of Småland!” – in which he encouraged his readers to support a commemorative celebration in Växjö for the “secular Genius” of the homeland. The initiative roused support, but also misgivings. Hedin explained that no bust had yet been erected, although the king wanted to realise his father’s idea of a bust in Uppsala University’s new botany building. Nor was there any true memorial – in Uppsala there had not even been a parentation, a eulogy, to Linnaeus. He also explained that he had mentioned his proposal to Forsslund, who had said he was willing to complete a bust for no other payment than that generated by individual donations. Encouraged, Hedin dared to apply for the king’s approval. The king agreed to the proposal and not only approached the Academy of Sciences, but also the *Collegium Medicum* and other academic authorities.

An elaborate invitation was sent by the principal of Växjö cathedral school. The festivities were attended by high-ranking dignitaries, a relative of Linnaeus, pupils and the city’s residents, and were held on an early summer day so pleasant that “Nature appeared delighted to bestow it for the ornamentation of a celebration dedicated to its highest Beloved”. Hedin gave a long speech. The printed version is an elaborate biography with notes and references, as well as a hagiographic song of praise to his teacher and benefactor. The cult of the genius is romantic, while also calling on classical references – as Stagira has Aristotle, Småland has Linnaeus. After the bust’s unveiling, invited guests ate dinner with the bishop, whereby all royalty and “the Fatherland and the





**THE SMÅLAND STUDENT NATION** did not appreciate the engraving of the Linnaeus bust which they had helped finance.

Smålandic Nation were toasted, to the music of drums and trumpets and the firing of canons”. In other places, festivities continued until one-thirty in the morning.

Hedin’s initiative was not appreciated in Uppsala, where Linnaeus remained in living memory as an aged professor of medicine with a large and touchy ego. The instructions to the family that led to his estate being sold to England could be perceived as an expression of miserliness, an unpatriotic ingratitude for a peerage and other honours. Nor was the enthusiastic Hedin appreciated by all, but people had to accommodate themselves to this energetic actor. In February 1807, he visited Thunberg and others at Uppsala University and talked at the Småland student nation, which liked the idea of reading out his encomium. He explained the plans to the university chancellor and wondered whether the speech could be delivered more publicly, as

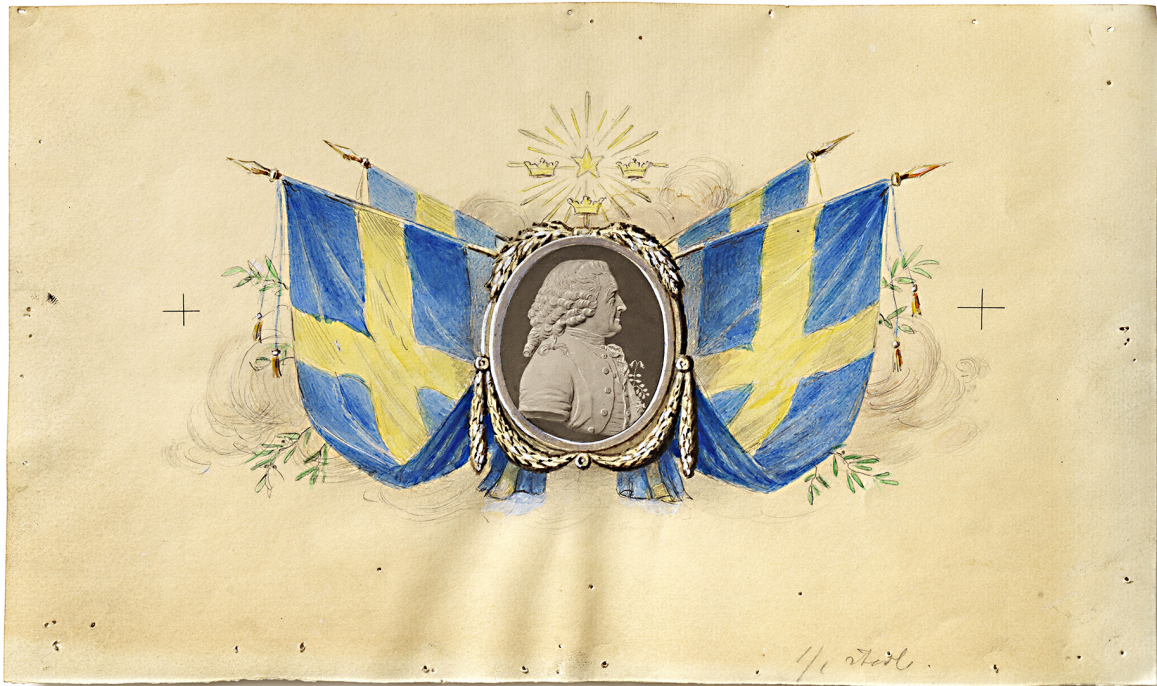
university business. In March, the chancellor suggested that the university should celebrate Linnaeus at the same time as the inauguration of Linneanum, the new botany building, which was already in use and was perhaps more suitable as a commemorative temple than for teaching. The king agreed, so the chancellor declared that Hedin's speech would be included in the academic programme. A plaster copy of Forsslund's bust was purchased in early May, because the one promised by the king would not be finished by the inauguration, 25 May.

The vice-chancellor celebrated the royal benefactors of the university in his invitation to the festivities, which were ceremonial despite neither the county governor nor the chancellor being able to attend. In his speech, Thunberg focused on botany and the greenhouse, but also praised Linnaeus' gift for teaching and recruiting apostles. Following dinner in the orangery, the head of the Småland student nation read out Hedin's speech. However, this part of the proceedings almost did not happen because, at the last minute, many members of the student nation protested against Hedin, perhaps because they had paid for and spread an engraving of the Linnaeus bust that was regarded a total failure.

Another complication arose the following day, which again shows how different parties made use of the figure of Linnaeus for their own gain: the jubilee in the old Botanicum, organised by the Linnaean Institute, which was a student association for natural history that had more or less been taken over by its president, or *protector*. In the association, and in the Linnaeus celebrations, this lecturer in natural history, or *botanices demonstrator*, saw an opportunity to increase his chances of obtaining tenure. He did not appreciate Hedin's plans to locate the jubilee celebrations in Växjö and would have preferred sole responsibility for the celebrations in Uppsala, where the Linnaean Institute awarded a medal, a prototype for which they had loaned from the Academy of Sciences.

The complications in Lund were different, but the lack of enthusiasm was similar. The king's decree does not appear to have reached the university until 1808, accompanied by a letter from the chancellor, explaining that it was to pay a considerable sum for Forsslund's bust. However, the war with Russia meant that delivery was delayed, so it would first be unveiled at a ceremony in 1811.

As we can see, in 1807 there was hardly any institutional interest in commemorating Linnaeus, neither at the Academy of Sciences nor any other institution that could imaginably have been involved. The "national" interest that existed came from the county of Småland. In practice, the initiatives that were taken stemmed from individual interest, primarily that of Sven Hedin. They were motivated by varying desires, appropriating Linnaeus for their own purposes. We also see that, on closer examination, the image of Linnaeus



THE ORIGINAL OF THE MINIATURE used in the invitations to the Academy's Linnaeus jubilee in 1907.

disintegrates into many images. Different interpreters shone light, or cast shadows, in different ways, based on their shifting perspectives and interests. And so it would continue. It is a little like observing the characteristics of this celebratory object reflected through a kaleidoscope. The basic elements are recognisable, but how they connect depends on how time turns the tube.

As the years progressed into the Romantic Era, the image of Linnaeus met growing interest. The celebrated poet Esaias Tegnér invented the epithet “the king of flowers” in 1820. Linnaeus poetry has since become a Swedish speciality. The genre became very productive, for example on the centenary of his death in 1878, but was also characterised by cliché and poor rhymes.

### *A king of flowers for the entire nation?*

“Through his magnificent life’s work, Linnaeus has brought unimpeachable honour to his fatherland. This is therefore a true national celebration, in which the Swedish people can now rejoice.” So read the invitation to participate in a Linnaeus jubilee, issued by the Academy of Sciences to notable people and institutions in the spring of 1907. The front of the invitation depicted the elderly, gently smiling king of flowers. Swedish flags were draped around



## Vetenskapsakademien och Linnéminnet.



Från festen i Musikaliska akademins hörsal.

**FESTIVITIES** in the great hall of the Academy of Music, depicted by an illustrator who worked for *Svenska Dagbladet*.

him; their design had changed just two years earlier, after the national trauma of the dissolution of the union with Norway. The decoration also included twinflowers, *Linnaea borealis*, and the Polar Star as, in 1753, Linnaeus had been made a knight of the Order of the Polar Star. Invitations to be sent abroad had the same image but were written in Latin, as were many of the encomia that were later received.

Unlike 1807, the Academy wished to celebrate the centenary and, as early as the start of 1904, a committee of seven members was appointed. The Academy decided to publish texts by and about Linnaeus, to strike various medals, to organise a jubilee. Uppsala University had even bigger plans. The committees cooperated and, together, both institutions were responsible for an impressive list of publications, which included sources for the benefit of coming generations. Increasing numbers of dignitaries, both domestic and foreign, were added to the celebrations' guest lists. Finally, it was proposed that state funding should be applied for, so the institutions would not have to bear the costs alone, as "the upcoming Linnaeus jubilee should be regarded as a national celebration".

A wave of Linnaeus festivities swept across the country at the end of May, beginning in Råshult. Uppsala was the focal point on the actual birthdate,



followed by a magnificent commencement ceremony. The next day it was the turn of Stockholm and the Academy of Sciences. However, an early excursion to the Bergius Botanic Garden attracted few people. In the afternoon, there was a large celebration at the Academy of Music with royalty, ministers and other dignitaries, as well as renowned scientists from many corners of the world. Speeches were delivered. Although a child of his time, Linnaeus was also ahead of his time, explained the Academy's president. A cantata was performed:

The Orderer came. He came from the High North,  
Swedish, he was. *Linnaeus* was his name,  
this name, that reputation bore across the earth  
and shall ever bear in its arms.

Medals were awarded. Delegations presented tributes to “the King in the realm of Flora” in all their languages. Two bishops represented Sweden's seats of learning and learned societies. In the evening there was dinner and more speeches, and the following day the crown prince, on behalf of the ailing king, hosted a reception at the palace.

The jubilee received enormous attention. The more conservatively-minded press eagerly circulated allusions to a phrase from the Swedish national anthem, “when honoured Thy name flew across the earth”, when stating Linnaeus' importance for Sweden, which as a nation should look ahead and aim for a renewed position as great power, but on the peaceful field of scientific struggle. The tension between Swedish nationalism and scientific internationalism was nullified through the famous botanist, who became an object of unification inwards and an object of assertion outwards.

But he was also something else – I was about to write: something *more* than a citizen of the world. He also had such a distinctive *Swedish* sense of citizenship, that it can almost be characterised as “a coincidence, which appears to be intentional”, that his bicentenary is occurring just now, during the work for national rebirth that is currently being conducted in our fatherland.

The importance of Linnaeus' systematic achievements crossed all borders at the same time as he was rooted in his homeland. This image was also conveyed in the era's Linnaeus poetry, which was surely lovingly felt at the time, but is not always easy to appreciate a century later:

When Sweden's name is spoken in distant lands,  
Then *Carl von Linné* is also known,  
The king of flowers on Fyris' banks,  
Who first taught us to see nature.

As not only a world-renowned scientist, but also in many ways an educator of Swedes, he was a man of the people, for the people. “Linnaeus is a figure to fantasise about for a people like ours, with its deep love of nature and almost painfully loving interaction with everything green and flowering.” This figure’s importance for the schooling of a nature-loving national character is apparent in the reporting from events in every possible context, such as in schools and in associations such as the Sällskapet för förädlande ungdomsnöjen [Society for Beneficial Amusements for the Young]. The Academy of Sciences actively contributed to this educational project by awarding Linnaeus medals to all grammar schools, including Nya Elementar in Stockholm:

Also, a pupil, Sten Selander, provided a touching account of Linnaeus’ “Gotlandic journey” and, after this presentation concluded, Principal Hernlund gave some warm and encouraging words to the speaker as well as a medal commemorating Linnaeus, which had been donated by the Academy of Sciences for the teaching staff to award to a deserving pupil.

Decades later, Selander himself became a celebrated portrayer of Swedish nature.

But Linnaeus not only circulated in academic contexts. Newspapers also commented upon all the commercial and other interests who wanted to make use of him. Authors and publishers saw potential. For example, a journal for military healthcare, *Tidskrift i militär hälsovård*, drew attention to a neglected aspect under the heading “Linnaeus as military physician”. One notable example of how the figure of Linnaeus was appropriated to publicise a particular idea was the inscription on a flowery bust in the garden of Stockholm’s spa baths, Centralbadet. The baths’ owner, an architect who advocated parks and greenery in urban planning, concluded the inscription thus: “Let us chisel fast the memory of the great sovereign of flowers, by opening our senses to feelings for the natural world! Let us build our homes and design our cities with this state of mind!”

If we regard all this from the left, in political terms, a contrast arises that clarifies the ideological dimensions of the Linnaeus bicentenary. The working-class press reported on more local, grass roots initiatives – in its reporting from the “centralised” jubilee celebrations it could complain about the bishoply speeches and pretentious cantatas. Of particular interest here is the speech delivered by the radical botanist from Lund, Bengt Lidforss, at an IOGT event in Gothenburg, which was published in the workers’ newspaper *Arbetet* and widely commented on.

Lidforss explained that everyone in 1907, not least the newspapers, seemed to be competing to celebrate Linnaeus. “A shallow observer could indeed momentarily have the illusion that national unification, of which there has recently been so much talk, has finally arisen under the sign of the king of

flowers.” The level of attention had been different a century earlier, when not even the Academy of Sciences was interested in celebrating the memory of Linnaeus, he stated. The most significant reason for this change was the impressive upswing in the natural sciences, which had meant so much to modern industrialism, but which also had a moral value, one independent of all the practical results and belying Christian moralists’ criticism of the crass materialism of the time. After a survey of Linnaeus’ work, Lidforss clarified the nature of his genius. He also explained that Linnaeus’ perception of nature was different to that of modern science – he was not the progenitor of evolutionary theory and bacteriology that some people wanted to make him. Nevertheless, his life and deeds were invaluable elements of the spiritual values that made Sweden a civilised nation. But if culture was to safeguard nationality, it could not remain the privilege of a few. Lidforss’ hope was that progressive work towards democracy would enable the working masses of Sweden to really be part of the celebration of Linnaeus’ tercentenary. For then the Swedes could be unified, and through this unification become a strong people.

Similar left-leaning criticism could be expressed even more sharply, such as in *Smålands folkblad*. Below the headline “Celebrate moderately!” the accolades of the powerful were found to be hypocritical, because the private capitalist state allowed the talented poor to fail. “And from workers in town and country there therefore sounds, in the cheers of the Linnaeus jubilee, *an accusation against society for the mistreatment of the best people and the waste of the best in people.*” But not everything in the left-leaning press was ideological confrontation. Poetry blossomed, of about the same type as in newspapers more inclined to defend the current social order, such as in the poem written by “a worker” to honour Linnaeus:

As the scent of the twinflower spreads  
from the woodland’s edge on a summer day,  
thus slips the image of you  
into the hearts of the masses.

Another glitch in the festive machinery arose in April, after the Academy of Sciences realised that the celebrations coincided with Children’s Day, when a carnival-style procession would take place to collect money for poor urban children who needed to visit the countryside. The Academy tried to use the Over-Governorship, the public authority for Stockholm, to move the procession to another day. The newspapers wondered, on the one hand, what the world’s press would say about this procession of needy children – would the Swedes be perceived as a degenerate people, unable to celebrate its great sons in a dignified fashion? On the other hand, bitter criticism was directed at the learned conspirators’ attempts to thwart efforts to help the poor



children experience the nature so loved by Linnaeus – at the same time as these gentlemen wished to use the Primary School Authority to order pupils to parade at their own Linnaeus celebration. In the end, the events shared the day.

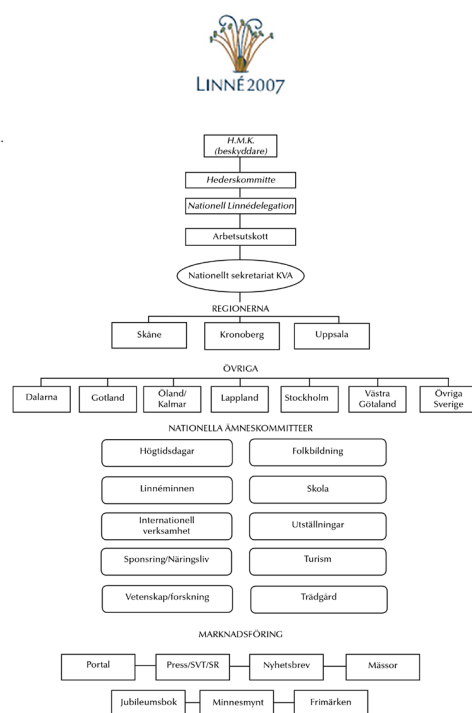
The 1907 Linnaeus bicentenary was not only celebrated in Sweden, but on an almost global scale. For example, the press reported from celebrations in Australia in early July, once the post from there had reached Sweden. The contrast with 1807 is striking. A century later, there was a public sphere in an entirely different way, as well as an imperative to manifest oneself in this field. The Academy of Sciences staged a celebration of and homage to the science it promoted and the successes of which it was itself promoted by. The image of Linnaeus filled the festivities with an ideological function insofar as it made science a national concern. It both united the people and asserted the nation's place in the struggle on the unbloody field of science. At the same time, the left-leaning press – which in contrast to the conservative press is not preserved in the Academy's archive – felt that the image of the smiling king of flowers did not smooth over the fact that education was not a concern for the entire Swedish people.

### *Mr Flower Power flies across the Earth*

The older an institution and the greater the diversity of its activities, the more reasons it has to celebrate. In 2001, the Academy of Sciences celebrated the centenary of the Nobel Prize. Preparations for this possibly contribute to ambiguity about the Academy's participation in the informal network which, in 1999, began to consider the 2007 Linnaeus jubilee. Initially it was probably represented by the Swedish Linnaeus Society's chairperson, a zoology professor from Uppsala and former permanent secretary.

Plans were made in many places. Members of parliament from Småland presented motions in 2001 and 2002, supporting a project to create a national knowledge centre for Linnaeus in his homeland. In the spring of 2004, the government's attention was courted by interested parties from Uppsala, and then jointly by the county governors of Uppsala, Skåne and Kronoberg counties, with the latter being part of Småland. National coordination was necessary for Linnaeus' home nation to “be able to assert itself in competition with all of those, around the world, who are in the start blocks for celebrating the king of flowers”, the county governors said. “We also see that specific local interests, when there is no comprehensive national perspective, and also when commercial interests are allowed an influence, risk bringing ridicule to the jubilee.”

At the same time, the Linnaeus Society received a grant of 300,000 kronor from the Swedish Research Council. It employed a project manager, who had



**LINNÉ2007** was a project with an comprehensive organisation.

**THE PROJECT ORCHESTRATED ACTIVITIES** around the world, including a brand platform that all approved actors could use for free.

been the national coordinator for the Birgitta Jubilee in 2003 and was based at the Academy of Sciences. After the summer, when the plans were presented to the class for biosciences, the permanent secretary said: “Linnaeus can also be used in contemporary debate on research policy by discussing what prospects exist for a Linnaeus of our time.” Towards the end of the year, the Academy organised a meeting for stakeholders from around Sweden. Uppsala’s county governor, the former minister Anders Björck, explained the necessity of securing funding and how the founding of a national committee would be a step in the right direction. “Quality assurance is also important; the Academy’s name provides a weight to the jubilee that it would not have if a smaller organisation were responsible.”

After continued lobbying, in the spring of 2005 the government tasked the Swedish Research Council with the national coordination of the Linnaeus Jubilee and the founding of a delegation for this purpose. Seven million

kronor were allocated for this. “The Linnaeus Jubilee has great potential”, explained the government, “for providing positive effects in everything from tourism and Sweden’s image abroad, to increasing interest in scientific education and research among young people.” With this, the snowball started to roll. It came to grow in a way that attracted more and more people. In one evaluation, the jubilee’s turnover was calculated as significantly exceeding 300 million kronor.

The organisation chart to the left gives some idea of the breadth of this project: Linné2007. The king had accepted the position of patron at an early stage, and the royal family participated in numerous events during the year. The honorary committee included the prime minister and the archbishop, the president of the Academy of Sciences and the chairperson of the Linnean Society in London. The Linnaeus delegation was chaired by Anders Björck and, in addition to the Academy’s permanent secretary, included director generals and CEOs, county governors, university vice-chancellors and others. A working committee dealt with immediate issues. The national Secretariat at the Academy was led by the previously employed project manager, who received the title of secretary general. In the Secretariat, people worked on contacts with business, environmental issues and, primarily, with the media and marketing, communication and information. There were separate steering committees and project managers in the regions to which Linnaeus had travelled and written about. As the jubilee grew, a geographically-based organisation became inadequate, so subject-specific committees with their own coordinators were established. For example, there was a national committee for coordinating international contacts with 29 different countries. State visits were exchanged with Japan and the jubilee received global attention.

The project was guided by two overarching objectives that originated in a communications and brand platform. The first was launching a new image of Linnaeus, one different to the amiable old man who organised flowers: Linnaeus as an interdisciplinary polymath and the first ever ecologist, a world-famous scientist with humour and charisma. The second was to inspire, for example to attract more young people to science and research. The aim was to find tomorrow’s Linné and Linnéa – or Carl and Carla – but also to market Sweden. Linnaeus was to be promoted as a “symbol of nature, biological diversity, sustainable development and environmental work”. The regions also had more practical aims, such as encouraging nature and culture-based tourism. Locally, the available opportunities were seized, with varying degrees of farfetchedness.

Young people and tourists were primary target groups. The right approach was vital to getting the message across. The communication agency that developed the communications and brand platform also produced a marketing concept: *Mr Flower Power*. A young, cocky Linnaeus in a paisley shirt



would attract and interest young and old alike. The concept could be freely used by all projects that were found to have an approved level of quality. Because many actors, even abroad, had a similar brand identity, it seemed as if there was a single sender of the message and the activities. Mr Flower Power went viral and flew across the Earth.

Linné2007 worked with five national projects, including the touring exhibition *Kaos von Linné* and a garden, *A Tribute to Linnaeus*, which won a gold medal at the Chelsea Flower Show. But the projects were innumerable – the final report from Linné2007 mentions 9,603 events, just in Sweden. Official celebrations began in Växjö on Carl's name-day, 28 January, with the premiere of *Linnaeus Rex* by rock musician Ola Salo, and ended in Jukkasjärvi on 15 December, when astronaut Christer Fuglesang talked about scientific spaces, violinist Linda Lampenius performed, and the king thanked all those who had contributed. One of the more publicised events was the lavish birthday celebration in Uppsala, with the Japanese imperial couple as guests of honour.

The Academy of Sciences participated in numerous events. The most public was one of the national projects, *Expedition Linné*, a film by and featuring journalist Folke Rydén and natural history photographer Mattias Klum. Three youngsters travelled seven continents, and were astounded by natural wonders and human industry. The experiences of this undertaking were somewhat mixed for the Academy; the project cost millions more than intended and newspaper critics found the film to be more politically correct than inspiring. The most scientifically-focused project was a symposium, *Biodiversity: Its Variations in Time and Space*, with leading international scholars. During its planning, it was emphasised that the Linnaeus jubilee should not look backwards, but rather be used as “leverage to support contemporary research” and the “international marketing of Swedish research”. But history was also made use of: the Observatory Museum produced the exhibition *Linné & Vetenskapsakademien* [Linnaeus & the Academy of Sciences] and an accompanying catalogue. The Academy was also responsible for a beautiful source publication that was presented to the Japanese emperor: the Linnaeus apostle Carl Peter Thunberg's “Speech on the Japanese nation”, as a facsimile on the left-hand pages with an English translation on the right-hand pages.

Naturally, the Linné2007 project was evaluated. A company that worked with impact analysis established that media coverage had been enormous: 8,264 articles, of which 89 per cent were illustrated, entailing 616,500 column centimetres and a 2.5 greater volume than during the 2003 Birgitta Jubilee. Attitude surveys established that knowledge of Linnaeus had increased. For example, in 2007, 41 per cent of 16–29-year-olds responded that Linnaeus was born 300 years ago, compared to 38 per cent the year before. Many older people thought that the jubilee had attracted more young people

to scientific research, but no increase in interest could be established in the younger group. Overall, the project received positive evaluations. The secretary general was named 2007's Project Manager of the Year by the Swedish Project Academy and the Mr Flower Power concept won a prize in the category for integrated communication at the Spinn PR gala.

But sceptical voices were also raised. A newspaper column on the cultural pages of *Dagens Nyheter* voiced concerns that there might be too much of a good thing: "Overall, the Linnaeus year seems to be generating significantly more volumes and dutifulness than creativity. The results are a little stupefying." One professor of the history of science and ideas, in a newspaper interview in *Enköpings-Posten*, quietly wondered whether the Linnaeus jubilee had not become overly bloated. A sign outside a summer restaurant in rural Österlen appears to be the popular expression of a sense of satiety: "Carl Linnaeus never visited here, nor did any of his apostles."

As with previous jubilees, the Linnaeus celebrations in 2007 also included disagreements. People wanted to use the increasing publicity in varying ways and for various purposes. In 2003, an entrepreneur in Småland, who was running the project to create a knowledge centre in the area that had been Linnaeus' childhood home, registered the trademark "Linné 1707-2007". Although the trademark protection only applied in specific contexts, there were objections – from a brewery that sold a sparkling water called "Linné" and, in particular, from numbers of interested parties in the area of Uppsala. Eventually, the Swedish Patent and Registration Office rescinded its decision. It was unclear who was entitled to speak on behalf of Linnaeus, and how the image of the man of Småland related to the image of the man of science.

Despite some recurrent, apparently timeless tensions, it can be said that the modes of commemorating Linnaeus in 2007 stand in sharp contrast to the previous centenaries. In 1807, the projects were few, small and noticeably dependent on individual actors. One hundred years later, the celebrations were much more wide-ranging. The most publicised elements were organised by institutions, elevating Science against the background of a generally nationalistic ideology.

Another century later, the jubilee assumed almost boundless proportions. In 2007, the Organisation appears to be the actor. But Linné2007 was rather a meta-organisation, which coordinated other organisations' projects; it possessed expertise that related to organisation and project management, rather than to Linnaeus. So many different kinds of activities and actors were coordinated within Linné2007, and such huge flows of money and energy, that an institution like the Academy of Sciences tended to disappear in the crowd. The Organisation worked with objectives formulated in strategy documents, such as the communications and brand platform in which the jubilee was regarded as a single communications project. In several ways, "project"

is a timely form of organisation: it is fashionable and a project is dissolved after a specific time period, its mission does not aim for coming generations. Nor was the idea that the Project would communicate historical expertise or reinterpretations, instead the message was the importance of science and environmental issues for breakthroughs here and now. Characteristically, the many books that were produced in 2007 were often visually attractive rather than laboriously compiled source publications. “Evaluation” is another timely element of organisation and, as we have seen, Linné2007 was the subject of numerous evaluations. It is unclear what conclusions were drawn from them and by whom.

We can note that the image of a celebratory object such as Linnaeus says a great deal about the celebration’s organisers and their times. But determining how images relate to the past is difficult when representations multiply in a mirrored room of interpretations. We can also note that early 21<sup>st</sup>-century images of Linnaeus have become the object of doctoral theses in cultural heritage studies. They teach us a great deal about memory cultures and uses of history, about musealisation and medialisation, but not so much about Linnaeus in history. Or is this precisely what they do?

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Historical overviews of the images of Linnaeus are provided in Olle Franzén, “Hur Linnébilden formades (1778–1850)”, *Svenska Linnésällskapets årskrift*, 1963, and the final chapter of Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation* (Cambridge, MA, 1999). Linnaeus images in the literal sense are inventoried in Tycho Tullberg, *Linné-porträtt: Vid Uppsala universitets minnesfest på tvåhundraårsdagen af Carl von Linnés födelse* (Stockholm, 1907), and supplemented by *Supplement* in 1967 by Ingegerd Tullberg Beskow, and in 1991 by Karin Beskow Tainish & Margaret Tainish. The shifting forms of recollection are followed in Peter Aronsson, “Att minnas Carl von Linné”, in Lars-Olof Larsson (ed.), *Linné: En småländsk resa* (Stockholm, 2006). Memory cultures in science are explored in Pnina G. Abir-Am & Clark A. Elliott (eds.), *Commemorative Practices in science: Historical Perspectives on the Politics of Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1999).

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*A classic man of Småland*: Carl Gustaf Bernhard, *Huset på höjden* (Stockholm, 2000), 199. The king’s letter of 10 February 1807 is in “Bilagor till protokoll” in the Academy’s archive, from where I have also used “Protokoll från Akademien” from 25 February 1807, 30 March 1808 and 7 March 1810, and “Inspectura ærarii-protokoll”, 28 February, 2 and 30 May 1807 and 26 March 1808. Hedin depicts the history behind the celebrations in Växjö in *Minne af Linné: Fader och son* (Stockholm, 1808), II, 42–59, but the description is perhaps not entirely reliable; the invitation: Elias Heurlin, *Alla af stånd och börd, vetenskapernes här varande beskyddare och vänner*



(Växjö, 1807). Articles on Hedin and Forsslund can be found in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*; Forsslund can also be read about in *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*, in Gunnar Svensson, 1. *Jonas Forsslund 1754–1809* 2. *Carl Th. Staaff 1816–1880: Två "kungamålare"* (Östersund, 1963), and Magnus Olausson, "Gustav IV Adolf i porträttkonsten", in *"Galenpannan": Gustav IV Adolf i porträttkonsten* (Stockholm, 2000). The classical approach in that era's sculpture is illuminated in *Sergel och hans romerska krets: Europeiska terrakottor 1760–1814* (Stockholm, 2004), for example "Åra stora mäns minne", 206–208; I am grateful to Linda Hinners at the National Museum of Fine Arts for this reference. The complicated story of the celebrations in Uppsala is thoroughly examined in Hanna Östholm, "Linnéminnet", in Per Ström (ed.), *Linnéfest och doktorspromotion i Uppsala den 23 och 26 maj 2007* (Uppsala, 2007). The vice-chancellor's invitation and speech are in Carl Peter Thunberg, *Tal vid invignings-acten af den nya akademiska trädgården dess orangerie och samlings-salar [...], då tillika firades framledne archiaterens och riddarens Carl von Linnés hundra-åriga födelse-dag* (Uppsala, 1807); the Linnaean Institute's request was dealt with by the *Inspectura ærarii* of the Academy of Sciences on 31 March 1807. The history relating to Lund is briefly covered in Yngve Löwegren, "Kring en Linnébyst i Lund", *Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift*, 1964. Lund is also home to the editorial office of the Swedish Academy Dictionary, whose collection of citation slips contains diverse support for the phrase "king of flowers".

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*A king of flowers for the entire nation?:* A detailed description of the festivities arranged by the Academy of Sciences is given in appendix 1 of the annual report for 1910, J. A. Bergstedt (ed.), *Minnesfesten öfver Carl von Linné den 25 maj 1907* (Uppsala, 1910). In the Academy's archive, I have used "Protokoll från Akademien" and "Förvaltningsutskottets protokoll", as well as the collections "Minnesfesten öfver Linné: Bilagor" and "Div. handlingar rörande Linnéjubileet 1907" (Sekreterarens arkiv k.53:1–2); a great deal of newspaper material has been preserved but is, in principle, limited to Stockholm's conservative press. Uppsala University Library contains boxes of uncatalogued material from the jubilee, which is presented in *Inbjudning till Uppsala universitets Linnéfest den 23 och 24 maj 1907* (Uppsala, 1907); cf. the short description in the vice-chancellor's account (6–8) in *Uppsala universitets årsskrift*, 1907. The direct quotes in the first two paragraphs about press coverage are from *Vårt land*, 25 May, *Aftonbladet*, 23 May, *Stockholms Dagblad*, 23 May, *Dagens Nyheter*, 19 May, and *Svenska Dagbladet*, 24 May. The attention of military doctors was noted in *Svenska Dagbladet*, 21 May; architect Wilhelm Klemming's in *Dagens Nyheter*, 24 May. *Norrskensflamman* commented on the centralisation of celebrations on 22 May. Lidforss' speech is referred to in *Ny tid*, 21 May, published in *Arbetet*, 23–24 May, commented upon in *Socialdemokraten*, 23–24 May. *Smålands Folkblad* criticised official festivities on 24 May (cf. the acclamatory reporting in the conservative *Smålands Allehanda*); the poem is in *Arbetet*, 23 May. Comments on the clash with Children's Day are in "Minnesfesten öfver Linné: Bilagor", 573–580 (dates and newspapers are not in the clippings). Reporting from Australia is commented upon in *Svenska Dagbladet*, 8 July.



*Mr Flower Power flies across the Earth*: The starting point for this essay is the archive of Linné2007, which is extensive (2.4 shelf metres) but excellently catalogued and located in the Swedish National Archives. The motions to the Riksdag on a national cultural and knowledge centre for Carl Linnaeus are 2001/02:Kr389 and 2002/03:Kr232, but more motions were presented in the lead up to the jubilee. Government decisions and documentation are in the central archive of the Government Offices of Sweden, U2004/1904/F. Material from meetings at the Academy of Sciences, including discussions about the communications and brand platform, is in Linné 2007, F1b (in vol. F1 a:1); material on the film project and its increasing costs can be found in B1:2; reviews and comments are from the report *Medieanalys*, appendix to the Linnaeus delegation's minutes from 28 January 2008, A1:1, which also includes reports from the surveys. *Rapport Linné2007: Carl von Linnés 300-årsjubileum* has been retrieved from the website of the Swedish Linnaeus Society ([www.linnaeus.se](http://www.linnaeus.se)); a more detailed report book is Peter Stjernström, *Ung man fyller 300 år: Om Linné 2007 – jubileet som siktade mot framtiden* (Stockholm, 2009). The Academy's publications were *Linné & Vetenskapsakademien: Observatoriemuseet 15 april 2007–6 jan 2008* (Stockholm, 2007), and Carl Peter Thunberg, *Speech on the Japanese Nation 1794* (Stockholm, 2007). Gunnar Broberg covers the jubilee in a little more than 60 pages under the heading "Smärre meddelanden" in *Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift*, 2007; see also subsequent years. The utilisation of Linnaeus is also covered in Joakim Andersson, *Skilda världar: Samtida föreställningar om kulturarvsplatser* (Linköping, 2008), which looks at the trademark conflict and its background in chapter 5, and Johan Linder, *Den lokala profilen: Person, plats och kulturarv* (Stockholm, 2015).