

The 'creatio doctoris'. Diversity or convergence of ceremonial forms?

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☒ Summary

The doctorate is and always has been the *essence* of the university. Responsibility for its content and design is a matter of university autonomy. As regards the *content*: there is a variety of paths leading to the doctoral degree in Europe. This paper deals with the *design*, the *rituals* of the doctorate. What does the 'creatio doctoris' look like in this year of 2005? Generally speaking there are two models of doctorate rituals: the 'disputatio model', consisting of the public defence of the dissertation before a committee, and the 'inceptio' model, where the ritual is split into two parts, the examination or disputation, followed later by a festive group ceremony. In both models the official 'creatio doctoris' takes place during or after the disputatio. However, the popularity of the inceptio model is growing: not only have some existing ceremonies been embellished, also an increasing number of universities, which adhered to the disputatio model, nowadays organise festivities to 'honour' their doctors. These 'invented traditions' are based upon the historical conferment ceremonies in order to emphasise continuity and academic autonomy. The result is a diversity of rituals all over Europe. However, each country is proud of its doctorate rituals. This means that these rituals belong to, and are part of, national culture; they are seen as important values that one should cherish rather than change or abolish.

☒ The doctorate is the 'proprium' of the university

1. '*Promotion ist das Wesen der europäischen Universitäten*' (1832) = *The doctorate is the essence of the European universities* [German law historian Friedrich Carl von Savigny (1779-1861)].
2. '*The doctorate is the proprium of the university. Responsibility for its content and design is a matter of university autonomy. It provides opportunities for institutional profile building*'. [Joint Statement by German, Austrian & Swiss Rectors' Conferences, 2004]
3. The EUA (European University Association) talks about *the essential importance of doctoral training for the fulfilment of the university mission*

These quotations tell us something important, namely that the doctorate is and always has been the nucleus, the essence, the proprium ['property'] of the university. Ever since the universities were founded some 800 years ago, the doctorate has been the highest academic degree that a university can award. As such, the doctorate constitutes an important product of the university.

Thus, it is not surprising that in 2003 the European education ministers taking part in the Bologna Process (supported by the European University Association EUA) decided to adopt the future of doctoral programmes as a specific Bologna objective. To be more precise: to *harmonise* the structure of European doctoral programmes and to *integrate* them into the Bologna Process as the third cycle. In other words: BaMa will be BaMaDo: after the Ba of Bachelor and the Ma of Master, the Do of doctor should follow. Or, as the French say: LMD (licenciat – maîtrise – doctorat) - and that is what they are talking about here in Bergen. At a recent seminar in Salzburg titled 'Doctoral Programmes for the European Knowledge Society' (3-5 February 2005) Sonja Puntcher-Riekman, Vice-Rector of the University of Salzburg, said: 'Common rules, common standards, common procedures are necessary.'

Now, the question arises: which doctorate? As a matter of fact, a variety of doctorates exists: professional doctorates, higher doctorates, state doctorates, research doctorates, honorary doctorates, European doctorates, and yes, even internet doctorates, i.e. doctorates for sale¹. Here, I will talk only about the *research doctorate*, also called *PhD* or *D.Phil.* This doctorate is almost universally accepted as the standard qualification for an academic career. However, it is a relatively new invention. It was the Humboldt University in Berlin, founded in 1810, that revived the degree of *Philosophiæ Doctor* [Doctor of Philosophy] to be granted to someone who had undertaken original research in the sciences or humanities. The animating force behind the new degree was the vision of *Bildung*² as professed by German university ideals. In the 19th century, particularly in the United States, these ideals - freedom of study, disinterested scholarship and dissertation research - offered a different and attractive approach to higher education. In 1861 the first PhD was awarded in Yale³. From there it spread to the United Kingdom at the start of the 20th

¹ Repeatedly I receive e-mails like this one: ONLINE UNIVERSITY DIPLOMA. Obtain the diploma you deserve, Based on your life experience and present knowledge. Consider a prosperous future, money earning power, And the admiration of all. Diplomas from prestigious non-accredited universities. No tests, coursework, or interviews required. Discrete and affordable. Everyone eligible. Call now - your diploma awaits you!!! 1-801-849-3104. Calls returned promptly. Confidentiality assured.

² *Bildung* is roughly defined as the pursuit of pure knowledge for its own intrinsic value, outside of any application.

³ George W. Pierson, *Yale College. An educational history 1871-1921*. New Haven 1952, p. 52; Anne L. Buchanan: *The Doctor of Philosophy degree. A selective, annotated bibliography*. Westport (Connecticut) 1995.

century (Oxford 1917)⁴. Over time, many universities in the whole world vied to establish PhD programmes for purpose of prestige and intellectual respectability.

Although the education ministers and the EUA desire to converge the European doctoral programmes, this will be rather difficult to realise as there is a variety of paths leading to the doctoral degree in Europe⁵. Although in all countries the main task in earning a doctoral degree is writing a *thesis* or *dissertation* and defending it before a commission, other aspects of the doctoral process vary to a considerable extent. The duration, for instance, is between two and four years as a rule. However, for various reasons (insecure funding, lack of supervision, insufficient structuring of doctoral programmes, simultaneous working or teaching) completion of the degree can take many more years. Moreover, in some countries the dissertation is regarded more as a masterpiece than as an apprenticeship thesis. Consequently the completion of the dissertation can take 6, 9 or even 15 to 20 years. There are even candidates who never complete their dissertations, creating the informal category of ABD = All But the Dissertation.

Also, requirements differ. Some countries require successfully completed course work as part of earning the degree, other require additional written or oral examinations. Some dissertations require a number of short theses, for others a maximum number of words is fixed.⁶

Now this is all about the *contents*, the *structure* of the doctorate. But what about the other part of the doctorate: the *form*, the *design*, the rituals of conferring the doctoral degree? What do they look like in this year of 2005? Are they as diverse as the structures of doctoral programmes? Another question arises: if the doctoral process in Europe has to converge, should, or rather, could the forms converge too?

The 'creatio doctoris': title and ceremony

Before turning to current forms and rituals of the creation of doctors, let me first briefly say something about the origin of the doctor's degree and the graduation act. The above mentioned *doctor of philosophy* was not, of course, created without precedent. Our European university tradition dates back to medieval times when the universities of Bologna and Paris gave birth to the doctorate. In fact, the title of *doctor* was for the first time conferred [in law - 'doctor legum'] at Bologna before 1219⁷. The

⁴ Renate Simpson: *How the PhD came to Britain. A century of struggle for postgraduate education*. Guildford 1983. Some English universities such as Oxford and Sussex retain the *D.Phil.* appellation for their research degrees.

⁵ *Doctoral Degrees and Qualifications in the contexts of the European Higher Education Area and the European Research and Innovation Area*, International symposium organized by UNESCO-CEPES and the Elias Foundation of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest 12-14 September 2003. Jan Sadlak (ed.): *Doctoral Studies and Qualifications in Europe and the United States: Status and Prospects*. Bucharest 2004

⁶ In Oxford candidates for the DPhil (humanities) produce a these up to 100.000 words.

⁷ Peter Weimar: 'Zur Doktorwürde der Bologneser Legisten', in: *Ius commune 17, Festgabe für Helmut Coing*, Frankfurt 1982, p. 421-443; Olga Weijers: *Terminologie des universités au XIIIe siècle*. Rome 1987, p. 143ff.

doctorate was a qualification which permitted a scholar to become a full participating member of a guild.

Obtaining this academic title of *doctor* (or *magister* - it should be noted that these two degrees were often used indifferently at many universities⁸) was a complex process. The general procedure was that the student should first complete the first phase of university education by obtaining the *baccalaureus* degree. After this, he (no 'she' in those times!) had to continue his study for a number of years in order to acquire the *licentia docendi* (licence to teach). For this licentia, an examination was held in the presence of a jury that consisted of doctores and/or magistri and was chaired by the rector. Usually, this examination consisted of a *disputatio* (disputation), in which the candidate had to defend a certain view on a particular *quaestio* (question). If the candidate won the disputation, he became a licenciatu, i.e. a 'graduate'.

Paradoxically, the licentia was not yet the licence to teach at the university. To obtain this right, the candidate had to take a public examination, which normally took place soon after receiving the licentia. This examination, which was the actual solemn inauguration into a university teaching position, led to the award of the degree of doctor (or magister). It was a ceremonial examination – one that the candidate could not fail – and normally took place in a church or archbishop's palace.

During the ceremony - called *conventus* in Bologna and *inceptio*⁹ in Paris¹⁰ - which was conducted with great pomp, the candidate was formally created a doctor and consequently received the doctoral insignia such as cap, book, ring, gloves and kiss. Then, seated at the doctoral cathedra, he gave an exhibition of his professional capacity: he performed his first act as a doctor (magister) by delivering an inaugural lecture or holding an inaugural disputation. This disputation had to demonstrate that he was able to teach, and marked his entrance into the body of doctors.

Afterwards the neodoctor(s), accompanied by the rector, teachers and students, all in their academic dress, walked in procession through the streets serenaded by trumpets and pipers. Finally there was the prandium doctorale, the banquet given by the neodoctor, an essential part of the inceptio / conventus.

The doctor's title was not only very prestigious (some doctors even claimed nobility – 'scientia nobilitat'); from the 15th century on this degree also began to be a significant qualification for appointments to ecclesiastical and worldly offices.

⁸ The university of Paris at first designated teachers of law as doctors, and professors of theology as masters. But in the course of time the practice arose of appropriating the title *doctor* to all the superior faculties (theology, law, medicine) and reserving that of *magister* for the inferior faculties of arts. The English universities adopted the usage of Paris. In Germany, doctor and magister were interchangeable, but eventually the master of arts (MA) was styled *doctor philosophiae*.

⁹ The term *commencement* as applied to graduation exercises, is but the English equivalent of the medieval inceptio, and was first used in Cambridge.

¹⁰ The earliest known *inceptio* – standing for the recognition of a new-comer by the other members of the profession - in Paris took place in 1179. Nancy Spatz, 'Evidence of Inception Ceremonies in the Twelfth-Century Schools of Paris', in: *History of Universities XIII*, Oxford 1994, p. 3-19.

Meanwhile, the ritual basically remained the same all over Europe – with some variations – until the end of the old regime, around 1800.

Then, as a consequence of the innovations of the doctorate and the rise of the new PhD which put the emphasis on the *content*, the *form* started to change. The first part of the doctoral process, the *disputatio*, was given greater emphasis at the expense of the second part, the elaborate public ceremony. In some universities the latter part was simplified, at other universities it gradually disappeared or was abolished altogether. As a result, at many universities the first part (*disputatio*) was left over as the only doctorate ritual.

✠ Current doctorate rituals

Generally speaking there are now two models of doctorate rituals

- *Disputatio* model: the ritual consists of the public defence of the dissertation before a committee.
- *Inceptio* model : the ritual is split into two parts: the examination/disputation, followed later by a festive group ceremony.

It should be mentioned that in both models the *official* [legal] creation of the doctor takes place during or after the *disputatio*. Thus, unlike the traditional inceptions, the festive doctor's ceremonies are nowadays mere celebrations and have no legal implications.

◆ the *disputatio* model – defence of dissertation

This model, practised by Belgium, France, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Germany (partly) and the Netherlands, has various, slightly different, forms. At graduation acts in these countries (except the Netherlands – see below), there is usually hardly any traditional pomp and splendour left. This means: no special location, no academic dress, no academic procession, no use of Latin, no awarding of doctoral insignia, no music.

In all these countries the supervisor has to *approve* the dissertation beforehand. In some countries, however, changes and corrections are to be made later, based upon the discussion during the defence. These dissertations are provisional manuscripts which may be, but are not necessarily, published afterwards. In the Netherlands and Iceland, the dissertation is final and must be published before the doctorate ceremony.

In *Norway, Iceland*¹¹ and *Germany* the forms of completing the doctorate deviate from the 'standard' disputation model. In the first country, public defence is not enough to conclude the doctoral degree programme. Before this, the candidate should give at least one public trial lecture. The first trial lecture shall be on a prescribed topic. If two trial lectures are required, the second lecture shall be on a topic of the candidate's own choice.

In *Iceland*, doctor graduations are so rare – on an average two per year – that the public defence, called *vörn*, is a great event. This means that extensive media coverage is devoted to the doctorand, the dissertation and the *vörn*, which consequently acquires a rather festive character.

Germany is a special case. Under the German constitution, the sixteen German States (*Länder*) have most of the responsibility for education. Thus, universities must enact detailed regulations (*Promotionsordnungen*) covering the requirements for the awarding of doctorates¹². These requirements as well as the forms vary from university to university, and within each university from one faculty to another. This extremely decentralised system has led to some 1000 different regulations and forms of doctorates. In any case, for the award of the doctorate two requirements must be met: completion of a doctoral thesis and an oral (public) examination. There are three different forms of this examination: the traditional form (*Rigorosum*: an examination which covers the entire range of the subject), the defence of the thesis (*Disputation*, a form that is increasingly used) and a lecture delivered by the doctorand and followed by a discussion (*Kolloquium*).

In *Denmark* and *Italy* two types of doctorates exist. In the first country these are called respectively the higher doctorate [*højere doktorgrade*, with the title doktor / dr, introduced in the 1960s, and the lower doctorate [*lavere doktorgrade*, with the title PhD]. Both degrees require a public defence, called *doktorsdisputation*. For a PhD the defence lasts only 20 minutes, but the higher doctorate defence has no time limit and may last many hours, e.g. from 2 p.m. until 7,30 p.m. The only condition is that the defence be finished before sunset. Consequently, doctorands prefer to defend their dissertation in winter (shorter days) and then start as late in the day as possible. An important difference is that the doctorand will hear the result (failing is possible) much later – this takes 6-8 weeks.

Italy added a new, higher doctorate in 1981. In this country the *laurea* degree traditionally entitles the holder to use the title of doctor (*dottore / dottoressa*, shortened to Dott./Dott.ssa). However, this corresponds to a second-level university qualification, not to be confused with the doctorate / PhD elsewhere. In the Italian system the new *Dottorato di Ricerca* (research doctorate) is what actually corresponds

¹¹ *Traditioner och särdrag. Några iakttagelser och reflexioner kring nordiska universitet och högskolor*. NUAS [Det Nordiska Universitetetsadministratörssamarbetet] Åbo (Finland) 2000.

¹² Klaus Hüfner, 'Germany', in: Jan Sadlak, *Doctoral Studies*, o.c. foot-note 5, p. 51-62.

to most European and non-European doctorates. It is a third-level university degree conferring the title *Dottore di Ricerca*. No official abbreviation has yet been determined. It could be *Dr*, as this is most commonly used.

As a result of the laurea system there are many dottori and dottoresse in Italy, who usually are addressed by their titles: 'Buon giorno, dottoressa!', 'Un cappuccino, dottore?' This 'inflation' of titles plus the establishment of the new research doctorate recently led Franco Ferrarotti, Professor of Sociology, to argue that the laurea-doctor's-title should be abolished: 'Nobody has the nerve to put an end to it; sometimes I think that, in these economically difficult times, people attach even more importance to the use of titles'¹³.

An important matter is *failure*: theoretically, in some countries - Belgium, Norway, Iceland, Denmark [higher doctorate] - doctorands can fail, but this is very rare. Recently, such a failure happened in Belgium, with an interesting outcome. A law doctorand, defending her thesis at the University of Antwerp, did not satisfy the doctoral commission, which then refused to deliberate, i.e. to grant her the doctorate. Subsequently the doctorand lodged a complaint against the University, claiming that according to a strict interpretation of the regulations she had passed the examination. The Raad van State (State Council) decided in her favour (1 Dec. 2004). 'The consequence of this sentence could be that in future deliberations of the jury are completely superfluous', the Belgian historian Pieter Dhondt remarked: Does this mean that universities have lost their *proprium*, their unique right to confer doctors' titles?¹⁴ In Turkey, too, a doctorand recently (2004) went to court after failing the defence of thesis (Istanbul University).

As regards academic *dress*: at the moment, as a rule, only in Iceland and the Netherlands is academic dress obligatory at disputations. In most other countries this was abolished in the 1960s¹⁵. In *Portugal* no formal rules exist in this respect and until recently academic gowns used to be worn. But for the last 10-15 years academic dress is seen less and less at doctorate rituals. The reason for this is clear, as some Portuguese doctors explain: 'There are too many doctors! That means there are too many graduations and professors do not feel like getting in and out of these complicated garments too often'. A French professor remarks: 'What does it matter whether members of the jury wear a gown or not? The defence of the thesis is a very serious matter. The candidate has to answer difficult questions on an academic level and certainly won't be bothered about professors wearing academic gowns.'

¹³ NRC/Handelsblad 2-2-2005.

¹⁴ Pieter Dhondt, 'Verlenen de universiteiten nog zelf de academische graden?', in *Nieuwsbrief Universiteitsgeschiedenis* 2, 2004, p. 5.

¹⁵ However, in those countries academic dress is still in use at the conferment of *honorary* doctoral degrees and other academic ceremonies – at such rituals universities still want to show their traditional splendour.

Procedure of the disputatio

What does the disputatio look like? In all countries some time before the 'great day' doctorands get detailed information about the formal procedure. In *France* and *Switzerland* (University of Geneva) the doctorate's ritual is considered so important that one-day *workshops* are organised to prepare doctorands. These workshops seem to meet a need, as candidates eagerly present themselves¹⁶.

To give an idea of the general disputation-procedure, the French ritual (Sorbonne, Paris) - called *soutenance de thèse* (defence of thesis) – is described here as an example. The doctorand presents his work in front of a doctoral commission, called the *jury*. Further characteristics are:

- *Location*: a lecture room in the university
- *Dress*: Doctorand should be correctly dressed (suits for men, formal attire for women). No dress code for the members of the jury – they often don't even wear ties. No academic gowns (abolished 1968)
- *Jury*: composed of 5 to 6 people: a university professor, the reviewers, the supervisor and some other members. For the doctorand it is important that the jury consists of as many renowned professors as possible, who are experts in the subject. The better the professors, the better for your doctor's title.
- *Audience*: generally small, consisting of nearest family, colleagues and perhaps some friends.
- *Duration*: no time limit. The *soutenance* can last up to 6 hours, with a short interval. The audience sometimes bring small bottles of drink to survive.
- *Result*: failing (*refus*) is impossible.

Procedure: The jury walks in and sits down behind a table. The president presents the members of the jury and then calls upon the doctorand to speak. After an obligatory expression of gratitude to the jury [*Mesdames et messieurs les membres du jury, je vous remercie de l'attention que vous avez porté à cette thèse intitulée', or '.. de l'honneur que vous me faites'*] he gives an exposé of his thèse (duration some 20-25 minutes). Each member of the jury then draws up his report and mentions negative and positive aspects (approx. 20-40 minutes per member of the jury). In these monologues the professors show how thoroughly they have read the thèse. The doctorand replies to all remarks and questions and later, after the *soutenance*, incorporates these remarks in the definitive version of his thèse.

After deliberation by the jury the formal *creatio doctoris* takes place. Everybody has to rise and then the president pronounces the ritual phrase: 'Monsieur / Madame X, le jury vous declare *docteur* en ... avec le *mention ...*'. This *mention* (commendation), ranging from 'assez honorable' (rather honourable) to 'très

¹⁶ In Oxford guidance on oral presentation skills is given.

honorable avec les félicitations du jury à l'unanimité' (very honourable with unanimous congratulations of the jury) is highly important for the future of the neodoctor. With a low commendation fewer opportunities on the job market than with a high commendation.

Such is the *disputatio* as it is designed in most countries. However, a formal *creatio doctoris* does not take place in all countries. In some cases this is impossible, because the result of the examination will be announced at a later date (Norway, Denmark [higher doctorate]) or because the final version of the thesis has to be published first (Switzerland¹⁷). Usually, this means that candidates get their doctor's title in a rather impersonal and unceremonial way: their diploma is sent by post, or without any more ado handed over by a university employee. As a Swiss Doctor remarked: 'I was made a doctor under an office pot plant. My *Doktorvater* (supervisor) simply said: "Hereby I declare you to be a doctor"'.

Whereas the examination in France has rather strict forms, in Germany is a little more informal. A neodoctor *medicinae* writes about his *Disputation*: 'There were my parents – who were extremely excited - and some friends, I sat down and was questioned by some professors of the *Prüfungskommission*. Four of them came ten minutes too late! Such an impertinence! Afterwards we drank the obligatory *Sekt* [champagne] with my supervisor. He said good-bye quite quickly and then I had a nice doctor's dinner with my family'. In many German universities / faculties this is all there is. There is no ceremonial awarding of the doctor's title; the diploma is simply sent by post.

This is also the case in *Italy*. The granting of the *Dottore* title (laurea degree) is done by a short (5-10 minutes) oral examination without any ceremonies. For the *Dottorato di Ricerca* no ceremonial has been invented. This degree is awarded after a public defence of the dissertation, which lasts some 3 hours. The diploma is delivered some time later by the *postino* (postman).

True, in *Belgium* (Free University of Brussels) this is also the case, but there the candidate, immediately after the favourable outcome of the jury's deliberation, is solemnly declared to be a doctor. He even gets a traditional present, a beautiful fountain pen. After the ritual act everybody is invited to a festive reception, offered and paid for by the university.

Finally, *the Netherlands*. This country has a special and unique variation of the *disputatio* model. Characteristics of the graduation ceremony, called *promotie*, are:

- *Propositions (stellingen)*: Traditionally (by now no longer obligatory at all Dutch universities) the doctorand presents a number (about 12) of short propositions

¹⁷ Until that moment the candidate is styled *Dr des.* (doctor designatus/designata).

on a loose page in his dissertation. Some of these propositions should be related to the subject of his dissertation, others should not. They all should be approved by the supervisor – except the final one. Therefore, this final proposition is traditionally a surprise. Newspapers regularly publish ‘final propositions’ from dissertations. There are even little anthologies of final propositions.

- *Paranymphs*: the doctorand has to choose two persons who act as his assistants before and during the graduation procedure. During the ceremony they stand on either side of the candidate.
- *Dress code*: academic gowns and cap (professors), dark suit (doctores), white tie (male doctorand and paranymphs), formal dark dress or suit (female doctorand and paranymphs), black gown and sceptre for bedel. Silver chain for the rector or his/her representative.
- *Formulae*: the doctorand has to address the members of the Doctoral Board with special titles like ‘Hooggeleerde Promotor’ (highly learned supervisor), ‘Hooggeleerde Opponens’ (highly learned opponent, professors) and ‘Zeergeleerde Opponens’ (very learned opponent, doctors). The doctorand is addressed as ‘Mr/Mrs Candidate’.
- *Duration*: exactly 45 minutes. The Bedel (*Pedel*) ends the challenge and defence by entering and striking his sceptre on the floor, calling out loudly: ‘Hora est’ (it is time, i.e. to stop the disputation).

◆ *The inceptio model*

The second model still follows the traditional pattern of medieval origin: a licentia examination (disputatio) is followed some time later by a ceremonial doctor’s creation. I refer to this model as *inceptio* (inception), because this term has traditionally and regularly been used for both the licentia examination and the proper ceremony. In countries such as Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovenia, United Kingdom, Ireland, Sweden, Finland and Turkey this model is used¹⁸. These festive graduation acts are, however, mere ceremonies and have no legal status. Each candidate is entitled to style himself doctor after successful completion of the doctorate requirements (dissertation, examination/disputation)¹⁹. Nevertheless, the great majority of neodoctores attend the (non-obligatory) group ceremonies during which the doctor diplomas and titles are formally awarded.

¹⁸ As a rule, disputations in these countries follow the above-mentioned procedure. Yet, it should be mentioned that the thesis examination in The United Kingdom (known as *viva*, short for *viva voce* [Latin] = live voice) before a committee of two persons, is not open to the public.

¹⁹ In Oxford, one can only use DPhil after one’s name when the degree has been formally conferred either in person or in absentia at the degree ceremony.

'New traditions'. There is an interesting, new phenomenon: the growing popularity of the *inceptio* model. An increasing number of universities, which for many decades adhered to the *disputatio*-model, nowadays organise [yearly] festivities to 'honour' their doctors. Thus, they seem to be switching to the *inceptio* model. This is the case in countries such as Denmark, Norway (Universities of Trondheim and Bergen), and Germany. In *Denmark*, the medical faculty in Aarhus for instance solemnly confers doctors' diplomas once a year. In Copenhagen festive graduation acts are held, at which even members of the Royal Family are usually present.

In *Germany*, after the *Wende* of 1989, various academic symbols and traditions have been restored, at first especially in eastern Germany (former German Democratic Republic GDR)²⁰. In some university towns (Halle, Jena, Rostock, Berlin) both the conferment of doctors' degrees and the opening of the academic year are nowadays attractive show-pieces, with cortèges of rectors, vice-rectors, deans, professors, doctors and bedels. Of course, gowns, capes, hats, chains and sceptres are all worn. For this reason, antique academic gowns and capes (which in some cases had been hidden for years in lofts and box-rooms, etc.) have been carefully restored; otherwise, new garments were made in the traditional style.

The eagerness to wear the traditional dress and the love of academic traditions is sometimes attributed to the regained liberty of expression and academic freedom in Eastern Germany. Conferment rituals have often been instituted or reinstated at the request of the doctorands who want to round off their research studies with an appropriate highlight ('die wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit einem entsprechenden Höhepunkt [zu] beenden'), as a Rostock University official explained²¹. And in 1999 Reinhard Kreckel, [then] Rector of the University of Halle-Wittenberg (Germany), stressed the importance of doctoral rituals: 'Es geht bei uns darum, eine würdige Form zu finden um unsere Promovenden nicht im Fließbandverfahren abzufertigen. Denn immerhin, eine Promotion bedeutet doch für jemanden etwas. Das sollte auch gebührend symbolisiert und gewürdigt werden'²².

At some German universities [faculties] traditions have been invented. This is the case at the new University of Magdeburg (founded in 1993). For each promovend, students²³ create a individually designed *Doktorhut* (doctor's hat), decorated with symbols and references related to the subject of the dissertation. After the examination they 'crown' the neodoctor with this hat, while delivering a specially

²⁰ Falk Bretschneider, Peer Pasternack (ed.): *Akademische Rituale. Symbolische Praxis an Hochschulen*. Leipzig, Hochschule Ost 3-4, 1999

²¹ Karin Rehschuh, University of Halle e-mail 2003; since 2002 once a year a solemn graduation act takes place for all neodoctors.

²² 'The point is to find a worthy form to prevent our doctorands being released in an assembly-line. Clearly, the conferment of the doctors' title means something. Therefore this should be symbolised and honoured in an appropriate way.' P. Pasternack & Falk Bretschneider: 'Talare über Latzhosen', in: *Akademische Rituale*, o.c., foot-note 18, p. 77-78.

²³ To be precise: students of the Fakultät für Verfahrens- und Systemtechnik (Faculty of Process and Systems Engineering) at the Otto-von-Guericke Universität Magdeburg.

prepared speech in mock Latin, and hand him the 'Doktorurkunde' (doctors' charter). The doctor is thereby 'officially' created / invested.

Such doctors' rituals nowadays take place not only in the former GDR, but also in Western Germany (Cologne, Münster, Munich, Tübingen, Heidelberg), even at universities where students' protests in the 1960s were very fierce, like Bremen. These 'invented traditions'²⁴ are based upon, or use elements of, the historical conferment ceremonies in order to emphasise continuity and academic autonomy.

In the University of Vienna, Austria, the ceremony was embellished in the 1990s. As a matter of fact, this University wanted to abolish the solemn conferment of degrees, arguing that it is only a festive act (*Festakt*) which has no judicial implications (*Rechtsakt*). But the students protested. Eventually, the reverse happened: the ritual was beautified. Formulae in German are replaced by formulae in Latin; the music, until then mechanically reproduced, is performed by an academic ensemble, and since 1997 the doctor's diploma is large-sized [48 x 67 cm], on vellum paper and in Latin. The price for this is about 200 euros, to be paid by the neodoctor. The result: interest in, and attendance at, the ceremony increased.

General characteristics. As these solemn doctorate rituals are perceived to be an important event for the neodoctor, who after years of effort, earns a proper, well-deserved and – if possible – unforgettable reward, they are usually rather elaborate and impressive, sometimes downright spectacular. This means that, unlike the disputations escribed above, they are distinguished by: a grand location (university hall, auditorium, local theatre); obligatory academic dress²⁵; formal academic processions; important roles for bedels carrying university or faculty sceptres; (live) music; the use of Latin; and, of course, a lot of spectators.

The *frequency* of the ceremonies varies. In some countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, United Kingdom) graduations are held several times a month for an average of 20-30 neodoctores. Elsewhere, a conferment ceremony is organised for at least hundred or more candidates only once or twice a year (Denmark, Norway, Germany, Sweden, Turkey), or even once in three or four years (Finland).

The *duration* differs too. In the first mentioned countries, the act generally lasts between 45 minutes and one hour. This is understandable as there are only between ten and thirty doctors per ceremony. The 'mass graduations' in Turkey, Sweden and Finland require more time. But while in Turkey the event will take half a day and in Sweden one whole day, the Finns allocate at least three, and sometimes four days to

²⁴ 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices ... which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past', E. Hobsbawm in: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (ed.): *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge 1983, p. 1.

²⁵ In Sweden and Finland, the dress code is white tie and doctors' insignia.

the doctoral festivities. Such festivities include a conferment church service, a sword sharpening ceremony, a gala dinner [prandium doctorale], a conferment ball with traditional dances performed by the doctores²⁶ and a conferment cruise.²⁷

Procedure. Basically, the rituals in Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Estonia, Turkey and the United Kingdom are the same. As an example a short description of the Austrian model (University of Vienna)²⁸ follows here:

The historical aula, filled with some 200 guests, is entered by about 20 graduands in procession. Then the academic cortège walks in, preceded by the bedel (*Zepterträger*). Music (Haydn, Mozart) is performed by a string quartet. Before the doctors' titles are awarded, the doctorands - addressed as *doctorandi clarissimi* - have to solemnly affirm their loyalty to the university and to learning. The text of this affirmation is read out loudly in Latin (German is permitted, but most graduands choose the Latin version). Each doctorand individually has to affirm with his/her fingers on the university sceptre, saying: *Spondeo* (I promise). Then, the *Promotor* gives each doctor the diploma, whereupon the professors congratulate him or her. In each case this is accompanied by applause and shouts of joy by family and friends of the neodoctor. Everybody rises and the student song 'Gaudeamus igitur' is played. One of the doctors pronounces the standard Latin formula of thanks to the Promotor: 'Spectabilis! Pro collato honore et dignitate gradus gratias innumeras agimus.' The Promotor says: 'Gratulationes cordiales!' (Congratulations!). Finally the national anthem is sung by all.

In *Turkey* the design of the yearly doctorate's ritual is influenced by the commencement traditions in the United States (see below). Rules as regards dress are strict: both professors and doctors have to wear academic gowns, caps and tassels. At Istanbul University, the ceremony was restyled in 2000. The festive act, preceded by an obligatory rehearsal, lasts about 2.5 hours and takes place before a colossal picture of Kemal Atatürk, the founding father of modern Turkey. The music is 'western': in 2003 Istanbul University selected Dvorák's Symphony *From the New World* (1893) and music of the war and romance film *The last of the Mohicans* (1992). The ceremony is concluded with the national anthem.

However, the most traditional and impressive rituals are to be seen in *Sweden* and *Finland*. Their traditions are often similar, because from a historical point of view

²⁶ At the University of Juväskylä after the Ball the guests gather together to admire and address a speech to the rising sun.

²⁷ Within a few weeks, from Thursday, June 9, until Saturday, June 11, 2005, the University of Kuopio, Finland, will organise the elaborate Conferment of Degrees.

²⁸ The procedure, introduced in 1873 in the Habsburg Empire, has more or less remained the same ever since. Countries such as Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovenia, etc., which belonged to this former Empire, have usually kept this tradition.

Finland is part of the Swedish cultural sphere. Since 1600²⁹ academic ceremonies conducted at Uppsala, Sweden's oldest university, have almost uninterruptedly followed the spectacular tradition that originated at Bologna and Paris in the 13th century³⁰. The other Swedish and Finnish universities have copied these customs. Traditions like public academic cortèges, the frequent use of Latin, distinctions and symbols, a lot of special doctorate music (mostly composed in the 19th century), church services, etc., have been carefully preserved. During the ceremony, those who have completed their doctoral degree, still each receive the traditional *insignia* associated with this status: hat, ring and diploma. The doctoral hat symbolises virtues of erudition and the traditional academic freedom of the doctor to conduct independent research. The ring symbolises the loyalty of the neodoctor to his discipline. The formal 'creatio doctoris' is individual and very solemn. In Uppsala, one by one the promovends walk to the cathedra. The promotor says 'Salve' (greetings) and shakes hands with the candidate. Then he puts the doctor's cap on his head, saying 'Accipe pileum!' (accept the hat). Then he says: 'Vale, Doctor.'

Although in *Finland* this old tradition flourishes in all its essential features, there is a lot of 'invented tradition' too. Commonly, the days before and after the ceremony are filled with festivities like balls, excursions, receptions and the like. Doctoral insignia are important: most universities confer hat and sword³¹. Some, however, have decided otherwise. At the University of Kuopio, for instance, before the first conferment of doctoral degrees of 1978, there was a vigorous debate on what insignia this university should select. Someone suggested that a special *doctoral robe* would represent a more peaceful academic symbol than the traditional sword. Moreover, such a robe would highlight the long traditions of the crafts and textile industry of Kuopio. This was in fact done.

Graduation ceremonies for Bachelors + Masters + Doctors.

At the above mentioned ceremonies only *doctors* titles are formally conferred. In the United Kingdom this is different. In Oxford, for example, formal and festive graduation acts traditionally are held for *all* degrees – bachelors, masters and doctors. This practice has passed from England to the United States via Harvard, the oldest

²⁹ The first documented conferment of degrees in Sweden took place on January 22, 1600, in Uppsala. At that time, seven students were awarded their masters' degrees. In the year of 1617, the conferment of a doctor's degree in theology was arranged in all its splendour. That occasion was a part of the ceremonies surrounding the coronation of Gustavus Adolphus II.

³⁰ E. Louis Backman: *Doktorspromotioner i Uppsala förr och nu. Disputationer, insignier och privilegier 1477-1927*. Stockholm 1927; Idem: *Doktorsdisputationens tredje opponent*, Uppsala 1964; Torgny Neveus: *En akademisk festsed och dess utveckling*. Uppsala 1986; Idem: *Lagerkransar och Logotyper. Symboler och ceremonier vid svenska universitet*. Stockholm 1999.

³¹ The *sword* stands for truth; it is a weapon of the mind to sharply defend what is true, right and good in the doctor's research.

American University, founded in 1636. It held its first degree ceremony – termed *Commencement* - in 1642. In so doing, the College gave the country its first taste of non-religious European ritual³².

Nowadays, *Commencement Day* is the most important day in the year for all American universities. It begins with an impressive academic procession – all academic participants wear gowns and caps³³ - through the town of the university to the hall where the ritual takes place. The essential elements of the ceremony are the conferring of degrees (with individual hooding) and the commencement address, preferably given by a highly prestigious and well known person³⁴. The degrees are usually conferred in ascending order, with baccalaureate degrees first and doctorates last. Doctorands are welcomed ‘to the ancient and universal company of scholars’. There is always music - the standard march is Edward Elgar’s ‘Pomp & Circumstance’ (first performed in 1901 in Liverpool, England); the national anthem concludes the festive act.

In most cases, the American Commencement ceremony is a ‘mega-event’ in which thousands of graduands participate. Mass universities like UPenn (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia) have to rent an entire sports stadium for the ceremony. Also, at such mass universities degrees are not conferred personally but in groups. Whereas the practice of the American Commencement has been imitated all over the world, in some countries the number of participants has been so overwhelming that restrictions have become necessary. Thus, at the University of Montreal, Canada, which at one point counted some 12,000 graduands, since 1969 the ceremony has only been held for doctors.

Another difference concerns the term *doctor*. From the start in Bologna, doctor has always been a *title* and, therefore, in Europe usually is written before one’s name. The Anglo-Saxon PhD (and DPhil), however, is written after one’s name, and thus looks more like a *qualification*.

New institutions, new doctorate ceremonies?

What happens when new universities are established? Will they invent their own doctorate ceremonies? As a rule: no. As I have already said they will – or are

³² Marvin Hightower, *The Spirit and Spectacle of Harvard Commencement*, Program Harvard Commencement 2002.

³³ The graduation cap and gown roots, too, go back to England. A definite system of academic apparel in the USA was established in 1895, based on the design of gowns by Gardner Cottrell Leonard from Albany, New York.

³⁴ During his Commencement speech in Missouri (Westminster College 1946) Winston Churchill talked about the Iron Curtain; and US Foreign Secretary George Marshall in 1947 used his Commencement speech in Harvard to the proposal of a plan of the rebuilding of Europe (‘Marshall Plan’); in 1996 the author Salman Rushdie held a Commencement speech in Bard College (near New York City).

obliged to, by national rules – imitate ceremonies customary elsewhere in their home country. But there are exceptions. In the autumn of 1976, the *European University Institute*, founded in 1972 by the European Community Member States, commenced its activities in Florence, Italy. Its main objective is to provide advanced academic training to PhD students and to promote research at the highest level. By now [2005], around 80 theses are defended every year.

As a matter of course, the Institute had to decide about ways and means of concluding the doctoral programmes. Should the defence of thesis be the only ritual (disputatio model)? Or should defence and formal conferment of degrees be separated (inceptio model)? Many discussions were held about form and design. Ultimately, the second model was chosen, in accordance with Anglo-Saxon customs. The first part, the defence, is a public examination before an international commission of five. The supervisor is not responsible, and only has an advisory role. Failure is possible, but very rare. The defence – without any decorum - takes place in an average lecture room, is rather business-like and has no time limit (usually lasting about 2-3 hours). After deliberation by the commission it is customary to grant the title of doctor immediately following a successful defence by offering the words: ‘Congratulations, Doctor...’ There is no *iudicium*.

The conferring ceremony was held for the first time many years later, in 1996, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Institute. It was Dr Patrick Masterson, the then President of the EUI and former Dean of Trinity College, Dublin, who brought the conferment tradition of English-speaking universities³⁵, with gowns³⁶ for all professors and doctors, academic cortège, music and festive reception. At the first ceremony in september 1996 no less than 108 candidates returned from all over Europe. As President Masterson said: it ‘indicates the value you place upon your graduate studies here’.

Another case is the University of Luxemburg. This institution, founded by law of 17 July 2003 and Luxemburg’s first and only university, commenced its activities in the autumn of the same year. So far, no doctor’s degrees have been conferred. But this will, of course, happen in the course of time. According to the current rector, Dr Rolf Tarrach, nothing has yet been decided about possible doctorate ceremonies.

Function of doctoral ceremonies

Why do doctorate rituals exist? As mentioned above, the original idea of the graduation act was the formal entrance of a newly licensed teacher upon his functions by the actual performance of his duties on the one hand, and the recognition of the newcomer by his former master and other members of the

³⁵ ‘EUI Degree conferring ceremony’ in: *EUI Review*, autumn 1998, p. 41. The ceremony is biennial.

³⁶ Special gowns (‘one size fits all’) have been designed for the Institute, which can be bought or rented for the ceremony.

profession – his incorporation into the society of teachers – on the other hand. As such the graduation ceremony is a cultural tradition that can be termed a ‘rite de passage’. It is a ritual or ceremony that marks the transition from one stage of a person's life to another. Marriage is the most commonly practiced one nowadays.

The creation of doctors as a rite de passage

‘Rite de passage’ was a term coined by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep in 1909³⁷. According to him passage rituals have three steps:

- Separation from society
- Inculcation and transformation
- Return to society in the new [social] status.

All passage rituals fulfil certain universal functions, such as dramatically facing new responsibilities, opportunities and dangers; readjusting the participant (and all in his social circle) to these changes, and, finally, establishing solidarity and sacredness of common values. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, recognising the social function of passage rituals, chooses to call them *initiations* or *rites of institution*³⁸. During the rite the candidate will be invested as a *doctor*, and thereby enlarges his symbolic capital, based on honour and prestige³⁹. In fact, the title of doctor is just an institution. But it is recognized by society, and therefore is of great value and provides the title-holder with symbolic profits.⁴⁰ The investiture, Bourdieu explains, both transforms the expectations persons have of those invested, and simultaneously transforms the representation the person has of himself, and the behaviour he feels obliged to adopt in order to conform to that representation. In other words, the ceremony will ‘change’ the candidate.

Perception of doctor's rituals

These are anthropological and sociological theories. But in practice: how are doctoral rites perceived the participants, in particular the *doctores iuvenes*, the newly qualified doctors? Do they, indeed, experience the rites (*disputatio* or *inceptio*) as an

³⁷ Arnold van Gennep: *Les Rites de passage*, Parijs 1909; J.A.M. Snoek: *Initiations*. Pijnacker 1987.

³⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and symbolic power*, 1991; Idem: *Espace social et genèse de ‘classe’* Frankfurt 1984.

³⁹ Bourdieu distinguishes three types of capital: *economic* capital composed of material wealth, *cultural* capital derived from knowledge and skill, and *symbolic* capital based on prestige and honour.

⁴⁰ The prestige and value of the doctors’ title sometimes lead to ‘intellectual imposture’: people who are bothered that their intellectual power is not recognised, pretend with official diplomas that they have acquired this academic title. Elena Ceausescu, wife of the Rumanian president, for example was created *Doctor* (chemistry) in 1988 by two obscure Italian professors. Her expertise in chemistry was dubious to say the least.

initiation, a change of social status ('I have made it, I am a doctor!')? As a magic performance?

Disputation. As far as the *disputatio* is concerned, interviews with various neodoctores demonstrate that this is perceived as a very stimulating experience. During the defence of the thesis, they feel they are scholars demonstrating their knowledge. In this sense, doctorands regard the disputation as their one chance to talk solely and exclusively about their work and ideas with experts in the field. 'It was a true passage ritual in which the original tension (during the defence) made way for relief and joy at the moment that the title of doctor was conferred – the ritual had functioned', a participant at a Dutch disputation ceremony noted⁴¹. A neodoctor writes: 'For me, the rich and ceremonious forms of the doctorate ritual lent the passage/initiation a peculiar meaning'⁴². Receiving the diploma and then being allowed to join the academic cortège was a very significant and important experience for him. He adds that – having been a student in the USA - he did not like the procedure there: 'anonymous, without any fuss and with only a few people'. The official 'rite of passage', the Commencement, is characterized by him as 'hollow flag-showing'. Generally speaking, the Dutch love their doctoral ceremony.

The French, however, see this quite differently. They are rather pleased with their way of defending the thesis, and look down somewhat on the Dutch *promotie*. According to some French doctors, the Dutch disputation is just a ritual where only form matters, whereas the *soutenance de thèse* is reality, only concerned with substance. Some even talk about 'empty gowns' – they⁴³ regard the Dutch defence as a play, a superficial performance during which, because of lack of time, challenging and thorough questions cannot be asked or answered.

In Finland the *disputatio* is seen as 'a procedure that conforms to democracy, academic freedom and transparency'⁴⁴. In this country the defence (no time limit) has preserved a ceremonial character which concerns both protocol and dress. The examination ceremony is not considered to be just pomp and circumstance: these form the framework of the event, not the substance: 'The substance of the *disputatio* is the intelligent criticism presented by the opponents (jury, doctoral commission), and the response of the candidate. Accordingly, on such an important day it is worth dressing elegantly, and not to show up wearing jeans and a worn-out pullover'.

There are other ways of looking upon the ritual. Quite a lot of candidates associate the doctoral process with endurance and hardship ('the essence of taking

⁴¹ Jonnie Augustijn, 'Een motiverend overgangsrutueel. Een verslag van de promotie van Yvonne Bartelink', in: *Cultus* 16, mei 1994.

⁴² Dr Tijs Michels, e-mail 7 July, 2004

⁴³ Doctors from other countries (Norway, Denmark) have the same opinion.

⁴⁴ Paul Fogelberg, 'An academic tradition: the public examination of a doctoral dissertation', in: *Universitas Helsingiensis* 2, 1999.

one's doctor's degree is suffering'⁴⁵), loneliness and isolation, for which self-discipline and perseverance are indispensable. Some of them even define the years of doctoral research as 'hell' – and therefore experience the (end of the) disputation as 'heaven'⁴⁶. For them the ritual, above all, is a *reward* after many years of efforts. 'The lovely thing of the day of the *promotie* is the glory, the end of a long martyrdom'⁴⁷. According to another 'perhaps the most rewarding feeling of all is to finally be addressed as *Doctor*'⁴⁸. A Belgian neodoctor said: 'After so much hard work, I deserved the title!'

Ceremonies. As regards the degree conferment ceremonies these are seen as attractive and inspiring. It is an occasion of 'crowning' the ones who have overcome the challenges. Also, it is a sense of celebration, a sense of accomplishment that merits the ceremonial. 'You are formally created a doctor only *once* in your life – unlike marriage, nowadays...- , so of course you go!', says a doctor of the European University Institute⁴⁹. The Rector of the University of Vienna went further and told the doctorands, that the graduation day is 'der bedeutendste Tag Ihres Lebens. (the most important day of your life). It is a day not of a conclusion, but of a beginning'⁵⁰.

When asked, neodoctors all give more or less the same reasons for attending the doctorate ceremony: 'I am very proud of my doctor's title', 'It is a lovely tradition'; or: 'I come here because my family likes it so much', 'It is nice to see old friends again.' Also, the graduation is enjoyed as an esthetic experience.

Future of ceremonial forms

Obviously, the doctorate ritual – like other rituals – in the first place meets and satisfies *human needs*.

Secondly, the graduation (including the *disputatio*) is seen as a way of expressing the identity and powers of the university. Thus, some emphasize the importance of representation, in the sense that academic rites show and sustain the public profile of the university. According to the Master of Ceremonies of Sweden's University of Linköping 'the conferment of doctors' degrees is the University's most splendid annual event'⁵¹. In the opinion of other university officials (Turkey, Finland) the degree ritual emphasises the high value of education. A Norwegian historian says: 'In Norway, the doctorate disputation is one of the occasions at which the

⁴⁵ 'De essentie van de promotie is het lijden', Dr Michiel Scheffer in *NRC/Handelsblad* 28 Feb. 2004.

⁴⁶ Irina Veretennicoff, Free University of Brussels, at the Seminar *Doctoral Programmes for the European Knowledge Society* in Salzburg, 4th February, 2005.

⁴⁷ 'Het mooie van de promotiedag is de glorie, het einde van de lijdensweg', *ibidem*.

⁴⁸ Susan Greenfield, 'The Graduate Life at a British University', Graduate Studies Office, Oxford.

⁴⁹ Dr Jeroen Hinloopen, information by telephone 21 March 2005.

⁵⁰ Promotion Universität Wien, 20 December 2002.

⁵¹ Hans Lundberg, Master of Ceremonies University of Linköping, 2002.

university displays itself in the most ceremonious way'.⁵² Indeed, institutions like universities are embodied and represented by rituals and symbols. Therefore, academic rites can be interpreted as messages, saying:

'We, in academia, have a long history, we are traditional' (historicité)⁵³,
'We are different' (distinction) and
'We are autonomous and have our own ranks and order' (hierarchy).⁵⁴

Precisely because of this, any fundamental attack on institutions like the university, is most effective when directed against its symbols and rituals. In Germany, in 1967 students upset an academic festivity by walking in front of the cortège, wearing a banner with the text: 'Unter den Talaren Muff von 1000 Jahren' [Under the gowns, fug of 1000 years]. This 'anti-ritualism' was the starting signal for students' protests all over the country⁵⁵. The same happened in the Netherlands in 1968: a professor refused to wear the obligatory academic gown at his inaugural lecture. In the end, his lecture was only printed, not delivered.⁵⁶

Thirdly, graduation rituals belong to, and are part of, *national cultures*. As demonstrated above, these rites have their roots in the Middle Ages, but each culture has created its own particular ceremony – attempting, where possible, to establish continuity with the historic past. This is understandable because the awarding of a doctoral qualification and title is intrinsically linked to the history of the universities. The result is a diversity of rituals. Each country is quite proud of its doctorate ritual; national traditions are seen as important values that one should cherish rather than change or abolish.

Therefore the conclusion can be drawn that, if the convergence of doctoral programmes (the contents of the doctorate) in Europe succeeds, a parallel convergence of doctorate rituals (the form) will nonetheless be difficult, if not impossible.

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Denmark: Prof. Dr Jens Arnbak, Technical Universities of Copenhagen and Delft.

⁵² Fredrik W. Thue, University of Oslo, e-mail 25 February 2005.

⁵³ According to the USA Commencement Regulations 'the governing force is tradition and the continuity of academic symbols from the Middle Ages'.

⁵⁴ *Akademische Rituale*, o.c.foot-note 18, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Mary Douglas: 'Ritueel in diskrediet', in: *Wereldbeelden*, Utrecht 1976 (*Natural symbols*, New York 1970), p. 21f.; Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, 'Von der sozialen Magie der Promotion. Ritual und Ritualkritik in der Gelehrtenkultur der Frühen Neuzeit', in: *Rituelle Welten*, Paragrana. Internationale Zeitschrift für Historische Anthropologie, nr 12, Berlin 2003.

⁵⁶ Floor Kist, 'Tumult om een toga', in *Columns 1960-2002*, The Hague 2002, p. 107.

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