



# Peter Oluf Brøndsted

(1780-1842)

A Danish Classicist in his European Context

*Edited by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen,  
Jørgen Steen Jensen, John Lund & Michael Märcher*

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Peter Oluf Brøndsted

(1780-1842)

A Danish Classicist in his European Context





# Peter Oluf Brøndsted (1780-1842)

## A Danish Classicist in his European Context

Acts of the Conference at The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters,  
Copenhagen, 5-6 October 2006

*Edited by*

Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, Jørgen Steen Jensen,  
John Lund & Michael Märcher

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# Contents

Abstract .....	7
1. Introduction .....	9
<i>Carsten U. Larsen</i>	
2. Preface .....	11
<i>Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, Jørgen Steen Jensen, John Lund, Michael Märcher</i>	
3. W.M. Leake: a contemporary of P.O. Brøndsted in Greece and in London .....	15
<i>Christopher Witmore and T.V. Buttrey</i>	
4. Under the cover of P.O. Brøndsted's diaries .....	35
<i>Gorm Schou-Rode</i>	
5. Brøndsted and Koës – a brief sketch of their travels in Greece .....	47
<i>Ida Haugsted</i>	
6. Foreign travellers to pre-revolutionary Athens: antiquarians and treasure hunters .....	54
<i>Fani-Maria Tsigakou</i>	
7. P.O. Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia, Kea .....	62
<i>John Lund</i>	
8. P.O. Brøndsted and his travels in Sicily .....	77
<i>Tobias Fischer-Hansen</i>	
9. P.O. Brøndsted as Royal Danish court agent in Rome .....	97
<i>Otto Christian Schepelern</i>	
10. The public lectures of P.O. Brøndsted .....	108
<i>Jørgen Mejer</i>	
11. P.O. Brøndsted, a revolutionary? .....	117
<i>Jacob Isager</i>	
12. Ancient vases and ancient regimes. On the relationship between P.O. Brøndsted and Prince Christian Frederik .....	128
<i>Christian Gottlieb</i>	



13. “London ... in reality the capital of Europe”. P.O. Brøndsted’s dealings with the British Museum .....	143
<i>Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen</i>	
14. British reception of the Durand vases sold at auction in Paris .....	162
<i>Ian Jenkins</i>	
15. P.O. Brøndsted and early research on the sculptures of the Parthenon .....	171
<i>Martin Kreeb</i>	
16. P.O. Brøndsted’s relations to the Danish literary, artistic, national and political revival .....	181
<i>Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen</i>	
17. P.O. Brøndsted and the neo-antique interior .....	203
<i>Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen</i>	
18. P.O. Brøndsted – The resolute agent in the acquisition of plaster casts for the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen .....	214
<i>Jan Zahle</i>	
19. J.C. Lindberg and P.O. Brøndsted: the first Danish publication of a Kufic coin hoard – the genesis of an extraordinary book .....	238
<i>Nadia Haupt</i>	
20. P.O. Brøndsted as keeper of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals .....	249
<i>Jørgen Steen Jensen</i>	
21. The funeral stele of P.O. Brøndsted at the Copenhagen Assistens’ Cemetery .....	264
<i>Karin Kryger</i>	
22. Summing up: Towards a reappraisal of P.O. Brøndsted .....	272
<i>Ivan Boserup</i>	
23. Catalogue of the portraits of P.O. Brøndsted .....	279
<i>Mikala Brøndsted</i>	
24. Important years in the life of P.O. Brøndsted .....	291
25. Bibliography & Abbreviations .....	293
26. Index of personal names .....	314
27. Authors & Editors .....	320

## Abstract

This volume, *Peter Oluf Brøndsted (1780-1842) – A Danish Classicist in his European Context*, owes its origin to an international conference held under the auspices of The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 2006. Its aim was to view Brøndsted's life and scholarship from a Danish perspective and also against the background of the wide circle of European antiquarians, architects and intellectuals, of which he was a conspicuous member. Brøndsted was one of the very first Danes to travel

to Greece at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and on his return he created almost single-handedly an enthusiasm for ancient and contemporary Greece in the Danish public of those days. Moreover, he played a pivotal role in the formation of two collections of the National Museum of Denmark: the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals and the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. The present publication marks the bicentennial of the Danish National Museum, 1807-2007.





# Introduction

This volume comprises the Acts of the international conference: *Peter Oluf Brøndsted (1780-1842) – A Danish Classicist in his European Context*, which was hosted by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> of October, 2006.

Neither the topic nor the timing was fortuitous.

Peter Oluf Brøndsted was a uniquely gifted man who lived at a crucial period of Danish and European history – beset by wars, revolutions and other armed conflicts, yet also characterized by a flourishing of the arts and sciences. A charming man of the world, who spoke several languages (including Modern Greek), Brøndsted became the first Danish antiquarian (with his friend the philologist G.F. Koës) to undertake the hazardous journey to Greece at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And on his return, he made the Classical – and modern – civilization of Greece come alive for a spell-bound audience to his lectures on his travels, which were read at the University of Copenhagen. Moreover, he was the author of numerous scholarly publications, which cover a wide range of subjects related to Classical Antiquity, not least numismatics, archaeology and philology.

It is appropriate that the publication of these Acts coincides with the bicentennial of the National Museum of Denmark in 2007, in consideration of the important role played by Brøndsted in the formative years of this museum. As a close associate of Prince Christian Frederik, who succeeded to the Danish throne as King Christian VIII in 1839, he was appointed keeper of the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, and was also instrumental in the establishment of Christian Frederik's

private collection of antiquities, mainly Greek and South Italian vases, and coins. The collection fell to the Danish state in 1851 after his death (1848), and it constitutes the core of the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, and the South Italian and Sicilian parts of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in the National Museum.

Many of Brøndsted's most vivid and interesting texts – including his travel diaries and letters – remain unpublished, and most of the scholarly treatments of his life and work are written in Danish. This is no doubt the reason why his remarkable achievements have not received the recognition they deserve at an international level. There are hopeful signs, though, that this situation is about to change. The contributions to this publication will surely play their part in bringing this about, offering as they do for the first time a rounded picture of Brøndsted in his official capacity and also as a private person. Flawed in some respects, perhaps, but always strangely fascinating.

On behalf of the National Museum of Denmark, it is a great pleasure for me to extend my sincere thanks to those who supported the Conference and its publication financially: the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, the Carlsberg Foundation, Grosserer E. Schous Legat and Advokat Axel Ernst's og frøken Alfrida Ernst's Legat til Fremme af Numismatisk Forskning i Danmark. I should also like to take the opportunity to thank all the individuals who contributed to making the Conference successful.

*Carsten U. Larsen*  
*Director of the National Museum of Denmark*



Fig. 1: P.O. Brøndsted. Painting by C.A. Jensen, London 1839. Later on, this portrait of Brøndsted as a mature man was executed in three similar versions, and it was used as a model for other reproductions. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. no. 12).



# Preface

In 1998, the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals and the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities hosted a conference on “Christian VIII & the National Museum”. Encouraged by the success of that venture, the organizers decided to take a new initiative, similarly centred on a pivotal figure in the formation of the two collections. Hence the idea of hosting an international symposium on Peter Oluf Brøndsted (fig. 1) was conceived, and the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters kindly adopted this topic as the theme of its international symposium, from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 2006. This volume comprises the papers read at the conference and two additional contributions: the original English version of an article by Ian Jenkins, which was previously only published in French, and a catalogue by Mikala Brøndsted of the iconography of her illustrious ancestor.

The title: “*Peter Oluf Brøndsted (1780-1842) – A Danish Classicist in his European Context*” was chosen to stress the importance – as we saw it – of viewing Brøndsted’s life and scholarship against the background of the wide circle of European antiquarians, architects and intellectuals of which he was a conspicuous member. And for this reason, speakers were invited not only from Denmark, but also from some of the other European countries, with which Brøndsted was so intimately connected.

Brøndsted is primarily remembered today as the first Danish scholar to travel to the Aegean (with Georg Friederich Koës, the brother of his fiancé), and as the first Dane to carry out excavations in Greece in the winter of 1812. It is, however, also worth noting that he was among the few Europeans of his day and age who took the trouble to learn Modern Greek, and that he on his return to Copenhagen promulgated his first-hand knowledge of ancient and modern Greece to the Danish public; Brøndsted thereby paved the way for the emergence of Danish followers of the Philhel-

lenic movement, a number of which actually went to Greece to fight – and die – in the War of Liberation against the Turks from 1821 to 1832.

Danish classicists have always been aware of Brøndsted’s lasting legacy as a pioneering promoter of Greek culture in Denmark, and of his role as mentor in all matters pertaining to Antiquity to the Danish Crown Prince Christian Frederik, who succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1839 as King Christian VIII. He was instrumental in kindling the future King’s interest in establishing a private collection of Greek and South Italian vases, ancient coins and other antiquities. The Danish state took over the collection a few years after the King’s death, and the objects are now core elements of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals and the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities in the National Museum of Denmark.

At an international level, on the other hand, Brøndsted’s life and work have been, if not forgotten, then at least often overlooked, which is ironic seeing that he lived a large part of his life in London, Rome and Paris, spoke numerous foreign languages with great ease, and maintained friendships with many of the leading scholars, architects and artists of Europe. Moreover, Brøndsted published his *magnum opus* in both a French and a German edition (*Voyages et Recherches dans la Grèce I-II* and *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland I-II*). These prestigious volumes certainly made an impact on the scholarly world at the time, but they are now found only in specialized libraries; while Brøndsted’s most vivid accounts of his travels in Greece – in the form of his diaries, letters and lectures – were written in Danish, and remain unpublished or inaccessible to a non-Danish speaking audience.

Moreover, no biographer has chronicled the life of Brøndsted, who from a superficial point of view re-





Fig. 1. The portrait medal by David d'Angers, 1831, reproduced mechanically by Achille Collas in a special process, which was suitable for coins and medals. (Procédé de A. Collas). (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. No. 9).

sembles the happy-go-lucky Alladin as described by the Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger, who – like Brøndsted – embodied the first generation of the so-called Danish Golden Age in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, there was much more to him than that. The contributions to this publication reveal him as vain, loquacious, and self-centred at times, yet also exceptionally intelligent and in possession of great charm, social skills and a natural ability for self-advertisement – a cosmopolite who loved good music and was the life and soul of any party. In short: a man of many parts who almost single-handedly opened a window on the world of Greece to a captivated Danish audience.

The organizers want to join Carsten U. Larsen in offering our sincere thanks to the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, and to the foundations, which funded the conference and the publication. We are grateful to all authors who contributed to the volume and extend a special vote of thanks to Professor T.V. Buttrey, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for not only revising and copy-editing the English texts, but also for his generous help and friendly advice.

*Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, Jørgen Steen Jensen,  
John Lund & Michael Märcher*



# W.M. Leake: a contemporary of P.O. Brøndsted in Greece and in London

by Christopher L. Witmore & T.V. Buttrey

## Introduction: The case of Leake

Among the Western Europeans who traveled to Greece in the early nineteenth century was one whose purpose was unusual: William Martin Leake (fig. 1) arrived as a military spy. But he went on to become, like Peter Oluf Brøndsted, a major figure in the development of Classical archaeology. His case provides an illuminating parallel to that of Brøndsted, of whom he was the exact contemporary.<sup>1</sup>

Leake is often regarded as the father of Classical topography.<sup>2</sup> His work, to be sure, set the standard for subsequent scholarship and as such became a base for further topographical research throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>3</sup> Among both contemporary and subsequent scholars Leake, by all accounts, had few if any imperfections. Ernst Curtius, in his *William Martin Leake und die Wiederentdeckung der klassischen Länder*, characterized Leake as having “distinguished himself among all his contemporaries by the great, thorough cohesion of his projects, by the methodological and expansive nature of his travels, by his sense for history as well as by the technique/skill, which he brought to his projects from his training as an engineer and military topographer”.<sup>4</sup> Leake was also a diplomat, a geographer, an antiquarian, a keen literary scholar, and a numismatist. But there is so much more.

We cannot hope to understand why such a key figure was so effective if we consider him only in isolation, even given the amazing versatility of the man, i.e. Leake the diplomat; the military geographer on the

ground; the antiquarian in the cabinet; the numismatic scholar in the study. Instead, we are interested in what associations, institutions, instruments, media, and so on come together to co-constitute the settings and materials of Leake’s antiquarian, topographical and numismatic work. The activities behind this work are distributed and dislocated. There are multiple sites, numerous actors, and countless mediators which impact, facilitate, translate and amplify Leake’s practices, whether on the ground or in the study, in the course of co-producing his well known tomes. His topographical survey was situated within a mixed and fluctuating set of connections. His work in London occurred within a dense network of influential relations – whether with politicians, military personnel, other antiquaries or with books in libraries, maps in chart rooms, geometrical calculations sent via correspondence.

Understanding how key figures such as Leake produced, acquired, and circulated knowledge is a fundamental aspect of understanding why we as Classical archaeologists continue to do what we do in the way that we do it, and do it so effectively. Leake is of interest precisely because he was working within the midst of continually negotiated models of what constitutes scientific and scholarly knowledge. Out of this noise, prior to a quieting into specialized fields, Leake’s work provided a template to standardization in fields such as Classical topography, and was therefore crucial within the movement toward professionalization within Classical archaeology.

1. The present chapter has benefited from the helpful comments of Malcolm Wagstaff.

2. Eliot 1996; Wagstaff 1992; Also refer to Stoneman 1987.

3. Examples include Clark 1858, viii; Curtius 1851-1852; Forster 1907; Grundy 1896; Pritchett 1965; Ramsay 1890.

4. Curtius 1876, 245.



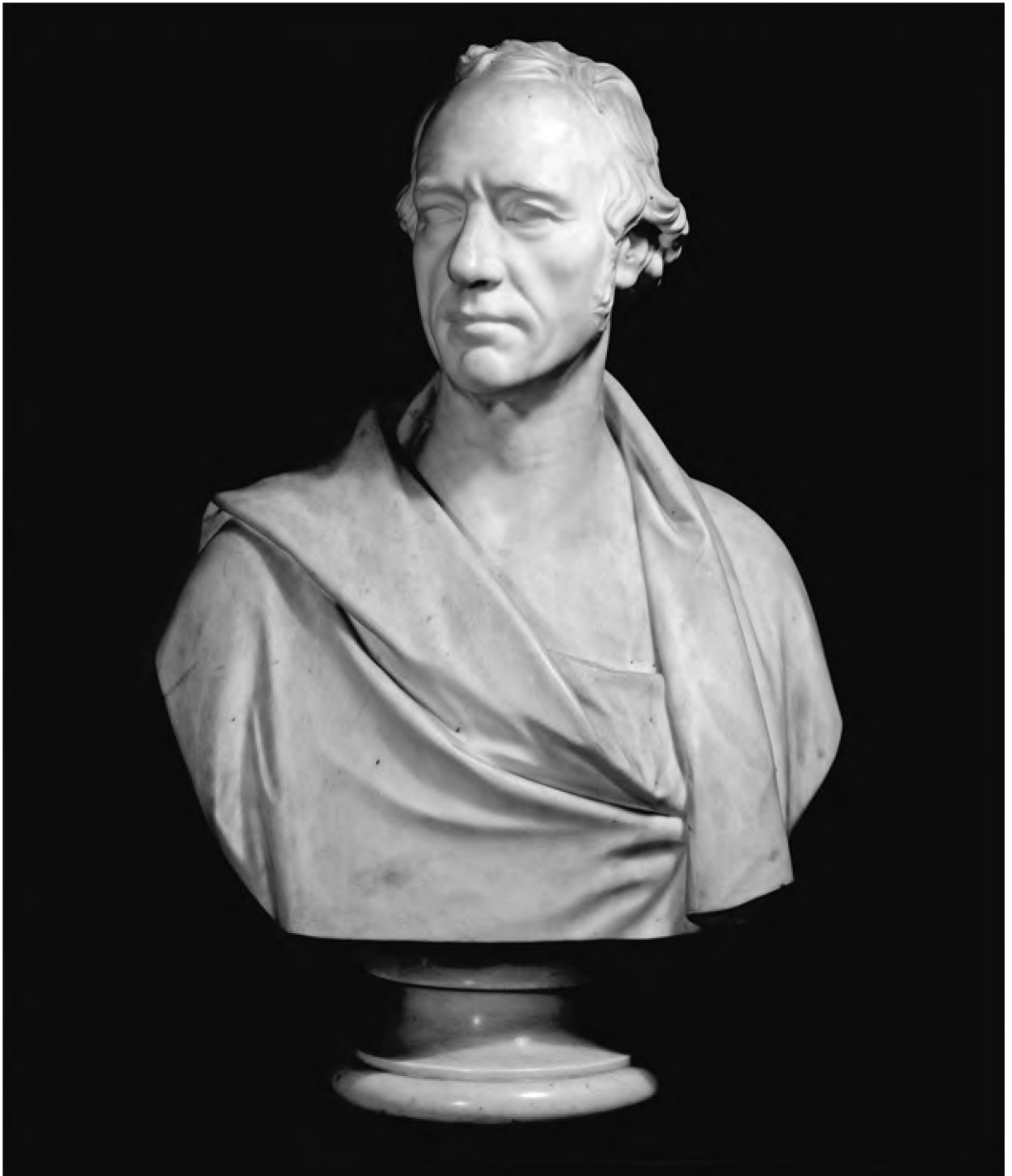


Fig. 1: Bust of Col. William Martin Leake (1777-1860), 1840, by William Behnes (1795-1864), The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University.

Our approach requires a fair bit of travel between Greece and England, between the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 1830's and 1840's. In accentuating a bewildering array of actors and relations we move through specific scenes both in Greece and in London. Through this complex, nonlinear sketch of Leake's work we aim to investigate how the modes of engagement and the standardized templates, which come to be central to particular archaeological relations with the material pasts – whether landscapes, sites or coins – so familiar to Classical archaeologists today, play out across multiple fields of knowledge co-production.

### The Greek Morea 1805

The 22<sup>nd</sup> of February. After a five-hour sail under a 'strong northerly breeze' from Zante (modern Zakynthos) William Martin Leake arrives at the port of Potámi, situated at the mouth of the Peneius river which was known in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as the Gastúni. Holding letters of correspondence with a Dr. Sessini, Leake walks, not without some difficulty, across a marshy maritime plain to a town by the same name, Gastúni. Here, Leake is received by the Physician.

Leake describes a number of large trenches, which were formed in the excavation of clay for the manufacture of the mudbrick used in the construction of houses in the village. In the depths, stagnant pools of water collect and these render Gastúni as very unwholesome in the summer months. The unhealthy air contributes to the 'good doctor's' trade. Sessini is the last of three brothers, all physicians, to remain in the village.

Gastúni is described as a crowded town of some 500 houses, half "Turkish", half "Greek" – i.e. in Leake's terminology, non-Albanian Muslim and Christian respectively. Each house is surrounded by either a yard or a garden, the latter often shaded by orange or cypress trees. Leake deplores the plains of Elis,

renowned for their fertility in antiquity, but now a desert, which in the areas surrounding Gastúni are under little cultivation – "buffalos, sheep, and oxen enjoy the rest of the plain".<sup>5</sup> Leake hints that the current proprietors, the heirs of the recently deceased Hassán Agá, might do more to counter this present state of deprivation. These heirs include: "namely, his son Bekír Efféñdi, who is now at Gastúni, and a nephew, Shemseddín Bey, who is at Constantinople, – to him Castel Torinese belongs; Ismaíl Efféñdi, the Vóivoda, who purchased the Dhekatía, or tithe, and customs from the Porte for three years, in the usual manner, is said to be a cipher compared with Bekír Efféñdi".<sup>6</sup>

Leake continues by discussing the villages of Pyrgo, whose inhabitants are predominantly Greeks, and Lalla, whose population, save a small number of shopkeepers, are Muslims. Mustafá Agá, the Vóivoda – a term which might be loosely rendered as town governor – of Pyrgo and his brother Seid Agá of Lalla can mobilize 500 to 600 men in the field.<sup>7</sup> The region between the plain of Gastúni and Lalla is hilly and covered in pine. Large quantities of tar, wine, grains, and some oil and silk are produced here.

The 23<sup>rd</sup> of February was the second to last day of Carnival. Leake describes the hill of Kaloskopí, the site of ancient Elis, which the Venetians called Belvedere – a name, which they fittingly applied to one of the five districts of the Morea. In a village at the foot of the hill, Paleópoli, Leake is brought upwards of 100 coins turned up by the plow; a couple are Venetian, maybe Dalmatian, the rest Greek. Strabo, Pausanias, Diodorus, "a scholiast on the Odyssey", and coins come together with features on the ground in his discussion of the site. Soon, Leake's discussion segues into sources of drinking water and the ports of the district. Revenues from the Mukatá (proprietary holdings) of the district of Gastúni, comprised of a combination of tithes, customs fees and taxes; agricultural produce: flax, wheat, maize, the dhurra of Egypt and cotton,

5. Leake 1830, I, 2.

6. Leake 1830, I, 3.

7. The 'field' should be read as carrying a dual valence by having both agricultural and military connotations. Witmore 2004.



growing seasons, farming practices and implements: *svárna*, plough and share, land tenure, shepherding methods including the estimated numbers of sheep and goats – 300,000 in the district of Gastúni, cheese making, sheep-shearing and costs of livestock, among other matters of concern, round out the day's entry.

Here, in the very first days of Leake's mission in the Morea, topography, politics, economics, archaeology, Classical literature, and horticultural practices are all blended together in his travelogue.<sup>8</sup> All of these relate to a genre of descriptive geography, which served military aims. Later all of them would serve Leake's studies in the history and archaeology of the ancient world.

Fearing French military designs upon the Grecian frontier of the Turkish Empire, the Foreign Office had dispatched Leake, a Captain in the Royal Artillery, to gain more accurate and credible geographical knowledge of Greece "... you will pay particular attention to the general geography of Greece with a view to acquire for the British Government and nation, a more accurate knowledge than has yet been attained of this important and interesting country ...".<sup>9</sup> But in dealing with something as complex as a country such as Greece at such a distance from London, how was such an operation to be accomplished? What does one observe? How does one describe? What are the criteria for this descriptive geography?<sup>10</sup>

So Leake went out as a military spy. His orders were unequivocal. He was to make himself "acquainted with the Western coast of Albania and the Morea" and, above all, those areas proximate to the Italian coast, especially ports, landing facilities and fortifications.<sup>11</sup> In step with this, Leake was to suggest to the Turkish commanders "any improvements for the defense".<sup>12</sup>

Along with the "servant" (his English valet) whom Leake met up with in Zante, he was to "take surveys, and lay down plans of the same places".<sup>13</sup> Once these coastal areas were sufficiently (precisely) mapped, Leake and his valet who doubles as his surveying assistant and who is never mentioned by name were to proceed to the interior "for the purpose of acquiring that general knowledge of the face of the country ... and, in particular, to take notice of the roads and passes leading towards Constantinople on the one side and the Morea on the other".<sup>14</sup> Areas, features and things of note also included any defensive facilities (especially "fortresses of Venetian construction"), potential obstacles (including the depths of river crossings or difficult passes), points of vulnerability and every kind of resource: resources consisted of everything from dates, olives, goats, cattle and the associated revenues, to munitions, saltpetre (useful in making gun powder), sources of freshwater and even antiquities. Leake was also to "report the political and military dispositions of the inhabitants" including potential troop numbers, and to liaise with important officials.<sup>15</sup> These military concerns were to be his primary guide as to what to observe, what to describe, on the ground.<sup>16</sup>

## The Collection

An important material manifestation associated with Leake's seemingly limitless interests was the personal collection of antiquities, which he began to assemble with what must have been random acquisitions as he traveled. Occasional entries in his notebooks and publications refer to finds, as well as to purchases or trades. Later, in retirement in England, he enlarged his

8. All of this was very much in the manner of Brøndsted, that is that each of them had a wide interest in Greece both as it had been and as it was in their own day. But Leake had a particular aim.

9. Marsden 1864, 18.

10. One wonders whether Leake would have discussed the possibilities of research on Antiquity with the Foreign Secretary and others in the Foreign Office, or whether that was a private venture. Certainly his interest in classical topography and ancient ha-

bitation bore directly on his descriptions of the Greece of his own day.

11. Marsden 1864, 16.

12. Marsden 1864, 16.

13. Marsden 1864, 16.

14. Marsden 1864, 17.

15. Marsden 1864, 18; Regarding Leake's orders also refer to Curtius 1876, 242-243; Wagstaff 2001a, 191.

16. Also refer to Wagstaff 2001b.

collection enormously by purchases – largely coins<sup>17</sup> as well as gems, vases, bronzes. Artistic observations regarding issues of design, style, or decoration – concerns of a connoisseur<sup>18</sup> – are few and far between in Leake’s work. Certainly, his aesthetic appreciation of Greek works was a factor in their acquisition,<sup>19</sup> but there is a more practical explanation of Leake’s collection. As is clear from his publications, not least the catalogue of his coins, Leake’s purpose in collecting was to investigate and illustrate the history of Greece, not to build up a cabinet for personal enjoyment.

Leake recognized too that context needed to be attached to the individual pieces of a collection – the linkage of things and context being a fundamental basis for building archaeological knowledge. In an 1839 letter to the Trustees of the British Museum Leake remarked: “It seldom happens that remains of art from Greece are not of some value, or that they are not of some utility in archaeological studies, when their origins are exactly known”.<sup>20</sup> Of course ‘exactly known’ in the early to mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. referencing the village, town or city from which the remains derive, is far from providing enough context in the 21<sup>st</sup>. Still, we must begin somewhere, and the level of resolution at which Leake was referring was perfectly fine for the nature of the problems, which ‘archaeologists’ were facing at the time. One cannot build knowledge without a recognizable point of departure and in this regard Leake’s emphasis on context cannot be exaggerated. For example, one of the most remarkable of the coins acquired by Leake is the gold medallion with the types

of Athena, and Alexander hunting a lion. Of this he notes: “purchased by me at Serres, the ancient Sirmhae, now the chief city of the interior of Thracian Macedonia”.<sup>21</sup> Such references to provenance provide important information regarding not just the production area but also the very authenticity of such pieces, in this case one of a rare series of gold medallions of Roman imperial times whose genuine antiquity has been doubted in the past. Moreover, the publication of his own coins is strewn with topographical comments in which the coins add information of significance.<sup>22</sup> Still, with Leake, we may push the association of collection and context further.

In 1839 Leake donated his collection of marbles to the British Museum.<sup>23</sup> In his *Memoir*, John Howard Marsden provides us with a list of the items donated:

1. “Bust of Æschines, inscribed with his name, from Bitolia in the ancient Pelagonia: presented to Colonel Leake by Ali Pacha.
2. Head, supposed of Homer. From the same place.
3. Basso relievo of a woman holding a torch, standing between a horse and a dog. From Crannon, in Thessaly.
4. Basso relievo representing a votive offering of hair to Neptune by Philombrotus and Aphthonetus, sons of Deinomachus. From Thebæ Phthioticæ.
5. Fragment of basso relievo representing a battle of the Amazons – perhaps the death or capture of Penthesileia. From Bryseæ in Laconia.

17. Bought in London at auction, and acquired from Greece with the help of George Finlay who was resident there.

18. On connoisseurship refer to Shanks 1996.

19. Leake was regarded as an authority on the sculptures of the Parthenon and took on various roles where his knowledge of Greek sculpture was in demand – as, for example, consultant to a special Committee set up to investigate the potential of colour in the decoration of the Elgin Marbles, Ferguson 2001, 31. Hugh Ferguson even claims Leake owned a set of sculptural casts of Parthenon marbles which was sold to the Royal Danish Museum, Copenhagen, Ferguson 2001, 31; this seems unlikely based on a number of correspondences discussing the possibility of their acquisition with George Finlay, Hussey 1995, 657-678,

we owe this reference to Malcom Wagstaff. Also see the article by Jan Zahle in this publication. Zahle does not discuss Leake in connection with the casts in Denmark.

20. Quoted in Marsden 1864, 40.

21. Leake 1854, *European Greece*, 64.

22. Leake 1854; Marsden 1864, 40.

23. This donation may have been spurred by his move to a new residence at 50 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square, London after his marriage to Elizabeth Wray Wilkins in 1838, ODNB 2004, XXXII, 982f., 983. Though the gift may not have had to do with lack of domestic space, the 1841 census states that the Leakes had five female and two male servants in residence, Wagstaff personal communication.



6. Statue of Hercules, much mutilated. From the coast of Laconia.
7. Torso, from Luku, probably the ancient Thyrea, in the Peloponnesus.
8. Draped female, wanting head. From Sparta.
9. Hermaic statue of Ceres, dedicated by Chriónis.
10. Painted tile from Ægium in Achaia".<sup>24</sup>

It is of interest that of these marbles in his donation all but one (no. 9) carried a provenience. Items in his collection, when attached to a contextual reference, and more specifically, as in the case of these marbles, items acquired during his travels in Greece, acted as mnemonic references to specific events; they performed as guarantors of experience. Indeed, traceability from the fine edge of the publication – or in this case a letter to the Trustees of the British Museum – to the moment of the encounter was built into Leake's work – traceability is the hallmark of accuracy for archaeologists.<sup>25</sup> For example, the contextual referent of the city, as with Thebæ Phthioticæ in the case of marble number 4, connects us to the more detailed circumstances of the relief's removal by Leake in the course of his work in Greece. As the *Travels* are arranged in chapters further indexed by geographical locale, we may return to Phthiotic Thebes on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 1809 to witness the encounter: "A little below the citadel, where the ground is very rocky, some large irregular masses were fitted to the rock as a basis to the superstructure. A few foundations of buildings are seen within the ancient inclosure, and the ground is every where strewn with stones, broken pottery, and fragments of inscribed marbles ... Among them was a monument lying on the ground so complete and at the same time so portable, that I was tempted to carry it away with me. It is a representation in relief of two platted locks of long hair, suspended to an entablature, which is supported by two pilasters. On the architrave an inscription shows that the monument commemo-

rated the dedication of their hair to Neptune, by Philombrotus and Aphthonetus, sons of Deineomachus".<sup>26</sup>

Leake was a serious student, and his collection was linked into a complex of mobile, paper-based media – references, measurements, descriptions, travel narratives, etc. – which could facilitate their further study; all have a part to play.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting that despite numerous opportunities to acquire various sculptures and inscriptions, many described in the itineraries of his travels in Greece, he returned with only the ten marbles listed here. In the passage from *Travels in Northern Greece* quoted above Leake specifies two pragmatic factors, or rather, qualities of the *pragmata*, which weighed upon his decision to return with a marble – completeness and portability. While his practice, as a military geographer, was focused on returning with things – with, that is, reliably witnessed information – the vast majority of things, from contemporary ploughs, to the stone soffit above the door at the treasury of Minyas, to ancient inscriptions, were transcribed and their contents circulated beyond their location without recourse to their removal.<sup>28</sup> *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835) alone contains hundreds of illustrations of inscriptions – 223 inscriptions to be exact. These things too should be listed under the rubric of collecting.

Leake's collections remained with him until his death, save for the sculpture, which had earlier gone to the British Museum. By his will the other material was not to go to the British Museum, perhaps surprisingly, but to be offered to Cambridge University at a generous price. That offer was accepted, and in 1864 the Fitzwilliam Museum acquired its many riches. The collection of 120 ancient gems was then, and is even now, the most generous bequest toward what is today a large and important assemblage of gems. There were in bronze about 25 pieces, mostly figurines; more impressively some 74 Greek vases; and most impressively the gigantic collection of more than 9,100 Greek

24. Marsden 1864, 40.

25. Witmore 2004; Witmore 2005.

26. Leake 1835, IV, 361.

27. Latour 1999.

28. Leake 1835, II, 149 and Leake 1835, III, 548f.

coins. While the private collection was perhaps a necessary attribute of a gentleman scholar in London, Leake's collection foreground and affirmed his experience in Greece; it proclaimed 'I was there' – an authoritative declaration which Leake, 'taciturn' though he may have been, never failed to make, e.g. Leake's discussion of his coins.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the collection is tethered to, and can be traced to (both back and forth), an 'original situation' which it simultaneously both reinforces and is reinforced by. It also provided an ensemble close at hand for questions of classification and systemization.<sup>30</sup> In these processes of codification and standardization, the circulation of these things and their relations with contexts, media and other people is quite complex.

### Thessaly 1810

The 5<sup>th</sup> of January. Having sent his baggage on from the village of Sofádhes to Kardhítza where he will lodge with the son of the recently deceased Suleymán Bey, Leake proceeds along the left bank of the river Sofádhes. The bank is high. The river has a sandy bottom; its depth is around 2 feet – all of which is necessary information should future planning prove that it need to be forded! Leake says nothing of the rain, seldom torrential, "generally in a mist," which, only two days earlier he described as rarely short of constant while traveling.<sup>31</sup> After about 1 1/3 miles he enters Maskolúri. Renowned for its May fair, the village is comprised of some 40 to 50 houses. Here the river is crossed via a stone bridge supported by two arches. Mataránga, a village divided into 4 or 5 smaller hamlets, lies 2 2/3 miles farther along the road from Sofádhes. Having arrived at the southernmost hamlet, Leake halts for 2 or 3 hours. During this period Leake states:

"upwards of 100 ancient coins are brought to me for purchase, together with a few other relics of antiquity, which have been found in the corn or cotton fields adjacent to the height which I have before mentioned as so conspicuous an object throughout the surrounding plains".<sup>32</sup>

Upon the summit of this hill Leake states that there is a round Hellenistic fortification, some 100 yards in diameter. Remains of a few towers are present. From the center where there are "some ruins of a keep or tower" a beautiful view unfolds "of the extensive plains surrounded by the *Pindus* and its branches of *Agrafa*, and *Khassia*, with *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Pelium*, and *Othrys*, along the eastern horizon".<sup>33</sup>

Leake wrote the majority of his itineraries on the ground as daily narratives in his notebooks throughout the course of his journeys. These were then compiled and further augmented with other details either at subsequent points in his travels or back in London – emendations were hand written in the spaces between lines of text. Eventually these notebooks were published in the form of a travelogue. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the genre of the travelogue was a mixed one. While the day-by-day account of possible adventure, hardship and intrigue in potentially dangerous lands had a wide appeal for a more general audience, the travelogue was also suited to laying out both criteria associated with what was deemed worthy of observation and evidence for argumentation.<sup>34</sup>

The conditions under which such worthy observations could take place were difficult. In 1810 parts of Greece were less than hospitable to the unprepared traveler; marauding bands of thieves, brigands, robbers, pirates were a constant nuisance to intrepid foreigners and obstinate locals alike.<sup>35</sup> This was the more complicated because in Epirus the brigands were being

29. Leake 1827, 153. It is significant that the collection obtained by Cambridge University included his original notebooks and survey books, now held in the Classical Faculty Library of the University.

30. For a superb history of the antiquarian collection refer to Schnapp 1997.

31. Leake 1835, IV, 491.

32. Leake 1835, IV, 497.

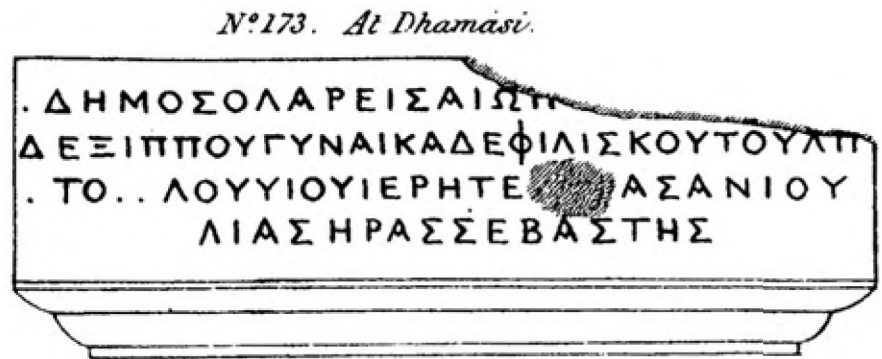
33. Leake 1835, IV, 497.

34. Driver 2001; Also Pratt 1992.

35. Leake refers to many instances of aggression by robbers in step with Ali Pasha's incapacity to fully suppress them, especially in the more mountainous regions e.g. Leake 1835, IV, 353-355. For locals, the oppression extended to lawless Albanian and Turkish soldiers and extortionate officials e.g. Leake 1835, IV, 374.



Fig. 2: Inscription No. 173 after Plate XXXVI in *Travels in Northern Greece IV* (1835).



used by France to stir up trouble for Ali Pasha who refused to declare himself on their side.

Leake's ability to travel to areas dangerous to other travelers rested upon his political, turned personal, connections – which rested upon the backing of the British Government. Without the support of Ali Pasha in particular he would not have been able to do very much. He comments on the situation while visiting a village located east of Volos: “Velestíno was long noted for the savage disposition of its Turkish inhabitants, and for its lawless government, and it would have been impossible for a traveller to make such a journey in Thessaly as I have done. Affairs are now altered. The Turks still retain their barbarous manners, and their hatred of Christians, but they are kept within bounds by the fear of Aly Pasha whose authority is unquestioned here ...”.<sup>36</sup>

But protection cannot be facilitated simply by “a dirty buyurtí” (a written order) from Ali alone.<sup>37</sup> Leake had an entourage supplied by the court – at times a very large entourage consisting of upwards of twenty men<sup>38</sup> – which accompanied him throughout Thessaly.<sup>39</sup> Of all the travellers, architects, antiquarians, or adventurers to visit Greece, Leake is the first to travel to so many locations in the interior and bring back re-

liable knowledge about these regions. His capacity to do so rested on his ability to mobilize a great number of allies to his cause.<sup>40</sup> It is also true that travelers would not have been able to get around save for the Ottoman infrastructure of official post stations with their relays of horses. Leake's abilities of this nature were as significant for his pursuit of ancient topography as they were for his military investigations.

In late 1809 Leake's duties as special envoy to the court of Ali Pasha had taken him to Ioánnina where he spent ten mid-November days in the court. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of the same month, while en route to Tríkkala, he met with several prominent locals including Dehli-Iánni, the Captain of the *armatolí* who defended the Metsovo pass between Epirus and Thessaly against brigands. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of December, Leake visited Abdím Bey, the civil governor of Lárissa for the third time since 1805. Three days later, he stops by the house of the agent (the *Subashí*) of Vely Pasha in Dhamási. Here, Leake draws a statue base with an inscription, No. 173, and notes a second marble with a man with a circular shield in low relief (fig. 2). Given his primary responsibilities for political liaison Leake often had to be pragmatic and opportunistic in his antiquarian work, taking advantage of circumstances as they presented themselves.

36. Leake 1835, IV, 43f.

37. This order is inferred to be in Leake's possession on the basis of his statement: “a dirty buyurtí from Ioánnina half the size of one's hand is of more effect than a firmáhn of the Porte three feet in length”, Leake 1835, IV, 438.

38. E.g. Leake 1835, IV, 261.

39. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, Leake even refers to his tatar Mustafá, who seems to have been with him since leaving Ioánnina in November, Leake 1835, IV, 489.

40. Cf. Latour 1986.

Returning to the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1810, Leake continued to survey the surrounding areas for extant remains above ground. His identification of these remains is mediated by a variety of observations (archaeological, the presence of substantial features including the Hellenistic walls and tower remains mentioned above; topographical, the centrality of the site in the plains of Upper Thessaly; horticultural (the fertility of the soil); and things (inscriptions, ancient texts – Livy, Caesar, Strabo, even Stephanus – and coins). Leake’s argumentation is worth pursuing further. Both Κιεριες and Μητροπολιται are mentioned in an arbitration inscription which Leake copied from the wall of a church in the nearby town of Mataránga.<sup>41</sup> Both Livy and Caesar mention Metropolis on several occasions as standing in this part of Thessaly. On the other hand, Leake continues: “though the name of the Cierienses does not occur in history, I have already had occasion to form a presumption as to the importance of this people, from having met with some varied specimens of their coinage in Thessaly or Epirus, bearing the legend Κιεριεων. Of these coins I find no less than four among those brought to me for sale by the peasants of Mataránga, a fact which, coupled with the evidence of the inscription relative to the boundaries between the Cierienses and the Metropolitae, seems to leave no doubt as to their origin. We may conclude therefore that the hill of Mataránga is the site of a city called Cieria, or Cierium”.<sup>42</sup>

Still, Leake does not stop here. He continues to enlist other inscriptions, No 218 from the same church as No. 217 bears the epithet Neptune Cuerius; he continues to enroll other coins, three of which record the worship of Neptune at Cierium (fig. 3); he continues to discuss topographical considerations on the basis of various texts. Leake settles the question of identification by discovering the remains of Metropolis “at a



Fig. 3: Coin No. 3 from Leake’s essay “On some Coins of the City of Kierion in Thessaly” (1827).

distance of ten or twelve miles to the westward of Mataránga, and exactly in the position which Strabo indicated”.<sup>43</sup> Ultimately, in augmenting an earlier thesis that accounted for the absence of Cierium in ancient literature published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (he identified it with Arne (1827)) Leake concedes that Cierium (known today as Kierion) was probably the Pierum mentioned by Livy and that Arne was an earlier name.<sup>44</sup>

In linking remains on the ground with their ancient appellation Leake enlists a variety of allies – his local entourage, local informants, coins, inscriptions (successfully transcribed from the walls of a church to the pages of a notebook), ancient authors, geography, horticulture, the ancient features themselves and so on. But not all of this argument is based upon evidence, which unfolded on the 5<sup>th</sup> of January. These narratives are multitemporal; they are both distributed and dislocated. To understand this we must move from Thessaly to the Thames.

41. No. 217 in Leake’s catalogue, Leake 1835, IV, Plate XLII.

42. Leake 1835, IV, 498-499.

43. Leake 1827, 155.

44. This suggestion was offered by Müller in relation to Leake’s paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, refer to Leake 1835, IV, 503-504, note 2; Also Marsden 1864, 22-23.



## London 1830

In 1830, London was an imperial city, the largest of any on earth. In 1830, London was a world metropolis of the arts, humanities and sciences.<sup>45</sup> On either side of 1830, London, historically speaking, was in the midst of an ‘industrial revolution,’ and behind this situation were considerable transformations in science, in record-keeping, in time-keeping – trends toward the regularization, standardization, synchronization of practices and information; trends which are the basis of the eventual triumph of the universal.<sup>46</sup> By 1830, London, a ‘New Athens’ metaphorically speaking, had witnessed an explosion of wealth, creativity and innovation.<sup>47</sup> The anatomy of the city and its institutions were acquiring the unique shape that is recognizable today. A major period of dock construction, which included the London, West India and East India Docks, had recently ended with the opening of St. Katharine in 1828. Infrastructural changes in the decades preceding 1830 extended to bridges (Southwark, Waterloo, Vauxhall and the newly rebuilt London Bridge), canals (Regent’s, Grosvenor and Kensington), roads, warehouses, and, in Jeremy Bentham’s London, factories, hospitals and penitentiaries.<sup>48</sup> The British Museum flush with antiquities – the Rosetta stone, the ‘Elgin Marbles,’ the ‘Phigaleian Marbles’ – and recently acquired collections – the Hamilton collection, the Townley collection – arose in Greek Revival Style, Robert Smirke’s design, from 1823. University College London followed. This intense noise was more than simply a backdrop to Leake’s work; it was a crucible; it even had a major role to play.<sup>49</sup>

Leake, now a retired lieutenant-colonel and by this time a respected Classical scholar and topographer, had written, among other works, *Topography of Athens* (1821) and his treatise on the Greek Revolution, *An historical outline of the Greek Revolution* (1826). 1830

would witness the publication of *Travels in the Morea* in three volumes, a work celebrated as a “display of vast erudition ... and above all a degree of precision in ... geographical computations”.<sup>50</sup> It would be another five years before the appearance of his *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835). Leake’s work provided an exemplar for subsequent scholarship and this eventually won him the epithet: ‘model geographer’.<sup>51</sup> Leake’s work was also exemplary of how reliable information about lands situated at a great distance could be gathered together in London and thus provide a basis for further work to be done. The global nature of this information accumulation is critical to understanding London as a world centre in 1830.

A cursory glance at the *Monthly Review* for 1830 gives one some indication of the wealth of works catering to a demand for global knowledge. Beyond Leake’s *Travels in the Morea* there were, for example, *Travels in the interior of Mexico*, in various parts of Peru, in Kamtchatka and Siberia, in the Chaldea, through the Crimea, through Central Africa to Timbuctoo; there were *Voyages to the Arctic Regions*; *Picture of Egypt*, of India; *Narrative of a tour through some parts of the Turkish Empire*, of residence in China, of discovery and adventure in Africa, of a journey overland by the continent of Europe, Egypt and the Red Sea, to India. Like Leake, the majority of these authors were military men or diplomats, who had a particular audience of like-minded enthusiasts for their works.

The years following Waterloo witnessed a proliferation of scholarly, intellectual and scientific societies and dinner clubs. Leake had been a member of the Society of the Dilettanti from 1814 (by 1859, shortly before his death, he would become second on the list after Lord Aberdeen) and the African Association from 1815.<sup>52</sup> Described as a gentleman of the Royal Artillery and “well versed in several branches of Science,

45. Refer to Jenkins 1992b; Morus 1992.

46. Bowker 2005.

47. For comparisons to Athens after the defeat of Persians – in London’s case, the French – refer to Jenkins 1992b.

48. Saint 1992; Weale 1851.

49. The decades around 1830 were momentous for antiquarian London – Charles Robert Cockerell, Sir Richard Colt Hoare,

Thomas Leverton Donaldson, Sir William Gell, William Richard Hamilton, William Martin Leake, Sir Walter Scott, William Wilkins – to name but a few. This added to the noise.

50. *Monthly Review* 1830a.

51. De Grey and Ripon 1860; Also Marsden 1864, 43.

52. Marsden 1854, 41.



and who has explored the countries of Egypt, Greece, and several other parts of the Levant &c.” Leake was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1815. The list of proposers included James Rennell, formerly surveyor general to the Honourable East India Company; Sir John Barrow, second secretary to the Admiralty between 1804-1845 who would lend his name to several large portions of Alaska; Richard William Hamilton, antiquarian and diplomat; Viscount Valentia (Lord George Annesley), the Second Earl of Mountnorris; and Sir Francis Beaufort, deviser of the Beaufort Scale.<sup>53</sup> Leake was a founder member of the Raleigh Club (1826), the Travelers’ Club (1819) and the Athenaeum (1824).<sup>54</sup> Beyond also being a founder member of both the Royal Society of Literature (1821) and the Royal Geographical Society (1830), Leake would eventually become a vice-president of both. After 1830, he would add the Numismatic Society to this list (1836).<sup>55</sup> These cosmopolitan dinner clubs and societies situated Leake within a variegated and fluctuating, yet always exclusive, community of scientific enthusiasts, antiquarians, inventors, Classical scholars, politicians; and many of these contacts, like the Colonel, were former or current military men.

Membership in these clubs not only required sufficient wealth (membership fees were not inexpensive) and leisure; for some, political or aristocratic status (the patrons) was obligatory, for others, significant accomplishments were requisite. Consider for instance that in addition to the admission fee (30 guineas) and annual subscription (10 guineas) membership in the Travellers’ Club excluded anyone “who has not traveled out of the British Islands to a distance of at least

500 miles from London in a direct line”.<sup>56</sup> Leake, as a member of its first committee, would regularly meet with the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Auckland, Viscount Palmerston, and antiquarians such as W.R. Hamilton, C.R. Cockerell, and Robert Hay – both Hamilton, who had traveled with Leake throughout Egypt, Syria and Greece from 1801-1802, and Cockerell, who first met Leake in Greece in 1810, were life-long friends of the Colonel.<sup>57</sup> Many of these men – they were always men – were members of the other societies and clubs to which Leake belonged. Moreover, such influential associations lent themselves well to the affirmation of authority and credibility, necessary attributes of a respectable gentleman scholar.

These dining clubs, these gentlemen’s clubs, often met monthly, fortnightly or even weekly.<sup>58</sup> In 1830, when in London, Leake lived at 26 Nottingham Place, Marylebone, near Regent’s Park, which was still undergoing renovation by John Nash, yet another associate of Leake.<sup>59</sup> Nottingham Place is easily within a two-mile radius of the political, judicial and administrative heart of the British Empire – where the majority of these clubs and societies met: No 49 Pall Mall; Somerset House on the Strand; 4 St Martin’s Place, Trafalgar Square; No. 3 Waterloo Place.

Some clubs gathered periodically in private taverns or hotel rooms, e.g. the Dilettanti who never had a clubhouse but met in the Thatched House in St. James’s Street. However, an important part of rendering the social relations that these clubs facilitated even more durable, not to mention more exclusive, centralized and visible, was to construct a clubhouse. Decoration, design, furnishings, all catered to the lavish sen-

53. The Royal Society, 1815: Certificate of Election and Candidature for William Martin Leake, The Royal Society, GB 117, EC/1815/02. Rennel, described by Felix Driver as “*the leading British geographer of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries*,” Barrow, Hamilton, and Beaufort were all major players in the Royal Geographical Society, Driver 2001, 24-48.

54. Marsden 1864; ODNB 2004, XXXII, 982f.

55. De Grey and Ripon 1860, cxvi; ODNB 2004, XXXII, 983.

56. Wheatley 1891 III, 406.

57. Ferguson 2001, 18-23; Marsden 1864, 10-11.

58. In May of 1830 the Royal Society met on the 6<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of the month and the Royal Society of Literature on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, Monthly Review 1830b, 155).

59. Both men are listed as council members of the Royal Society of Literature, the list is inscribed in Volume 1(1) of the *Transactions* 1827).

sibilities of some members. Still, the societies and clubs which Leake belonged to were more than meeting places for gentlemen of leisure, letters, military rank, art, science, travel or whatever; they were also locales for the accumulation of books in libraries, charts in map rooms and therefore were exchanges for research in the subject area of their mandate. In 1830 London, access to such scholarly resources was far from a public privilege.<sup>60</sup> When the new clubhouse of the Athenaeum opened for its members at the corner of Pall Mall and Waterloo Place in May of 1830, one of the foremost wishes of the founders was that it should possess a good library.<sup>61</sup> Leake was on the library committee, as he was at the Travelers'.<sup>62</sup> There were nearly 4,000 books to begin with.<sup>63</sup> By 1832 there were 10,000 – partly donated by fellow members such as John Murray, Leake's publisher for *Travels in the Morea*.<sup>64</sup> The ability to assemble a wealth of works in one place – Greco-Roman and British antiquities being an important subject area for the Club – has a great deal to do with the advancement of knowledge.

Nowhere was all such cultural activity more evident than in the Royal Geographical Society. 1830 was momentous yet again for the founding of the Royal Geographical Society by members of the Raleigh Club (which it absorbed along with the African Association in 1831). "Part social club, part learned society, part imperial information exchange, and part platform for the promotion of sensational feats of exploration"<sup>65</sup>, the Royal Geographical Society was founded on a

mandate, which specified the promotion and distribution of Geographical knowledge. Under this mandate the Society had six specific objectives: "first, to 'collect, register and digest, and to print ... such new, interesting and useful facts and discoveries as the Society may have in its possession'; second, to 'accumulate gradually a library of the best books on geography ... [and] a complete collection of Maps and Charts'; third, to 'procure specimens of such instruments as experience has shown to be most useful'; fourth, 'to prepare brief instructions for such as are setting out on their travels'; fifth, to 'correspond with similar societies that may be established in different parts of the world'; and sixth, to 'open a communication with all those philosophical and literary societies with which Geography is connected'.<sup>66</sup>

The emphasis of the Royal Geographical Society was to bring things back to London, to accumulate geographical information. In this regard, a map room and library were critical. Furthermore, a collection and knowledge of the most precise instruments is necessary to further acquiring such knowledge.<sup>67</sup>

With the Royal Geographical Society (as with the network of other institutions and societies) information is handy, immediate and understandable. Several thousand square miles, translated into several hundred square inches and accompanied with detailed information of every sort, can be pulled from a shelf and passed across a table. Observations in the form of narrative, maps, tables, diagrams, or numerical calcula-

60. Twenty-one years later the publisher John Weale, in his London Exhibited in 1851, deplored the dearth of public libraries in London (after all he was a publisher!): "With respect to public libraries the British metropolis is yet far behind the chief continental towns. While Paris possesses seven public libraries, accessible in every way to persons of all classes; while Dresden has four, and Florence six; while Copenhagen and Vienna have each three; and Brussels, Berlin, Milan, and Munich each two; our own gigantic metropolis possesses only one important library (The British Museum) and that—to the disgrace of the nation—not freely open to the public", Weale 1851, 594.

61. The Athenaeum was 'of the city of Athens' in more than just name as under the cornice runs the 'extravagant novelty' of the Parthenon frieze by the sculptor John Henning, the description from Weale 1851, 294. This bit of Elgin-inspired decoration set

the Club back just over £2165, Cowell 1975, 17. And centered above the composite (Roman-Doric) portico with spear in hand was a statue of Athena herself. Historians tend to speak of 1830 as the 'height' of the Greek Revival Style.

62. The Travellers' Club, whose new clubhouse was opened in 1832 on Pall Mall, also had an important library that was largely dedicated to travel, refer to FitzRoy 1927.

63. Cowell 1975, 20.

64. Cowell 1975, 65-90.

65. Driver 2001, 25.

66. Driver 2001, 28.

67. Given their talents the makers of the theodolites, the sextants, the compasses, or the watches being mobilized were often elected as members of these societies.



tions can all be juxtaposed with other information from the same region acquired by different military personnel or scholars and thus become the topic of conversation or the subject of a debate. The ability to assemble many different consistent and standardized modes in one place leads to controversy, disputes over accuracy and precision, when elements don't match up. Of course there also has to be agreement over the standards deployed and this too was a topic of contention. Instructions must be given for what to observe and how to deal with it.<sup>68</sup> This facilitates compatibility, though the degree to which this actually occurred can be overstated.

Felix Driver, in working with Bruno Latour's notion of *centre of calculation*, which refers to any site where maps, plans, diagrams, numerical information – 'immutable mobiles' – are managed, summed up and combined in order to make "some type of calculation possible"<sup>69</sup>, has argued that the Royal Geographical Society was an information exchange of a more heterogeneous kind given its emphasis on exploration at large.<sup>70</sup> In other words, for Driver, information compatibility was not always facilitated by the diversity of forms of geographical knowledge collected by the sundry groups comprising the Royal Geographical Society, even though the Royal Geographical Society aspired to this in their mandate. To be sure, all this information collected in one place allows members to *see* the world anew, but scholars like Leake needed to rely on a more dispersed and variegated network, which did not end at the boundaries of any one society. In 1830, the centers of calculation were distributed much more broadly.<sup>71</sup>

London was a multifaceted knowledge base for revisiting Greece and building further knowledge of the ancient world. But this is an extremely small drop in a rather large bucket. In 1830, an infrastructure was in place to support the circulation of goods, scholars, sol-

diers and information from every corner of the globe. In those days, all the rest of the world, a paper world, a mobile world of coins, antiquities, art, material culture, new species of flora and fauna, was being gathered together in London. From here, especially if you knew the right people and had some means, knowledge could now be continually refined, reshuffled, and redistributed. London was a hub in the circulation of global information. London was a centre of calculation in the Latourian sense. Still, London was one centre among many – Paris, Berlin or even Copenhagen – all vying for supremacy.<sup>72</sup>

1830 was the midpoint of the French *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*. Even more accurate geographical information, linked in from another centre in Paris, was being compiled by a scientific contingent under the auspices of the *Dépôt de la Guerre*, a mission modeled upon the collaborative body behind the *Description de l'Égypte*. Leake does not travel back and forth to Greece but he is none-the-less able to improve upon his original work because of the French accomplishments. Leake's reaction to the publication of the French mission would lead to his *Peloponnesiaca*.<sup>73</sup> New observations or disputes over the accuracy of the French descriptive geography would lend fuel to Leake's narrative, but more importantly the powers of a standardized, compatible and optically consistent map, an achievement based upon over two years and thousands of man-hours of wayfinding, navigation, point marking, triangulation, squaring and measurement by the French military geographers, topographers, staff officers and troops along with the most precise instruments available at the time, would be the most celebrated aspect of the French labors.<sup>74</sup>

68. Regarding such instructional literature refer to Driver 2001, 49-67; Also Witmore 2004, 140.

69. Latour 1986, 31-33; Latour 1987, 215-257; Latour 1999, 304.

70. Driver 2001, 27-37.

71. Latour 1987.

72. Latour 1987.

73. Puillon de Boblaye 1836.

74. Curtius 1851-1852, I, 133-136; Leake 1846, vi; Loring 1895, 25.

## Boeotia to Euboea 1805

The 21<sup>st</sup> of December, 10:27am, Leake passes the eastern periphery of Thebes en route to Egripo (now Khalkis), a town located on the island of Euboea. Pocket watch in hand, Leake and party continue: 10:33, on the right, the fountain of St. Theodore; 10:50, “the road to Bratzi, a branch of which leads to Sykámino” to the southeast; 11:15, *στὰς πορτὰς* (‘the gates’), an ‘ancient foundation’ which crosscuts the road; 11:21, a small but conspicuous hill – potentially the Teumessus referred to by Pausanias – lies “three to four hundred yards on the left”.<sup>75</sup> The road begins to ascend toward a junction between the ‘supposed Teumessus’ and Mount Soró at 11:30. Exactly 11 minutes later, the descent; 3 minutes later the road joins again the plain: “At 11:50 Serghis is a mile and a half on the left, on the slope of the mountain; at 11:58 we are just below the centre of its summit and near its lowest falls. At 12:10 Spakhídhēs is half a mile on the right. At 12:35, two or three miles on the right, a ruined tower of modern construction appears on the top of a rocky height, which hides from view the village of Andrítza, where are some Hellenic remains, and a copious source of water. The ridge connecting Parnes with Cithæron appears between the height of Andrítza and that of Soró”.<sup>76</sup> For the next hour and 55 minutes Leake continues to note the precise time at which his party passes any points along the route worthy of note including topographical features, ancient remains, picturesque views, and even contemporary agricultural fields. Leake also specifies the exact amount of time during which they stop. At 3:30, having passed along the shore beneath the heights of Karababá – which Leake supposes to be the *Canethus* mentioned by Strabo – and over the *Euripus* by way of a stone bridge of 60 to 70 feet in length, then a wooden one of 35,

Leake enters the fortress of Egripo. Here the Artillery Captain is received at the house of the Russian consul.

This to-the-minute precision would prove to be useful for subsequent travelers moving between points overland. Travel times were often collated into lists much like the navigational time logs of the period, as with Sir William Gell’s roadbook, *Itinerary of the Morea* (1817). Of course, for Leake there was always the primary importance of military utility.<sup>77</sup> The steady movement of cogs and gears translates into a temporal measure – clockwork – and the repetitive act of temporally referencing one’s location in space regulates one’s activities on the ground. So that the measurement of time, if accurate and credible, becomes the measurement of physical space. And a system of measurement of any kind is a key element in standardization.

But Leake’s activities are more complex than this. He was not alone in his mission: a fluctuating host of informants, guides and attendants, often unacknowledged, contribute local knowledge (not to mention, his faithful valet who at this point had been with him since January); a variety of instruments lend their action – sextant or theodolite and compass<sup>78</sup>, pocket watch,<sup>79</sup> and even a telescope<sup>80</sup>; a number of portable versions or extracts from texts by both ancient authors (perhaps a 1516 Adline Press edition of Pausanias’ *Periegesis*<sup>81</sup>) and recent travelers<sup>82</sup>; even companion species share their labor – horses, mules and, at times, donkeys. All these come together in the achievements for which ‘Leake’ receives credit. Still, if we are to understand the act of marking points worthy of note by the position of metal hands on a watch face we need to return to Euboea in 1805.

The 23<sup>rd</sup> of December does not appear in Leake’s *Travels in Northern Greece*. The published travelogue

75. Leake 1835, II, 244-245.

76. Leake 1835, II, 246-247.

77. Foucault 1995.

78. Leake 1835, I, vii and Leake 1830, II, 335 respectively.

79. Wagstaff believes it to be unlikely that Leake carried a chronometer.

80. Leake 1835, IV, 454.

81. Wagstaff 2001, 192-193.

82. Leake 1835, I, vi.



continues with the 24<sup>th</sup> when Leake recrosses the *Euripus* at 9am. Still, two pages of a little survey notebook (of flip top design with brass clasp which could easily fit in a pocket) contain references which reveal something of the day's activities. Divided vertically across two pages, the left side bears a list of degrees taken from the hill of Calogheritza (spelled Kalogheritza) marked as lying 1 1/3 miles from the bridge of Euripo, the right is a sketch map of the Boeotian and Euboean coast line with five lines, indicating bearings in radial degrees, from Calogheritza to prominent geographical points. The list begins: "extreme pt. of Cálamo S43E; pt. (taken from Thebes) above, cal. S39 1/2e; Pentelicus keeping above the ridge of Parnes S14 3/4E; ~~Oziá S42 1/2E~~ [struck out]; Mt Messapnius, *Χλῦπας* N96W; dis. of Larmes N57W; Euripo Bridge in line with Karabálas N51 1/3W; pt. of Opuntius Bay N37 1/2W; pt. of Aldepsus N33 1/2W." This list continues in this way for another 13 points with an additional 5 measurements of degree marked along the radii drawn upon the sketch map. This radial coding, probably facilitated with a compass and the aid of "a sextant of 4 inches radius made by Berge," is a key step toward transporting a point of view, a line of sight, and therefore, the landscape features lined up, back to London.<sup>83</sup> On the ground instruments and media mediated Leake's *vision* of landscape, they too had a stake in what was observed. All these actions are necessary in translating the Greek countryside into a form that circulates.

Returning to the issue of chronometrics we began

with, Leake established his own metrology on the basis of how many paces a horse took per minute and the length of the paces; this was established for various types of mount.<sup>84</sup> This metrology allows Leake to calculate distance in laying out the triangles necessary for compiling a map (fig. 4). Leake's clockwork was the basis of calculating distance and this distance, when combined with the measurement of degrees, provided a basis for triangulation, triangulation being a necessary step in the translation of the Greek countryside onto a two-dimensional surface while maintaining something of its reality as seen through linear perspective. Here, time measurement frames a way of looking; it frames a *mode of engagement*.<sup>85</sup> *Chronometry* translates into *chorometry*. Back in London, Leake further reconciled these measurements with "some important angles measured" by John Hawkins and the "Admiralty surveys, executed under the direction of Captains Smyth and Copeland, of the Royal Navy".<sup>86</sup> Indeed, throughout his travels Leake publishes, at various points within the text, a number of measured, optically consistent two-dimensional plans of structures and maps such as the one reproduced in Figure 4.

Geographical instruments, and the calculations necessary to produce accurate maps, require consistent and repeatable mode of engagements. Such repeatable practices are necessary for honest and reliable witnessing. A template to standardization must be established for how one deals with a stone inscription, a site, a landscape, a region. Once in place, or rather displaced while maintaining something of that reality in two-di-

83. Leake refers to taking bearings by compass at several points throughout the *Travels*. For example, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December, 1809 Leake states: "The Magúla of Tatári, which I suppose to be the site of 'Gyrton', is nearly in a line with the peak of Kíssavo or 'Ossa', which bears east by the compass: a few degrees to the left of the magúla [a height, often a mound, with ancient remains] some remains of the wall of 'Mopsium' are clearly distinguishable", Leake 1835, IV, 298. The sextant made by Berge is mentioned in correspondence with John Hawkins referenced as Tripolitsa 9<sup>th</sup> of March 1805, Leake 1805. Matthew Berge, the former foreman for the renowned London-based instrument maker Jesse Ramsden, inherited the business after Ramsden's death and continued to make instruments till his own death in

1819, refer to Stimson 1985. Leake 1805; Letter to John Hawkins, West Sussex Record Office, Hawkins Ms. 2(2) f. 304.

84. The 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1810. While traveling in Thessaly, Leake states that "with menzíl geldings [post horses] over the plain, our pace to-day is about six miles an hour", Leake 1835, IV, 496.

85. Witmore 2006, 276-278.

86. Leake 1835, I, vii. Hawkins travelled through Greece in the 1780's and 90's. In a letter to a friend Davies Gilbert, Hawkins boasted: "there is scarcely any part of Greece which I have not examined ... I have accomplished a regular Trigonometrical Survey of almost all of Greece having drawn a chain of triangles from Salonica and Mount Athos to Cape Matapan", ODNB 2004, XXV, 930.

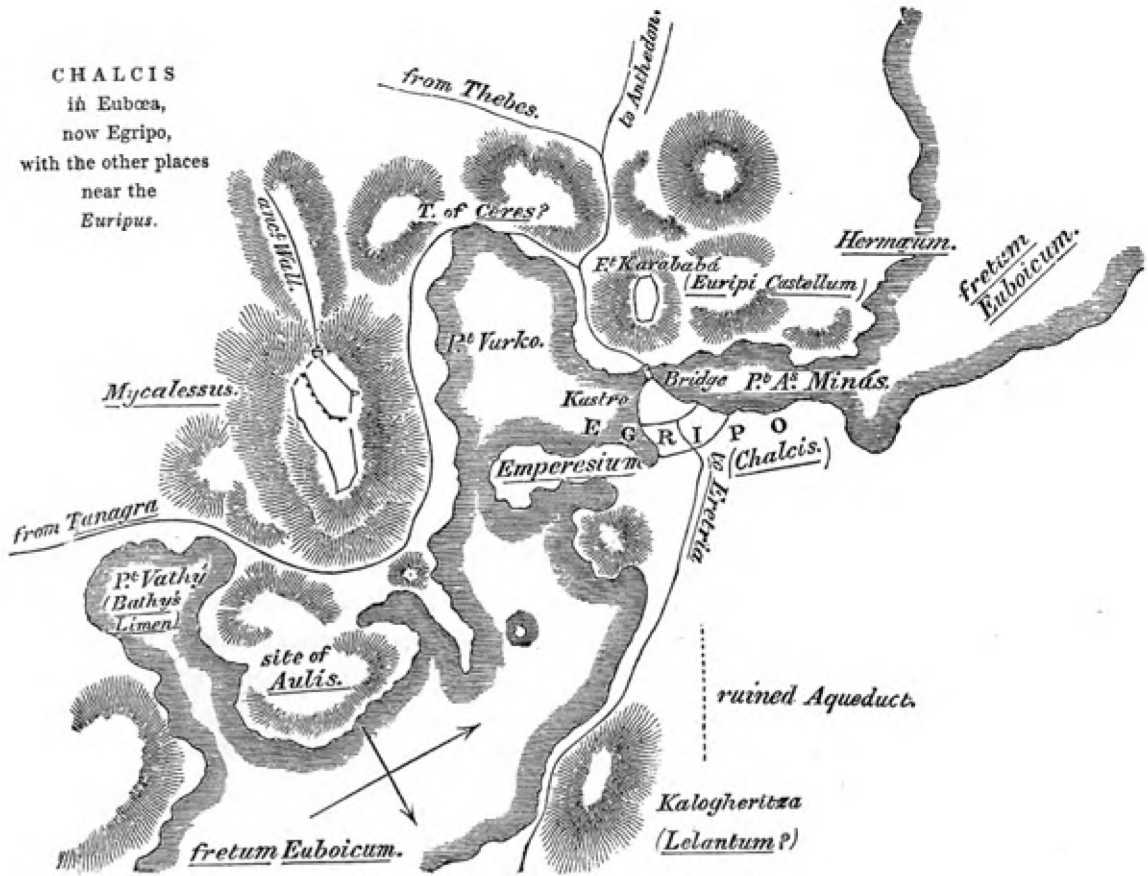


Fig. 4: Map of Khalkis with the coastline and the area around the Euripus—labeled as “CHALCIS in Eubœa now Egripo, with the other places near the Euripus”—from *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835, II, 264). This map was compiled from Leake’s measurements taken on December 23, 1805.

mensions, that information can be reshuffled, further modified and refined.<sup>87</sup> In this way, the value of exact maps rests exactly in their ability to translate the local into global terms. These practices, the observations they effected and the ways in which they were combined with textual narratives, went a long way toward setting Leake apart from his contemporaries. Together they form a basis for how Classical topographers and archaeologists approach the Greek landscape.

## Numismatics

Leake early on recognized the usefulness of numismatic evidence in his investigations. As he traveled he accumulated Greek coins, “beyond all comparison the most numerous of Greek monuments”.<sup>88</sup> When settled back in London he continued to acquire coins, so that at the time of his death in 1860 the collection totaled more than 9,100 pieces. Howard Marsden deemed it “among the first private collections of Greek coins in Europe”.<sup>89</sup>

87. Latour 1986; Witmore 2004; Witmore 2005.

88. Leake 1854, vii.

89. Marsden 1860, 39.



One of Leake's most significant accomplishments lay in the organization and classification of the collection. It was in the compilation of a catalogue of these coins that his knowledge of ancient geography joined with numismatics to create yet another template to standardization. Not only did Leake think through this mass of numismatic material; he also published it in a work which included a clear description of every single coin, his great *Numismata Hellenica* (1854). No such numismatic publication of a private collection had ever been attempted before. Even the great and widely known works of Mionnet and Eckhel, which Leake knew and used, had been based on the French and Austrian national collections respectively.<sup>90</sup>

To the modern numismatist Leake's layout in his catalogue seems simply conventional. What one has to realize is that Leake established the convention. Organized by region (Asiatic Greece, European Greece, etc.) and by city within region (AMPHIPOLIS Thraciæ sive Macedoniæ, SICYON Achaiæ, etc.), it sets out each coin individually, carefully described as to obverse and reverse types. This information is printed toward the right-hand margin of the page to allow for the insertion of three columns in which are indicated the metal (specified by the Latin abbreviations AV, AR and Æ for gold, silver and *aes* or bronze), the flan size (based upon a scale derived from Mionnet), and the weight of each piece in grains Troy. This layout of measures and description was devised by Leake and is in use to this day, although size and weight are now indicated in the metric system. So, for example, one of Leake's coins from Cierium (marked No. 3 in Figure 3) is registered as:

| Metal | Size | Weight |

| Æ | 4 | |

"Head of Neptune ? to r. R. KIEPI. Horse running to r.; under it, a small figure of Arne".<sup>91</sup>

It is evidence of Leake's influence that this usage of columnar layout of information was adopted for the catalogues of Greek coins in the British Museum.<sup>92</sup> On the negative side, perhaps, is the curiosity that weights are provided only for the coins in precious metal; those in copper or bronze went unweighed.<sup>93</sup> The reason for this may well have been that the weights of small change were thought to have been little controlled at the mints, and that anyhow pieces of small change would have worn variously in circulation. Thus a discussion of ancient coin weights, which Leake provided as an appendix to his catalogue, concerns only gold and silver.<sup>94</sup> In the British Museum catalogue series it was only after thirty years that the weights of the bronze coins were finally indicated, in vol. 24 (1904). There is this much to be said for Leake, that while he did not himself provide the bronze weights his layout made clear where there was work to be done.

Not all of the coins included in the catalogue were actually of Leake's own collection, which included a great many electrotype copies. Usually a collector might in desperation acquire an electrotype of a famous coin if the original were unavailable, and hope soon to be rid of it. But Leake deliberately built a collection of electrotypes (through the hard work of his wife), many not of coins of striking visual effect but small bronzes necessary to his studies.<sup>95</sup> For the Colonel, the *Numismata Hellenica*, "a design so extensive in its aim, could never have been attempted with-

90. Mionnet 1806-1813; Eckhel 1826-1828. Leake's catalogue resembles Mionnet's in its attention to the detail of the individual coin, including fabric; Eckhel's in the accompanying commentaries (though to a more limited extent).

91. Leake 1854, European Greece, 35.

92. The first was R.S. Poole's *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum. Italy* (1873), initiating a series of 29 volumes, by various authors, extending to *Cyrenaica* (1927).

93. "On a reconnu, depuis long-temps, combine il était important de

donner dans les ouvrages de numismatique le poids des médailles antiques d'or et d'argent [i.e., not bronze].", Mionnet 1839.

94. Which led Leake to disagree with Brøndsted, explaining the largest Athenian silver coin to be the decadrachm (correctly) rather than the octodrachm, Leake 1854, European Greece, 21.

95. In the dedication of the *Numismata Hellenica*, Leake 1854, Leake expresses his gratitude to his wife for her skill in this "most delicate of processes".



out the aid of Electrotype, which enables the collector, when aided by the liberality of the guardians of royal or national museums, or by the kindness of private individuals, to obtain perfect copies of the rarest specimens, and to render them as useful to art and literature as the originals themselves".<sup>96</sup> With the electrotypes the coins reached beyond the collections in which they were housed – the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, the Hunter Collection, the Pembroke Collection. Electrotypes added between five and six hundred coins to Leake's catalogue.<sup>97</sup>

But that leads us to the real purpose of *Numismata Hellenica*. Leake's view of the importance of coins to the student is clear from its opening sentence, which does not mention coins at all. He is committed to "geographical knowledge", "ancient history", "sources of historical truth". He never pretended to be a connoisseur in the art-collecting sense, or even in the coin-collecting sense, but a creative historical and archaeological scholar in the best sense, on the same lines as Brøndsted. The collection of his own coins is remarkable in being proportionately so rich in bronze, when a more fastidious collector might have aimed primarily for silver and gold.<sup>98</sup> This is not owing to the bronze being more economical to collect, but for quite different reasons, because it is often more various than the precious metal coinages, indeed was the only coinage produced for most Greek cities in Roman times, and was important in topographical studies since so many ancient towns are represented in the coinage, and the local coin finds, only by small change. Indeed some ancient sites have been identified precisely through the coins – usually bronze coins – found on site.

Thus for example, on Oeniadae in Acarnania, "now called Trikardhokastro".<sup>99</sup> His own coins included "all the varieties I could discover among about 800, which were found at Trikardhokastro" – i.e. the find coins, small change to be used locally, confirmed the identification of the ancient site. Again, on the question of the site of the ancient Pautalia in Thrace he narrows the possibilities through the coins: on one issue the words "ΕΝ ΠΑΙΩ, i.e. in Paeonia"; on another the representation of "a river god, with the legend CTPYΜΩΝ ... It becomes highly probable that Pautalia is now represented by Ghiustendil."<sup>100</sup> Or the site could explain the coins. At Acanthus in Macedonia, "some of [the] coins without legends were procured by me on the site of Acanthus" – i.e. the locus of discovery confirmed the identification of the otherwise mute coins.<sup>101</sup> We have already mentioned the wonderful gold medallion, which he purchased locally in Macedonia, thus confirming its authenticity.

To process this information Leake covered an amazingly broad field of sources: ancient mythology, for the explanation of the coin types, and ancient history, politics, genealogy, and even grammar and etymology for the explanation of the legends. On a single page in five different entries he could cite Thucydides, Cicero, Pliny, Strabo, Julius Pollux, Stephanus, and the Anonymous Periegeticus.<sup>102</sup> This is characteristic of the whole work.

His own experiences were brought to bear. He can say something about the Thessalian dialect on coins of Crannon in Thessaly because "in an inscription which I copied at Crannon ...", which not many numismatists can say; just as he refers to inscriptions which he has

96. Leake 1854, vii.

97. In this regard Leake's collection of material marched in parallel with that of Brøndsted. The latter worked at building the collection of sulphur casts at The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, the National Museum of Denmark, along with the more obvious acquisitions of coins and books. At the time of his death he had acquired more than 10,000 casts. For an account see the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.

98. This has long been a prejudice even among museum professionals. When Leake's collection, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, was published in the series *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*,

SNG 1940-1971, all of the gold and silver coins were included and illustrated, but only a fraction of the bronze, a great mass of which remain unpublished to this day.

99. Leake 1854, European Greece, 79. Again, "The copper coins of Blaundus found by Mr. W.J. Hamilton at Gobék, leave little doubt that the ruins at the neighbouring Sulimanlí are those of Blaundus", Leake 1854, Asiatic Greece, 34.

100. Leake 1854, European Greece, 84.

101. Leake 1854, European Greece, 2.

102. Leake 1854, Asiatic Greece, 52.

studied *in situ* on a number of occasions when they offer useful information.

All of this evidence, basically numismatic but rich in topographical and historical explanation, was made available in the text of his great catalogue. It is a book which requires some emendation today, in part because the attributions of some difficult coins have been improved since, but it set the example for the great national catalogues which followed it (in every sense), and has never been surpassed as a work of commitment, energy and ingenuity. Its essential spirit throughout can be garnered from a single example: “From this coin we learn ...”<sup>103</sup>

## Conclusions

The intellectual activities of Peter Oluf Brøndsted, and those of his contemporary, William Martin Leake, a figure of similar importance, developed on one level in quite different ways. At one time, Brøndsted conducted archaeological excavations in Greece; at another he lectured at the University. Leake, who took no part in either of these activities, scoured the Greek countryside, measured it and understood it as neither Brøndsted nor anyone else had done; and in leisured retirement was able to work through and publish his accumulated materials with immense learning. But both, working just prior to the professionalization of Classical archaeology, were contributors to it. Indeed, it is on the basis of practices established by these scholars that much of what would become Classical archaeology would acquire definition. Thus Leake’s work, requiring a combination of instruments and optically consistent and standardized media, constitutes “not only a definitive base for topographical fieldwork in Greece, but also a standard in the scholarly documentation of landscape”.<sup>104</sup>

For Leake the physical items of his collection were guarantors of authoritative experience; they were linked both to their original situation on the ground in Greece and the circumstances of their removal to new surroundings, and therefore implied new meanings, in London. The details of the story were articulated through the genre of a travelogue. The travelogue was a mixed narrative for laying out details of the day-by-day experience (much like the field notebooks of a contemporary archaeological survey) and of the evidence enlisted in scholarly argumentation. This narrative also reveals details of the political relationships, sometimes becoming personal (at times mediated by a small and seemingly mundane written order), and of the entourage which facilitated Leake’s ability to gather such materials in the first place.

Leake had his local informants, his attendant, his entourage; subsequently, his numberless contacts in London – relationships on the ground in the Morea or in Thessaly, then in like-minded society in London, with his collection or in the map room of the Royal Geographical Society. Add the participatory importance of media and things – the notebooks and sketches, sextants and coins, maps and electrotypes – all contributing to the production of knowledge. The importance of accurate maps in circulating information about the Greek countryside at a distance should not be overlooked. Leake’s modes of engagement in translating the Greek countryside constitute repeatable bases for building further knowledge. The fundamental problems of what to describe, what to observe, what adjacent factors to take into account, what qualities of landscapes, sites, or things to mobilize – these continued to be addressed and mediated by a variety of actors and tools in the transformation of amateurs to professionals.<sup>105</sup>

The actors were primarily to be found in London where, by 1830, a new infrastructure was in place fa-

103. Leake 1854, *Asiatic Greece*, 125, in this case the racially mixed population of Synnada in Phrygia.

104. Witmore 2004, 135.

105. These should be viewed as ‘multiple fields’ where, as an alternative to the oversimplified notion of the ‘field’ counterpoised

to the ‘home base’, a number of ‘fields’ – military institutions, skills and knowledge, financial organizations, learned societies, materials, instruments, media – come together in Leake’s practice, Witmore 2004 and Witmore 2005.



ilitating the exchange of global information. London was a 'centre of calculation' where varied, yet connected, groups of enthusiasts coalesced in dinner clubs and scholarly societies dedicated to particular intellectual pursuits. All of this provided Leake with context.

Brøndsted in contrast led a life of constant motion. A professional polyglot, he moved easily (and frequently) among people of learning and status in the capitals of the major nations of Europe. But everything was aimed at learning. The Grand Tour, in his youth, initiated him into field archaeology; later he was professor at the University, and in his latter days – perhaps his most fruitful and enduring contribution to scholarship – Keeper of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. The years between saw him also as politician, at least as far as advising the Crown Prince, and outspoken diplomat. Whether he had any serious influence on the end of authoritarian government in Denmark cannot be easily determined, but there is no doubt that he spoke out to that end. It is important to note in that context that he was schooled in ancient thought, which he brought to bear on modern political issues. Brøndsted, like Leake, saw the classical Past as in no way foreign to the Present, and it was in that shared vision that they worked to bring the one world to be understood by the other.

It is easy to see how Brøndsted as both character and scholar would have fitted very well into the society of

Leake's London in the early 1830s. He was welcomed by others like himself committed to the enthusiastic study of ancient archaeology and history, men like C.R. Cockerell whom he had come to know twenty years before in Greece. The whole of this society was open to him.<sup>106</sup> This much is demonstrated by the personal support which he received in the matter of the bronzes from Siris. Brøndsted offered these remains to the British Museum at a price; he could not afford to donate them. In the end the Museum was able to underwrite two hundred pounds but the total of £1000 had to be raised by subscription. The success of the venture is demonstrated by the list of subscribers printed in Brøndsted's subsequent publication, *The Bronzes of Siris now in the British Museum: an archaeological essay* (1836).<sup>107</sup> The subscribers numbered over 60, many of them members of the Society of Dilettanti, such as the Secretary, W.R. Hamilton, as well as other notables. Leake was down for a typical £10. The impressive elephant folio, with excellent plates, was in fact published by the Society.

All of this illustrates the importance of context in the study of influential disciplinary figures like William Martin Leake and Peter Oluf Brøndsted, whose achievements were possible precisely because of the rich social and intellectual setting in which they were able to operate.

106. At home Brøndsted had a different role to play as a professor, appointed to deliver public lectures on just these subjects at the University of Copenhagen. By contrast Leake and his fellows had no access to and no support at all from the British universities; it was only late in the nineteenth century that the subjects of Graeco-Roman archaeology and art history entered the cur-

riculum, long after their development in the universities of Germany and Scandinavia, cf. Cust 1898, 178. In Britain most if not all of the interesting work in science and the humanities was being done by private individuals, some independent like Leake, others engaged in private occupations.

107. Brøndsted 1836.

# Under the cover of P.O. Brøndsted's diaries

Some remarks on the content and style of P.O. Brøndsted's diaries from his Grand Tour through Germany, France, Italy, Greece and Turkey in the years 1806-1811

by Gorm Schou-Rode

## The material

When Bishop Jacob Peter Mynster wrote the biography of his deceased friend Peter Oluf Brøndsted (fig. 1), he had some twenty notebooks with diary entries in front of him.<sup>1</sup> The earliest was marked Br.32 and started in Nîmes on 28 July 1809. The bishop presumed that earlier diaries existed among Brøndsted's papers still left in Rome, and he was right. Three notebooks marked Br.29, Br.30 and Br.31 with diary entries can be found today in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, together with Br.33 and Br.35 with notes from Greece and Asia Minor, which were among Mynster's sources.<sup>2</sup> The biography was written as an introduction to *P.O. Brøndsted's Reise i Grækenland i Aarene 1810-1813*, edited by N.V. Dorph and published in Copenhagen, 1844.

A few years later – in 1850 – Dorph published a small book – 150 pages – called: *Uddrag of P.O. Brøndsted's Reise-Dagbøger*.<sup>3</sup> Extracts from the early diaries Br.29, Br.30 and Br.31 fill the first half of this publication; the comprehensive material Mynster had had access to a few years earlier seems to have disappeared. Dorph made use of Brøndsted's diaries in a very carefree way: sentences are moved or removed and interpolations employed. Frequently the excerpts

are misleading, e.g. when you read that Oehlen-schläger, after the patriotic Danes' celebration of their insane King's birthday in Paris, "wanted to speak French well to be able to keep company with Napoléon and influence him"<sup>4</sup>. The statement occurs in the diary, but as the context has been removed the reader might get the impression that the poet was extremely naïve, when in fact he was just extremely drunk. The major part of the last half of the book is not rooted in the diaries; it is cobbled together from extracts of letters.

## The background

After receiving his degree in divinity in 1802, Brøndsted concentrated on the study of the classics, and as one of his university professors, D.G. Moldenhawer, happened to be headmaster of a short-lived experimental school, "Pædagogisk Seminarium", at that time, he was offered the opportunity to expand his studies with modern languages. His facility for languages was considerable, he easily acquired fluency in French and Italian and became familiar with English, which at that time was a language known by only a few people in the business world and by the collectors of the "Sound Toll" in Elsinore, but which was regarded as useless in the academic world. The close friendship he developed

1. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 14.

2. KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 2400 4°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, diaries, Br.29, Br.30, Br.31, Br.33, Br.35. Unless otherwise indicated all references are to these five diaries.

3. Brøndsted 1850.

4. "ønskede blot at han kunde godt Fransk og kunde omgaaes ham, da han saa meente nok at skulle kunne virke paa ham." Br.29, the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 1807.





Fig. 1. P.O. Brøndsted, Paris 1808, drawn and engraved by G.-L. Chrétien, who made use of the Physionotrace method (*Dessiné et gravé par Chrétien inventeur du Physionotrace...*) (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. No. 2)

here with Georg Heinrich Carl Koës, two years younger than himself, came to be of vital importance for both. Koës had studied at the university in Halle under the guidance of the epoch-making German philologist Friedrich August Wolf, who had probably inspired his desire to visit Greece, a dream Brøndsted soon shared. At the University of Copenhagen they were both regarded as unusually gifted, and their career paths looked perfect from the start. In 1804 Brøndsted received the gold medal for a philological dissertation, and two years later both of them took a doctoral degree, Koës for a thesis on Homer, Brøndsted for his studies in Plato.<sup>5</sup> The success of the young scholars in their private lives was remarkable as well;

they became engaged to two of the most attractive and admired women of their generation. Brøndsted's fiancée was Frederikke, Koës' younger sister, then not quite sixteen years old.

Georg Koës' father was very wealthy, and his son inherited a fortune when he died in 1804. The financial situation was more complicated for Brøndsted: his father was quite well-off, but not sufficiently so as to be able to provide funds for extravagant travel. Government finances in Denmark were in a bad state, but Brøndsted's application to "Fonden ad usus publicos" was nevertheless met, and 300 rigsdaler per annum was granted for four years to enable the two young scholars to "make use of the facilities offered by Ger-

5. Brøndsted 1806; Koës 1806b.

many and France, subsequently to study at least one year in Rome, before the journey through the landscapes of the European parts of Greece, which one could hope would be most rewarding for their branch of knowledge.”<sup>6</sup> Their professors wished them a pleasant journey, but many envied the two young men so favoured in every way, and Brøndsted later noticed that his travel companion was probably right when he “supposed that Mr. Schow as well as Mr. Thorlacius etc. would like to see us break our necks in the Alps or in Greece”.<sup>7</sup>

Round the year 1800 few people went abroad. When they did, many were keen to describe their adventures in letters to their fellow-countrymen back home, and these were often published later, or used as sources for the writing of an account of the journey. Interesting letters often circulated among the receiver's friends, of which the letter writer was of course aware. Brøndsted did not want to be restricted by self-censorship and postal communication from the Levant through business houses and embassies being untrustworthy, he chose to keep a diary.

### The journey through Germany

The two companions left Copenhagen on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1806, but the diary from the first three months of the tour was lost by a stroke of bad luck, as it was placed in a carpet bag, which unfortunately fell off the carriage somewhere southwest of Leipzig between Weissenfels and Camburg on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October.<sup>8</sup> During the months in Germany studies did not occupy much of their time. They enjoyed a trek in the Harz before they left Dresden heading for Paris, now accompanied by Adam Oehlenschläger, the greatest poet of the romantic era in Denmark. A stop was made in

Halle, as Koës wanted to meet his former professor Wolf, before they continued to Weimar to make it possible for Oehlenschläger to revisit Goethe. In a letter from Wolf, which Koës presented to Goethe, the professor introduces the bearer of the message with the words: “Es ist ein lieber, hoffnungsvoller Jüngling, und der, wie gesagt, im Stande ist, ein 1000 Rthlr auf Graben bei Delphi oder sonst zu verwenden.”<sup>9</sup> The travelling companions arrived in Weimar on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, and 5 days later Brøndsted started the first of the surviving diaries; Br.29.

Life in Weimar appeared peaceful; the newcomers met their friends, enjoyed the theatrical performance in the evenings and paid a visit to the huge, picturesque camp of the Prussian army located on the fields nearby. The French army was approaching, but no one had anticipated that a military confrontation was imminent, and the shock was great, when sounds from a battle could be heard in the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1806.

### The style and corrections in the first diary

A closer look at the entry in Brøndsted's diary on the day of the battle of Jena-Auerstädt shows some of the characteristic features in his writing at this point in time. The town was filled with rumours, and the rapidly changing situation is conveyed in short, nearly stenographic remarks: “Retreat of Prussian baggage and carriages with wounded across the big palace bridge. Up into the Snail's Shell, where the bombardment could be heard more clearly. Home. More wounded Prussians and Saxons brought in and a number of French captives – the brown Prussian hussar together with his captured French hussar.”<sup>10</sup>

A statement like “Up into the Snail's Shell, where

6. “benytte de Subsidier Tyskland og Frankrige tilbyder, siden studere i Rom mindst et Aar og derpaa gennemrejse alle de Egne af det europæiske Grækenland, hvor de kunne haabe at vinde meest for deres Videnskab.” Glarbo et al. 1897-1947, II, 102-103.

7. “han mener at baade h' Schow og h' Torl[acius] etc gjerne saae os brække Halsen paa Alperne el. i G[ræ]kenland.” Br.29, the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1807.

8. Br.29, the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1806.

9. Wolf 1935, I, 418.

10. “Tilbagetog over den store Slotsbro af Preusisk Bagage og Vogne med Saarede. Op i Sneglehuset, hvor Kanonaden tydeligere hørtes. Hjem. Flere preusiske og Saxiske Saarede indbragte og nogle Franske Fanger – den brune Preusiske Husar med sin fangne franske Husar.” Br.29, the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1806.



the bombardment could be heard more clearly” and other similar remarks cannot be understood immediately, and as it is often hard to read gothic handwriting, a metaphor like *snail's shell* makes you doubt that the reading is correct. For Brøndsted the sentence was sufficient to recall that he climbed the mediaeval tower of the royal palace in Weimar, which was later embellished with a baroque onion dome. The aim of the text is apparently to support the writer's memory, not to inform other people about the course of events.

Around noon cannon balls began to hit the town, and the Danes left the third floor of the public house and took shelter in the basement. Oehlenschläger did not keep a diary, and more than a month passed by before he pulled himself together to inform his fiancée Sofie Ørsted in Copenhagen of the events in Weimar. In a letter dated Paris the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November 1806 he writes: “Three terrifying shots rang out, windows and doors rattled and we heard the distinct hiss of bullets passing through the air. Brøndsted, Koës and I, all pale and silent, eyed each other for a moment. Come, I said! let us go below. I believe there is a basement underneath this house. There the bullets cannot reach us. We went down ... [and] sat wrapped in our overcoats on the steps leading down to the cellar.”<sup>11</sup>

In his diary entry for the 14<sup>th</sup> of October Brøndsted mentions that he brought Oehlenschläger's and Koës' overcoats down to the cellar without mentioning that he himself took refuge there. Oehlenschläger as well as Brøndsted had some military experience from the corps of volunteers formed by the Danish students during the English attack on Copenhagen in April 1801, but their response to their situation in Weimar must have been very different. Two days later Brøndsted remarks upon Oehlenschläger's behaviour during the

battle: “It was a source of consolation to O[ehlenschläger] that a poet must be a ~~true hermaphrodite~~ a spiritually strong personality that encompasses in his nature both the male and the female principle (a true comment – ~~maybe even extending to the assumption that this composite nature of the true poet also affects bones and skeletal frame.~~ O[ehlenschläger] would most definitely have noticed that both he and Götthe possess wide hips such as women customarily display). On this basis, O[ehlenschläger] consoled himself on his lack of personal courage.”<sup>12</sup>

The words crossed out in the just quoted passage have been deleted carefully. The way it is done makes it possible that Brøndsted himself carried out the editing. The author later labels the diary “my silent father confessor”,<sup>13</sup> and if this is to be credited, there would be no reason for Brøndsted to withdraw his penetrating psychological observation although it could cause offence. Many youthful, spontaneous remarks are left untouched, but a few – quite indiscrete – have been crossed out. It is impossible to decide conclusively whether the bowdlerization was carried out by Brøndsted or someone else who wanted to adjust the text for posterity.

No one can tell how Brøndsted reacted when Oehlenschläger lost courage in the cellar during the bombardment, but the length of his stay there is probably accurately described by Koës: “Oehlenschläger und ich retirirten in den Keller, Brøndstedt nur eine kleine Weile”.<sup>14</sup>

The three Danes were forced to remain in Weimar until the 24<sup>th</sup> of October, as all horses in the territory were conscripted by the French army. Due to the military operations the continuation of the journey to Paris was difficult, but they succeeded in visiting Frankfurt

11. “Tree forfærdelige Skud hørte vi hvine, Vinduer og Døre rystede og vi hørte tydelig Kuglernes Hvinen giennem Luften. Brøndsted Koes og jeg betragtede hinanden et Øjeblik blege og tause. Kom, sagde jeg! Lader os gaae ned, der er vist en Kielder under Huset, der kan Kuglerne icke ramme os. Vi gik da ned ... [og] sadde paa Kieldertrappen svöbt i vore Kavaier.” Oehlenschläger 1945-50, II, 135.

12. “Ø[hlenschläger] tröstet sig med at Digteren burde være ~~en sand Hermaphrodit~~ en aandelig stærk Natur som omfattede i sit Væsen

baade det Mandige og det Qvindelige (en sand Bemærkning – ~~maaskee selv den Formening sand at denne blandede Natur hos den sande Digter udstrecker sig lige til Knokkel og Beenbygningen.~~ Ø[hlenschläger] i det mindste vil hos sig selv og Götthe have bemærket at de begge have store Hofter som Fruentimmerne). Paa denne Grund Ø[hlenschläger] tröstet sig over Mangel af personligt Mod.” Br.29, the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1806.

13. “min tavse Skriftefader”. Br.31, the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1808.

14. Koës 1906, 121.

am Main and Mainz on their way. German locations and the tour to Paris occupy the first quarter of this volume of the diary.

### The period of the Paris diaries

The French capital was reached on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1806. Paris and new acquaintances fill up the remaining part of Br.29. The diary is full by the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1807, and the daily notes continue in Br.30. Although most of Brøndsted's time was spent with studies, this is not the major subject in the diary, as other notebooks were in use in which to file the output of his academic work. The diary ends on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August 1807. Br.31 covers a long period of time, but with major gaps. Daily notes are written through the remaining part of 1807 up to the 27<sup>th</sup> of Marts 1808. Brøndsted tries to recommence the diary on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July and changes from the gothic to the roman style handwriting, which he naturally employed in his professional writings, but the result is only a backward glance in a few sentences about his life in April and May followed by twelve blank leaves. Brøndsted's New Year resolution results in daily entries for the first 15 days of 1809, and nine blank pages are left for a summary of the events which took place before the 12<sup>th</sup> of June the same year, when Brøndsted finally left Paris heading for Rome and recommenced the diary.

The suspension of the diary in periods of 1808 and 1809 could be the consequence of different situations: too much work, a feeling of jogging along as usual, or an unwillingness to record what happened. The entries from the first weeks of 1809 are of the same proportions as the earlier ones; life appears to be as rich and busy as before. In general travel stimulates Brøndsted's diary writing, but no allusion to "the eight happiest days of my life in la Vallée de Chamouny" in the summer of 1808, which are mentioned in a letter to Oehlenschläger written in Paris the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December

1808<sup>15</sup>, can be found in the diary. Brøndsted's own financial situation was of great concern at this point in time, but his future brother-in-law, Holger Aagaard, might have invited him to take part in his Grand Tour.

### Major themes

What subjects would you expect to find treated in a young man's diary from a stay in Paris? The story of his love affairs? An introduction to French cuisine? Brøndsted lived in a very lively area in Paris with a lot of women of easy virtue, but he seems more surprised than tempted, and it took him quite some time to figure out that the kind lady who on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November 1806 invited Oehlenschläger, Koës and himself to pay her a visit and offered her assistance to make their stay more pleasant was in fact offering them the use – or misuse – of her 15 year old daughter. Out of the corner of his eye Brøndsted observed a number of young attractive women, but his fiancée was waiting in Denmark. Fine restaurants were frequented, but the menus and wines are not recorded.

The impression of the metropolis was overwhelming. Life in the crowded streets, the extensive traffic, the rumours about the ongoing war and the big events arranged by the Emperor to please the Parisians are all reflected in the diary, but theatres, concerts and museums are more important topics. If you flick through the diaries in a hurry, you might get the impression that most nights were spent in a theatre, but that is not so. Brøndsted describes many plays and operas in detail, and he enjoys participating in private musical soirées, but the most frequent statement about his evenings is this: "*I worked.*" Beside the scholarly work, his more personal education was time-consuming. Brøndsted had a need for physical activities, and many hours were spent with the French fencing master he contacted immediately after his arrival to Paris. His command of French was good, but as a man of the world

15. "I Chamouny Dalen henbragte jeg i Sommer 8 af de lykkeligste Dage jeg har levet." Oehlenschläger 1945-50, III, 203.



Brøndsted wanted to speak the language fluently, and in addition he wanted to work his way through French literature. Studies in modern Greek were of course a must, and on top of this: music. In the diary we meet the friends gathered round a punch bowl singing, while Brøndsted plays the piano. But his ambitions were much grander, and he started to take lessons from Friedrich Kalkbrenner, and valuable information about this minor composer and later famous virtuoso is found in the diary. The birth of some of the composer's early works and his life as maître de plaisir to the Italian princess of Caramanico are referred to, and Brøndsted used the opportunity to introduce Kalkbrenner to contemporary Danish music, e.g. C.E.F. Weyse. The two young men's attitude to life was very different, and Brøndsted as the son of a pastor in Horsens in Jutland points out that "The French upbringing combined with debauchery has weakened his [Kalkbrenner's] inward power."<sup>16</sup> The gifted pupil benefited much from the lessons and scored a great success at German-French musical soirées in Paris, not least as accompanist for the German painter and harpist Theresa aus dem Winckel.

An abundance of persons – many famous in their field – appear in the text. The Danes were naturally accepted as a part of the German intellectual colony in Paris, and became friends with e.g. the Schlegel brothers. Oehlenschläger's very productive phase in Paris can be followed in the diaries, and they have been an important source for literary historians like Kr. Arntzen and Vilhelm Andersen. The increasingly tense development in the relationship between France and Denmark was followed through the newspapers and the debates at the Danish minister Dreyer's splendid dinner table, but the English bombardment of Copenhagen in September 1807 came as a shock. The anxiety of the Danes in Paris, including the newly arrived poet Jens Baggesen, emerges clearly from the diaries.

Letters of introduction to important persons in the

French world of science and scholarship from Frederik Münter and others secured Brøndsted immediate contact to influential persons, e.g. Aubin-Louis Millin and Abbot Henri Grégoire, both kindly disposed towards Danes. Foreigners were treated very well in the reading room of the Bibliothèque Nationale and allowed to borrow even rare books and study them in their private residence, which was attractive during winter, as the library was not heated. Brøndsted benefited much from his friendship with the learned librarian Karl Benedict Hase, who directed him to study the posthumous papers of his predecessor D'Ansse de Villoison, which included much material from the investigations by the latter in Greece during the years 1785-1787. Hase, who had compiled a catalogue of the papers, could not withstand Brøndsted's pressure, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1806 allowed him to make a copy, although this was clearly illegal. Extracts from the catalogue of Villoison's papers were published anonymously in the *Intelligenzblatt* published as supplement to *Hallischen Literatur-Zeitung* (January 1807, nos. 6 and 7), and Brøndsted was later accused of being the source of the leakage. Nothing in the diary indicates that Brøndsted was the originator of the clumsy German translation, but months had passed before he denied any connection with the publication in an announcement included in a letter from Paris the 14<sup>th</sup> of June 1807 to Wolf. The following entry appears in the diary the day before: "Tonight I was frustra in rue Viev[ienne] – in case a more reasonable fate should finally smile upon me!"<sup>17</sup> From rue Vivienne there was an entrance to Bibliothèque Nationale, but the name of the man Brøndsted wanted to meet is kept secret even from his "confessor" on this particular day, as well as three days later when they actually meet and Brøndsted writes the cryptic statement: "I made the necessary arrangements with him."<sup>18</sup> The entry in the diary is not necessarily connected to the unfortunate publication of the catalogue, which Brøndsted probably wanted to forget, as

16. "Den franske Optragelse forbunden med Udsvævelser har svækket hans indere Kraft", Br.30, the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1807.

17. "I Aften var jeg frustra i rue Viev[ienne] – quod tandem æqvior mihi fortuna surrideat!" Br.30, the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1807.

18. "Jeg aftalte med ham det Nødvendige", Br.30, the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1807.

he had supplied his former professor D.G. Moldenhawer in Copenhagen with a transcript of his copy.

### The expanded stay in Paris

Deadlines are very popular in our day and age, and one had been stipulated for Brøndsted. The research scholarship was granted for four years, but he had not yet visited Greece and barely Italy when it expired. Why did Brøndsted stay so very long in Paris? The wars and the financial problems caused by them are not the main reason. The diaries point to two explanations: Paris and Brøndsted's ambitions.

Paris was the capital – and not only of France. Rome had been moved to Paris – and not only Rome. Since Antiquity it has been a tradition that works of art belonged to the winner of a war, and could be used to embellish the winner's cities. During the Napoleonic wars, this was carried out to an extent that is hard to believe. Statues, paintings, rare books and manuscripts from most of Europe were brought to Paris – and the material was not locked up, not reserved for French eyes only. It is not accidental that Friedrich Schlegel chose to live in Paris during the period, when he wrote about paintings. A large number of famous European paintings could be seen there, as well as many of the most admired statues from Antiquity. Paris offered an irresistible possibility for an overview of the arts, even for those who disliked the Emperor and his capital. Brøndsted followed the fashion of his time, which required a fascination for paintings – especially of the Italian school – but he was also a keen observer of contemporary French painting. On several occasions remarks in the diaries have turned out to be of interest to

French art historians, and likewise his comments on the art works he saw at la Malmaison contained surprises for the present conservateur.

The second explanation for the long stay, extremely high ambitions, haunted Brøndsted for the rest of his life. The preparations for the tour to Greece included a review of the entire literature on the subject, and a long letter to Frederik Münter dated Paris the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1807 reveals that another aim of his studies in Paris was: “to acquire the most detailed knowledge about all sources for Plato scholarship and the entire history of Plato's philosophy, and already on the present tour ... to get in my possession as much material for a critical edition of Plato as I can manage.”<sup>19</sup>

The striving for perfection, combined with his view that “all hasty writing and author's precipitation – this mongrel offspring of an ignoble father and a lax mother: of vanity and the abused art of printing” must be regarded as “a pernicious evil which has confused the most excellent talents and overloaded almost every field of knowledge with a perplexing and unwholesome superabundance of books”<sup>20</sup> makes it obvious that Brøndsted's future academic career would be painful. The quotation is found in Brøndsted's introduction to the verse translation of Robert Vace's *Le Romanz de Rou*, which, although printed later, was composed in Paris.<sup>21</sup>

In a letter which Koës and Brøndsted received on one of the last days of August 1807, the Commission for Antiquities<sup>22</sup> in Denmark, which was set up on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May of the same year, had encouraged them “to communicate to them [the members of the commission] what discoveries we might make concerning relics or monuments of the exploits of our ancestors

19. “for mig: at erhverve mig den meest detaillerede Kundskab om alle Kilder for Plato's Kritik og den hele Platonske Filosofies Historie og allerede paa denne Reise ... at sætte mig i Besiddelse af saa Meget mange Materialer som jeg kan overkomme til en kritisk Udgave af Plato”. KB, NKS, 1698 2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til Fr. Münter 1807, the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1807.

20. “al iilsom Skriven og Forfatterpræcipation – denne Bastard af en uædel Fader og en letfærdig Moder: af Forfængelighed og

den misbrugte Bogtrykkerkonst – for et fordærligt Onde, som baade har forvirret de ypperste Anlæg, og overlæstet fast ethvert Kundskabsfag med en forvildende og uvederqvægende Overflod af Böger”. Brøndsted 1817-1818, XV.

21. Cf. Brøndsted 1817-1818.

22. For information about Brøndsted and the Commission for Antiquities, cf. Jakobsen 2007.



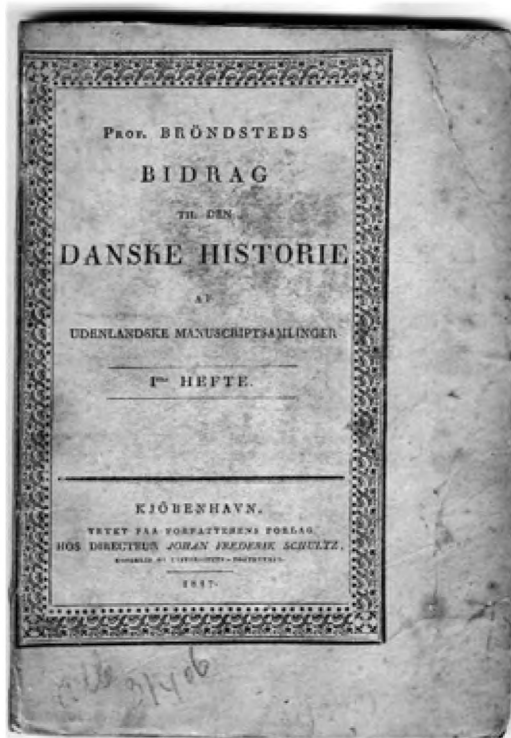


Fig. 2. The cover of the copy of the book inscribed to his friend, Chamberlain, Ch. de Teilmann, by Brøndsted on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1817.

here and in Italy and Greece.”<sup>23</sup> It was important for Brøndsted to please the authorities in Denmark, and his “Contribution to the History of Denmark” (fig. 2) was sent off from Paris as early as January 1808.<sup>24</sup>

### Southern France

Brøndsted finally left Paris on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1809 and went by stagecoach to Chalon-sur Saône and embarked on the river vessel to Lyons, where he rested for a week before he continued on the Rhône to Vienne

23. “[at give dem Bidrag af hvad Opdagelser vi i Hens[ende] til vore Forfædres Bedrifters Mindesmærker her og i Italien og G[ræ]kendland maatte gjøre.” Br.31, the 27<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> of August 1807. In the minutes of the Commission, the importance of Normandy is underlined, Jakobsen 2007, the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1807.

and Avignon. Aubin-Louis Millin’s newly published *Voyage dans les départemens du midi de la France* served as his guidebook, and he visited and described many Roman remains (Orange, Carpentras) before writing the last entry in the diary on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1809 near Nîmes.<sup>25</sup>

### Italy

The next diary in the series was consulted by J.M. Thiele when he wrote the second volume of his biography on Bertel Thorvaldsen, but it is missing today.<sup>26</sup> The financial problems of the travelers had necessitated Koës’ return from Paris to Copenhagen in October 1807, but the two friends now met again. During the year in Italy they became acquainted with Danish and in particular German artists and intellectuals in Rome, and Koës organized the piles of papers left by George Zoëga, who had passed away in February 1809. The English naval blockade in the Mediterranean prevented a continuation of their journey. A risky attempt to reach Greece was made on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1810, when they embarked on a small sailing vessel in Otranto, which was making an attempt to bring supplies to the French garrison on the island of Corfu. The ship was wrecked, happily near the coast. Brøndsted insisted on carrying through the plan, not because he was exceptionally brave, but the idea that anything might endanger his personal safety was completely alien to his temperament. The second attempt was successful.

### The Greek diary

The diary starts on Corfu on 24<sup>th</sup> August 1810, when Koës, Brøndsted and their new travel companions Karl Haller von Hallerstein, Otto Magnus Stackelberg and Jacob Linckh began their tour towards Athens. They

24. Jakobsen 2007, the 10<sup>th</sup> of March 1808, the book was, however, first published some ten years later; Brøndsted 1817-1818.

25. Millin 1807-1811.

26. Thiele 1851-1856, II.

sailed to Prevesa, continued over land to Messolonghi, and went by boat to Patras, where they arrived on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September. The trek from Preveza to Messolonghi was wetter and more difficult than expected – not designed for people in top-hats and dressed according to European fashion. After a short rest in Patras the party continued by boat to Corinth, stopping in Delphi on the way, and on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September 1810 Brøndsted arrived in Athens. During the years in Paris he had used several books for notes, keeping study notes separated from personal notes, etc. From now on the diary can be regarded as a kind of master document and copies of Greek inscriptions and topographical descriptions are included. Some of the topographical descriptions are written in German, ready to be published in German periodicals or used in letters to e.g. Wolf.

## Athens

9-10,000 people lived in Athens at that time. The most important person for visiting foreigners was the nearly 60-year-old French sous-commissair Louis François Sébastian Fauvel. He himself was very interested in antiquities, but had little academic understanding of the subject. The authorities in Paris had apparently forgotten the existence of the consul; he was just a relic from the time before the Revolution. The newcomers were welcome in the small European community, mainly composed of French businessmen and other visitors such as the eccentric traveller Lady Hester Stanhope and Lord Byron, who “contracted an alliance with Dr. Bronstedt of Copenhagen as pretty a philosopher as you’d wish to see”, as he told Francis Hodgson in a letter.<sup>27</sup> Stackelberg was seriously ill from malaria, but survived both the illness and the arsenic treatment

administered as the cure by Lady Stanhope’s private physician. The other members of the party started the exploration of Athens and its surroundings and obtained – by bribery – the much desired permission to visit the Acropolis, which at that time was transformed into a Turkish fortress.<sup>28</sup>

## The first excursion and the change of style in the diary

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of August Haller, Koës and Brøndsted went on their first extensive excursion to Hydra, Nauplion, Epidaurus, Argos, Mycenae and Corinth, places they explored with the help of Pausanias and the collected French edition of Richard Chandler’s *Travels in Asia Minor* and *Travels in Greece*.<sup>29</sup> The diary was left in Athens, as it would be a disaster to lose it, and a smaller notebook (Sudelbuch) was used for provisional notes. In the diary Brøndsted writes that he enjoyed the sun on a hillside on the island of Hydra, singing a couple of good Danish songs, and watching Koës, who “was strolling about a little further away close by the footpath. An old witch walked past him; shortly before three young peasant girls had passed him carrying firewood to the town; when the old hag saw Koës thus loitering about with spectacles on his nose she believed him to be prowling among the young womenfolk of Idra with indecent intentions, for which reason she found herself justified in scolding him soundly. Now Koës too became vociferous and asked her to “andare al diavolo”. This was very well understood by the Hydrean maenad who became quite threatening. She even lifted a stone and made a menacing gesture – however, she did well to abstain since she would certainly have got mauvais jeu, Koës being a

27. Byron 1973-1994, II, 37.

28. Br.33; cf. the article by Fani-Maria Tsigakou in this publication.

29. Chandler 1775; Chandler 1776.



formidable thrower of stones. From a safe distance, we watched the strange dispute with amusement.”<sup>30</sup>

The text in the *Sudelbuch* is much shorter: “Koës was strolling about a little further away close by the footpath. His affair with a ‘maenad’, a dangerous old she-devil, hilarious.”<sup>31</sup> The extended distance in time between the experience and the time of its recording does not detract from the freshness of the diary. Quite the contrary, story-telling replaces notes. In many passages sophisticated changes between past tense and present tense are used to convey a feeling of “being there” to the reader. The refinement of the style made it easy for Brøndsted to use quotations from the diary without any change in his later lectures in Copenhagen on the journey through Greece. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of November 1810 the travellers were back in Athens where they enjoyed a hot bath and the reunion with their friends.

Life in Athens was pleasant, and Brøndsted was busy studying modern Greek, reading Plato and writing letters. Athens and its surroundings were further explored, Fauvel’s latest excavations admired, and the circle of friends expanded with the arrival of the two young English architects Charles Cockerell and John Foster. As both of them were fine singers and good drinkers, Christmas 1810 was a memorable one, although it was a discomfort to Brøndsted’s patriotic temper that he preferred Englishmen to Frenchmen.

## Second excursion, towards Constantinople

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1811 Koës, Stackelberg and Brøndsted started the journey, which via Delphi and many classical sites came to an end in Constantinople. The tour was very profitable, the party discovering many inscriptions in Thebes, and obtaining many fine

coins. In Levadia they investigated the Trophonius’ Cave, and the day after the arrival in Delphi on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January, Brøndsted succeeded in locating the Corycæan Cave, for which other travellers had searched in vain. The second visit to Delphi was extremely rewarding from an archaeological point of view, as was the tour to Talanti (Atalandi), where the local Bishop had made arrangements for their stay. They left the Bishop’s palace on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January, and troubles began. Due to stormy weather and a bad shipmaster ten days passed before they reached Trikeri, a port situated at the entry to the Gulf of Pagasitikos. The weather was still terrible, when the convoy of merchant ships heading for Constantinople left the harbour; current and contrary wind made it impossible to pass through the Hellespont. The travelling companions were forced to spend eleven cold days on the small island of Paschalimani south of the island of Marmora before the vessel could continue to Constantinople. The diary was full on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1811, the day of their arrival in the city.

## The Turkish diary

Brøndsted’s immediate reaction to Turkish society has not survived, as the next diary in the series is lost, but the travellers were still staying in Constantinople when the last surviving diary – Br.35 – starts on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1811. Stackelberg was busy with his drawings, Koës with exploration of Byzantine music, and Brøndsted with his language teacher. All three took part in the life of the upper echelons, and in particular Brøndsted enjoyed life in the diplomatic circles. Although hostility existed between the different embassies, many of the diplomats had young – more or less beau-

30. “jeg sad imidlertid højere oppe og qvad et par gode danske Sange – Koës gik omkring lidt længere borte tæt ved Stien. En gammel Hex gik ham forbi, kort tilforn vare passerede 3 unge Bønderpiger som bare Ved til Staden; da den gl. Hex saae Koës saaledes drive omkring med Brilller paa Næsen troede hun han gik paa Dumpejagt [søge lejlighed til utugt] efter Idras unge Qvindevildt, hvorudover hun fandt sig beføjet at sætte ham djærvt til med Skjældsord. Nu blev Koës ogsaa højrøstet og bad hende ‘andare al diavolo’. Det forstod den hidraiske Mænade

meget vel og blev grumme bister hun hævede saagar en Steen og truede – hun gjorde imidlertid vel i at lade være, da hun kunde faaet mauvais jeu, da K[oës] er en drabelig Steenslynger. Vi morede os i en Afstand over den underlige Strid.” Br.33, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1810.

31. “Koes gik lidt længere borte omkring tæt ved Stien – hans Affaire med en Mænade en farlig gl. Djævel, heel snurrig.”, KB, NKS, 2400 4<sup>o</sup>: P.O. Brøndsted, Papirer, *Sudelbuch*.



Fig. 3. Sketch on page 26 verso in Br.35.

tiful – daughters, and Brøndsted's talents as a piano player, singer, dancer etc. secured him popularity. The colourful life in Constantinople is rendered through the eyes of a tourist, and much time passes by with small excursions and pleasant times on the Princes' Islands, where high society escaped the dust and heat of the city. After a break of nearly three months the research journey continued.

### Search for Troy

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1811 the three travelling companions, joined by Nils Gustav Palin, the Swedish minister in Constantinople, sailed to Çanakkale. The starting point in their search for Homer's Troy was Chandler's book and Christian Gottlob Heyne's German edition of Le Chevalier's famous book<sup>32</sup> *Description of the Plain of Troy*. Brøndsted had met Lechevalier in Paris, without being overly impressed by his knowledge, and the

visit to the area did not convince him that Lechevalier's location of Troy was correct. He kept thinking about this, and the solution he proposed in his public lectures in Copenhagen in the spring of 1817, that New Ilion must have been located in Palæo-Callifatli (=Hisarlık) is correct,<sup>33</sup> but he had not realized that Homer's Troy and New Ilion could both be located there in different layers in the same hill. What impressed Brøndsted most in the area were the remains of Alexandria Troas, of which many of the big marble constructions were still recognisable. However, destruction was proceeding rapidly: the marble was used for the manufacture of gigantic canon balls. Brøndsted made a number of sketches in his diary showing the placing of some of the impressive buildings (fig. 3). The German archaeological teams working there now are grateful for these, as an earthquake buried the whole area a few years after Brøndsted's visit.

The Swedish minister returned to the Princes' Is-

32. Le Chevalier 1791.

33. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 301.



lands and a life without fleas, while Stackelberg, Koës and Brøndsted continued the journey toward Smyrna. The small book used for the diary entries was full on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1811, when they reached the coast near the Turkish town Edremit.

### The notebooks

Two of the small notebooks Brøndsted brought along on his travels in Greece and Asia Minor have survived, one with a soft cover and one with hard cover.<sup>34</sup> Along with accounts of financial transactions between the travellers, accounts from their card games, drafts of letters, notes from language lessons, renderings of inscriptions etc., a number of provisional short entries meant for the diary can be found here. The most interesting material covers the last part of 1812, when the excavation of the temple in Bassae started on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July in Brøndsted's presence. These notes are extremely difficult to read, as they were written in pencil in the soft covered notebook on pages, which have

rubbed against each other for hours on end in Brøndsted's saddlebag. The result is light grey pages with few words immediately recognisable. A last attempt to read the diary entries in the notebooks with the aid of advanced technology will be carried out, and – if successful – the material thus recovered will be printed in an appendix to the diaries.

The preparations for an annotated edition of P.O. Brøndsted's diaries, under the auspices of the Danish Society of Language and Literature, have been going on for many years, and the conclusion is now in sight. Many individuals and institutions in Denmark, Germany, France and Greece have kindly contributed to the process of unveiling the real, as well as the intellectual world behind Brøndsted's spirited remarks and reflections on his surroundings during the time of his Grand Tour.

“Tis strange, – but true; for thruth is always strange;  
Stranger than fiction.”  
(Lord Byron, *Don Juan*, XIV, 101).

34. KB, NKS, 2400 4°: P.O. Brøndsted, Papirer, notesbøger.

# Brøndsted and Koës

## – a brief sketch of their travels in Greece

*by Ida Haugsted*

Peter Oluf Brøndsted (fig. 1) was a son of the vicar Christian Brøndsted and Mette Augusta Petersen. He spent his childhood in Horsens and went on to study theology at the University of Copenhagen, graduating in 1802. As a student of classical philology, he was awarded the gold medal of the University in 1804. He continued his studies afterwards in Göttingen, and took his doctorate in Copenhagen two years later with the thesis *Opusculorum philosophici et philologici argumenti*.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly before leaving for Greece in 1806, Brøndsted became engaged to the sixteen-year-old Frederikke Koës, a sister of his close friend: Georg Heinrich Carl Koës (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> Their father, Georg Ditlev Frederik Koës – a Schleswiger by birth – had served for a while as director of the Royal Prussian bank. In 1771, however, he obtained a Danish lottery concession for six years, which was later bought out by the state. As initiator of this highly profitable lottery,<sup>3</sup> Koës senior earned a fortune, which enabled him in 1774 to buy at auction the former Royal castle and medieval monastery Antvorskov near Slagelse with the manor Pebringe. Using the stones of the medieval monastery, he built a new manor house named “Falkenstein” after his wife, Anna Mathea Falck, whom

he had married in 1775. The couple had three children: Georg and his twin sisters Frederikke and Marie.

Georg Koës junior began by studying philology at Halle in Germany, becoming a student at the University of Copenhagen in 1802. Like Brøndsted, he took his doctorate in 1806, with the thesis *Specimen observationum in Odysseam criticarum*, and he published a Greek-German dictionary of the Homeric poems.<sup>4</sup>

In April 1804, Brøndsted went to Frederiksdal, north of Copenhagen, with his dear and almost only friend Koës. He refers to him in a letter as “an interesting, good, learned and amusing young man”, who – because he was bored in Copenhagen – insisted on spending the summer in the country. Koës had rented some rooms from a peasant in the lovely Frederiksdal, and “there is lake and meadow ... and wood ... and strawberry and milk and everything nice. I am leaving tomorrow”.<sup>5</sup> In another letter written in Koës’ summerhouse in May, Brøndsted describes Frederiksdal as one of the most beautiful places in Sealand, at the border of the lake of Furesøen. The friends planned to take the boat to Lyngby, and Brøndsted felt that he was in paradise.<sup>6</sup>

1. Brøndsted 1806.

2. Brøndsted 1926, 69.

3. DBL 3, VIII, 147 seq.

4. Koës 1806a; Koës 1806b.

5. Brøndsted 1926.

6. Brøndsted 1926, 73, the stay, letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1804.





Fig. 1: P.O. Brøndsted, 1806 (or before). Copperplate engraving by A. Flint, who also made the drawing (*del(ineavit)* & *sc(ulpsit)*) (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. No. 1).

### Setting out on the Grand Tour

Two years later, Brøndsted and Koës left Denmark for Greece. They departed Copenhagen on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1806, having travelled through Germany, attended Goethe's wedding in Weimar, and met the already

well-known Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger, they finally reached Paris in mid-November 1806.<sup>7</sup>

They stayed in Paris until the spring of 1808, studying the descriptions of Greece by ancient authors such as Homer, Strabo, Thucydides and Pausanias, and also

7. Cf. the article by Gorm Schou-Rode in this publication.



Fig. 2: Georg Koës, c. 1806. Koës, who was the off-spring of a well-off family, wears a slightly more elegant costume than his future brother-in-law. Technical details as fig. 1.



more contemporary publications such as *The Antiquities of Athens* by James Stuart and Nicolas Revett as well as Richard Chandler's descriptions of his travels in Asia Minor and Greece.<sup>8</sup>

When Koës returned temporarily to Denmark for more money, Brøndsted began the long journey to Rome, walking most of the way through France, as he described in his diary.<sup>9</sup>

### Sojourn in Italy

Brøndsted found Rome quiet, although Napoleon had captured the city in May 1809, forcing Pope Pius VII to leave Italy. Koës joined him there at the beginning of 1809, and – at the request of the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen and the Danish diplomat Herman Schubart – made a catalogue of the papers of the resident Danish antiquarian George Zoëga, who had unexpectedly died in February.<sup>10</sup>

While in Rome, Koës and Brøndsted lived in the house of the German brothers Riepenhausen. The Danes studied in the rich libraries and museums of the city, and also enjoyed visiting Thorvaldsen, the Humboldt family and the artists frequenting Café Greco. Here they became acquainted with three congenial people who had arrived in 1808: the landscape painter Jacob Linckh from Cannstatt, the artist Baron Otto Magnus von Stackelberg from Estonia, and the architect Carl Haller von Hallerstein from Nürnberg. The latter was at the time the favourite architect of Crown Prince Ludwig I of Bavaria.<sup>11</sup> The five of them decided to travel to Greece together.

In October 1809, Schubart wrote to the Danish chargé d'affaires in Constantinople, Baron Christian Hübsch, to secure a permit for Brøndsted and Koës to travel in Turkish-occupied Greece. Schubart wrote that the Danes hoped among other things to find manu-

scripts in the Greek monasteries, and that they wanted to travel for eight to ten months. But when the papers from Hübsch finally reached Brøndsted and Koës in Athens at Christmas 1810, they had already been in Greece half a year.<sup>12</sup>

### The journey to Greece

The five fellow travellers set out from Naples to Athens in July 1810. They arrived – not without difficulties – in Corfu in the end of the month, and left in August. They came to Preveza, where they saw Ali Pasha's fortified palace, a Turkish mosque, and the ancient ruins of Nicopolis, where Brøndsted three years later conducted a small excavation at the request of Ali Pasha.<sup>13</sup> The next stop was Patras, a city that at the time had a busy export of raisins; in September they continued from there by boat and disembarked at Corinth, having visiting Delphi on the way, where Brøndsted studied the famous sanctuary of Apollo. In Corinth they saw the seven remaining Doric columns of the temple of Apollo.

Brøndsted and Koës continued across the Isthmus and reached Athens by boat on the 14<sup>th</sup> of September 1810. The three others stayed longer in Corinth, joining them later in Athens.<sup>14</sup> At the beginning of October, Brøndsted and Koës rented rooms in the house of Alexander Logotheti, agent of the Levant Company in Athens since 1799. Among other pursuits, Brøndsted visited the Temple of Hephaestus near the Agora. The well-preserved building, which at the time was known as the Temple of Theseus, had been transformed into the church Agios Georgios; Brøndsted found the building splendid. He often went there alone and wrote in his diary: "nothing in the world has surprised me as much as the temple of Theseus".<sup>15</sup>

8. Stuart & Revett 1762-1816; Chandler 1776.

9. KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 2400 4°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, diary, Br. 33; KB, NKS, 2861 V 4°: Georg H. C. Koës, Koës Tagebuch 1808-11.

10. KB, NKS, 3292 4°.

11. Haugsted 1996, 13.

12. Haugsted 1996, 13.

13. KB, NKS, 2400 4°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, diary, Br. 33; Isager 1999.

14. Haugsted 1996, 14ff. For Athens of those days, cf. the article by Fani-Maria Tsigakou in this publication.

15. KB, NKS, 2400 4°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, diary, Br. 33.

## Visiting the Peloponnesus and the coast of Turkey

In October 1810, Koës and Brøndsted visited Hydra and the Peloponnesus in the company of their friends. They followed Chandler's *Travels in Greece*<sup>16</sup>, all of them keeping diaries, which are preserved, and Hallerstein made drawings.<sup>17</sup> They visited Nauplia, Tiryns, Epidauros, Argos, Mycenae, Nemea and Corinth. When they returned to Athens they met with the English architects John Foster and Charles Robert Cockerell, the latter of which became a lifelong friend of Brøndsted. Brøndsted despised Foster; "he is indeed, what we Danes call a 'fusentast' and in french 'a fou'." The stories Foster told about his travels were "full of hardly credible things".<sup>18</sup>

In 1811, Brøndsted, Koës and Stackelberg, who had been severely ill for half a year, visited Boeotia, Phokis and Thessaly, where they met the British vice-consul the German Georg Christian Gropius, who lived at Trikerion on the bay of Volo. From there they sailed to Constantinople and travelled along the coast of Turkey to Smyrna, following the footsteps of Chandler. They reached Constantinople at the end of February – in Brøndsted's words: "the distinctive city with its numerous cupolas and minarets is highly interesting to us".<sup>19</sup> They stayed in Constantinople to the end of May and then travelled to Troy, Pergamon, and – as previously mentioned – Smyrna, where the Danish consul Wilkinson received them.

In their absence from Athens, Hallerstein, Foster, Cockerell and Linckh, went to Aegina in April and May 1811, where they were lucky enough to discover the later so famous sculptures at the Temple of Aphaia, which were later restored in Rome by Thorvaldsen, and subsequently acquired for Munich by Ludwig I.

## Koës' last journey

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1811, Koës left his two fellow travellers in Smyrna. They wanted to visit Ephesus and from there return to Trikerion, whereas Koës wanted to go to Tripolis in Arcadia to meet the Armenian musician Armin, whom he had already encountered in Constantinople. According to Koës' diary, which is kept in the Royal Library of Denmark, he sailed to Athens where he met Hallerstein and the other comrades they had left behind. He accompanied them as they sailed to Patras with the Aegina sculptures, which were to be deposited in Zakynthos. Here, Koës stayed in the beautiful house of Countess Maria Lunzi, born Martens, the offspring of a German merchant family from Venice.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, Koës and his servant departed for the Peloponnesus. He arrived at Tripolis on the 17<sup>th</sup>, but failed to meet Armin. Four days later, he reached the temple of Apollo in Phigalia and sketched its plan in the diary; but – being ill – he returned to Zakynthos, where he died of fever on the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1811.

At the time, Brøndsted and Stackelberg were travelling in Thessaly, which Brøndsted found a most difficult region to travel in, because the population hated and feared the Turks. He was informed of Koës' death in Trikerion on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September.

## Brøndsted's trip to Zakynthos – and back to Denmark

In September 1812, after having excavated in Keos and at Bassae,<sup>20</sup> Brøndsted sailed from Kalamata in the Peloponnesus to Zakynthos, where he met Maria Lunzi and spent three weeks organizing the tomb of Koës (fig. 3). Massive ashlar enclosed the grave; two cypresses and an ancient marble stele were placed

16. Chandler 1776.

17. Haugsted 1996, 22; Brøndsted 1844, II, 528ff.

18. Haugsted 1996, 24; KB, NKS, 2400 4°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, diary; cf. note 9.

19. KB, NKS, 2400 4°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, diary, Br. 35.

20. For Keos, cf. the article by John Lund in this publication.





Fig. 3: Ink drawing of the tomb of Georg Koës at Zakynthos, by the British traveller and artist William Gell. The drawing was formerly in P.O. Brøndsted's possession; it is now kept in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Photo by Tom Brøndsted.

there – Brøndsted having brought the stele from Athens for this purpose. He had it inscribed in Greek “G. Koës, of Danish birth, born 1782, died 1811”, followed by four verses of the sixth book of the Iliad, which in translation read: “Even as are the generations of leaves, such are those also of men. As for the leaves, the wind scattereth some upon the earth, but the forest, as it bourgeons, putteth forth others when the season of spring is come; even so of men one generation springeth up and another passeth away.” In October, while Brøndsted was still on the island, the agent of Prince Ludwig (I) of Bavaria, Johann Martin Wagner,

arrived from Rome in order to transfer the Aegina sculptures acquired by the Prince from Zakynthos to Rome and later to his new Glyptothek in Munich.<sup>21</sup>

When Brøndsted left the island in the end of November 1812, the second oldest son of Countess Lunzi's five children, Nicolaos-Kourados (Nicolo) went with him. Together they visited Epirus by way of Leukas, arriving in mid-December in Preveza, where Brøndsted made a memorable visit to the palace of the mighty Ali Pasha, who had been the hated Turkish master of Epirus, Albania and Thessaly since 1803. Brøndsted found him fascinating.<sup>22</sup> Afterwards, Brønd-

21. Glyptothek München 1980, 56.

22. Cf. the article by Jacob Isager in this publication.

sted and Lunzi travelled to Ioannina where they stayed until early January 1813. They continued to Corfu and Ancona arriving at Naples by way of Taranto at the beginning of April 1813. A month later they were in Rome, leaving at the end of June. They finally arrived in Copenhagen the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, the birthday of Brøndsted's fiancée Frederikke Koës and of Prince Christian Frederik (Christian VIII). Later this year he married Frederikke.

Count Nicolo Lunzi stayed for six years in Denmark, where he went to the Borgerdyd School, and was a regular guest of Brøndsted's friend Kamma Rahbek at the Bakkehus in Frederiksberg.<sup>23</sup> In 1820, while serving as a Danish agent in Rome,<sup>24</sup> Brøndsted brought him back to his family in Zakynthos. It was the last time that Brøndsted came to Greece, and it was his last opportunity to visit Koës' grave, which subsequently has been destroyed.

23. KB, NKS, 1578 2°: P. O. Brøndsted, *Brevkopibog 1814-1825*; Haugsted 1996, 44. See the article by Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen in this publication.

24. Cf. the article by Otto Schepeleern in this publication.



# Foreign travellers to pre-revolutionary Athens: antiquarians and treasure hunters

*by Fani-Maria Tsigakou*

“At the period when every young man of fortune, in France and England, considered it an indispensable part of his education to survey the monuments of ancient art remaining in Italy, only a few scholars and artists ventured to trust themselves amongst the barbarians, to contemplate the ruins of Greece. But these terrors, seem at last to be dispelled; Attica at present swarms with travellers ... and a few years may furnish the Piraeus with all the accommodations of a fashionable watering-place”, comments Lord Byron’s travel-companion John Cam Hobhouse Broughton in 1813.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Athens in the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the fashionable meeting place for travellers of all nationalities (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup>

The traveller who reached Athens by sea realized that his worst fears were confirmed as soon as he perceived Piraeus. A few fishing boats, the wooden shack of the Turkish customs officer and a handful of humble huts on the shore were the dismal witnesses to its former glory. This initial disappointment was followed by the practical problems travellers had to face once they had landed, due to the rudimentary facilities for transport. Travellers had to hire horses or carriages to take them to Athens. The road from Piraeus to Athens passed through fields, or along the Long Walls raised by Themistocles, while travellers arriving overland followed the Sacred Way from Eleusis and cut through olive groves.

The Athens that gradually unfolded before the

visitor’s eyes was no more than a large village with low, tiled-roofed houses, the monotony of which was relieved by palm trees, cypresses and minarets. The traveller was struck by the city’s oriental aspect, with its camels, open fountains and a host of mosques. During the Ottoman period, Athens comprised two separate sectors, just as in Antiquity: the *Kastro*, that is the Acropolis (fig. 2), which was the seat of the Turkish garrison commander and was covered by houses of the Turkish soldiers, and the lower city. Below the rock and inside the 18<sup>th</sup> century Turkish wall spread the densely built town of some 10,000 people.

Where were the numerous foreign travellers accommodated during their stay in Athens? Distinguished visitors were usually offered hospitality in the consuls’ residences. Unlike consul Louis-François-Sebastien Fauvel, who is said to have provided rather uncomfortable lodgings in his house crammed with antiquities, the Consul of Great Britain, Spyridon Logothetis, was considered particularly hospitable. In his mansion he entertained Lord and Lady Elgin. The Capuchin monks also willingly housed foreigners in their monastery. Most visitors took rented rooms, the best known being at the house of Mrs Makri, widow of the Consul of Great Britain and mother of the famous “Maid of Athens”. The homes of affluent Athenians were two-storied and surrounded by a high wall, which enclosed a courtyard planted with lemon trees and flowers,

1. Broughton 1813.

2. Selected bibliography for this article: Bouras & Korres 2001, Haugsted 1996, Matton 1963, Papanicolau-Christensen 1985,

Spencer 1954, Tournikiotis 1994, Tregaskis 1979, Tsigakou 1981, Tsigakou 1985, Tsigakou 1987, Tsigakou 1991.



Fig. 1: *View of Athens*, c. 1790 William Page. Water-colour on paper, 29x41 cm. Benaki Museum, Inv. No. 23048.

while a second yard beyond was used as a vegetable garden.

Foreign visitors did their sightseeing sometimes in the company of a guide, sometimes alone, with a copy of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* under the arm. Sightseeing began from the Acropolis, which being the Ottoman fortress was forbidden to foreigners so that travellers secured entry through bribes. The entry permit was paid for in cash or in kind, such as sugar, coffee or precious textiles. The drawing permit cost more and was less easy to obtain, since foreign artists were at the mercy of the Disdar's (i.e. the Turkish governor of the Acropolis) greed. Here is Edward Dodwell's experience: "I was one day engaged in drawing the Parthenon (fig. 3) with the aid of my Camera Obscura, when the Disdar, asked what I was performing with the extraordinary machine? I endeavoured to explain it, by putting in a clean sheet of paper, and making him look into the Camera Obscura. Soon as he saw the temple reflected on the paper, he imagined that I had produced the effect by

some magical process ... When he looked again and saw the reflection of some of his soldiers happening to pass at that moment, he became outrageous. He called me pig, devil, and Bonaparte, and said that he would never permit me to shut his soldiers into my box. When I realized that it was in vain to reason with his ignorance, I told him that, if he did not leave me unmolested, I would put him into my box and that he should find it very difficult to get out again. So, he immediately retired, and never afterwards gave me any further molestation".<sup>3</sup>

Visitors to the Acropolis took the path leading to the entrance, crossing an Islamic cemetery that stretched alongside the ruins of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus. The first ancient construction the visitor encountered was the Propylaia (fig. 4), which at that time had a strange aspect, because its central part had been destroyed during the bombardment of the Acropolis in 1687 by the Venetian troops under Admiral Francesco Morosini, and the void between the six columns had been blocked up. On the right side of the Propylaia

3. Dodwell 1819, I, 210.



Fig. 2: View of the Acropolis of Athens from the south west, 1804. W. Walker. Aquatint on paper, 47x56 cm. Benaki Museum, Inv. No. 26536.



stood the Frankish tower built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the Florentine Dukes Acciaiuoli, while the charming temple of Athena Nike was nowhere to be seen because the Turks had pulled it down in 1786 in order to use it for the fortifications on the Acropolis. The monument was reconstructed in 1835-1836.

On entering the Acropolis the visitor faced the Parthenon, surrounded by Turkish houses. Visible between the columns of the dismembered temple was a small mosque built after Morosini's bombardment. Very few of the sculptures of the west pediment remained *in situ* after Morosini's vandalism. Christians had disfigured the east pediment when the Parthenon was turned into a church, and its entrance removed to the west, a conversion that confused visitors, who tried in vain to verify Pausanias' descriptions. The Erechtheion too was in a lamentable state, having been pillaged by Christians, Franks and Turks. A piece of its epistyle had been broken off by some Disdar, to use as a watering basin for animals, while above the brick column which substituted for the Karyatid removed by Elgin some foreign traveller had carved the inscription "opus Elgin".

Descending the Acropolis, travellers visited the hill of the Areopagus, the rock of the Pnyx, and the hill

of the Muses, crowned by the monument of Philopappus. A little way beyond, on the hill of Agoraios Kolonos, visitors beheld the Theseum, the best-preserved monument of the Classical period even though the Turks used its doorway for target shooting. It was transformed into a Christian church and was the last resting place of several foreign travellers, so that it was knick-named "the Travellers' Mausoleum".

To the southeast of the Acropolis, visitors discovered the Capuchin monastery. Incorporated in the monastery was the elegant choregic monument of Lysikrates (fig. 5), popularly known as the "Lantern of Demosthenes" or "of Diogenes", which the monks used as a library. In the Roman Agora foreign travellers were fascinated by the sight of an ensemble of picturesque monuments such as the Gate of Athena Archegetis, half-hidden by houses, and the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrestos, better known as the "Tower of the Winds" (fig. 6). This too was preserved in good condition because it had been converted into a *teke* ("clubhouse") of the "Whirling Dervishes". In the same quarter stood the propylon of the Library of Hadrian (fig. 7), which at that time was referred to as the "Poikile Stoa" or "Stoa of Hadrian" or "Gymna-



Fig. 3: *West front of the Parthenon*. E. Dodwell. Aquatint on paper, 32,5x45 cm. Benaki Museum, Inv.No. 26456.

sium". At one end of the monumental colonnade was the church of Hagioi Asomati, which unfortunately was demolished during the reign of King Othon, a victim of the then-current adoration of Antiquity that caused the disappearance of many Byzantine monuments in the city.

The ruins of the temple of Zeus Olympios towered above a wheat field. The monument's dimensions overwhelmed visitors, even though only 17 out of the 104 enormous columns remained *in situ*. Above the epistyle of 13 columns was a brick building that was the hermitage of a stylite. The columns of the Olympieion, in combination with the neighbouring Arch of Hadrian, constituted one of the artist-travellers' most popular Athenian subjects. The tour of Athens usually ended on the banks of the River Ilissos. The Ilissos Bridge had vanished, having been used as building material in the 18<sup>th</sup> century "Turkish Wall". On the banks of the river could be seen some pentelic marble seats belonging to the ancient Panathenaic Stadium.

The foreign community of early 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens was a mosaic of cosmopolitans and treasure-hunters, the majority being Britons. In 1766, William Pars came to the city as draughtsman to the group of

the Society of Dilettanti, while in later years the French painters Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, Louis-François-Sebastien Fauvel and Louis François Casas, who drew a city panorama, were in Athens. The Scottish maecenas Thomas Hope, who played a leading role in introducing the Greek Revival into Britain, was also guided around Athens by the French Consul Fauvel.

Before the end of the 1820s, most examples of the Greek orders had been studied *in situ* by Greek Revival architects, such as Thomas Allason, William Wilkins, Robert Smirke, William Walker, John Spencer Stanhope, Charles Barry and William Kinard. The British artists Hugh William Williams, Charles Lock Eastlake, William Page, and the French painter Michel François Préaux (or Preault) visited Athens. So did the landscapist William Gell accompanied by his fellow artist, the Irishman Edward Dodwell, who collaborated with the Italian Simone Pomardi, and of course, the topographer Colonel William Martin Leake.

As a contemporary British periodical commented, "No man is now accounted a traveller who has not bathed in the Eurotas, tested the olives of Attica, and scratched one's name upon a fragment of the



Fig. 4: View of the Parthenon from the Propylea. E. Dodwell. Aquatint on paper, 25x40 cm. Benaki Museum, Inv. No. 26455.



Parthenon”.<sup>4</sup> Alas, many travellers were not content to confine themselves to souvenirs of this kind. The theologian Rev. Edward Daniel Clarke arrived in the harbour of Piraeus in 1801, bringing the colossal Roman statue of Demeter, which he had bought in Eleusis. He

managed to export it by bribing the Turkish governor of Athens with Lusieri’s telescope.

The most spectacular case in point was Elgin’s acquisition of the Parthenon marbles. In August 1800, Elgin’s agent, the Italian landscapist Giovanni Battista



Fig. 5: *The Monument of Lysicrates*. Engraving on paper, 12x15,5 cm. From E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour Through Greece...*, London, 1819.

4. Mordaunt-Crook 1972, 43.



Fig. 6: *The Tower of the Winds*. Th. Du Moncel. Coloured lithograph on paper, 40,2x53 cm. Benaki Museum, Inv. No 27891.

Lusieri, was residing in Athens as head of a mission for the removal of the Parthenon marbles. The firman to the Turkish governor of Athens was sealed with generous gifts, such as binoculars, watches, crystal, Wedgwood porcelain, and silver candlesticks. Operations to remove stones from the Parthenon began on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1801. They were purchased eventually by the British Museum in 1816. Elgin's activities were to be condemned by the poet Lord Byron who reached Athens in 1809 accompanied by Hobhouse. They lodged in the home of Mrs. Makri, mother of three daughters, of whom the youngest, Teresa, then twelve years old, is immortalized in the poem, which he composed for her, "Maid of Athens". In 1812 Byron published *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, a landmark in English poetry and in philhellenic literature, in which he lamented, "Dull is the eye that will not weep to see thy walls defaced, thy mouldering shrines removed by British hands".

Byron's sojourn in Athens for several months added a touch of grandeur to the foreign community in the city. The poet is referred to by the Danish archaeologist Peter Oluf Brøndsted, who came to

Athens together with his brother-in-law to be Georg Heinrich Koës. Both travellers disembarked at Piraeus in September 1810 and stayed in Athens for four months. During their sojourn they were impressed by the fever of treasure hunting for antiquities that was plaguing the city: "All the travellers we meet here are pitiable. Sole topic of their conversation is stones, coins, vases. Never do they refer to the beauty of nature. They are concerned exclusively with excavations"<sup>5</sup>. Koës mentions seeing in the outskirts of Athens a mound surrounded by pits, which was being dug by "a Hungarian count with 28 men, Fauvel with 6, a Signor Andreas an Italian with 10 and Lord Ruthven with 10"<sup>6</sup>.

At this time Athens was also hosting the other protagonists in the despoiling of Bassae and Aegina, the Estonian aristocrat Otto Magnus Baron von Stackelberg, and his fellow traveller the German architect-artist Baron Carl Haller von Hallerstein, who lived in Greece until his death and was buried there. This group of treasure-hunters was completed by the British architect Charles Robert Cockerell and the German painter Jacob Linck.

5. Haugsted 1996, 54.

6. Haugsted 1996, 57.



Fig. 7: *The Library of Hadrian*. Engraving on paper, 34x49 cm. From James Stuart and Nicolas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 4 vols., London, 1762-1816.



The renowned French painter Louis Dupré, who was in Athens in 1819, published a luxurious illustrated album. Viscomte de Marcellus son-in-law of Comte August de Forbin, Director of the French museums, came to Athens for a few days in 1829, sailing into Piraeus in his yacht that was carrying a statue of Aphrodite which he had just purchased on the island of Melos and which he subsequently presented to his King. Incidentally, the first foreigner to carry out official excavations in Athens for remuneration was the eccentric Earl of Guilford. He excavated on the site of the Library of Hadrian (for 140 grossi) and although no important finds were recovered the unfortunate aristocrat was forced to pay a fine of 1,000 grossi because his digging damaged the neighbouring wall of the Turkish governor's residence.

The entertainments of the Athenian cosmopolitan community included invitations to homes of leading Athenians, or to local celebrations, masked balls and dances organized by the consuls and eminent foreigners. The meeting place of foreign visitors was the home of "Don Tita", as Lusieri was nicknamed. He had married the daughter of the French merchant Giraud and remained in Athens until his death, living in the house he himself had built on the north slope of the Acropolis.

At the foot of the Acropolis, was a conspicuous two-

storey house, the residence of the notorious French Consul Fauvel. All travellers speak in a mixture of admiration and envy of his collection of antiquities – among them an intact block from the Parthenon frieze. During his stay in Athens, until 1821, Fauvel made enormous efforts to compete with Lusieri's achievements, selling antiquities to foreign travellers. Another distinguished supplier of antiquities was the Austrian Consul Georg Christian Gropius.

Until 1821, when the Greek War of Independence broke out, a large number of ancient tombs throughout Attica, including the Marathon Tumulus, were systematically plundered, as were old dried-up wells, caves, churches and chapels. By the late 1820s the whole of Attica had been cleared of whatever antiquities were lying on the ground and could be moved.

Besides hunting antiquities, the sketching of the ancient sites and the city was also part of the travellers' programme. We owe to the landscape paintings of the nineteenth century an ensemble of magnificent Athenian images, which remodel a setting that satisfied the sense of nostalgic quest for the Classical world. Again and again those who study the "Greek" works of the period come across pictures staged with noble dignity and suffused with a golden haze – a visual cliché that was a mechanical vehicle of recourse to the Golden Age, given that the principal element of the picture

was a recognizable motif, e.g. the Acropolis, providing the attraction for the prospective purchaser.

From an art-historical point of view, these Athenian views, although products of pre-conceptions and perceptions overcharged with the emblematic character of Athens, are without doubt an iconographic ensemble,

which stimulates the viewer's imagination. Nonetheless, the archive of Athenian representations by foreign artists constitutes as well an invaluable tool for the function of historical memory and the reconstruction of the antiquities, the land and the people of 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens.



# P.O. Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia, Kea

by John Lund

This paper deals with the first Danish archaeological excavations in Greece: P.O. Brøndsted's investigations at Karthaia in the island of Kea (ancient Keos) in the winter of 1811 and 1812.<sup>1</sup> Special attention is given to the fate of the sculptures unearthed at the site, and in conclusion Brøndsted's efforts are set in a broader perspective against the background of excavation practices current in Greece at the dawn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## Sources

What are our sources for Brøndsted's explorations in Kea? Regrettably, his travel diary for the period in question has not been preserved,<sup>2</sup> but other sources inform us of his work in the island, primarily the first volume of his prestigious international publication series *Voyages dans la Grèce*, which came out in 1826 in a French as well as a German edition.<sup>3</sup> Brøndsted ambitiously planned to publish his discoveries in Greece in eight volumes, but for various reasons – not least the expenses involved – only the two first appeared in print.<sup>4</sup> An early outline of the series has been preserved, which shows that he originally intended Volume I to comprise an “overview of the entire journey”, whereas Volume II was supposed to deal with “the ex-

cavation at Carthæa, my treatise on this endeavour and its results in relation to the geography of the entire island”.<sup>5</sup> However, for some reason or other he abandoned this scheme, which might have made more sense from a reader's point of view, and devoted the first volume in its entirety to Kea.<sup>6</sup>

Brøndsted's public lectures about his journey to Greece are another important source of information about his activities in Kea.<sup>7</sup> They were read in Copenhagen from 1815 to 1817, even if not published until 1844,<sup>8</sup> and contain certain details, which are excluded from the *Voyages dans la Grèce*.

Finally, the fate of some of the sculptures found at Karthaia can be clarified – up to a point – through letters in the Brøndsted archive in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.

## Background to the excursion to Kea

In December 1811 – on the eve of Brøndsted's journey from Athens to Kea – the Dane had already spent nearly a year and a half in the Aegean, and he had during that period travelled extensively in Greece and Western Asia Minor, using Athens as his base, fig. 1.<sup>9</sup>

It has recently been observed that: “Kea's history is

1. Dyggve 1943, 141; Rathje & Lund 1991; Haugsted 1996, 35-37; Haugsted 2000, 82-83.

2. Cf. the article by Gorm Schou-Rode in this publication.

3. Brøndsted 1826-1830a.; Brøndsted 1826-1830b. The quotations cited in this paper are drawn from the French edition.

4. Cf. Rohde 1985; Rasmussen 2000a.

5. “Udsigt over den hele rejse ... Gravningen i Carthæa og min Afhandling om dette Foretagende og dets Resultater i Hens: til hele Øens geografie”. I am grateful to Ivan Boserup, Keeper, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, KB (The Royal Li

brary/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), for having drawn my attention to this document; KB, NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 2400 4<sup>o</sup>: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, 3. Alfabetisk ordnede Noticer, Ph-Æ, Phigalia, 92-93.

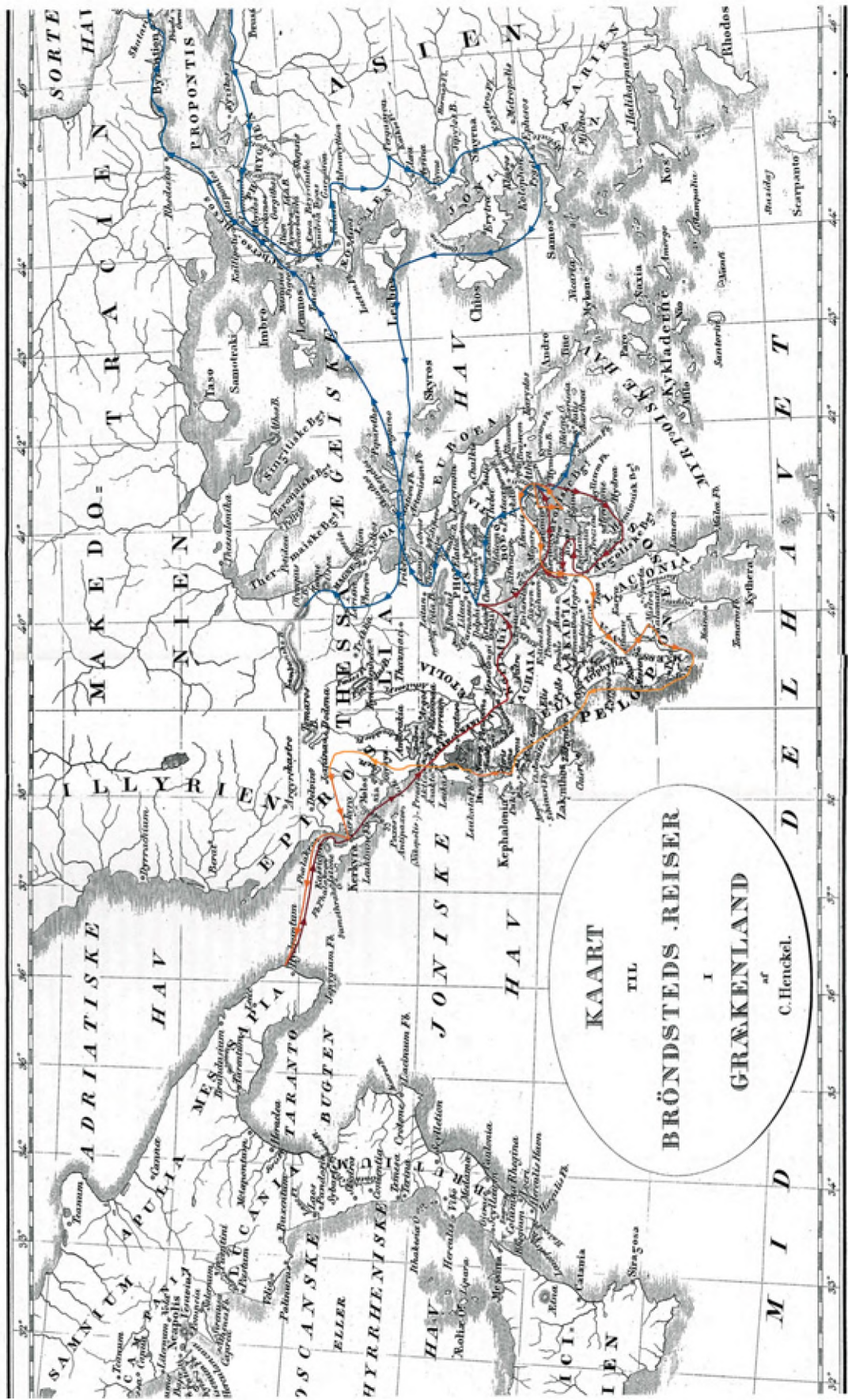
6. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I.

7. Cf. the article by Jørgen Mejer in this publication.

8. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 495-527.

9. Cf. Bernth 1995; Haugsted 1996, 11-35; Brøndsted 1999, 13-17; Haugsted 2000, 69-82; Riis 2004.





- 1810 Korfu - Missolonghi - Patras - Delfi - Korinth - Piræus - Athen - Hydra - Spetsai - Nauplion - Ligozio - Epidaurous - Mykene - Nemea - Korinth - Athen
- 1811 Athen - (Daphni) - Eleusis - Levadia - Delphi - Atalante - Trikerion - Skopelos - Tenedos - Dardanellerne - Konstantinopel - Troja - Pergamon - Smyrna - Elfosos - Chios - Lesbos - Skyros - Skopelos - Skiathos - Trikerion - Larissa - Tempe - Olympos - Athen - Keos
- 1812 Athen - Salamis - Aigina - Eleusis - Megara (Isthmen) - Korinth - Laokomien - Bassai - Phigalia-Kalamata - Zakynthos - Leukas - Preveza - Ioannina - Korfu

Fig. 1. Brøndsted's journeys in the Aegean in 1810 (red), 1811 (blue) and 1812 (yellow), reproduced from Christiansen 2000, 66-67 with kind permission of the author.



not remarkable for outstanding events. Fate had not destined it for a major role in the ancient historical process; it simply followed the course of its powerful neighbours and the great powers of the Aegean".<sup>10</sup> Hence the island was not an obvious target for a traveller in Greece in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Why, then, did Brøndsted decide to go to Kea? According to his own account, he had "for a long time wanted to visit this beautiful island, so rich in wine, mainly to see the fatherland of Simonides, whom Plato refers to as "the divine poet", and to see an ancient monument in the vicinity of the modern town: an ancient lion in stone, which he had often heard people talk about".<sup>11</sup>

But his main incentive was the arrival in Athens of a "plucky" Scottish merchant called Walsingham, a resident of Kea.<sup>12</sup> He explained that he had come to pay ransom for four distinguished Englishmen (Lord Frederick North, his nephew Frederick Sylvester North Douglas, and the architects Charles Robert Cockerell and John Foster),<sup>13</sup> who had left Athens for Crete aboard a Greek ship a short while earlier. It was rumoured in Kea that pirates had captured their ship, and that they were being held for ransom in a prison tower somewhere in the Mani. "Honest Walsingham" brought money and pearls to Athens to buy their freedom, but Brøndsted could prove the rumour untrue, since he had just received a letter from one of the supposed hostages describing their safe arrival in Crete.

Walsingham now wanted to return to Kea, but he talked so eloquently about the antiquities to be found there that he persuaded Brøndsted and an old friend of his from Rome, Jakob Linckh, to travel back with him.

The latter was a 24-year-old landscape painter from Cannstatt in Southern Germany, who had been one of Brøndsted's travelling companions on the journey from Italy to Greece in 1810.<sup>14</sup> Brøndsted, Linckh and Walsingham set out with their servants on the journey to Kea on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1811.

## Ancient Keos

The small party reached the harbour of Koressia the next morning,<sup>15</sup> and ascended immediately to what was the most important town of the island, Ioulis, where they found lodgings with the Danish vice-consul, whom Brøndsted incidentally describes as one of the vainest and most ignorant people he had ever encountered. But he speaks with enthusiasm about the beauty and fertility of the island, which was well cultivated with plenty of excellent wine, honey, lemons, oranges, figs etc.<sup>16</sup>

Brøndsted's map of Kea published in the first volume of *Voyages dans la Grèce* gives a fair impression of the island's geography, even if the southernmost part of the island is not accurately rendered, fig. 2.<sup>17</sup>

## Preparing for the excavations

In the Early Classical period, Keos was divided between four *poleis*.<sup>18</sup> The most important of these was Ioulis in the interior of the island. The three others were located on the coast: Koressia with its great natural harbour towards the northwest, Poieessa on the west coast, and Karthaia towards the southeast. But in

ited, mainly by ships from the Western countries, which are bound for Constantinople and the Black Sea or Smyrna and the Near East".

10. Papageorgiadou-Banis 1997, 3.

11. Brøndsted 1844, 495.

12. The information about Walsingham is derived from Brøndsted's lectures, Brøndsted 1844b, II, 495-522, and a few letters, to which references are given below. He is not mentioned in Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, for reasons, which will become clear later.

13. Bracken 1975, 188, 190, 192, 199; Haugsted 1996 *passim*.

14. Honroth 1982.

15. Brøndsted notes in Brøndsted 1844b, II, 497 that "the harbour is regarded as the best in the Myrtoan Sea, and still extremely vis-

16. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 498-499. For an overview of the history of Kea between ca. AD 300 and 1821, cf. Στέφανος 1999, 59-72.

17. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. XII; the plan was drawn by Brøndsted, who acknowledges that "il m'a manqué des données suffisantes pour rendre quelques parties des côtes avec une exactitude géométrique", Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 34. For the cartography of the island, see Στέφανος 1999, 35-41.

18. Reger 2004, 747-751; see also Mendoni 1994.

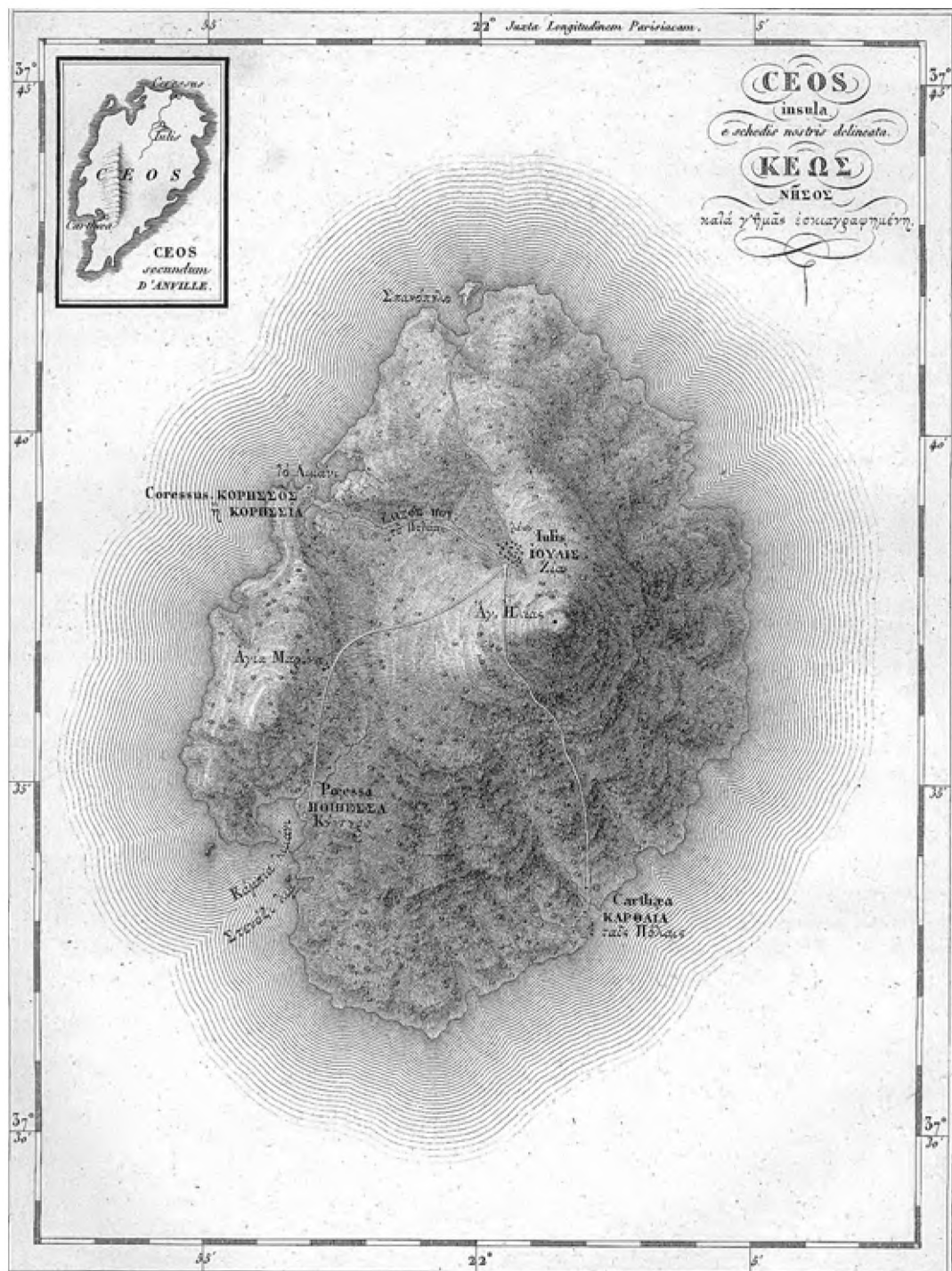


Fig. 2. Map of the island of Kea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 12.



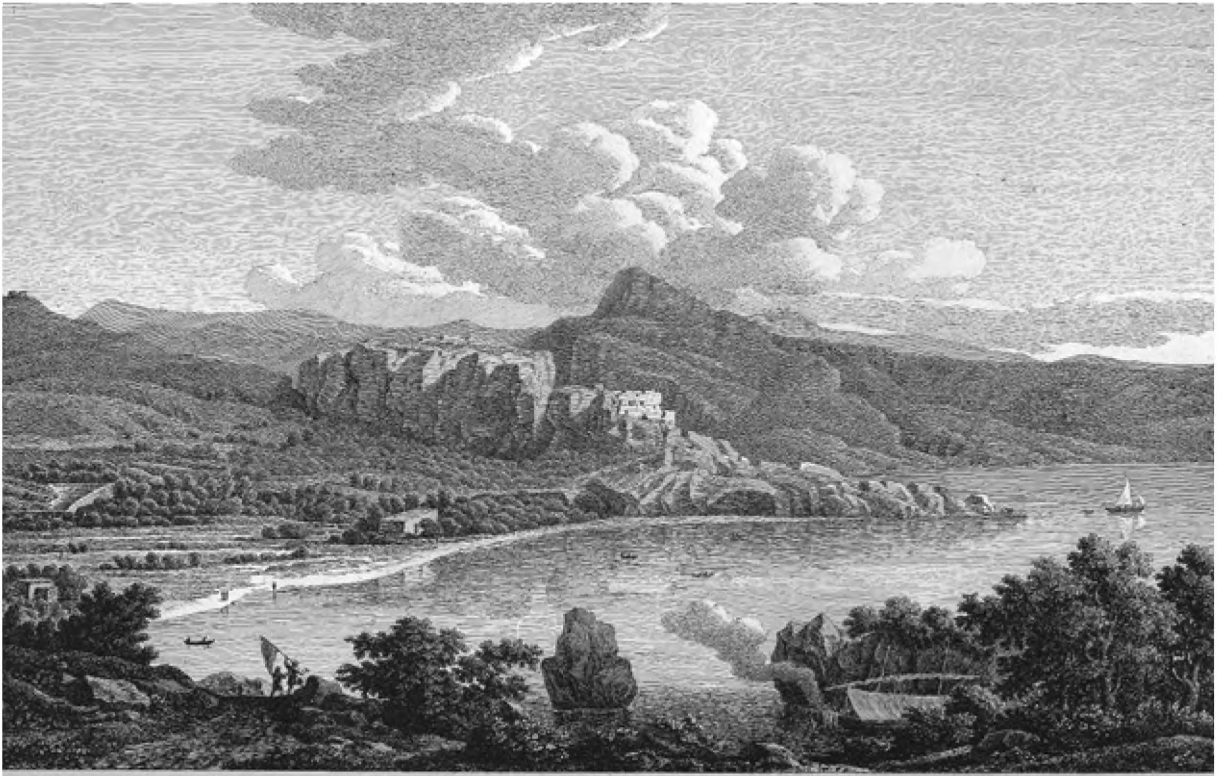


Fig. 3. Prospect of the site of Karthaea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 7.

the Early Roman period, there were only two major cities in the island, “Ioulis having taken over Koressia, and Karthaia having absorbed Poieessa”.<sup>19</sup>

During their stay, Brøndsted and his companions were told of the many curious objects to be found at a site, which most scholars in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century identified as ancient Ioulis.<sup>20</sup> They visited it and found the ancient remains so interesting that they decided, in Brøndsted’s words, to “dare a serious excavation of the most important parts of the ruins. Over the next couple of days we procured what was necessary for this in the modern town, and hired workmen, acquired spades,

19. Caskey 1976, 446.  
20. Cf. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 500-501. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 34-35 acknowledges that the site had previously been identified as Karthaia by the D’Ansse de Villoison, who had visited the island

ropes and other tools, and went again – but now led by 22 peasants armed with spades and scoops – back to [what we thought was] Ioulis.” Each of the workmen was hired for “one and a quarter to one and a half Levantine piastres a day”, with two overseers being paid double the amount. “We lodged ourselves and our colonists, in all 30 persons, in a magazine of sorts or rather a barn built in part of stones from the ruins of the nearby theatre”.<sup>21</sup>

Jakob Linckh, who served as the draughtsman of the expedition, drew a picturesque view of the ruins in their natural setting, which was published in *Voyages* in 1785 and whose manuscripts are kept in Paris, where Brøndsted had studied them, cf. the article by Gorm Schou-Rode in this publication.

21. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 501.

22. In Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 124 it is merely stated that the drawing was made by a friend of the author, but Haugsted 1996,



Fig. 4. The site of Karthaia today – seen from the vantage point as fig. 3. Photo by the author.

*dans la Grèce*, fig. 3.<sup>22</sup> Though not correct in all details, the drawing conveys an excellent impression of the scenery,<sup>23</sup> which is remarkably unchanged to the present – the expedition's headquarters, the “stone barn”, is still standing, fig. 4. The archaeologist Lina Mendoni who in recent years has investigated the site rightly notes that this ancient city and its uplands “is one of the few instances in Greece where the ancient topography has been preserved entirely with its city and area plans”.<sup>24</sup>

36 identified the artist as Linck. His authorship is now assured by the early outline of the volume referred to above, where Brøndsted writes that the figures should i.a. comprise “The view of the Gulf of Carthæa after Linckh's drawing”, i.e. “Udsigten af Carthæagolfen efter Linkhs tegning”.

23. Cf. Honroth 1982, which refers to drawings and sketchbooks in

private ownership. It is an intriguing thought that this body of material probably comprises drawings made by Linckh at Keos.

A plan of the site – the only one published to this day – was included in *Voyages dans la Grèce*, fig. 5. It was drawn without instruments, but gives a good impression of the salient features.<sup>25</sup> The acropolis is indicated by the letter A, while B designates a terrace with a temple, C marks a propylon in the town wall, and DD a terrace wall of what has subsequently been identified as a temple of Athena built at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>26</sup>

24. Mendoni 2004, 202; cf. also Μενδόλι 1985-1986 [1989]; Μάκθου 1991, 55-61 with informative notes by Λινα Γ. Μενδόλι *ibidem*, 124-133; Fittschen 1998.

25. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 13-15 pl. VI.

26. See Λινα Γ. Μενδόλι in: Μάκθου 1991, 126 note 272; Παπανικουλάου 1998a and 1998b; Kanellopoulos 2003.

27. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 502-503.



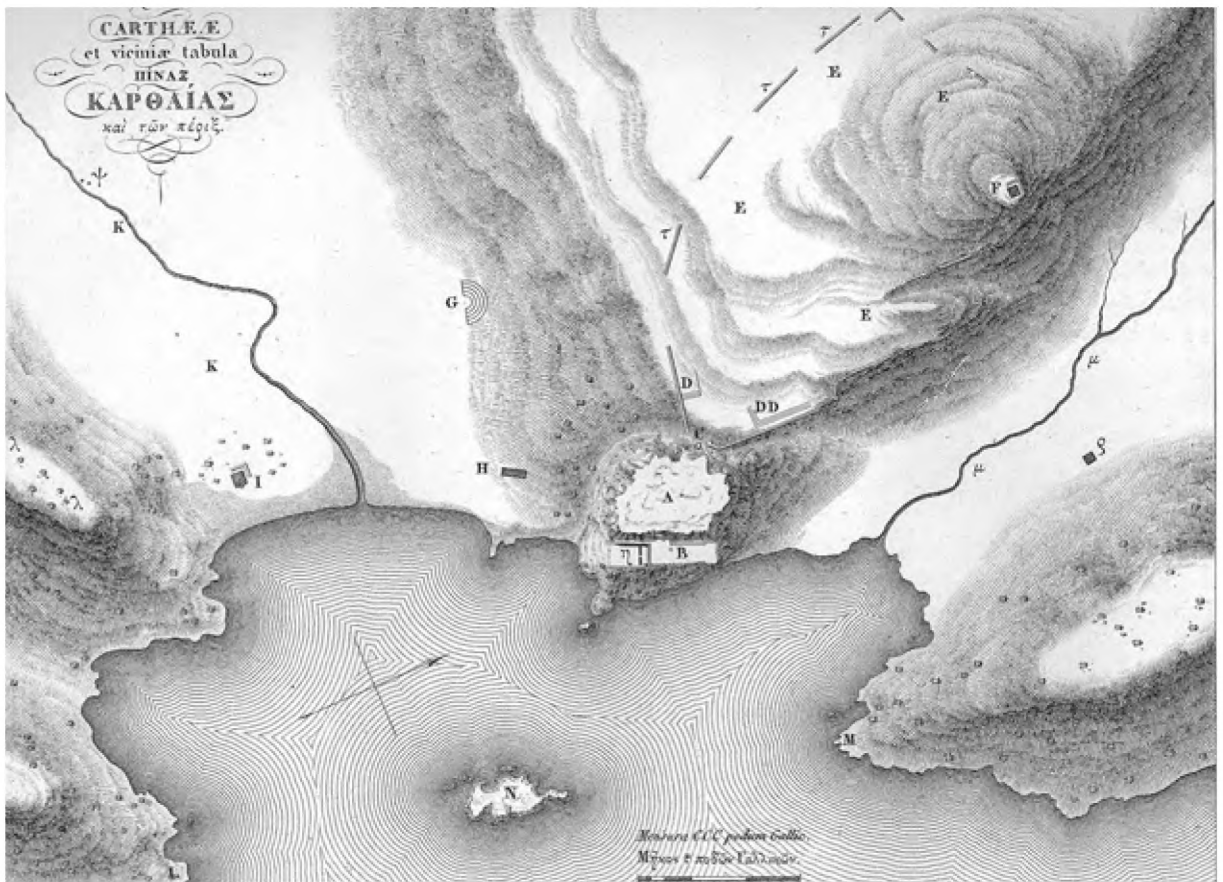


Fig. 5. Plan of Karthaea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 6.

## The excavations

Brøndsted described the progress of the excavations thus: “after a couple of fruitless attempts on the upper terrain within the town wall and in the area of the propyleia ... we soon distributed our people on the beautiful temple terrace outside the town wall” (i.e. the area designated with a B), fig. 6.<sup>27</sup> He published a plan of this terrace, fig. 7,<sup>28</sup> which has been re-investigated recently by Αλέκος Παπανικουλάου.<sup>29</sup> Brøndsted’s

28. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. VIII.

29. Παπανικουλάου 1998b.

account continues thus: “We had hardly removed the heaps of stone lying at a circular pedestal with a diameter of 4 feet, and here excavated a couple of feet, before the side of the pedestal ... was found ... The inscriptions we found enlightened us: we were in a temple of Apollo, and what was even more interesting, not, as we had thought until now, in Ioulis, but in Karthaea”.<sup>30</sup> Both identifications are still accepted; the temple of Apollo was apparently built about 525 BC.<sup>31</sup>

31. Παπανικουλάου 1998a.

30. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 503; cf. also Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 18.



Fig. 6. The terrace of the temple of Apollo at Karthaia. Photo by the author.

Work continued in front of the temple, and particular attention was given to a niche in the side of the rock, which was excavated to a depth of more than 7 or 8 feet, fig. 8. At its bottom was found the larger part of a torso of a colossal statue of Apollo, which reminded Brøndsted of a famous statue in the Vatican representing Apollo holding a kithara, and a similar representation on a coin from Delphi, fig. 9.<sup>32</sup> He goes

on to say: “now a staircase came to light; it led from the terrace of the temple to one of the gates in the town wall. In the area of this staircase, and hardly two feet below the ground, we found the torso of a female marble statue slightly below natural size, of the highest beauty. The slim body, so richly covered by the drapery, was so exquisitely rendered as we have hardly seen on any other of the famous draped statues of An-

32. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 18-19. It seems to have belonged to the so-called Vatican/Stockholm type, cf. Flashar 1992, 108-113.



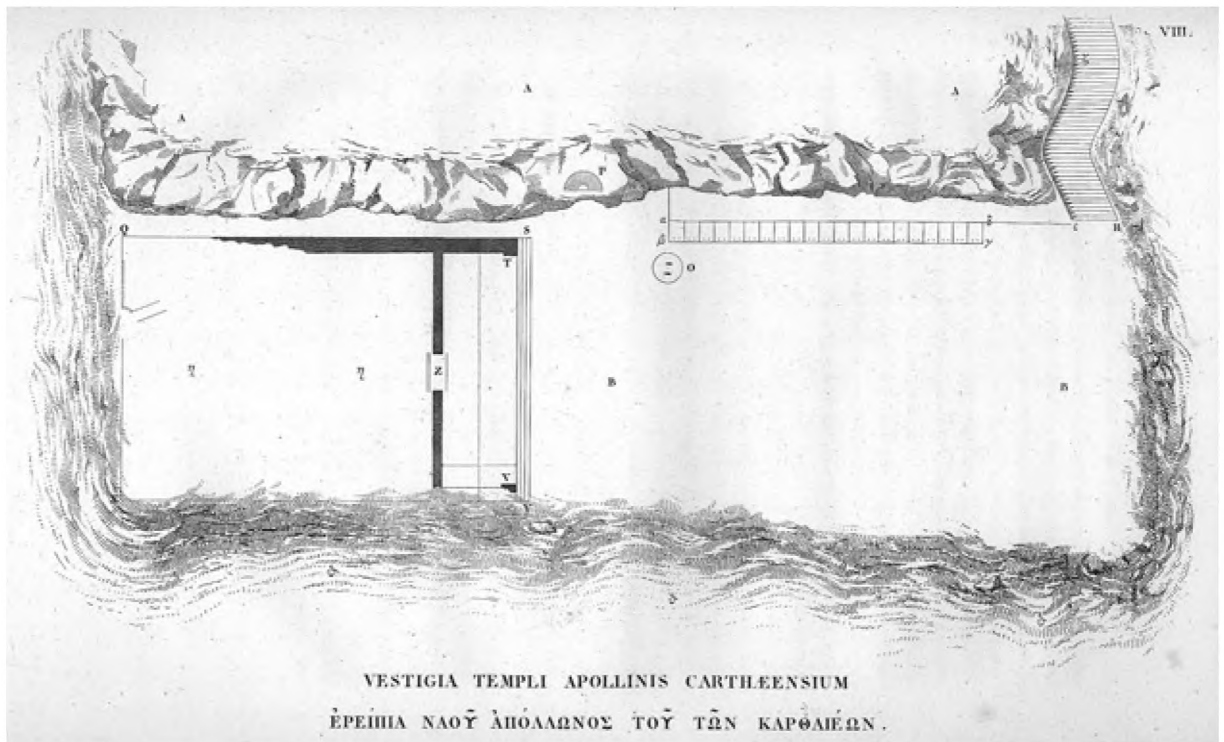


Fig. 7. Plan of the terrace of the temple of Apollo at Karthaea, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. 8.

tiquity ... Unfortunately, neither the head nor arms of this marvellous fragment were found”, fig. 10.<sup>33</sup> The torso is usually dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>34</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate all of the observations and discoveries made by Brøndsted at Karthaiia, but it may be noted that he took the presence of Christian tombs within the sanctuary of Apollo as a sign that the site was still inhabited in the Byzantine period.<sup>35</sup> Also, he paid particular attention to inscriptions, of which 18 are published in the first vol-

ume of the *Voyages dans la Grèce*,<sup>36</sup> and he recorded the find spots of the most interesting sculptures and other objects, as for instance “the upper part of a small female statue, the feet of another, and a large quantity of potsherds and fragments of tools of marble and terracotta”, which were found on the uppermost part of the staircase. He even brought one such find along to his lectures to show the audience: “the only completely preserved specimen of the latter ... which I have taken out of the collection ... It is not exceptionally beauti-

33. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 505; cf. also Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 21-22, pl. IX.

34. Cf. Kabus-Jahn 1970, 68 note 8 Figs. 7-9; Adolf H. Borbein in Bauer & Geominy 2000, 113-115. A rather similar torso from Karthaiia is exhibited in the Museum of Kea. Its inventory number is 56 according to the pedestal, but the number painted on it

seems to be 66; it is the second sculpture from the right on Choremi 2002, 54 fig. 50.

35. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 505-506. Στέφανος 1999, 88-89.

36. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, pl. VIII, 18-24 and Supplément A pl. XVI-XXV.



Fig. 8. The niche of the statue of Apollo at Karthaea. Photo by the author.

ful, but remarkable for the sake of its good preservation".<sup>37</sup> It is not clear what object and which collection he is talking about; the wording suggests that he is referring to a terracotta figurine, yet the only objects in the Danish National Museum with the provenance Karthaia are two juglets, which Brøndsted later donated to the Danish King Christian VIII.<sup>38</sup>

### The fate of the sculptures

As the investigations at Karthaia were winding down in February 1812, Brøndsted, Linckh and Walsingham drew lots for the sculptures found at the site. The Dane emerged as the winner, but he had to pay a sum of money to his companions in compensation. The lot consisted of: "two beautiful female torsos, another greater torso of Apollo and a quantity of smaller pieces, as heads legs hands etc. of other statues of

37. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 505.

38. Breitenstein 1951, 199; Rasmussen 2000b, 32 fig. 20.





Fig. 9. A coin from Delphi, after Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 18-19.

which the bodies were not found ... at least 15 or 16 pieces”.<sup>39</sup> As luck would have it, Walsingham was acquainted with the captain of an English merchantman, the “Bella Nina”, lying in the harbour of Kea at the time, who agreed to transport the sculptures to an English firm in Malta for safekeeping. Brøndsted states in his lectures that “the sculptural relics soon arrived ... at Malta, and they were deposited with the House Wilson & Allardyce, where they should remain, until the time when I can have them transported to Rome, to be, as I hope, restored either by Thorvaldsen (who has more or less promised it to me) or by another able sculptor”.<sup>40</sup>

However, when Brøndsted came to Malta eight years later to reclaim his property, James Wilson informed him the firm had refused to receive the marbles in question, and that “the person who assumed the name of Walsingham, with whom you had the misfortune to meet at Zea, and who was the sole medium through which you were to become acquainted with [the company] was known only to them as a notorious Swindler, having robbed them, but a few months before, of a Sum exceeding twelve Hundred Pounds Ster-



Fig. 10. Torso of female statue found at Karthaia, from the original drawing in the archives of the National Museum, which served as the basis of Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, 21-22 pl. IX.

ling, in the most dishonourable manner possible – through falsehood and forgery – Walsingham was not the real name of this itinerant Villain”.<sup>41</sup>

Still, things were not as bad as all that. A few weeks later, Brøndsted wrote to the private secretary of the future Danish King Christian VIII, Johan Adler, that his stay at Malta had been most pleasant and instructive, and that: “I also had the great pleasure to recover

39. KB, NKS, 1578<sup>1</sup> 2<sup>o</sup>: Brevkopibog, letter from Brøndsted to Mr Wilson Esq dated the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1820.

40. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 507.

41. KB, NKS, 1546 2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge, letter from James Wilson to Brøndsted dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1820.



Fig. 11-13. Plaster cast of the torso from Karthaia, in the Thorvaldsens Museum. Photo by the author.



Fig. 12

two of my most beautiful marble fragments, sent from one of my excavations, from Zea in the Archipelago in the year 1812, and shamefully tossed into a store room due to the bestiality of the English captain with whom they were shipped; the scoundrel has disposed over 7 or 8 fragments as presents to ... ingratiate himself with

gentlemen".<sup>42</sup> And after his departure from Malta, Brøndsted received a new letter from James Wilson informing him that "I leave with my friend Capt<sup>th</sup> Smyth R.N. another fragment of your Grecian Marbles, which was found in the King's Bakery after you left Malta ... This is the last piece, I think, which you may expect to

42. Letter to J.G. Adler dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1820 in the Danish National Archives, Archive number 5008, number A.I.4, package 8: "ogsaa havde jeg den store Glæde at redde to af mine skjønneste Marmorfragmenter, didsendte efter een af mine Gravninger, fra Zea i Archipelaget i Aaret 1812, og skammeligt henslængte i et

Magazin ved den engelske Captains Bestialitet, med hvem de oversendtes; 7 eller 8 andre meget nydelige og lettere transportable Fragmenter har Kjæltringen disponeret over til Presenter for, hvad Skoleholderen i Frejas Alter kalder, at forsaarsage Hosernes Grønhed hos naadige Herrer".





Fig. 13

hear of from Malta as I have searched most diligently anywhere".<sup>43</sup>

Brøndsted had the recovered sculptures sent to Rome, and they must have arrived there safely because he wrote to another correspondent that "J'ai fait venir une partie de mes marbres grecs, découverts par ma fouille dans les ruines de la ville de Carthæa ... Le principal morceau en est un torse (de femme drapée) du plus beau stile. Je le fait mouler actuellement – j'en fais faire actuellement la forme pour en tirer une dizaine de plâtres".<sup>44</sup> A cast is kept in the Thorvaldsens Museum, and replicas exist in other European cast collections, fig. 11-13.<sup>45</sup>

This torso is the only piece of sculpture from Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia of which we have more information. It must have remained in his possession for several years, because he was trying to sell it to the British Museum in 1826,<sup>46</sup> but nothing came of it, and we have no certain knowledge as to its subsequent fortune. There are, however, two possible clues to its whereabouts. The first may be found in Adolf Michaelis' book on "Ancient Marbles in Great Britain" from 1882, in which reference is made to a draped female in Parian marble in the "Royal Institution" in Edinburgh, which might be Brøndsted's lost torso.<sup>47</sup> The torso in question is presumably identical to an "Antique draped Female, without head or arms" of Parian marble, which is listed in the web site of The Torrie Collection at the University of Edinburgh as EU Cat. 666.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain any information about this piece of sculpture, nor even a photograph.<sup>49</sup> Still, if the web site is correct in

43. KB, NKS, 1546 2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge, letter from James Wilson to Brøndsted dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1820.

44. KB, NKS, 1578<sup>l</sup> 2<sup>o</sup>: Brevkopibog, letter from Brøndsted to "Son Excellence Mylord d'E" dated the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1821. The recipient has not been identified.

45. Müller 1850 no. 61. I am grateful to Jan Zahle for informing me of the existence of these casts and to Torben Melander for making the specimen in the Thorvaldsen's Museum available to me. Cf. further Kabus-Jahn 1970, 68 note 8 Figs. 7-9 and Adolf H. Borbein in Bauer & Geominy 2000, 113-115.

46. This emerges from a letter in the British Museum, cf. the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

47. Michaelis 1882, 299: "In the buildings of the R. Institution are to be found, belonging to the legacy of Sir James Erskine, some small Torsos, and among them that of (1) a draped female in Parian Marble, and also that of (2) a man, with the head and limbs restored ... Can the former be the charming torso from Keos which has been lost sight of, engraved in Brøndsted, Voy. et Recherches en Grèce, I Pl. 9?"

48. <http://www.trg.ed.ac.uk/torrie/artists/sculptors.html>.

49. Jacky MacBeath of the Museums & Galleries Office, Edinburgh University Library kindly informed me on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 2006: "this sculpture is not available for study at this time".

giving its height as 80,5 cm, it cannot be identical to Brøndsted's torso, which only measured 53 cm.<sup>50</sup> The other clue is the fact that in 1866 Julius Lange states in his catalogue of the plaster casts in the Danish Royal Academy that the original is "now in the Louvre".<sup>51</sup> I think it unlikely to be true, because the torso is not among the published Greek sculptures of the Louvre. It seems more likely that the torso is still standing unrecognized in a private, or public?, collection in Great Britain or France.

## Conclusion

In sum, the archaeological investigations carried out by Brøndsted and his companions at Karthaia were comprehensive, given the few weeks at their disposal. They conducted excavations at several places, drew plans of the site and of the sanctuary of Apollo, and recorded the find spots of the most important items. From the inscriptions unearthed at the site, Brøndsted was able to prove that it should be identified as Karthaia, not Ioulis.<sup>52</sup>

Also, he subsequently made the results public – both in French and German – in a magnificent publication which not only focuses on Karthaia, but also deals with the ancient remains to be seen elsewhere in Kea. The volume contains drawings of the inscriptions found by the expedition and also deals with the ancient coins of the island. In a recent publication on "The Coinage of Kea", Charikleia Papageorgiadou-Banis states that "Brøndsted was the first to attempt a general presentation of the coins of Kea, illustrating coins that had either been found in the course of his researches, or had come into his possession in various ways ... The ma-

jority of his attributions were correct and are still currently accepted".<sup>53</sup> Moreover, Brøndsted also discusses the ancient literary sources, and the publication includes sections on the climate, agriculture, geography and topography of the island, topics that are still in the forefront of archaeological discourse. In many respects the publication is far ahead of its time.

Fani-Maria Tsigakou has noted that "in the first decades of the nineteenth century, none of the ancient sites [of Greece] had been excavated",<sup>54</sup> and, indeed, the diggings carried out in Athens at the time by resident antiquarians seem to have been motivated solely by a desire to uncover spectacular antiquities. This emerges for instance from a passage in Brøndsted's diary written in Athens on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 1810: "in the afternoon, with my friends and Gropius etc. to Fauvel's and Lusieri's excavations.<sup>55</sup> We found Mr. Fauvel with his Mr. Pinko there. Fatal Lusieri has today found a rather nice bas relief in marble; a young woman holding a small libation vessel or tear bottle in her hand. In Fauvel's excavation a grave had just been found and we were all curious to know what would come. But nothing special emerged: a few vase pieces. F. himself raked around among the pieces: "ça doit être quelque-chose – non ce n'est rien -, c'est moi qui l'a découvert".<sup>56</sup> Neither Fauvel nor Lusieri published accounts of their excavations, and their activities "made no lasting contribution to the study of Greek art and architecture".<sup>57</sup>

According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, "to excavate" currently has three meanings: 1) "to make (a hole or channel) by digging", 2) "to reveal or extract by digging" and 3) to "dig systematically into the ground to explore (a site)".<sup>58</sup> It is doubtful whether

50. Cf. Bauer & Geominy 2000, 113.

51. Lange 1866 no. 73 and 1887 no. 209.

52. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, II, 3-5 and *passim*.

53. Papageorgiadou-Banis 1997, vii.

54. Tsigakou 1981, 28.

55. For these three individuals, cf. the biographical sketches in Bracken 1975, 191, 194, 197. Fauvel and Lusieri are frequently mentioned in Brøndsted's diaries, cf. Bernth 1995 *passim*. The

Dane had a certain sympathy for Lusieri, but considered the Frenchman a windbag.

56. Rathje & Lund 1991, 17-18; the Danish text is quoted in Bernth 1995, 267. For descriptions of other excavations, cf. Bracken 1975, 56-57.

57. Bracken 1975, 64-65.

58. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, (Oxford, 1995, 9<sup>th</sup> ed.), 468.



such distinctions would have made sense to someone living at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the concept of an archaeological excavation was in its infancy, but the second definition seems to cover Fauvel's and Lusieri's activities. By contrast, it seems justified to apply the third definition to Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia. It is true that he was, like most – if not all – of his contemporaries, mainly driven by a desire to unearth spectacular finds, which he could sell in

compensation for the considerable expenses he had incurred in connection with the investigation. Yet Brøndsted's excavations at Karthaia were surely among the first archaeological excavations in Greece, if not *the* first, to have had a scientific purpose as well.<sup>59</sup> The fact that he decided to publish the results of his Kean investigations as the first volume of his international series *Voyages dans la Grèce* shows that he was very much aware of the importance of his achievement.<sup>60</sup>

59. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, XIV and p. XIX.

60. Cf. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 506: "I have ... tried to present succinctly ... the results of the excavations at Karthaia by me and

my friends, one of the most successful endeavours of its kind which to my knowledge has been carried out in the Greek countries recently."

# P.O. Brøndsted and his travels in Sicily

*by Tobias Fischer-Hansen*

“I intend to finish one day my work upon my undertakings in Grecian countries with a survey of Sicily, especially with respect to its ancient locations and monuments. I understood in Sicily itself, that such a thing might be of some consequence in the study of this interesting country.”

These are Peter Oluf Brøndsted’s own words, written in a letter in May 1821 in Naples to his English friend Henry Long,<sup>1</sup> nearly a year after his somewhat unsuccessful stay in Sicily. Apparently Brøndsted had at the time abided by his ambition to undertake a study of the Greek antiquities in Sicily.

Brøndsted had the year before, in letters to Prince Christian Frederik and to Niels Rosenkrantz, the Privy Councillor for Foreign Affairs, laid forth his deliberations over a visit to Sicily. We gather from this correspondence that it was the ambition of Brøndsted to include the Sicilian antiquities in his *opus magnum* – the *Voyages dans la Grèce*. In letters to Prince Christian Frederik and to Rosenkrantz, written in January and February 1820 in Naples, Brøndsted had outlined his plans for a stay of 2-3 months in Sicily – a study tour which, as he explains, will be used to improve his

planned work on Ancient Greece – “apart from the discoveries on Aigina and in the ruins of the Phigaleian temple in Arcadia, I have long wished to obtain the most necessary information about the monuments in Sicily”.<sup>2</sup> Brøndsted, with his experiences from travelling in Greece and from the archaeological fieldwork in which he had participated, was undoubtedly well qualified to write such an additional chapter on Western Greek archaeology. Due to the circumstances of his stay in Sicily, it was cut short by the uprising in Palermo 1820, such a study came to nothing, but it is noteworthy that Brøndsted had understood the importance of the contribution of Sicilian antiquities to Greek culture, even though his scholarly background was so vested in Greece itself.

## Brøndsted’s public lectures on *Magna Graecia*<sup>3</sup>

Brøndsted’s journey to Sicily was not his first contact with the Greeks of the West; he had travelled through Southern Italy on his way to Greece in 1806, back to Naples from Corfu via Otranto in 1813 and from

1. For Henry Lawes Long of Hampton Lodge, Farnham, Surrey see further below.

2. These and the other letters pertaining to Brøndsted’s Sicilian journey are found in RA (The Danish National Archives/Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen), arkivnr. 202: Kongehuset, Christian 8, Breve fra forskellige, Pakke 128: Bræstrup-Bülöw; RA, arkivnr. 302: Departementet for de udenlandske anliggender, Rom, II, Pakke 2307: Indberetninger 1819-32; and in private letters, above all to his friend J.G. Adler, Prince Christian Frederik’s private secretary, see KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek,

Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 1578 2<sup>o</sup>: P. O. Brøndsted, Brevkopibog, 1814-1825. For help with access to Brøndsted’s letters to Baron Rosenkrantz in the above-mentioned archive 302 in RA (Indberetninger no. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19), I am much obliged to Otto Schepele of the Danish Foreign Office.

3. “Great Greece” – the conventional term used since antiquity for the region of Southern Italy, including Campania, with its Greek settlements. Brøndsted employs the Greek term Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς.



Naples to Brindisi on his way to Ithaca in 1819. We do not know much about Brøndsted's scholarly profit from these journeys, but there can be little doubt that already the journeys of 1806 and 1813 had given him some topographical insight and an appetite for historical research into the region. This we can infer from his public lectures held in the period 1815 to 1817 and published in *Rejse i Grækenland*.<sup>4</sup> Three lectures deal with the Greek colonies in Southern Italy,<sup>5</sup> and these should be regarded as a valuable supplement to Frederik Münter's seminal *Nachrichten von Neapel und Sicilien* 1790.<sup>6</sup> The title chosen for the two volumes of Brøndsted's lectures, "Travels in Greece", was thus rather misleading as the author in the first volume gives the first fairly comprehensive presentation of Southern Italian antiquities in Danish.

The chapters cover several aspects of not only the Greek presence in Southern Italy but also of local people, Picentians, Lucanians and Iapygians, with accounts of territories, borders, rural sanctuaries, population size, internal Greek conflicts, regional histories and the later Roman conquests.<sup>7</sup> The presentation of the ancient political history of the individual cities is not weighty, but the more important Greek foundations with the origins of their colonisers, whether Dorian, Ionian, Euboian, Achaian or Phokaian, are accounted for. Brøndsted's enumeration of twenty Greek colonies in this region is also near enough correct. He includes little known sites such as Temesa, Terina, Pyxos, Hipponion and Medma, the locations of which would have been unknown to him, but which he treated from the ancient sources. Twenty-one colonial Greek city-states are now known and have been investigated in present-day Campania and Southern Italy. The only site not listed as a Greek city by Brøndsted is the little known

foundation of Metauros. However, Brøndsted was acquainted with the smaller Greek sites of Pithekoussai, on the island of Ischia off the coast of Campania, and Skydros and Skyllition, three settlements of which the political status in ancient Greek times is uncertain even today.

The lectures on *Magna Graecia* also include useful overviews of the history of the larger Greek colonies, such as Kyme (Cumae), Poseidonia-Paestum, Hyele, Rhegion, Lokroi, Sybaris-Thourioi, Metapontion and Taras. Brøndsted is familiar with the ancient sources, although he provides no critical treatment of these, and mythical legends are often accepted out of hand. Even so, some of the dates given for the colonial foundations – the 8<sup>th</sup> century – are correct, while others are far too early due to the influence of the epic traditions to which Brøndsted was rather susceptible. Some of the important incidents in the history of Southern Italy, for instance the conflicts between the Etruscans and Hieron I of Syracuse at Kyme in Campania in the first part of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, are correctly dated. There is also an awareness of the phenomenon of Hellenisation, the influence of Greek culture on local customs and mores, with evidence taken from architecture and coins, but also of the power struggles between Greeks and non-Greeks and the successes of the latter. The activities of the Western Greek philosophers and law-givers, for instance Parmenides and Zenon, Charondas, and Zaleukos, are accounted for.

The lack of archaeological investigations in most of the Greek cities at the time of Brøndsted's travels, explains the very limited presentation of urban monuments in his lectures. However, there is as a good general introduction to the site of Poseidonia-Paestum, with an account of the topography, the temples and the

4. See the article by Jørgen Mejer in this publication.

5. Chapters 3-5, pp. 56-129.

6. First edition in Danish, Münter 1788-1790.

7. The main secondary sources used by Brøndsted are the works of

Ph. Clüver, Th. Major, Cl. R. de Saint Non, J.H. von Riedesel and F. Münter. For the discovery of *Magna Graecia* and the early investigations here see Ampolo 1985.

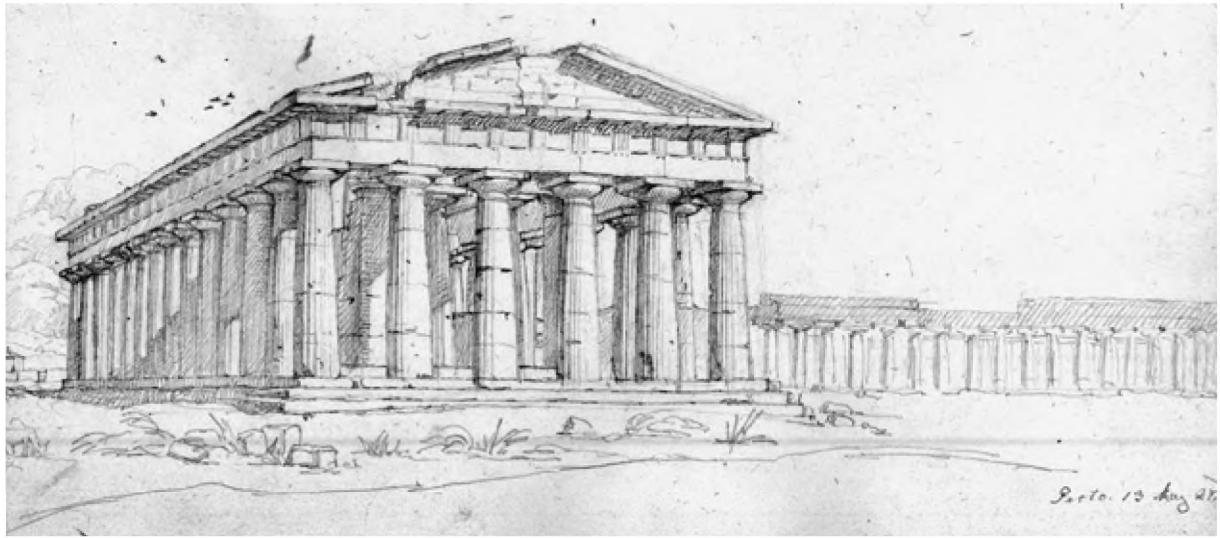


Fig. 1: The Doric temples at Paestum. Drawing by H.W. Bissen 1827. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen, (BZ XVII, 23).

city-walls. The temples are described with good use of the technical terminology, and the problems of interpretation are presented. Although Brøndsted finds the Poseidonian temples technically second to those of the Greek homeland, primarily because of the use of local stone, inferior to Greek marble, they are in their “purity of the Doric style” seen as far from inferior even to the Athenian Parthenon itself, and for a comparison of the early Doric style at Poseidonia, Brøndsted refers to the temple of Apollo at Corinth.

The lack of artistic monuments, such as sculpture and vases, from the Greek cities of South Italy in this early period of research, was compensated for by a presentation of the numismatic evidence from each of the cities – where known. It is surely a fair reward for this contribution that he was able to acquire, in Naples, May 1821, the so-called Siris bronzes – the two mag-

nificent 4<sup>th</sup> century relief-decorated shoulder pieces of a cuirass from a Lucanian site near Grumentum in South Italy, later acquired by the British Museum.<sup>8</sup>

Brøndsted’s interest in the Greek cities of *Magna Graecia* and his, perhaps, more distant consciousness of the Etruscan civilization, may explain his rather infelicitous reading of the Greek dedication on the Etruscan helmet found at Olympia in 1817.<sup>9</sup> The helmet, which carries an inscribed dedication of Hieron I of Syracuse, was part of the spoils taken from the Etruscans by the Syracusans at the battle of Kyme in 474 BC.<sup>10</sup> Brøndsted prepared a study of the inscription during his stay on the island of Ithaca, and later sent a reworked edition to the learned Bishop Frederik Münter in Copenhagen from Syracuse, implying some work on the treatise there. The study was published in Naples in 1820 and apart from the political problems

8. Cf. letter to Henry Long, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1821, KB, NKS, 1578 2<sup>o</sup>: P. O. Brøndsted, Brevkopibog, 1814-1825; Brøndsted 1837. For fuller treatment see the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

9. Brøndsted 1820.

10. The helmet, now in the British Museum, was presented by the then owner, Sir Patrick Ross, to King George IV; Walters 1899, 27 cat. 250. For the inscription see Brodersen 1992, no. 49. The correct reading was seen by the epigraphist August Boeckh already in 1820 and was presented in Boeckh 1828-1877, I, no. 16.



created by his preface,<sup>11</sup> the inscription was misread and misunderstood by Brøndsted. The inscription reads: *Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans [dedicated the helmet to Zeus as spoil taken] from the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) at Kyme (Cumae)*. Hieron had broken the sea power of the Etruscans in a naval battle off the coast of Kyme and thereby their influence in Campania. Brøndsted, misdating the campaigns of Hieron I in Southern Italy by about 30 years, understood the reference to the Tyrrhenians as a reference to the pan-Hellenic colony of Thourioi founded in 444/3 BC. The misinterpretation of the inscription is rather strange considering that Brøndsted had been lecturing in Copenhagen on these very same events with correct chronology only a few years previously.<sup>12</sup> However, the study was apparently well received at the time. Also by the numismatist Domenico Sestini, though the scholar rejected Brøndsted's interpretation of the coin he had acquired in Cefalù, and which he had assigned to the reign of Hieron as part of his arguments, even though the coin was Roman, as shown by Sestini.<sup>13</sup>

### The journey to Sicily

During his sojourn in Naples in 1820, Brøndsted had understood the desirability of including a survey of Sicilian antiquities in his *Voyages dans la Grèce*. Such an investigation was ambitious considering the great number of archaeological sites and the outstanding monuments known in the island. Brøndsted cannot have been ignorant of this. Although Sicily had not yet in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century become an established goal for

northern European travellers, the island had from the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century been visited by numerous learned travellers, of whom several had published scholarly accounts of the Greek cities and their monuments, with catalogues also of the contents of museums in Syracuse and Catania.<sup>14</sup> Antiquarian and archaeological research had since the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century flourished in the milieu of brilliant Sicilian scholars, above all members of the nobility, resulting not only in a plethora of publications, but also in antiquarian legislation aimed at protection of ancient monuments, archaeological sites and the establishment of public and private museums.<sup>15</sup> Learned academies and libraries, long established in Catania and Palermo, were well used by visiting scholars, as also by Brøndsted.

Brøndsted's library<sup>16</sup> contained at least: Biscari 1817, Kephralides 1818 and Swinburne 1783-1785, but Brøndsted had undoubtedly prepared his trip by reading also Münter 1788-1790. He often cites Münter in his lectures (together with Clüver, de Saint Non and others (see above)), and in the letters written during his journey.

Scholarly research was undoubtedly the main objective of Brøndsted's journey to Sicily, but he also had another agenda. One of his arguments in the requests for permission to go to Sicily, forwarded to the Privy Councillor Niels Rosenkrantz and to Prince Christian Frederik, was the task entrusted him in 1818 by Adam Wilhelm Hauch, the director of the Royal Collections, and by Christian Ramus, the curator of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen, to acquire coins.<sup>17</sup> Brøndsted

11. See the article by Otto Schepelern in this publication.

12. Brøndsted 1844b, 67 (Kyme), 103 (Thourioi).

13. Sestini, in fact, asked for more copies to be forwarded to him in Florence after receiving a copy of the treatise: KB, NKS, 1546.2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge, no. 365-368. Sestini's good contacts with Danish scholars apart from Brøndsted included F. Münter and Prince Christian Frederik, see Kromann 1991. For Sestini as scholar see Salmeri 2001b.

14. For the period and the foreign travellers in Sicily see the surveys by Tuzet 1955 and Cometa 1999.

15. G. Salmeri, A.L. D'Agata and A.M. Iozzia in Iachello 1998; Fischer-Hansen 2001; Salmeri 2001a; idem 2001b, esp. 19-42. A

recent survey of the early history of museums in Sicily is found in Abbate 2001.

16. Due to Brøndsted's strained financial circumstances several of his books came into the possession of Bertel Thorvaldsen, and are therefore now to be found in Thorvaldsen's library in The Thorvaldsen Museum

17. From the letters to Brøndsted from Ramus (the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September and the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1818, KB, NKS, 1546.2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge), we gather that it was Brøndsted who had offered to undertake commissions for the Coin Cabinet, rather than an assignment prescribed to him – as he seems to imply in his letters to Rosenkrantz and Christian Frederik.





Fig. 2: Early 19<sup>th</sup> century map of Sicily. The full-drawn line show Brøndsted's journey May-July 1820, the broken line his later, planned, but not carried through, itinerary.

feared that this task was threatened by the coin-buying trip to Sicily planned by the Comte de Forbin, “director of the Paris-Museum”, who – “also at Royal French expense prepares himself for a journey to Sicily this spring ... and therefore will have bought all of the best

of this type of monument which can be found in that restricted Island ... a good harvest will hardly be possible if the chevalier Forbin with his compagnons have searched through all the secret coin compartments of the Island.”<sup>18</sup> The correspondence with the authorities

18. Letter to Prince Christian Frederik from Brøndsted, Naples the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1820, “Sildigere frygter jeg at Pariser Museés Director Chev. Forbin som reder sig til en Rejse i Sicilien for Kongel. fransk Regning i dette Foraar vil have opkjøbt det Allerbedste af dette slags Monumenter som [paa] hiin classiske men indskrænkede Ö ere at findes. ikkun naar jeg nu snart benyt-

tede de Anbefalinger, som især Hertugen af Berwick (le Duc d’Alba) hvem jeg her har lært at kjende, er saa god at give mig, kunde jeg næsten være vis paa en god Höst. Hvilket næppe blev Tilfældet naar Chev. Forbin og hans Compagnons nyeligen have gennemledt et hvert myntgjemme paa den hele Ö.”



in Copenhagen reveals the weight of the rather comprehensive duties, which Brøndsted felt rested upon his shoulders even before he had set foot on the island – which he did in Syracuse!

However, this was far from the usual city of arrival for travellers from the North, who would normally arrive at Palermo from Naples. The most famous of Palermitan arrivals, was that of Goethe Monday afternoon 3 o'clock, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1787 – “Die Stadt gegen Norden gekehrt, am Fuß hoher Berge liegend; über ihr, der Tageszeit gemäß, die Sonne herüberscheinend. Die klaren Schattenseiten aller Gebäude sahen uns an, vom Widerschein erleuchtet. Monte Pellegrino rechts, seine zierlichen Formen im vollkommensten Lichte, links das weit hingestreckte Ufer mit Buchten, Landzungen und Vorgebirgen. Was ferner eine allerliebste Wirkung hervorbrachte, war das junge Grün zierlicher Bäume, deren Gipfel, von hinten erleuchtet, wie große Massen vegetabilischer Johanniswürmer vor den dunkeln Gebäuden hin und wieder wogten. Ein klarer Duft blaute alle Schatten. ... Durch die wunderbare, aus zwei ungeheuern Pfeilern bestehende Pforte, die oben nicht geschlossen sein darf, damit der turmhohe Wagen der heiligen Rosalia an dem berühmten Feste durchfahren könne, führte uns in die Stadt und sogleich links in einen großen Gasthof.”<sup>19</sup> – which could hardly find a more brilliant contrast to that of Brøndsted’s sulking imprisonment on a boat in the harbour of Syracuse. Though, as we shall see, he later had his taste of Palermitan experiences.

### Brøndsted’s arrival in Syracuse

After attending to the problems concerning his collection of marble sculptures in Valetta on Malta,<sup>20</sup> Brøndsted set sail for Syracuse on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May 1820. With him on this journey was Henry Lawes Long whom he had met on Corfu and who had accompanied him to Malta. Henry Long of Farnham Lodge, Surrey, had undertaken his Grand Tour in July 1818 travelling through Switzerland to Italy, where he visited Lord Byron in Bologna. After sojourns in Florence, Venice, Rome and Naples he chose the by then prevalent route to Greece from Italy crossing from Otranto to the Ionian Islands in December 1819.<sup>21</sup>

On their arrival in Syracuse the two travellers were constrained to remain on board the ship for 13 days due to quarantine measures. The circumstances were unpleasant, and Brøndsted wrote a number of unhappy letters to the local authorities, invoking also his friendship with the Duke of Berwick (duc d’Alba).<sup>22</sup> However, these were of little avail as the measures were imposed by the “supremo magistrato di salute” on the authority of His Majesty.<sup>23</sup> Apparently Brøndsted and Long were also reproached for leaving the ship for swims in the harbour. However, from Henry Long’s Syracusan dissertation (see below), we know that at least on one occasion permission was given to leave the ship, in the words of Long – “Every morning during our tedious quarantine we gazed up on the two remaining columns of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which stand at no great distance from the sea, on the right, south of the Anapus, and on one occasion while our boats’ crew were taking in water, we were permitted throu’ the courtesy of our guardians, to land and

19. Goethe 1952, 214f., Palermo, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1787.

20. See the article by John Lund in this publication.

21. The main stages of Henry Long’s Grand Tour and the friendships established on the journey, also of that with Brøndsted, is accounted for by Howard 1925, 420-424. The biography of Brøndsted given by Howard, *loc. cit.* is apparently based upon an obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for August 1842.

22. Fitz-James-Stuart, 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Berwick, Duque de Alba de Tormes, of Jacobite descent and Spanish nobility, whom Brøndsted had met in Naples.

23. KB, NKS, 1546.2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge,

no. 427-428. The imposing of health quarantines (*cautela sanitaria*) at border crossings, especially in the case of arrivals from Greece, was widely practised at the time and had already been experienced by Brøndsted in Otranto on his way back from Greece in 1813 – though here in more congenial circumstances, as he was allowed to stay in the local convent. The measures were not popular with Brøndsted, as they also prevented him from undertaking a short visit to the Liparian Islands, during his stay at Milazzo (ancient Mylai). But, as he himself points out, one of the great calamities of Messina had been the plague of 1743.



Fig. 3: Plan of the major districts of ancient Syracuse.

examine the position of the ancient temple. During the last century 7 columns were said to have been standing of this edifice – 5 of these have utterly disappeared, the remaining pair are so much mutilated and disfigured, that were it not for the most ancient sanctity & celebrity they would be approached without interest.”

The time spent on board, and perhaps explorations undertaken during the illegal swim, gave Brøndsted the opportunity for reflections on the topography of the harbour – “... The southern of the city’s two harbours, the Great Harbour, is still today the same, grandiose harbour as in Antiquity, probably one of Europe’s most beautiful docks. This wonderful harbour, which I suppose I ought to know well after 13 days quarantine on

board ship, is oval in form and somewhat over one Danish mile in circumference. It is a fallacy among modern travellers, as for instance our Münter [professor, later Bishop Frederik Münter], professor Kephallides, and others, that this harbour so famous in Antiquity, should have become shallow and useless for larger boats owing to sedimentation. In the year 1798 Lord Nelson was at anchor here twice – when he sailed to Egypt looking for the French fleet, and again after he had been victorious at Abukir and returned with the captured French ships. And recently, that is in the year 1818, the North Americans have seriously attempted to move the King of the Two Sicilies to relinquish the harbour to their government for use as a station for their ships in the Mediterranean, in return for quite a substantial duty. The deal was obstructed by the English government in all confidentiality.”<sup>24</sup>

Finally Brøndsted and Long were allowed on land, with opportunities for antiquarian excursions – “The ruins of ancient Syracuse consist probably of Sicily’s most extraordinary monuments; the elevated and beautiful terrain, which took up this enormous city<sup>25</sup> is the most extensive of any Greek city I have seen. Even the walls of ancient Athens have a much smaller extent than those of Syracuse. However, the comparison between the ancient and modern culture, which will be apparent to everyone from these ruins, is not gratifying. Everywhere one walks on the remains of buildings of the ancient state, which inside the walls housed 1,200,000 people, that is a population nearly as large as all of Sicily today. Thucycides, among the ancient

24. Letter to Niels Rosenkrantz from Brøndsted, Palermo the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1820, indberetning nr. 18, “Derimod er den sydligste af Stadens tvende Havne, den store, endnu stedse den samme grandiose Golf som i Oldtiden; vistnok et af Europas skjønneste Havnebassins. Denne skjønne Havn som jeg vel, efter 13 dages Quarantine paa Skibet, maa have lært at kjende, er af ovalrund Form og har noget over en dansk Miil i Omkreds. Det er ligefrem en Vildfarelse af moderne Rejsende som f:ex af vor Münter, af Prof. Kefalides og andre, at denne i Oldtiden berømte Havn ved Sandskud og Opdyngning fra Havet, skulle være bleven lavgrundet og ubrugelig for store Skibe. I Aaret 1798 laae Lord Nelson her for Anker med sin hele Flaade tvende Gange; da han drog til Ægypten for at opsøge den franske Flaade, og da

han igjen, efter vundet Slag ved Abukir, kom tilbage med de erobrede franske Skibe; og nyeligen – det var i Aaret 1818 – bestræbte den Nordamericanske Regjæring sig alvorligen for at bevæge Kongen af Sicilierne til at afstaae den, imod betydelig Afgift, denne havn som Station for deres Skibe i Middelhavet, en Forhandling som vel holdtes hemmelig, men som dog under Haanden forhindrede af det Engelske Gouvenement.”

25. Here Brøndsted is obviously under the misconception ruling at the time, that the ancient city of Syracuse comprised also the vast upper plateau of Epipolai. However Epipolai was never part of the habitation quarter of the city, as clarified in Fabricius 1932.





Fig. 4: Syracuse in a painting by Philip Hackert 1793. View of Ortygia from the upper city. Caserta, Royal Palace.

writers, has an account in his Histories, Books 6 and 7, of the Athenians' strenuous and unfortunate expedition against Syracuse during the Peloponnesian War – the best guide to the localities of Syracuse. The most interesting of these still extant are: the temple of Minerva on the island of Ortygia (which is now turned into the main cathedral of modern Syracuse), and in the quarters of the upper town: the theatre, the amphitheatre, the extensive and very picturesque quarries (latomies)

26. Letter to Niels Rosenkrantz from Brøndsted, Palermo the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1820, indberetning nr. 18, "Det gamle Syracusa Ruiner afgive vist en af Siciliens mærkeligste Gjenstande; det ophøjede og ved sin beliggenhed kjønne Terrain som denne umaadelige Stad har indtaget, er det vidtløftigste jeg hidtil saae af nogen antik græsk By. Selv det gamle Athens mure vige betydeligt Syracusas i Omfang. Men den Sammenligning, som disse Ruiner maae paanøde Enhver, imellem den antike og moderne Kultur, er ikke glædelig. Man vandrer her paa nedstyrkede lemmer af en antik Statsbygning som inden for disse Mure omfattede over 1.2000.000 Mennesker, det eer: en Population næsten saa talrig som hele Siciliens Befolkning nu om tide. Af de gamle Forfattere afgiver Thucydides' Beskrivelse, i hans historiske Værks 6te og 7de Bog, af Atheniernes anstrængte men uheldige Expedition

and several remains of the well built city wall which Dionysios the Elder (according to Diodoros' 14th book) raised in the short span of 20 days with 60.000 men and 12.000 oxen, used for the transport of stone. The modern city of Siracusa, narrowed to the island of Ortygia with a scanty castle and habitation for 16 or 18,000 souls, forms a strange contrast to the stupendous remains of that ancient city."<sup>26</sup>

Henry Long, Brøndsted's travel companion ("a cul-

imod Syracusa i den peloponnesiske Krigs Tid, den bedste Vejledning for Syracusas Localiteter, af hvilke de interessanteste endnu forhaanden ere: Minervatemplet paa Øen Ortygia (hvilket nu er forvandlet til det moderne Siracusas Hovedkirke); og paa de højere Stadsquarterer: Theatret, Amphitheatret, de overordentlig store og maleriske Steenbrud eller Latomier (carrières) og mange Levninger af den fameuse og fortreffelige konstruerede Stadmur som Dionysius den Ældre (i følge Diodor, i 14de Bog af hans Værk) opførte i den korte Periode af 20 Dage med 60000de Arbejdere og 12000 Oxen til Steentransporten. Den moderne Stad Siracusa, indkneben paa Øen Ortygia til en snæver Fæstning og Opholdssted for 16 eller 18,000 Mennesker, stikker underligt af mod hine pragtfulde Levninger af den gamle Stad."

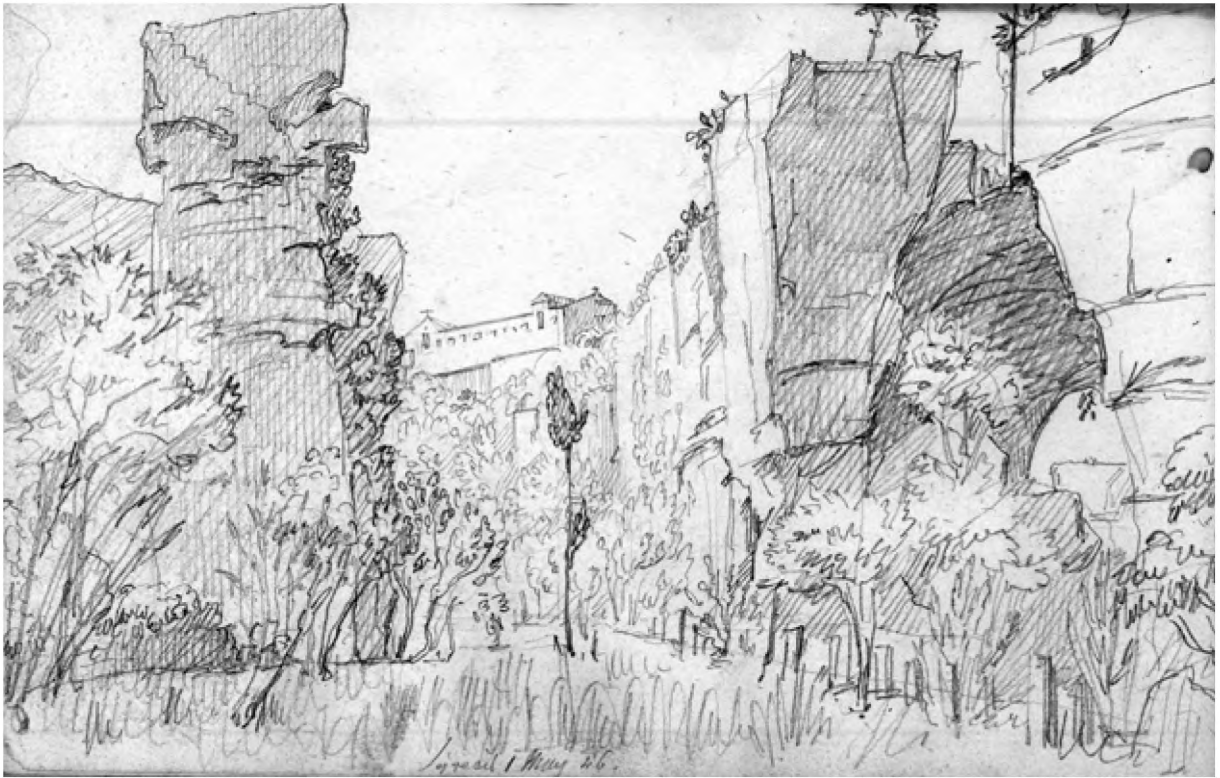


Fig. 5: Syracuse. The quarries, “Latomie”. Drawing by H.W. Bissen 1827. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen, (BZ XVII, 52).

tured and amiable Englishman” – as he is described by Brøndsted), was likewise strongly committed to the historical and topographical problems of Syracuse, as is evident from Long’s correspondence with Brøndsted and with others. The then 25 year old Long used his short stay in Syracuse to undertake a most detailed and comprehensive study of the topography of the city, especially in regard to the description found in Thucydides of the Athenian expedition and siege of Syracuse in 413 BC. It is apparent that Long covered just about every corner of that immense city on his walking tours, and his enthusiasm is unmistakable – “On the first day of this month, one of the finest I ever beheld, we ascended on horseback to Epipolae and following the line of the southern walls, arrived at fort Euryalus, now called Monte Gibellisi, after contemplating the magnificence of the view from this point, I began to exam-

ine that part of the scene which lay more immediately about me. We were standing on what may be termed the citadel of ancient Syracuse, & with the exception of the Capitol at Rome and the acropolis of Athens I know of no spot, which can excite more interest. To the right of Epipolae descended the celebrated walls of Dionysius the Elder; between them, where once stood the finest of ancient cities, waved yellow fields of corn, varied towards the sea with the shade of a few olive trees. The city itself dwindled down to the primitive isle of Ortygia and to a population of 13000 souls, seemed in the words of Swinburne ‘Afloat upon the surface of the waters, guarding the entrance of its noble harbour’. It was a view that could not be contemplated without emotion.”

Long describes and analyses the overall morphology and topography of the city, with the roads and the





Fig. 6: Portrait of Henry Lawes Long. Print. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, (P. 3082-R).

rivers of the hinterland that connected the city south to the ancient city of Helorus and north to Catania (ancient Katane). The famous and infamous localities, some known from the ancient sources – the Euryalos

and Labdalum fortresses, Mount Belvedere, the city walls, the lowland swamps of the Anapus are all analysed in relation to the relevant passages in Thucydides, Diodoros Sikulos, Plutarch and Livius, and modern writers, for instance Clüver, are critically reviewed.

This minor dissertation, comprising 19 closely written foolscap pages, was forwarded by Long to Brøndsted in Palermo in June 1820, with a request for his judicious opinion of it.<sup>27</sup> Brøndsted's response came a year later, while he was still in Naples<sup>28</sup> (after a reminder from Long, back in England) – “I have read your dissertation upon the Athenian expedition against Syracuse with a great deal of interest. Exactly because I understand it will become an excellent opusculum. I would engage you not to publish it in its present *state*. I believe it would become of influence on your dissertation to read Thucydides over still once with that assistance of modern erudition which libraries in so cultivated a country as England easily may supply”.

Apart from this rather unqualified opinion, Brøndsted does refer Long to books on the subject, which he had seen in the library in Palermo.<sup>29</sup> But the response seems to reveal little interest for the problems treated by his young travel companion, and may also show that Brøndsted himself had had little scholarly benefit from his sojourn in Syracuse.

### Catania, Etna, Taormina

After their short stay in Syracuse Brøndsted and Henry Long travelled north to Catania and Etna, and Brøndsted has a fine description<sup>30</sup>: “Catania ... which on se-

27. KB; NKS, 1546.2<sup>o</sup>: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted fra Udlændinge, no. 257. The dissertation formed the basis of a book published in 1854 (*non vidi*) – cited by Howard 1925, 422. Long also corresponded with Colonel Napier (afterwards General Sir Charles), Corfu, in July of 1820 about the antiquities of Syracuse, cf. Howard 1925, 423. An abstract of this correspondence was forwarded also to Brøndsted.

28. KB, NKS; 1578 2<sup>o</sup>: P. O. Brøndsted, Brevkopibog, 1814-1825.

29. Amico 1757-1760; Ortolani 1819.

30. Letter to Niels Rosenkrantz from Brøndsted, Palermo the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1820, indberetning nr. 18, “Catanea ... som flere Gange

baade ældre og nyere Tid ødelagdes af Ætnas Ildstømme og stede igjen hævede sig af sine Ruiner. De fleste antike Monumenter, hvis Udgravning (hidtil ikkun tildeels udført) skyldes især den ældre Prinds Biscaris Talenter og Virksomhed, have været tillokkende, som Herculaneum og Pompeji under Vesuven ... Paa flere Steder, i eller nær ved Catanea, kan man uden at grave dybt, tælle indtil sex Lag af Lava, det ene paa det andet, fra meget forskjellige Perioder. Dog manglede aldrig Indvaanere paa dette smukke men farlige Jordstrøg. ... Det nu blomstrende Catanea er vel saa smuk en By som rimeligvis nogen af de tidligere og undergangne, og den nærværende Generation om-



Fig. 7: Catania with a view towards Etna. Drawing by H.W. Bissen 1827. Private Collection. After: From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, III, 1942, 335, fig. 13.

veral occasions in recent and in earlier times was destroyed by the fire flows of Etna, and which every time raised itself from the ruins. Most of its ancient monuments, the excavation of which (until now only partly carried out) is due to the talents and activities of the older prince Biscari, will have been as alluring as Herculanium and Pompeji under Vesuv. ... On more locations, in and near Catania, one can count up to six layers of lava, the one upon the other from different periods. But even so there have always been inhabitants on this beautiful but dangerous land. ... The now blooming Catania is I think as beautiful a city as in all likeli-

hood any of the previous and ruined, and the present generation speak of their ancestral destruction not as just another legend in history or epic tradition. One of the most violent lava flows during the later centuries was that of 1669 which found its way to the sea in close proximity to Catania creating enormous terraces! But nature has covered even this continuous fire flow with a crest of earth and with kind greenness, and with, here and there, the most lovely vegetation. ... The rich museum of the Benedictians and that which belongs to prince Biscari are the best collections of ancient monuments now present in Catania, but they are not used

taler Fædrenes Undergang ikkun som ethvert andet Sagn i Historien eller Traditionen. En af de voldsomste Lavastrømme som de senere Aarhundreder søgte sin Vej, Catanea tæt forbi, til Havet, er den af 1669 – enormes entassements ! – men selv denne udbrudte Ildstrøm har Naturen for det Meste overklædt med en Jordskorpe og venligt Grønt, hist og her med den yndigste Vegetation. – De rige Benedictineres Museum og det som tilhører Prinds Biscari ere de bedste Samlinger af antike mindesmærker nu forhaanden i Catanea, men de forøges og benyttes ikke tilbørligen. Det første af disse Museer skyldes et Par for-

tjente Mænd af denne Orden i forrige Aarhundrede sin Tilblivelse, men de nuværende yderst bemidlede og alt for vel plejede Brødre synes ikke at have Sands uden for legemlig gode Ting, og hiin ædle Prinds Biscari hvis Skrift “viaggio per le antichità della Sicilia” er den bedste Haandbog jeg kjender, og hvis udmærkede personlige Egenskaber baade Baron Riedesel og Swinburne have rejst et værdigt Minde i deres Skrifter, har en nu levende Sønnesøn som ikkun er Arving af hans Formue, desværre ikke af hans Fortjenester. At kjende vel en Hest er denne unge





Fig. 8: View of Etna with the house of Mario Gemmellaro in the foreground. Acquatinta by G. Reeve 1824 (After: Etna, mito d'Europa, Catania 1997, 129).

and are not enriched properly. The first museum owes its origin in the previous century to a couple of well-deserved members of this order, whereas the present well-to-do and far too well-groomed brothers seem to have inclinations only to the good things of life. And that noble prince Biscari, whose book « *viaggio per le antichità della Sicilia* » is the best handbook I know, and to whose superior character both Baron Riedesel

Patriciers Videnskab og Bestræbelses højeste Formaal.”

31. A somewhat similar opinion, though of nobility in general, is found in Frederik Münter's letter (the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1792) to his Syracusan friend Saverio Landolina [in *Biblioteca Alagoniana, Siracusa*]: “... principi siciliani che, come fanno pres'a poco tutti li principi del mondo, più si curano de' cavalli, cani e donne che di libri e d'antichità.” Although Count de Forbin, Forbin 1823,

and Swinburne have raised a memorial in their writings, has a living grandson, who is only heir to his fortune, sadly not to his merits. To know a horse is apparently this young patrician's scholarship and the highest goal of his endeavour.”<sup>31</sup>

The collection created, primarily, by Prince Ignazio Paternò Castello di Biscari in the family palace in Catania, was one of the most splendid antiquarian col-

158-160, had a higher opinion of the young prince Biscari, he

had a low opinion of the nobility in Catania – “plus de don Basile que de conte Almaviva”. (In all fairness it ought, perhaps, to be pointed out that Brøndsted himself was very partial to horse riding, his favourite sport according to his biographer; he rode often in Copenhagen, and on a riding tour, June 1842, he fell off his horse, sustaining mortal injuries.)

lections in Italy of the time, and a great attraction for visitors in Sicily.<sup>32</sup> It was visited by many travellers from northern Europe already from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; one of the more illustrious guests was Wolfgang Goethe. A catalogue of Biscari's collections had been written by the numismatist Domenico Sestini, and short descriptions of the museum and its ancient sculpture were included in contemporary books about Sicily – also in the *Nachrichten* by Frederik Münter.

Brøndsted mentions a visit to the Biscari collection, and he is appreciative of Ignazio Biscari's antiquarian investigations and of his guide to the antiquities of Sicily, the *Viaggio per tutte le antichità della Sicilia*, but we find no descriptions, no critical evaluations and no scholarly comments.

In fact, Brøndsted mentions no scholarly contacts during his sojourn in the two important cities of Syracuse and Catania. Both cities would have offered him plenty of opportunities to discuss local topographical and archaeological problems with well-informed antiquarians, an opportunity which had been so richly rewarding for Frederik Münter 30 years earlier.<sup>33</sup>

But Etna impressed Brøndsted. After 10 hours, at times very hard walking, the highest part of the crater was reached – "... However, one can, apart from some difficult places, ride both the wood belt and the snow belt, right to the hut, most welcome for the exhausted traveller, which was put up at the foot of the highest part of the mountain and only one hour south of the crater itself. This house, which is perhaps the highest situated in Europe, is called *casa di Gemmellaro* after

the worthy and very knowledgeable *Mario Gemmellaro* (who lives in Nicolesi a sizeable village on the southern slope of Etna), who after many investigations knows this volcano better perhaps than any living being.<sup>34</sup> ... It is really profitable to take pains climbing this enormous chasm of fire, against which the Vesuvius is just a hill, and about which there has not been said too much, neither by ancestral nor living writers. I believe that the pinnacle of this mountain, seen at dawn on a cloudless sky, affords one of our globe's most imposing scenes. The first object which above all astonishes at sunrise, is the shadow cast by the 10,000 feet high mountainous height, at first seen as an enormous cone that rests with its point in the western Horizon, for subsequently to change form, as it shortens and rises, in accordance with the rise in the East of that mighty star that governs the surface of Etna, of the globe, and of so many other planets. The *second* object, which no less astonishes, is the enormous extent of the horizon, since two-thirds of this island, all the Liparian Islands, nearly all of Calabria and the extensive sea lie unfolded as on a map at the foot of the spectator. The volcano threw forth on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June columns of sulphurous smoke from the upper and largest crater and from numerous lower fire chasms, of which that opened last year, about 3 miles south east of the large crater, is at the present time the most interesting eruption point. If Etna is wondrous as a grandiose, natural phenomenon, the ancient theatre of Taormina, a day's journey northwards in the most enchanting location, offers a precious and noble delight, though of a wholly different kind. All of the coast road, from Jaci,

32. Pafumi 2006.

33. However, Brøndsted did pay a visit to Mario Landolina, the son of the deceased, prominent Syracusan antiquarian Saverio Landolina. This visit, and that of a number of other Danes in the

early 1820s, is mentioned by Mario Landolina in a letter to Frederik Münter, KB, NKS, 1698, 2°, IX.

34. For Mario Gemmellaro, his Etnean research and the house 3.000 m. above sea level see Salmeri 1997, 129-130.



past Taormina to Messina passes through a truly paradisiac country".<sup>35</sup>

Brøndsted found little of antiquarian interest in Messina, though he admired several splendid paintings of the Sicilian masters in private dwellings and churches, and after a brief sojourn he continued along the north coast of Sicily on foot and horseback, now on his own as Henry Long travelled to Naples from Messina. It was a difficult journey; as Brøndsted points out, none of the travellers, whose books he has read, Riedesel, Swinburne and Münter, had undertaken this route to Messina "... after carrying out what I had intended I travelled to Faro and Monte Peloro, the north eastern mountainous coast of Sicily, and further on to Milazzo, St Stephano, Tusa, Cefalù, Termine, etc. It is most strange that none of the modern travellers pass by

this singularly beautiful part of Sicily; however, the terrible state of the mountain road and the dangers of the numerous mountain streams, especially during winter and spring, about which the inhabitants have so many narratives, frighten off strangers. Although I had the use of a horse from morning till evening, I had to spend 6 days on this road, including the excursions I undertook to the interesting ruins of the old cities Tyndaris,<sup>36</sup> Alosa<sup>37</sup> and Soluntum.<sup>38</sup> I had also planned to make an excursion from Milazzo<sup>39</sup> to the Liparian (previously the Aiolian) Island, but was prevented in this by the tiresome circumstance that recently a quarantine of 7 days is prescribed for anyone arriving from these islands to Sicily ..."<sup>40</sup>

The route was arduous, not least the crossing of several rivers and torrents causing great difficulties, and

35. Letter to Niels Rosenkrantz from Brøndsted, Palermo the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1820, indberetning nr. 18, "Man kan imidlertid – enkelte meget slemme Steder undtagne – tilhøst bestige baade Skovregionen og Sneregionen, lige indtil den, for den udmattede yderst velkomne Hytte som for faa Aar siden blev Bygt ved selve den överste Bjergkoppes Fod og ikkun een Times sydlig for den store Crater. Man benævner dette Huus, som maaske er det højst beliggende i Europa, *casa di Gemmellaro* efter den brave og meget kyndige *Mario Gemmellaro* (som boer i Nicolesi en anseelig Landsby paa Ætnas sydlige Afhang) som efter mange Aars undersøgelser kjender denne Vulcan bedre maaske end noget andet nulevende Menneske, ... Men det lønner tilvisse umagen at bestige dette enorme Ildsvælg, imod hvilket Vesuven ikkun er at anse som en Høj, og om hvilket ikke er sagt for meget hverken af Forfædrene eller af nogen nulevende Forfatter. Jeg mener vist at dette Bjergs Tinde, seet ved Solens Opgang paa skyfri Himmel, frembyder et af vor Jords meest imponante Skuespil. Den første Gjendstand som ved Solens Opgang især overrasker er det, 10.000 Fod over Havet ophøjede Bjergs *egen Skygge*, der først som en uhyrlig Kegel hviler med sin Spids i den vestlige Horizont og siden forandrer Skikkelse, forkorter og hæver sig, eftersom hiin mægtie Stjerne, der behersker Ætnas som hele Jordens og saa mange andre Planeters Overflade, hæver sig paa den östlige Himmel. Den *anden* Gjendstand som ej mindre forbavser, er Synkredsens umaadelige Omfang, da to Trediedele af denne store Ø, alle de Lipariske Øer, fast hele Calabrien og det vidtstrakte Hav ligger udbredt som et Kaart for den Beskuendes Fod. Vulcanen selv udkastede den 7de Junij ikkun Kolonner af Svolvrög fra den störste överste Crater iidelig, og nu og da fra de mangfoldigere lavere Ildsvælg, af hvilke den Munding som Vulcanen aabnede sig i fjor, omtrent 3

Miglier sydöstlig for den store Crater, er en af for nærværende Tid interessanteste Eruptionspunkter. Er Ætna herlig som grandióst Naturphænomen, da afgiver vist ogsaa gamle *Taormenias* [Taormina] antik-græske Theater, en Dagrejse nordligere, i den meest fortryllende Beliggenhed, høj og ædel Nydelse, skjönt af ganske forskjellig Art. Hele Kystvejen fra Jassy [Jaci Reale] af, over Taormenia, indtil Messina gaaer igjennem et i Sandhed paradisisk Land."

36. A Greek colony situated on the coast.

37. Alaisa, a little known ancient settlement near Tusa. It minted coins and was probably therefore known to Brøndsted.

38. A Phoenician colony near Palermo.

39. The Greek colony of Mylai.

40. Letter to Niels Rosenkrantz from Brøndsted, Palermo the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1820, indberetning nr. 18, "Efter at have udfört Hvad jeg her havde foresat mig at udrette, gik jeg til Faro og Monte Peloro (Siciliens nordöstlige Kystbjerger) og siden videre over Milazzo, St. Stephano, Tusa, Cefalu, Termini, etc, det er: den nordlige Kystvej hid til Palermo. Det er höjst besynderligt at slet Ingen af de moderne Rejsende besøger denne overordentlige skjønne Deel af Sicilien; men Bjergvejenes horrible Tilstand og de de hyppige Bjergströmmes Farlighed, især om Vinteren og Foraaret, hvorom Indvaanerne fortælle saa meget, afskrækkede de Fremmede. Skjönt til Hest fra Morgen til Aften, maatte jeg dog henbringe 6 Dage paa denne Vej, iberegne de Udflugter jeg foretog til de mærkelige Ruiner af de gamle Byer Tyndaris, Alosa og Soluntum. Jeg havde ogsaa foresat mig at gjöre en Udflugt fra Milazzo til de Lipariske (fordum Æoliske) Øer, men hindredes heri ved den fatale Omstændighed at paa senere Tid en Quarantaine af 7 Dage er befalet for Enhver som kommer fra disse Øer til Sicilien."

Brøndsted begs that – “those of His Sicilian Majesty’s ministers who are responsible for roads should, ‘point de tout, mal culottes’, be pulled over a couple of the worst fiumare – as warning and instruction – because I believe yet, notwithstanding all respect for Kant and his philosophy, that the conviction *a posteriori* at times is most beneficial.”<sup>41</sup>

Although the main routes joining the larger cities were often practicable for coaches and carriages, some roads, even between larger cities, were still in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the so-called *trazzere* (*tratturi*), primitive country roads not suitable for carriage-traffic. Most sections of the routes joining Messina and Palermo, both the inland and the coastal routes, consisted of such *trazzere*.<sup>42</sup> Johann Gotfried Seume also used this northern route on his walking tour of 1802, but he was a very experienced traveller having walked all the way to Sicily from Leipzig, as recounted in his renowned *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802*. But even he found this trip the most laborious of his tour in Sicily, though, as he writes, it held its rewards. The difficulties, the strenuous mountain climbs, the dangerous crossings of swollen and rapid river torrents, the unhappy and complaining mule guides, and the wondrous landscapes, described so vividly in his book,<sup>43</sup> were experiences that were no different to those of Brøndsted 20 years later.

We are told in Brøndsted’s letters to Prince Christian Frederik and to Henry Long, that he took the trouble to look for other ancient sites, for instance Kale Akte, a Sikel, non-Greek settlement, which at the time had not been identified, but which he knew of from Herodotos

or Diodoros Sikulos, and Himera, the last Greek colony on the north coast near Termini, bordering on Phoenician territory. The ancient sites in this part of Sicily had, with a few exceptions,<sup>44</sup> not been described in any detail in scholarly works of the time, and it would have been most interesting to have had observations from the hand of Brøndsted. There can be little doubt that he had ambitions to investigate and analyse, as we gather from a letter to Henry Long,<sup>45</sup> where he enumerated the cities he had visited – “... Soluntum which I examined very well, are even of importance in ancient topography and history of this beautiful country.” The sites were undoubtedly investigated and not passed by, but unfortunately we have no notes or descriptions from his hand. On his journey lay also the splendid town of Cefalù, the site of ancient Kephaloí-dion, a little known Greek settlement of unknown status, but with a very interesting coinage. In the same letter to Long Brøndsted mentions that he made an acquisition here of 400 coins, which he later ceded to Prince Christian Frederik.

## Palermo

After a few days stay in Palermo it was the intention of Brøndsted to travel south and west, and to the central parts of Sicily, to continue his study tour of modern and ancient sites – Calatafimi, Segesta,<sup>46</sup> Trapani, Eryx,<sup>47</sup> Marsala, Mazzara, Selinunte,<sup>48</sup> Girgenti<sup>49</sup>, and from here across central Sicily to Enna,<sup>50</sup> with the intention of finally returning to Syracuse, where he wanted to undertake further archaeological studies, be-

41. Letter to Prince Christian Frederik from Brøndsted, Palermo the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1820, “at et Par af h-s Sicilianske Majesæts Ministre som have Vejvæsenet under Opsigt, maatte point de tous, ou mal culotte’s, blive trukne over et Par af de værste Fiumarer – til Advarsel og Belærelse – thi jeg troer endnu, uagtet af Respect for Kant og hans *Philosophie*, at Overbevisning *a posteriori* stundom er meget gavnlig.”

42. For the Sicilian road system of the time and its negotiability see Santagatti 2006, esp. 11-12, n. 4.

43. Seume 1805, 271-279.

44. For instance Torremuzza 1753.

45. KB, NKS, 1578 2<sup>o</sup>: P. O. Brøndsted, Brevkopibog, 1814-1825.

46. Elymian city with a singularly well preserved Doric temple.

47. Elymian city on the coast near Trapani with a famous temple of Aphrodite.

48. Selinous, Greek colony on the south coast with extensive urban remains.

49. Akragas, Greek colony on the south coast with extensive urban remains.

50. Greek / Sikel town in central Sicily.





Fig. 9: View towards Palermo and Monte Pellegrino. Drawing by H.W. Bissen 1827. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen, (BZ XVII, 31).

fore returning to Messina, via Modica, Noto<sup>51</sup> and Bronte,<sup>52</sup> setting sail from Messina to Naples.

Brøndsted prepared himself for the journey by frequenting the libraries of the city – “... this city has undoubtedly far greater scholarly resources than any other Sicilian town. The botanical garden and the astronomical observatory are fine establishments. The two libraries: that of the Jesuit College and that of the Senate, though not very rich, are indeed very serviceable; and a couple of miles from the city the splendid library and museum in the magnificent Benedictian monastery offers very helpful resources. I have never

seen a more beautiful, healthier or cleaner convent than St Martino. Though, as everything in life, it [San Martino] has its sunshine and its shadow, such is the situation here also ...”<sup>53</sup> Brøndsted has a digression about the lonely and futile life of the large number of sons of nobility in the convent. He finds their intellectual life wasted, which, with the economic costs (the yearly income of the convent is estimated at 80,000 piasters), is detrimental to the progress of the country. The splendour of San Martino had been described by Frederik Münter 30 years before. The convent, or rather magnificent palace, intended for sons of nobility

51. Historic baroque city near Syracuse.

52. Small town on the western slope of Etna, the seat of the duchy and domain given to Lord Horatio Nelson by the grateful Ferdinand III in 1799.

53. Letter to Niels Rosenkrantz from Brøndsted, Palermo the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1820, indberetning nr. 18, “Ogsaa har denne Stad unægteligen langt større videnskabelige Ressourcer end nogen anden Siciliansk By. Den botaniske Have og det astronomiske

Observatorium ere gode Indretninger. De tvende Biblioteker : Jesuitercollegiets og Senatets ere vel ikke særdeles rige men dog meget brugbare; og et Par Miil fra Staden tilbyder det prægtige Benedictinerkloster St Martino's skjønne Bibliotek og Museum meget gode Hjælpemidler. jeg har aldrig seet en skjønnere, sundere og reenligere Klosterbygning end St Martino. Men som enhver Ting i Livet ikke allene har sit Lys men og sin Skygge, saa gaar det ogsaa her”.

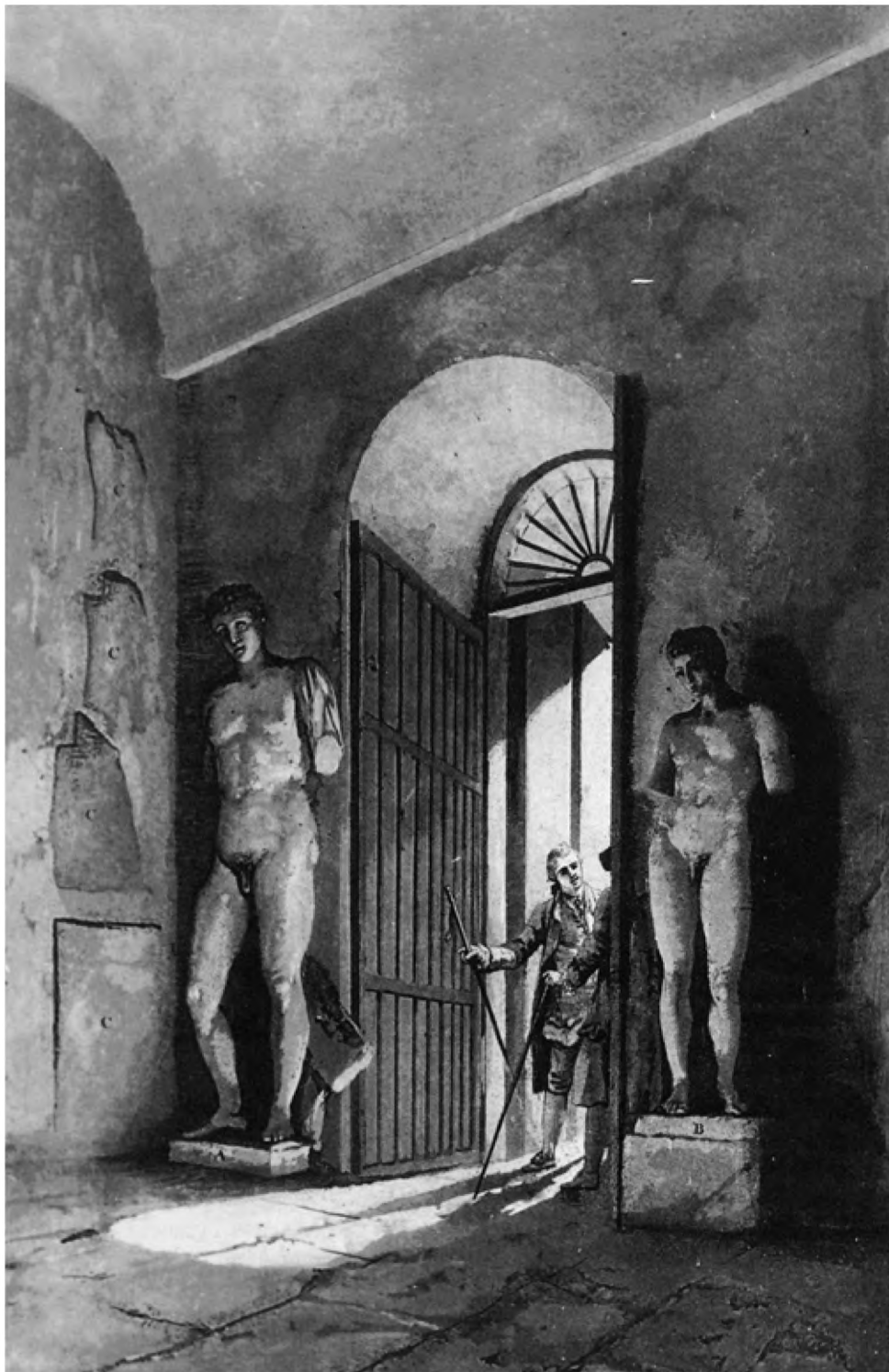


Fig. 10: Ancient sculpture in the courtyard of the Senate (Palazzo Senatorio), Palermo. Drawing by Jean Houel 1782.



destined for the monastic order, was not yet completed when visited by Münter, who suggested that another 30 years were needed to finish the structure, but we are not told whether it was completed when visited by Brøndsted. The contents of the museum, with its “Sicilian vases with Greek drawings” and its coin collection “in disarray”, were described by Münter, who also acknowledged the merits of the learned antiquarian, and prior of the convent, Salvatore Di Blasi.<sup>54</sup> However, Brøndsted has no antiquarian deliberations in regard to his visit.

Since the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Palermo had been the centre of thriving antiquarian studies and had fostered for instance G. Lancilotto Castelli, Prince of Torremuza who on a scholarly basis had laid the groundwork of Sicilian numismatics, epigraphy and topography, S. Di Blasi, widely recognised for his Sicilian vase studies, and V. Amico e Statella the topographer, whose works *were* consulted by Brøndsted during his stay, as mentioned in his letter to Long (see above). The academies of the city had contacts with several of the more renowned academies of Europe, for instance that of Göttingen. At the time of Brøndsted’s visit new currents and initiatives were in the melting pot – there were archaeological investigations at Selinous and at Akragas (Girgenti), the archaeological museum in Palermo was soon to be inaugurated, and the German architect Jakob Ignaz Hittorf was soon to lay forth his seminal studies of the painted elements in Greek architecture.

Had the times been more fortunate for Brøndsted, he would, at least, have had the opportunity to profit from these currents of enlightenment, and perhaps even to have presented us with a study of Sicilian antiquities, which could have been not only an updated version of Münter’s *Nachrichten* but also an improvement. Brøndsted had, after all, the advantage of his experiences in Greece, with an insight into its ancient sites and monuments, which Münter had not had, and which, in fact, most of the Sicilian antiquarians at the

time had not either. But the sojourn in Palermo – and as a consequence the stay in Sicily – was sadly interrupted by the Palermo revolt of July 1820. The account of it given by Brøndsted in his letters to Lord Guildford, his friend Johan Gunder Adler, to Prince Christian Frederik and, above all, to the Privy Councillor Niels Rosencrantz are very readable, interesting and informative, they are vivid studies of a city in total disarray, if not dissolution. But this chapter of Brøndsted’s Sicilian journey cannot be treated here.<sup>55</sup>

## Epilogue

Although Brøndsted had broken off his visit to Sicily, he became involved in the affairs of the island shortly after his return to Napoli. Brøndsted had the year before met the young Danish architect Simon Christian Pontoppidan in Rome. Pontoppidan, a pupil of the Danish architect C.F. Hansen, had won the Academy gold medal in 1819 and had been the travel companion of Thorvaldsen during the artist’s return journey to Rome in 1820. After the obligatory studies in Rome he planned to continue his architectural studies in Sicily, and in this project he was strongly supported by Brøndsted. Apart from recommending the young architect in his letters to Prince Christian Frederik, Brøndsted gave him access to his private library, where Pontoppidan copied plans of Girgenti and Syracuse and drawings of Sicilian monuments. With the help of Brøndsted he was therefore well prepared for his tour in Sicily, where he carried out a number of measured elevations of theatres and temples. Tragically, Pontoppidan became ill during his sojourn in Sicily and died of fever in Naples the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 1822. Brøndsted had to undertake the sad task of returning his belongings, including the architectural drawings, to Copenhagen, where they today rest in the library of the Royal Academy.<sup>56</sup>

At Girgenti, Pontoppidan drew a reconstruction of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC temple of Zeus, the Olym-

54. Münter 1790, 209-212; for the history of the San Martino museum and the contributions by Salvatore Di Blasi see Abbate 2001, 165-176.

55. Cf. O.C. Schepelern and J. Isager in this book.

56. Fischer-Hansen 1990, 177-185; cf. Weilbach, VI, 455.

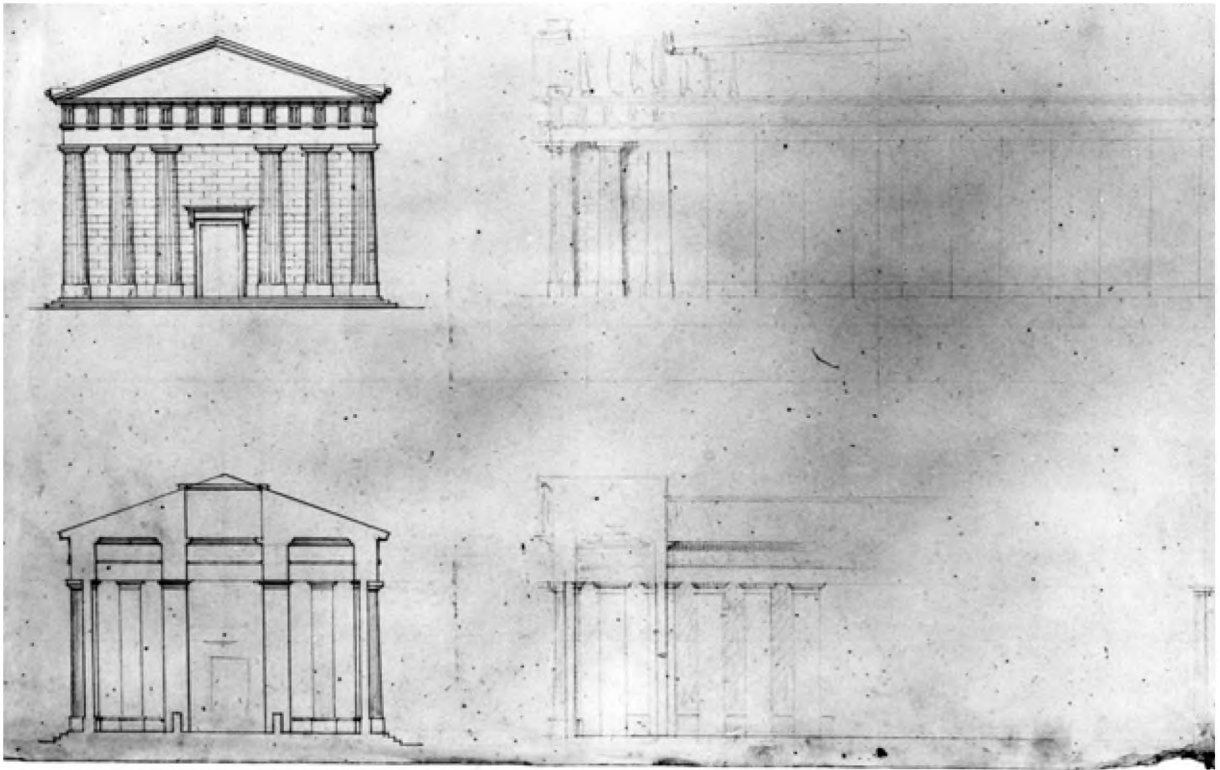


Fig. 11: Simon Christian Pontoppidan. Reconstruction of the Olympieion in Akragas. Royal Academy, Collection of Architectural Drawings. Copenhagen, (A3890A).

pieion. The ruins of the famous and enigmatic structure had at the time roused a marked interest and numerous controversies. Its structural parts are known from ancient sources,<sup>57</sup> and, as borne out also by its remains, it was an enormous structure with several unusual features, among these probably a cella open to the sky. A number of scholars had in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century attempted reconstructions on the basis of the ruin itself and the ancient texts – for instance Winckelmann (without ever visiting Sicily), the Austrian Baron Haus on the basis of new investigations, the Girgentian scholar Raffaello Politi, the German ar-

chitect Leo von Klenze, who made an architectural study tour of the island in 1823, and – above all of special interest to Brøndsted – Charles Robert Cockerell, his friend and travel companion in Greece, who presented him with his monograph on the temple, *The Temple of Jupiter Olympius* 1830<sup>58</sup>, with the dedication:

*London Jan 9. 1831*

*From the author*

*To his excellent Friend and Fellow  
Traveller the Chevalier Brøndsted.*

57. Diodoros Sikulos 13.82.1-4; Polybios 9.27.9.

58. Cockerell 1830, the volume is in KB.



We know that Raffaello Politi corresponded with Brøndsted, and that he sent him books, but this correspondence seems to have been lost. Brøndsted probably followed these controversies concerning the reconstruction of the Olympieion in Akragas closely because he knew Cockerell so well.

Brøndsted did keep up an interest in Sicilian archaeology, as is apparent from his acquisition in Paris in

1828 of Hermann Reinganum's *Selinus und sein Gebiet*, 1827.<sup>59</sup> But the 1820s were above all the years when a new generation of Danish art historians and artists, such as N.L. Høyen and J.M. Thiele, and H.E. Freund and H.W. Bissen, the two latter with their German fellow travellers August Kopisch, Carl Rottman and Ernst Meyer, had Sicily with its ancient cities as their destination and inspiration.<sup>60</sup>

59. Now in KB.

60. For the great number of Danish artists and architects, who visited Sicily in the years 1820-1830s see Christensen 1973.

# P.O. Brøndsted as Royal Danish court agent in Rome

by *Otto Christian Schepelern*

The world wishes to be fooled ...

The aim of this paper is to point out the extent of myths and misunderstandings concerning the so-called diplomatic career of Peter Oluf Brøndsted (fig. 1). My background is 36 years in the Danish Foreign Service working in Copenhagen and abroad at various embassies. Therefore the scope of the following contribution is not Brøndsted seen as a scholar, but assessed professionally as a diplomat.<sup>1</sup> It is well known that both Brøndsted and posterity considered that the Danish Foreign Service took advantage of or even exploited him. As the following will demonstrate, it was rather the other way around.<sup>2</sup>

To understand Brøndsted's diplomatic intermezzo it will be necessary to give an outline of his Danish and European environment.

*The expression 'Denmark':* When I use the terms 'Denmark' and 'Danish' I refer to the monarchy ruled by the King of Denmark in Brøndsted's time. I thus include the mainly German-speaking duchies of Slesvig, Holstein and Lauenburg, the richest and most developed parts of the King's possessions. Altona was the second city next to the capital of Copenhagen, and the constant influx of German know-how, capital and ideas was essential to the monarchy. To a certain extent

Norway had counterbalanced the German parts of the monarchy, but after the loss of that kingdom in 1814 the importance of the three duchies – of which Holstein and Lauenburg were members of the German Confederation – became even stronger.

*The political environment:* In theory Denmark was perhaps the most absolutist and autocratic state of Europe, with no popular representation. A public debate existed but in a submissive and subtle manner – the wisdom of the King was not to be questioned – and in the absence of political parties and a free press protection from important people was required to promote a career. Brøndsted was in his element in this Danish environment with his rich marriage, charm, social talents and constant endeavour to approach possible decision-makers. Networking is the modern expression for this sort of thing.

Concerning foreign policy, the position of Denmark was shattered by the Napoleonic wars. Being among the defeated states at the Vienna Conference 1814-15, Denmark had to accept the covenant of the German Confederation. That some kind of constitutional assembly should be established in its member states represented a threat to Royal absolutism and to the integrity of the

1. Main sources: RA (The Danish National Archives/Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen), 302 (archive no. 302: The Department of Foreign Affairs 1770-1848); RA, 202 (archive no. 202: Kongehuset, Christian 8., konge), 121-163 (1794-1848, udat., Breve fra forskellige), ASV (Archivio Segreto Vaticano/ Secret Archives of the Vatican, Rome), SdS (Segretaria di Stato/Foreign Department of The Holy See); Christian VIII 1943-1995.

2. The general tradition of Brøndsted as a victim of his diplomatic burdens is founded on his letters to family and friends (see Andersen 2005), established with the biography by M. Cl. Gertz in DBL 1, and reiterated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> editions of that work.



Danish Monarchy as such. Therefore Denmark became a client of conservative Austria in order to avoid the possible constitutions of Holstein and Lauenburg, and generally gave proof of loyalty to Austria to counter-balance Prussia and German federalism.

At the European level, Denmark was committed to the reactionary Holy Alliance under the leadership of Austria. As Italy – *expression géographique* according to Metternich – including the Papal State was the political backyard of Austria, Denmark could in no way risk provoking its main supporter, which became evident in connection with the revolution in Naples in 1820 and the ensuing Austrian military intervention in 1821. In the Federal Diet in Frankfurt, the Bundestag – the UN of those days – the envoy of Denmark had a general instruction to vote like Austria.<sup>3</sup> Among the numerous Italian states, Denmark only had regular diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies through a chargé d'affaires in Naples. Danish interests in Italy were economical, not political, and in all the important ports a Royal Danish honorary consul took care of shipping and trade. A well-known example is the Dalgas family in Livorno.

*The economic environment:* The State bankruptcy in 1813, the loss of overseas trade because of the alliance with Napoleon 1807-1814, and the serious agricultural crisis from 1818 onwards made reductions in public spending necessary. These were to include the Foreign Service.

*The cultural environment:* Danish historians in general have ignored the 400 years of happy Danish-German symbiosis, following the election of the King of Denmark and Norway as Duke of Slesvig and count of

Holstein in 1460. In Brøndsted's day, approximately 1/3 of the population of Copenhagen was German-speaking with its own churches, schools and press, while in the academic field Denmark was deeply intertwined with German culture through the universities of Copenhagen and Kiel. In the diplomatic papers of Brøndsted there are neither traces of Danish nationalism nor of Scandinavianism, which is remarkable just 25 years before the Danish-German civil war broke out in 1848. The return of Thorvaldsen to Rome in 1820, for instance, engendered a common Danish-German celebration.<sup>4</sup> If Brøndsted expresses national resentment it is towards Sweden and Bernadotte.

*The European supra-national environment:* The elite in Brøndsted's day felt loyalty to the ruling prince before loyalty to the nation. Count Christian Bernstorff was Danish foreign minister till 1810, then Prussian foreign minister from 1818. Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke (der grosse) had attended the military academy in Copenhagen and begun his career in the Danish army. Barthold Niebuhr from Holstein left a career in Copenhagen for Berlin, and Brøndsted met him in Rome as envoy of Prussia. For centuries, young north Germans had made careers serving the Danish Kings. Now they were attracted to Berlin – a bad omen for the future of the Danish-German monarchy.

*The professional environment of diplomacy:* The general European requirements of diplomatic service were nobility and wealth, and the aristocratic background of the diplomats made them accepted at the courts. Salary and allowances existed but did not at all cover the expenses of being posted abroad. A private income was necessary, and no diplomat could live on his salary.

3. Nørregaard 1960.

4. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 305, the 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1820.



Fig. 1. Anonymous drawing of Brøndsted, recently identified. Ascribed to Chrétien, c. 1810. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat.no 3)



Denmark was no exception, and its diplomatic service abroad was dominated by noblemen and estate owners with a strong element of rich counts and barons from Holstein. In other words you did not become rich being an envoy, you became an envoy because you were rich. There even existed a Royal decree stating – after certain unfortunate incidents – that no Danish diplomats were to be recruited unless they possessed sufficient private means.<sup>5</sup>

*The abyss between diplomatic and consular service:*

The diplomatic service acted at the courts of the sovereign dealing with alliances, war and peace. It considered itself superior to – and separated from – the consular service, which dealt with inferior matters like trade, shipping, customs, passports and estates of deceased persons. Professor Zoëga had been a Danish consular agent in Rome at his death in 1809 and in this capacity reported to the Department of Commerce; not to the Department of Foreign Affairs. In Rome upon the arrival of Brøndsted, Denmark was represented by a rich and influential honorary consul, Luigi Chiaveri, stepson of the banker Torlonia, duke of Bracciano; and in the Papal State there also were Royal Danish Consuls in the ports of Ancona and Civitavecchia.

The division of activities was clearly reflected in the social background of the Danish representatives: as mentioned above, the diplomats were generally wealthy noblemen, while the honorary consuls – who were and are unsalaried – were rich local merchants or ship-owners.

## The concept and title of Court Agent

In the first place the word ‘Agent’ indicated that there were no regular diplomatic relations between Denmark and the Holy See – they were not established until 1882. The expression, which reflected a relation between the courts (even today an ambassador in London is accredited to the Court of St James), was a euphemism for foreign political relations. There was a contradiction between Brøndsted’s apparent diplomatic title and the lack of diplomatic relations, so the impressive title was formally empty. As appears below, Denmark had no intention of approaching the Papal State politically. The constant ambition of Brøndsted to be appointed Chargé d’Affaires<sup>6</sup> instead of court agent materialized only in 1827 – four years after his final departure from Rome – and it thus became another empty title. However, it proves the PR sense of Brøndsted that on the title page of *Voyages* in 1830 he still uses the impressive title of Royal Danish Court Agent to the Holy See.

## Brøndsted’s diplomatic career as seen in the files of the Foreign Department<sup>7</sup>

### *Chronological table*

- 1816**, *May, Copenhagen*: Application for the post and title of Chargé d’Affaires or Royal Court Agent to the Holy See with salary. Forwarded to the King, supported by Foreign Minister Rosenkrantz (fig. 2). Submitted by the King to the Department of Finance. Rejected.
- 1818**, *August, Copenhagen*: Application for a post in Rome and a diplomatic title without salary.
- 1818**, *September, Copenhagen*: Appointed Court Agent. Letter of introduction from Rosenkrantz to the Papal State Secretary, Cardinal Consalvi.

5. Kjølsen 1970, I, 45.

6. Cf. the article by Mikala Brøndsted in this publication.

7. RA, 302, 2305 (parcel no. 2305: Cases concerning the Danish agents in Rome, 1780-1827).

- 1819**, *February, Rome*: Application for the title of Chargé d’Affaires with the ensuing salary.<sup>8</sup> Rejected.
- 1820**, *February, Naples*: Application for c. three months leave in order to travel to Greece. Granted.
- 1821**, *November, Rome*: Begging letters to the King and Rosenkrantz applying for a salary. Rejected.
- 1823**, *April, Rome*: Application for c. twelve months leave from Rome in order to launch *Voyages*. Requests for letters of recommendation to the Royal Danish Legations in Paris and London. Granted after his actual departure in May.
- 1826**, *September, Copenhagen*: Application to Foreign Minister Schimmelmann for prolonged leave till 1827.
- 1827**, *May, Copenhagen*: Application to Count Schimmelmann for the title of Chargé d’Affaires, prolonged leave till 1828, and a salary upon his return to Rome.
- 1827**, *June, Copenhagen*: Application for alleged postage expenses 1819-1823. 404 rigsbankdaler. Granted.
- 1827**, *June, Copenhagen*: Appointed Chargé d’Affaires with prolonged leave provided that he does not return to Rome!
- 1827**, *June, Copenhagen*: Appointed Privy Councillor of Legation (Geheimelegationsråd) with exemption of rates and dues.

It would completely derail this contribution to go into the bureaucratic details, but the table above shows how Brøndsted before, during and after his years in Rome made applications for the title of Chargé d’Affaires

and for a salary. It should be noted, however, that Brøndsted received his salary as a professor from the University of Copenhagen until January 1821 – a parallel to Zoëga who was paid by the University of Kiel – and that before his appointment in 1818 he told the Department that he possessed the necessary private means. When he sends the begging letters in 1821 “for the sake of my three motherless children”, the King rejects the petition with the remark that Brøndsted is free to return to his university chair and salary.<sup>9</sup> And everybody knew that his three small children were rich heirs to their late mother.

This incident makes me suggest that a special survey dealing with the complicated money transactions of Brøndsted should be undertaken. And perhaps also a survey of his relations with his university: It will not be the first nor the last time a Danish university pays in order to keep a difficult colleague away.

### Cavaliere Brøndsted: Diplomatic activity in Rome. The transformation of a professor

Brøndsted arrived in Rome on the birthday of King Frederik VI, 28 January 1819, rented a residence in Via di Porta Pinciana 41, and delivered his letter of introduction to Cardinal Consalvi the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February.<sup>10</sup> A few days later, he was received by Pope Pius VII in Palazzo Quirinale.<sup>11</sup>

During his years in Rome Brøndsted used the title of *Cavaliere* – knight of Dannebrog – and wore the blue diplomatic uniform, which has hardly changed since then. His official letters to the Papal authorities are in French and their answers in Italian.

What did Brøndsted report home to Copenhagen? Roman gossip, scandals, briganti (highwaymen) and

8. See also RA, 302, 2307 (parcel no. 2307: Reports from the royal agent in Rome, Professor Brøndsted, and from the Danish consul Louis Chiaveri, 1819-1832), report to Niels Rosenkrantz, the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> of February 1819.

9. The King’s reaction and applications for salary and title equally are to be found RA, 302, 2305.

10. RA, 302, 2307, report to Niels Rosenkrantz, the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> of February 1819.

11. Ibid.





Fig. 2. Baron Niels Rosenkrantz. Head of The Department of Foreign Affairs from 1810 till his death. A friendly and hard-working boss, who understands the peculiarities of Brøndsted, forgives his diplomatic blunders and recommends him to the King. Brøndsted evidently knows Rosenkrantz socially, calls him benefactor and often in his reports sends greetings to Her Grace the Baroness. The Foreign Minister from 1824, Count Ernst Schimmelmann, is also a protector of Brøndsted, appoints him Privy Councillor of Legation and helps him financially in 1827. Painting by F.C. Gröger 1809. Frederiksborg.



important visitors. Nothing about the Protestant Cemetery in Rome – a possible bilateral issue considering his background<sup>12</sup> – and very little about Roman politics, but a lot about developments in Greece and particularly in Naples.

What did he tell His Eminence and his Segretaria di Stato? There may of course have been direct social contacts, but his official letters show nothing of political importance, as Brøndsted received no instructions to promote Danish interests. He writes about practical details of the visit of Prince Christian Frederik and other Danish Royalty, customs facilities for Thorvaldsen etc., nothing which might not as well have been achieved by Consul Chiaveri.<sup>13</sup>

### A Papal miscalculation

This level of friendly indifference was reached after an initial misunderstanding in 1819 about a Danish *rap-prochement* and possible diplomatic relations. Shortly after delivering his letter of introduction to Cardinal Consalvi, Brøndsted received two official replies, one for himself and one for Rosenkrantz whom Consalvi knew from the Vienna Congress.<sup>14</sup> Both Papal notes stated that since according to the Congress, unfortunately, a court agent could not be a recognized member of the *corps diplomatique*, Denmark should appoint Brøndsted Chargé d’Affaires.<sup>15</sup> To Brøndsted this title implied a salary; to Consalvi it implied diplomatic relations with a North German state, which might counterbalance dependence on Austria. That the arrival of Brøndsted caused expectations of closer contacts at the Quirinale is furthermore indicated by the fact that His Holiness at the audience of 8 February

1819 questioned him about the conditions of Catholics in Denmark.<sup>16</sup> Delighted, Brøndsted forwarded both Papal notes to Copenhagen with a vigorous application for title and salary,<sup>17</sup> but the King and Rosenkrantz did not fall into the trap. Denmark had no significant Catholic population and could not risk raising Austrian suspicions by establishing closer relations with The Holy See.<sup>18</sup>

This was quite different from the achievements of the Prussian envoy Barthold Niebuhr who, like Brøndsted, left Rome in 1823 but with a concordate signed. Gonsalvi and the Papal Court soon realized that Brøndsted had no diplomatic authority and that the reason for Brøndsted’s presence in Rome – despite his spectacular title – was cultural.

### Diplomatic blunders.

Upon his arrival in Rome Brøndsted had neither diplomatic training nor experience, so it is not surprising that he violated a number of the unwritten rules of diplomacy. The following list mentions some classical blunders, but is not exhaustive.

#### *a) Never embarrass important persons*

Prince Christian Frederik was regarded with certain scepticism at the courts of Europe after the events in Norway 1814. As Christian Gottlieb has observed<sup>19</sup> it was not wise to dedicate to the Prince the book on the Greek helmet, *Sopra un’Iscrizione greca scolpita in un antico elmo* (1820) with its praise of a liberal constitution. Nor was it wise to forward a copy of it to Consalvi, which Brøndsted, however, did in December 1820. The Cardinal sent his acknowledgements with-

12. The issue of the Protestant Cemetery was taken to Consalvi by Prince Christian Frederik and by Niebuhr. See Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 330ff., the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1821.

13. ASV, SdS, Ministri Esteri 1819-23.

14. RA, 302, 2307, report to Niels Rosenkrantz, the 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1819.

15. RA, 302, 2305, the 2 originals are dated the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1819.

16. RA, 302, 2307, report to Niels Rosenkrantz, the 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1819.

17. Ibid.

18. Danish rejection: RA, 302, 2306 (parcel no. 2306: Letters etc. to Georg Zoëga as Danish agent in Rome as well as misc. drafts of orders to the royal agent in Rome, Professor Brøndsted), Niels Rosenkrantz to Brøndsted, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Marts 1819.

19. See the article by Christian Gottlieb in this publication.



out further comments, and it is significant that I found the book as an enclosure in the files of the Segretaria di Stato.<sup>20</sup> In other words the cardinal did not incorporate it in his library.

*b) Never comment on Danish Government policy – domestic or foreign*

Generally Brøndsted in his applications to the Department for a salary criticizes the domestic economic measures, which followed the Danish state bankruptcy in 1813 and their impact on his own financial circumstances.<sup>21</sup> In his reports to Copenhagen he writes enthusiastically about the revolution in Naples and sarcastically about the Austrian military intervention in 1821. The reaction was a warning from Foreign Minister Rosenkrantz that his reports were seen by the King, and that neither the Danish court nor foreign courts, i.e. Austria, shared his views.<sup>22</sup>

*c) Never comment on the internal affairs of the host country*

In the spring of 1819, when the young Princes of Augustenborg, nephews to the King, visited Rome their hotel collapsed and destroyed their coach. A Papal commission of enquiry was established, and nothing happened. In an official note to Consalvi concerning possible economic compensation Brøndsted discusses and criticizes over 4 pages – with many quotations from Horace and other Roman poets – the whole legal system of the Papal State.<sup>23</sup>

*d) Never meddle in your neighbouring diplomatic district*

In Naples there was a regular Danish chargé d'affaires, Captain Vogt. Nevertheless, despite the friendly advice

of Rosenkrantz, Brøndsted reports continuously about events in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies which he evidently considers more interesting than Roman politics.

In the summer and autumn of 1820, King Frederik and the Foreign Department might have been confused as they received simultaneously four sets of reports about the revolution in the kingdom: from Prince Christian Frederik, from Captain Vogt, from Baron Schubart – former envoy in Naples who accompanied the Prince – and from Brøndsted who stayed with the Prince instead of returning to Rome.<sup>24</sup>

*e) Never meddle in consular matters – the domain of the Danish Department of Commerce*

Coming to Palermo from Malta in July 1820 Brøndsted finds three Danish sailors from Flensburg in jail. He reports immediately to Baron Rosenkrantz, but this is not an issue for the Department.<sup>25</sup>

*f) Never take a case to several Danish decision makers simultaneously*

At the same time Brøndsted takes the case to the Department of Commerce, although there is already a Danish consul in Palermo, and also to Prince Christian Frederik in Naples asking him to intervene with his host, King Fernando of the Two Sicilies.<sup>26</sup> (Ironically this issue was solved a few days later in a very special manner, as the revolutionary mob in Palermo set all jailed prisoners free.)

Still, it is essential to observe that the blunders involving Denmark were always noticed and corrected by the paternal foreign minister Rosenkrantz in a friendly and indulgent way.<sup>27</sup> Brøndsted was not considered a professional diplomat, and no sanctions were

20. ASV, SdS, Ministri Esteri, 1820, Rubriche 277.

21. RA, 302, 2305

22. RA, 302, 2306, Niels Rosenkrantz to Brøndsted, the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1821.

23. ASV, SdS, Ministri Esteri, the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1819.

24. RA, 302, 2307, reports to Niels Rosenkrantz, Palermo and Naples July-November 1820.

25. RA, 302, 2307, report to Niels Rosenkrantz, Palermo the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1820.

26. RA, 202, 121-163, letter to Prince Christian Frederik from Brøndsted, Palermo the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1820.

27. RA, 302, 2306.

imposed. A Danish career diplomat making similar blunders might have been recalled or dismissed, but the special position of Brøndsted made it possible to play down his behaviour, for instance to Austria.

As a kind of epilogue, it should be mentioned that the blunders of the next generation were worse. In 1863, during the agony of the Danish-German state, Brøndsted's daughter Marie, wife of Prime Minister C.C. Hall, was at the head of a public subscription in favour of the Poles then rebelling against the Tsar. Russia was not happy, and this incident accelerated the diplomatic isolation of Denmark before the final breakdown in 1864.

### Myths and misunderstandings

As mentioned above the Danish biographical tradition dealing with Brøndsted has generated a number of myths concerning his years in Rome and his relations to the Foreign Service, which I am happy to repudiate. Probably those misunderstandings are related to the general contempt for Danish absolutism in the years following its fall in 1848.

#### *a) Rome as the exile of the bereaved and reluctant husband*

Already in May 1816 – two years before the death of his wife Frederikke – Brøndsted sends his first application for the post in Rome to the Foreign Department, probably with the position previously held by Zoëga in mind. But Zoëga had been a consular agent, a post now occupied by Luigi Chiaveri, so Brøndsted suggests a superior title and position.

#### *b) The necessity of ensuring the scholar an income in Rome by irrelevant and time-wasting diplomatic work<sup>28</sup>*

The prestigious title of Court Agent provided Brøndsted with social standing, a uniform, and possible access to important people and collections (but not with a single scudo). That is why he tells the Department in 1818 that he is rich.<sup>29</sup>

#### *c) The independent diplomat whose salary was withdrawn because of his liberal political views*

As mentioned above Brøndsted was not considered a diplomat either by Copenhagen or Rome, and never received a salary from the Department. The Department in fact recommended it on several occasions, but the idea was rejected by the King both before and after the row in 1821 concerning Brøndsted's book on the Greek helmet. So the lack of salary had nothing to do with the book nor did it constitute a sanction; rather, it might have been related to the economy of the state in connection with the general reduction of the Foreign Service in the 1820s. Denmark could not establish or maintain a paid representative in Rome when far more important missions had to be reduced or closed for budgetary reasons.<sup>30</sup> However, as mentioned above, Brøndsted's Roman postage expenses were reimbursed without receipts as late as June 1827 – 4 years after his departure – quite a generous gesture from the successor of Rosenkrantz, Count Schimmelmann.<sup>31</sup> One may imagine the mixed feelings of the Foreign Department staff in Copenhagen, since the 404 rigsbankdaler reimbursed surpassed the yearly pay of a civil servant.<sup>32</sup>

28. Brøndsted 1926; DBL 3.

29. RA, 302, 2305.

30. Kjølshen 1970, I, 72ff.

31. RA, 302, 2305.

32. Table of Foreign Department salaries, Kjølshen 1970, I, 65.



*d) The heavy burden of writing reports to the Department*<sup>33</sup>

In the first place it should be noted that in 1818 Brøndsted himself suggested drawing up reports in connection with his appointment.<sup>34</sup> In Rome, as Court Agent, he sent 53 reports to Copenhagen in 4½ years, fewer than one report per month. During his absence from Rome, February-November 1820, his reports dealt with Greece, the Ionian University in Ithaca, archaeology, and the revolution in the Two Sicilies – matters highly relevant to him but probably not to the Department. Further rationalization of the burdensome report writing was accomplished by more or less re-cycling his letters to Prince Christian Frederik as reports to Baron Rosenkrantz and vice versa.<sup>35</sup>

*e) The heavy burden of Danish visitors*

Again, the idea of assisting Danish visitors was promoted by Brøndsted himself in his aforementioned applications for the post in 1816 and 1818. But using a ploy that all parents have experienced, he escaped to Greece before the Easter visit of Prince Christian Frederik to Rome in 1820, which made the Prince sulky.<sup>36</sup> During his final stay in Rome 1820-21 Nibby took over as the royal guide despite Brøndsted's presence.<sup>37</sup> That Prince Christian Frederik used Brøndsted as a consultant in connection with acquisitions of art and antiquities should not be looked upon as the same thing as irrelevant sight-seeing nor diplomatic work. Already the Augustenborg princes in 1819 were shown around by Peder Hjort.<sup>38</sup> A less naïve diplomat would have stuck closely to Danish Royalty.

May I add from my own experience that normally a Danish diplomat is very pleased with official visits because it offers the opportunity to meet important peo-

ple from the host country. He may thus improve his own working conditions. In this regard it is interesting to note that according to his diaries, Prince Christian Frederik was not accompanied by Brøndsted when he met eminent people in Rome. And the prince received his briefings on Papal politics from the Prussian envoy Barthold Niebuhr – not from Brøndsted.

### Summary

To summarize, I do not consider Brøndsted's diplomatic workload a heavy burden nor a convincing excuse for possible delay in his scientific work. The Foreign Department considered him a researcher and does its best to promote his scientific activities and to provide him with a framework (social position, title and uniform) and even a salary. They were not successful in the latter, but notice the generosity in 1827 with old postal expenses. The Department also proves its sense of pragmatism by prolonging his leave from Rome and – at last – by appointing him Chargé d'Affaires and conferring the distinguished title of Privy Councillor of Legation (Geheimelegationsråd) provided that he does *not* return to his post! In other words the diplomatic shortcomings of Brøndsted did not affect the support of the Department, nor did his political blunders bring about any sanctions, neither during his stay abroad nor after his final return to Denmark in 1832. If his applications were rejected, it was by the Department of Finance and by King Frederik VI who governed Denmark like a strict headmaster knowing his pupils only too well ....

33. See Andersen 2005.

34. RA, 302, 2305.

35. Compare RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted to Niels Rosenkrantz, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 1821 and RA, 202, 121-163, Brøndsted to Prince Christian Frederik, the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1821.

36. See the article by Christian Gottlieb in this publication.

37. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 295, the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1820.

38. Bay 1920-1921, 101.

## Conclusion

All this may sound like criticism, but it does not diminish the greatness of Brøndsted in other more essential fields. He was very intelligent but not very wise, and in many ways naïve and egocentric, as I hope to have demonstrated. In the diplomatic field he was hopeless but at the same time modern and ahead of his time, and like Zoëga he was one of the first Danish cultural diplomats. He showed initiatives unfamiliar to the diplomats of his time, like sending letters to the editors of Italian newspapers and caring for ordinary Danes in distress. In a way he was the first in a long line of Danish cultural envoys difficult to manage. His contempt for Lord Elgin – whom he calls the looter of the Parthenon – is also remarkable.<sup>39</sup> The views of Brøndsted on the Greek War of Independence – an area that should formally not be dealt with from Rome – are interesting and realistic.

A relevant question concerns the Protestant faith of Brøndsted living in the capital of Catholicism. My impression from his papers is that, to use a modern expression, he was ecumenical and fully respected the Roman Church spiritually. But in his reports you notice a growing disillusionment about Catholicism as a political entity and as the *framework* of the Papal State. His fascination with the *briganti* may be a way of saying that the Papal State was not able to maintain civil order. Brøndsted came to Rome from another autocratic state and preferred the Danish version.

Already among Brøndsted's contemporaries some scepticism was expressed about his diplomatic activities. From his exile in Paris, P.A. Heiberg writes sourly that Brøndsted pretends to be a Danish diplomat in Rome, but that neither court agents nor consuls are to be considered diplomats.<sup>40</sup>

Happily the Department in Copenhagen realized Brøndsted's limitations and both Baron Rosenkrantz and his successor as foreign minister Count Schimmelmann shielded him. I would like to quote Rosenkrantz who wrote to the King in 1816, that the posting and activities of Brøndsted in Rome "would add to the glory of Denmark".<sup>41</sup>

Brøndsted was a great writer. I suggest that his reports to the Department be published because of their vivid account of Danish and European life and the portrait he gives of himself. These so-called diplomatic reports may be read like fiction, and what strikes me is the affinity between Brøndsted and his contemporary literary hero, Adam Homo<sup>42</sup>: the parson's son from Jutland, the rich wife, the broken promises, the Privy Councillor, the death from horseback riding....

As in the poem *Adam Homo*, the career of Brøndsted reflects the Denmark of Frederik VI, where a citizen's rank and title were more important than his functions. Even so, Brøndsted, completely remote from genuine diplomacy, enjoyed rank and title for the rest of his life. But his career also is a testimony of the generosity and broadmindedness of the late Danish absolutism, which despite heavy financial problems found ways and means to promote culture and the arts – for instance by sending Brøndsted under diplomatic disguise to Rome.

Brøndsted was not a diplomat, and it is up to scholars to assess whether his years as Royal Danish Court Agent in Rome delayed or benefited his scientific achievements. Contemplating the triangle Denmark – Rome – Brøndsted, you may ask; who fooled whom?

39. Brøndsted 1926, 134.

40. Heiberg 1830, 115ff. He also makes venomous comments on the publication of *Voyages*, which he considers outdated. My acknowledgements to Ambassador J. Korsgaard-Pedersen. Niels Bygom Krarup is equally sceptical, see Krarup 1957, 145.

41. RA, 302, 2305, Niels Rosenkrantz to Frederik VI, the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1816.

42. Paludan-Müller: *Adam Homo*, Copenhagen, 1842-1848. It is a classical novel about social ascendancy/success and human poverty.



# The public lectures of P.O. Brøndsted

by Jørgen Mejer

Brøndsted's influence on Danish culture is to a large extent due to his public lectures given in 1815-17 in Copenhagen, but not published until 1844 (fig. 1). Both his lectures and the publication were for a long time a main source on ancient and modern Greece in Denmark. It is therefore important to examine what Brøndsted was trying to do with these lectures and how he looked upon ancient and modern Greece.

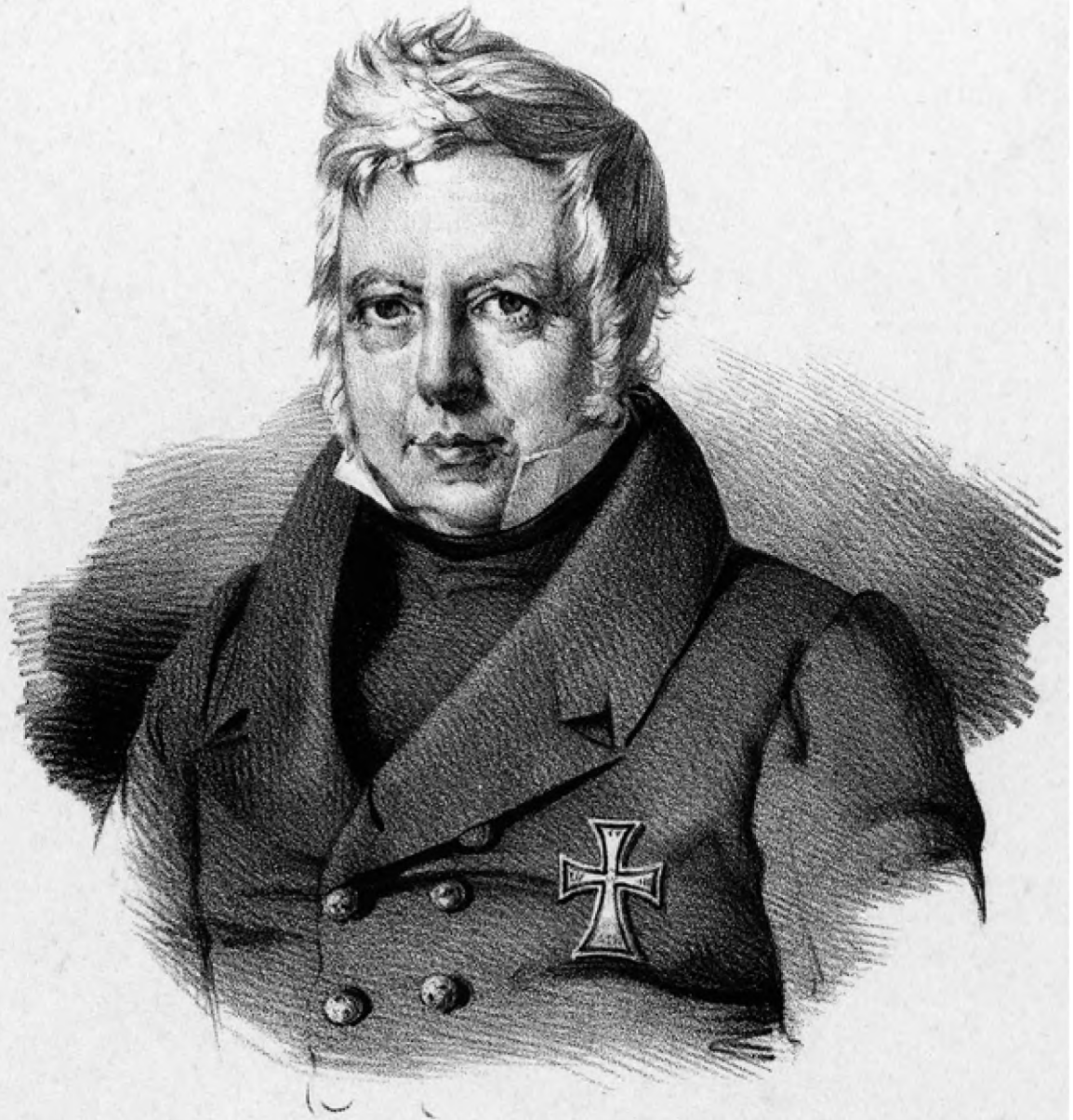
When Brøndsted in 1813 returned to Denmark after almost three years of travels in Greece, he had been away for more than 7 years. He left Denmark in 1806 and spent years in Paris and Italy to do research and to prepare his travels together with his friend and colleague Georg Koës. On his return Brøndsted was quickly appointed Professor Extraordinarius of Philology; why, you may ask, when he had published very little so far: a small dissertation in 1805 *Epistula critica de Siliî Italici Pun. XIII 531-61*,<sup>1</sup> and in 1806 *Opusculorum philosophici et philologici argumenti Specimen primum, Diss. inaug.*<sup>2</sup> His dissertation was in two parts, a Platonic dialogue about love of the arts, and a short essay on the myth of the Islands of the Blessed. In addition to these two publications he had contributed<sup>3</sup> to G.G. Bredow's *Epistolae Parisienses* 1812 on the Platonic scholia he had studied in Paris. Nothing very remarkable, but somebody must have had confidence in Brøndsted's skills. He had not published any-

thing from his travels in Greece, and it was not his intention to do so for the foreseeable future since he and his fellow travelers had agreed that they would publish their results in collaboration. He lectured at the university on Greek tragedy, on Plato, and on Greek history and geography, but he soon found a way to present his research in the territories of Greece. In the fall of 1815, he announced a series of lectures on Greece by publishing a small pamphlet: *Program as an Invitation to a Series of Lectures on Presentday Greece, its condition, people and ancient monuments*.<sup>4</sup>

He begins this pamphlet by repeating the purpose as described in the title not only in the first paragraph of the text, but also in a more detailed way on the following page: "It is my desire and intention, as best I can, to give a truthful presentation of the nature and state of European and Asiatic Greece, of the civic and domestic state of affairs, its customs, habits and arrangements, of the monuments of ancient Greece, and of our own and our Predecessors' endeavors in these countries".<sup>5</sup> He claims that he has been induced to offer these lectures because many people had expressed their interest in this topic, and because he cannot publish in the immediate future the large book on the monuments of Greece, the result of his own and Dr. Koës' explorations in Greece. In particular he mentions that such a book requires numerous drawings, but that the

1. Brøndsted 1805.  
2. Brøndsted 1806.  
3. Brøndsted 1812.

4. Brøndsted 1815.  
5. Italicized by Brøndsted, Brøndsted 1815, 4.



C.A. Jensen pinx.

Em. Bærentzen & C<sup>o</sup> lith. Inst.

*Brøndsted*

Fig. 1: P.O. Brøndsted, lithographic portrait after C.A. Jensen's painting from 1839, executed by the lithographers E. Bærentzen & Co., c. 1844. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. no. 17).



conditions are not yet such that these drawings can be provided.

“Since this series of lectures, because of the variety of the subjects discussed and the purpose of it all, makes truly learned examinations impossible and only offers a pragmatic presentation of the results of our examinations, in combination with, as often as it seems necessary, smaller objects of art, such as ancient coins, gems, bronze figurines etc., it is easy to understand that no other knowledge is necessary for the understanding of these lectures than a general cultural background that all educated human beings possess. If Danish women should want to attend our sessions, I shall furthermore try to express myself as clearly as possible and with care remove any feature in my lectures that appears to be beyond the horizon of the educated woman.”<sup>6</sup>

This statement is remarkable: Brøndsted’s lectures seem to be the first example of ‘Open University’ in Denmark, almost one hundred years before such activity began, and some sixty years before the admission of women to the university. His lectures will be in Danish, though the language at the university was still Latin, and he later announced his Danish lectures in the Latin catalogue of university courses. It is also important to notice that he not only included ancient objects of arts in his lectures, in particular coins, but also presented his audience with books and drawings when appropriate.<sup>7</sup>

Whether or not any women in fact attended the lectures is another matter. At least it appears from Brøndsted’s text that he only addresses a male audience,

though he talks throughout about things in such a way that nothing could have offended the delicate female ear.<sup>8</sup> The nature of the audience must also be seen in the light of the pecuniary arrangement of the lectures: “Since my position does not allow me to spend a considerable amount of time without at the same time obtaining a financial contribution to my income, I must consider this series of lectures what at the university is called a *Privatissimum* and ask a honorarium of 30 rigsbankdaler pro persona ...”<sup>9</sup>

This is a fairly high price and one wonders how many people had the ability to pay so much. It also gives us the opportunity to ponder why Brøndsted offered these lectures to the public and not just to his students?<sup>10</sup> Was he also affected by the bankruptcy of the Danish State in 1813 and in need of money to support his family, newly married as he was? We know that his mother was worried that he had wasted his inheritance, and he had to defend himself by saying that his travels had benefited himself, his name, his country and many capable people. “What would be best: to lock my money up in a bank and receive the lousy three percent in interest, which every fool can collect twice a year, or to make the most of those talents God has given me.”<sup>11</sup>

There may have been another reason for his lectures: It is important to notice that he is quite insistent that he wants to deal with contemporary Greece. His lectures are in no way just about archaeology. This is clear not only from the text of his lectures, a point I shall return to, but also from the plan of his lectures that is published with his program. As Ivan Boserup

6. Brøndsted 1815, 5.

7. The coins came not only from his own collection (now in the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen), but also from the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen and from the collection belonging to the famous archeologist and numismatist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, something that was noticed by the newspapers, cf. e.g. *Dagen*, the 1<sup>st</sup> of september 1816. I owe this reference to Gorm Schou-Rode.

8. Cf. e.g. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 327: Brøndsted addresses his audience using the words: “Gentlemen of the audience” („mine Herre tilhørere”), indicating that only males attended the lectures.

9. Brøndsted 1815, 5. At the time there was a very strong inflation

in Denmark. In December 1815 the exchange rate for 100 rigsbankdaler in notes was only 30 rigsbankdaler in silver. The 30 rigsbankdaler, which no doubt was in notes, was then equal to 9 rigsbankdaler in silver or 4½ speciedaler. 9 rigsbankdaler in silver was a most impressive price for attending a series of lectures.

10. The starting annual salary per year for a professor was 800 rigsbankdaler, so even with, say, 10 people in the audience, Brøndsted would have obtained a considerable addition to his salary. One wonders how many students would have been able to attend his lectures.

11. Brøndsted to his mother, quoted in Andersen 1907-1916, I, 146-47.

has noticed in his section<sup>12</sup> on Brøndsted in *The History of the University of Copenhagen*, the 44 lectures printed in *Reise i Grækenland*<sup>13</sup> covers only 17 of the 25 lectures outlined in the Program.<sup>14</sup> We do not know how to explain the discrepancy, but the last two lectures announced in the pamphlet are important if we want to understand his intentions: “Lecture 24: Excursus over the organs and civil constitution in general of the Greeks, their relationship with the Turks, their literature etc. Consideration of the question: Is a regeneration of Greek autonomy and independent statehood possible and is it to be desired? Which conditions are available for such a revolution, and what will be the likely consequences for European statehood?”

Lecture 25: Synopsis of the whole. General considerations. Impediments and deficiencies in what travelers do in Greece in modern times. Sketch of a plan for educated travel, and research projects in the European and Asiatic Greece that with some certainty can be expected to be of greater significance for scholarship and art than any other travel since the time of Pausanias.<sup>15</sup>

It is thus quite evident that Brøndsted must also have had political and practical matters in his mind, and this is in fact clear from the lectures he gave. At first, it seems that his lectures in Copenhagen in 1815-17 were radically different from his famous later publication *Voyages et recherches dans la Grèce*<sup>16</sup>, of which only two volumes out of eight were published and they are strictly archaeological. But in fact, if he had managed to publish all eight volumes, it is likely that we would have a different impression of Brøndsted’s *opus magnum*. In the preface to vol. 1 he says among other things: “Le plan que je suis tracé, exige à la vérité que j’entretienne plus fréquemment le lecteur de la Grèce antique et des monuments d’un age

célèbre, que de la Grèce moderne et de son état actuel; cependant j’ai fort à coeur de fournir aussi quelques matériaux pour la connaissance plus exacte de l’état présent de cet intéressant pays, et dans plusieurs sections de cet ouvrage, je m’occuperai presque exclusivement du temps moderne.”<sup>17</sup>

That the two volumes published hardly mention modern Greece is another matter.

There can be no doubt that Brøndsted was a philhellene, but he was not naïve, and it is quite apparent that he considers the establishment of an independent Greek state very difficult. The topic of his last announced lecture is mirrored in his remarks on the possibility of an independent Greek State in the preface to vol. I of *Voyages et Recherches*, but of course not alluded to in vol. II from 1830 when the question of an independent Greek state was settled once and for all.

Brøndsted’s first studies were, as mentioned, on Plato and Platonic texts, and his public lectures were given under a motto from Plato: “An unexamined life is not worth living for a human being.” In fact, his whole view of his scholarship and research was very Platonic. He says in one of his first lectures: “Both appreciation and criticism of the best depends on a right, a right to judge, that can only be acquired by a mental capacity to understand an entity in its totality, its essence. You cannot read (understand) a book nor apprehend a piece of art, unless you are completely sympathetic to that book and that piece of art, And where this sympathy, this profound recognition is nonexistent, the human mind tends to consider judgment to be vain arrogance, or falsehood and hypocrisy. We have good reason to do so because the essence of our soul is truth and justice”.<sup>18</sup> Plato could not have said it better.

This attitude fits well with what Brøndsted had

12. Boserup 1992.

13. Brøndsted 1844b.

14. Cf. Boserup 1992, 299.

15. Brøndsted 1815, 13-14.

16. Brøndsted 1826-1830a.

17. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, XVI; Rohde 1985.

18. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 63.



learnt from the father of modern philology, F.A. Wolf. He knew Wolf through his friend and prospective brother in law, Koës, who had been a student of Wolf's in Halle, and Brøndsted lectured on Wolf's *Encyclopaedia* soon after his return to Denmark and published a translation of it in 1818. He did not so much learn philological criticism from Wolf as embrace his idea of *Altertumswissenschaft*. Brøndsted is usually considered an archaeologist, but his concise remark in the preface to his *Voyages*: "quiconque ne connaît l'antiquité grecque par la parole, ne la connaît qu'à demi"<sup>19</sup> is no indication that he did not appreciate the texts. In fact it is quite clear from his lectures that he has read with care an enormous amount of ancient Greek literature (Pausanias, Herodotus, Diodorus, even Byzantine authors, not to mention Homer and the tragedians)<sup>20</sup>, and he traveled with Greek authors not only in his mind, but in his luggage: when he and his party visit Plataeae it is with Herodotus in hand, and their observations of the landscape make them conclude that the battle may have started at Plataeae, but mainly took place at the plain towards Thebes.<sup>21</sup>

Whether from Wolfian *Altertumswissenschaft* or from the general tendency of the Romantic period, Brøndsted also believed in the general idea that cultural phenomena could be characterized as part of organic systems. This is why he refuses to blame the miserable state of contemporary Greeks on the Turkish rule. No, it has to do with the character of the Greeks: just as Periclean Athens went into decline, not because Sparta destroyed Athens in the Peloponnesian War and had the Athenian defenses torn down, but because the Greeks no longer had a feeling of social purpose and unity, which implies that Brøndsted attributed the present-day situation in Greece as due to the contemporary characteristics of the Greeks.

While Brøndsted in his first lecture presents the physical features of Greece, he addresses some of the social and human conditions, which the traveler will face in contemporary Greece, in his second lecture (from which the following examples are taken):

**I.** "pecunia nervus omnium rerum bene gerendarum". The foreigner who travels in Greece must be prepared to suffer the egotism and profit seeking of the Greeks with whom he is forced to deal. The more so since the Greeks do not like anybody who is not a Greek orthodox. Therefore it is a special problem for the traveler to find local people who are willing to honor cash orders or checks.

**II.** The traveler must be in good health. Life in contemporary Greece is (as in ancient Greece) tough and without modern amenities. Even to get enough horses – which were necessary for any travel – was often problematic, "and in such situations I often saw the Greeks refuse to offer the assistance which they otherwise were able to provide, out of malice or ill-will".<sup>22</sup> "When the horse keeper rents out his horses, he demands half pay for one extra horse more than those used by the traveler, namely for the horse that he himself needs – he has to come along also, to take care of the horses. He demands half pay, but you can be rather certain that when it is time to saddle up, the horse keeper brings only those horses that the traveler needs, no horse for himself, so that he can keep the half pay for the horse as pure profit. When the foreigner asks where his own horse is and how he can accompany him, the horse keeper says jokingly: 'Don't worry. I can walk as fast on my two legs as my horses can with their four legs,' and he lives up to his words. He usually arrives at the same time as the horsemen, and if traveling in the mountains where the traveler must ride

19. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, XV-XVI.

20. Thus, when he in his lectures reaches Colonus outside Athens he translates the famous chorus from Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* into Danish, the first translation from Greek tragedy in Denmark, Brøndsted 1844b, I, 318f.

21. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 5ff.

22. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 43.

slowly and with care, the horse keeper is willing to walk ahead, for a small fee, to make arrangements for their lodgings, sweep the cottage and clean up the fireplace before the guests arrive”.<sup>23</sup> It is evident that traveling was not easy, and that the traveler had to pay profusely. Yet Brøndsted also has a certain admiration for the strength of Greek men.

**III.** To survive all the troubles, the traveler must have real enthusiasm for Antiquity and its great monuments. By contrast, neither the Greeks nor the Turks care about the ruins. “It must make us wonder that also the Greeks, all of whom, even the most ignorant, usually brag about the excellence of their forefathers and their accomplishments – the Greeks have very little respect for what we do and are unwilling to assist us (unless for a great profit, for then the Greeks are always ready). I cannot deny that this disregard which the Greeks usually feel towards their splendid monuments, appears to be a strong, though sad, demonstration of how deeply this nation has been debased”.<sup>24</sup>

**IV.** The traveler must learn modern Greek, and Brøndsted then gives a brief introduction to the Greek language.

Before Brøndsted begins his presentation of his own travels in Greece, he gives a long survey of the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. He does so, though he has not visited all of them, because “I have allowed myself this excursus, or digression, on the South Italian Greeks because their history in general enlightens that of Greece itself, and in particular because Hellenism, I mean the organic nationality of this people, here appears so striking and peculiar in the mutual relationship between the South Italian Greeks in this period, just as always in the mother states, in the mutual influence, cooperation or conflict between the Greeks east of the Adriatic Sea. I have right from the beginning in-

dicated that the Greek nationality, according to my own experience and conviction, is the real reason (or at least the deepest and most rich source) for the present situation in Greece, for the state of affairs nowadays, and for the many phenomena, some very interesting, some sad, with which we are going to deal”.<sup>25</sup>

He then mentions three factors that made the ancient Greeks remarkable: 1) their energy, 2) their resourcefulness, always taking advantage of the circumstances, and 3) their unity and cooperation which produced remarkable results, although this “happy situation rarely occurred, and only when a strong personality was in charge, a personality who managed to tame the manifold competing interests under his strong will. I mentioned that the most important cause of this striking, but sad, phenomenon should be found, at least partly, in the demon of arrogance, who has always plagued the Greeks, in particular the many ingenious and self-interested Greeks, part of the Hellenic organism, and who made them willful, that is, made them more opinionated and more self-centered where the individual should have subjected his own will and his own interests to a higher law”.<sup>26</sup> This is one of Brøndsted’s basic ideas. It also explains why he considered Periclean Athens the highest point in Greek history, and why he had his doubts about the recreation of an independent Greek state.

To give an impression of Brøndsted’s lectures<sup>27</sup> we may select the two chapters on his stay in Athens, chapters 15-16.<sup>28</sup> He arrives at Piraeus by boat and begins his description by giving the history of the Athenian harbors and the Long Walls which “connected the harbor settlements with the City, those walls which Themistocles and Pericles had intended to create as a connection which made it impossible for an enemy, even by sudden attack, to cut off the city from its har-

23. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 45.

24. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 48.

25. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 115-116.

26. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 118.

27. Brøndsted’s travels in Greece have been described by Haugsted 1996, 13-43, and, in particular for the scholarly work of the participants, Bankel 1986, 22-36.

28. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 333-372.



bors – these walls, I think, must have created a peculiar, though not, I presume, (un)favorable impact on the Attic landscape. Seen from the Hill of the Muses or from the Acropolis, these approximately 10 km long walls must have been a striking view. Imagine the busy crowd, the traffic of wagons and people, the commotion on these two diverging radii, which rise forty feet above the ground, across the Cephissus River through a part of the olive forest etc. Imagine the space between the two walls (no more than 18 or 20 meters wide when they branch from the city wall of Athens, but continuously widening towards the harbor settlements), imagine this space filled with stalls selling food and all sorts of things, wine shops etc, for the many people who move about here, mostly of the lower classes, sailors, porters etc. I have no doubt that transport of private goods in general was not permitted on top of the long walls, though I have not found any evidence of tolls or tax on such transports”.<sup>29</sup>

This is not just a random, romantic fantasy, for it is based on Brøndsted’s own experience on his way to Athens along the modern road which follows the northern wall, entertained by peasants gathering grapes and musicians who play for all the people on their way to Athens. Thus we find yet another example of the connection between the past and the present. Here Brøndsted also sees for the first time people who spend the night in the trees to prevent theft of fruits. Brøndsted further points out that people sometimes sleep in trees to avoid the many bugs. Then follows a description of the siesta and its significance, and he shows his audience the best etching of the view of Acropolis as you arrive to Athens.

Since the first ruin you see as you enter Athens from the Piraeus is the Theseion (now identified as the Hephaistaion), Brøndsted gives us the history of this tem-

ple, and a description of the temple; he then enters the Acropolis and describes each building in some detail, to end with the Parthenon which, despite Sulla, Alaric, Königberg’s bombs and Lord Elgin, “still stands tall and splendid on this rock as the most noble, most eloquent and most inspiring testimony to what human determination and unity, what human energy and cleverness is capable of accomplishing ...”.<sup>30</sup> He also describes the Parthenon in some detail, but naturally makes little of the numerous sculptures which Lord Elgin had removed, and which he will discuss in detail in his opus magnum after he has seen them in London.

We hear quite a lot about the later history of the Parthenon and he makes it clear that he disapproves of Lord Elgin’s behavior. While he specifically mentions Haller’s and Cockerell’s work on the Acropolis, he will not talk about it, but he does illustrate the metopes with drawings from Stuart and Revett. Here – as elsewhere – he makes evident that he knows all the literature about Greece, something he wants to return to at the end of his lectures (and at the end of his opus magnum).<sup>31</sup>

In chapter 16 Brøndsted proceeds to discuss other monuments in Athens, in particular the Lysicrates monument (fig. 2), the Thrasyllus monument and the Roman Tower of the Winds – the latter really against his plan because it is a Roman monument, but this gives him the opportunity to tell about the Dervish cult which he has attended both in Athens in this tower, and elsewhere. He confuses the Agora with the Roman Forum from the period of Augustus and mentions numerous other locations briefly. The three Corinthian columns in front of the Hagia Aikaterinis are especially interesting from a Danish point of view, because they have been seen by everybody who has visited the Danish Institute at Athens. Brøndsted – in accordance

29. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 339.

30. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 345-346.

31. Brøndsted must have considered it important to take all the previous accounts into consideration. When he had published *Voyages* vol. 1, he was accused of plagiarizing Villoison, in an

anonymous paper in *Hermes* 23, 264-94. This was, of course, a malicious charge and without justification, as Brøndsted himself, and J.D. Hage in a small book, pointed out: Brøndsted 1830; Hage 1829.



Fig. 2: *The Choragic Monument of Lysicrates*. Engraving on paper, 33,5x49 cm. From James Stuart and Nicolas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* 4 vols, London, 1756-1816.

with Chandler – identifies them as part of the Prytaneion. Brøndsted claims that Haller’s and Cockrell’s work has made this evident, and this idea has in fact been taken up by recent scholarship.<sup>32</sup> Hadrian’s Gate and his Zeus Olympieios temple give Brøndsted the opportunity to tell the historical background of these monuments.

Finally, Brøndsted turns to the other side of Athens and mentions briefly the Areopagus, the Pnyx, the Hill of the Muses and outlying regions. It makes no sense to look for the Academy, he says, but along the Sacred Road some tombs had been opened, in particular by Englishmen, and the content of the tombs prove beyond doubt that the so-called Italic vases are in fact from Attica, “We were not really interested in these fragile objects. However, our party does possess some very beautiful specimens, but I have not been able to bring some of my own since they are large. I only have a couple of smaller items of this type which I want to display because they may demonstrate the treatment of this elegant pottery”.<sup>33</sup>

One section of Brøndsted’s description which is of special interest since it nowadays, as so often with ancient monuments, has been stripped of all its Byzantine or Turkish surroundings, is his account of the Lysicrates monument. He gives us first the factual information on victory monuments in general and this monument in particular, and then he says: “This interesting monument is part of the wall around the Frankish monastery, where now only one Capuchin/Franciscan monk lives, a good-natured and kind person who for three months was mine and Stackelberg’s host in Athens. In the lower hall of the monastery where we had dinner with the gracious Father and our other friends daily, we could look at that part of the monument which is part of the monastery, or rather, around which the monastery has been built. From the hall next to our rooms in the second story we often descended on the tholus of the monument and the marble base, to examine the elegant sculptural decorations. In the original building a cylindrical wall, connecting the columns, was the middle part, so to speak, or le corps

32. Schmalz 2006, 33-81.

33. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 371-372.



de l'édifice, as the French say. The wall was originally without entrance or opening, but one has later been made, probably when the monastery was built, on that side which is facing one (or rather two) of the rooms of the monastery; the good Franciscan had, when we were there, his small collection of books, his pontificalia, i. e. his vestments, his missals, in the space inside this ancient monument – a most remarkable change of purpose (a drawing in Stuart clearly demonstrates how the monument is incorporated into the monastery, fig. 2). From what I have said, it is evident that the modern name of this building is completely absurd. the Greeks – and imitating them several modern travelers, call it the Lantern (Lamp) of Demosthenes, a name that has no historical justification.”<sup>34</sup>

It is clear from Brøndsted's lectures that he did not want to present his audience with the wealth of material and the many examples of his research – the *recherches* that will later be part of his opus magnum.<sup>35</sup> It is also evident that he at this time had none of the many drawings and plans, which Haller and Stackelberg had produced during their stay. He wants to tell the history of ancient Greece and to demonstrate how the past and contemporary Greece belong to one and the same organism. He wants as much to tell about life in contemporary Greece as he wants to inform his fellow countrymen about how to travel in Greece.

Brøndsted gave these lectures from the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1815 to the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1816 and again from the 15<sup>th</sup> of December to the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 1817. Perhaps

the longer period on the second occasion is an indication that his original 25 lectures had grown to the 44 we now have, without covering all the topics he had announced. At the end of his lectures he has reached only the end of 1811, and thus he does not discuss the important excavations of the temple of Apollo at Bassae. “This is impossible without those drawings which I have not yet received from my friend Stackelberg, but expect to arrive shortly.”<sup>36</sup> They did not arrive for years, and Brøndsted's account of these excavations which he wrote in several languages, were not published until 1861 – in Danish.<sup>37</sup>

The lectures seem to have been a success. They were reported to colleagues in Europe, and a number of Danish professionals and artists must have attended.<sup>38</sup> They were not published until 1844, at a time where much of the archaeological information had become outdated owing to the rapid development of excavations in Athens in the 1830s. Nonetheless, his descriptions of contemporary Greece are still worth reading. And his travels, his lectures and their subsequent publication came to be important not only for later Danish travelers in Greece, but also for the Neo-classical movement in art and architecture in Denmark.<sup>39</sup> Denmark has had a strong tradition of travels in Greece (J.L. Ussing, J.L. Heiberg and Frederik Poulsen, just to mention a few), and for books describing these travels. Brøndsted was the pioneer, both in his travel description, in his lectures, and in his archaeological work.

34. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 355-356.

35. It is typical that he in general does not mention inscriptions, though we know from his diary that he had copied many on the various sites. One exception is an inscription over the cave of Trophonius in Lavadia that nobody else has mentioned, and which is no longer visible. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 23.

36. Brøndsted 1844b, II, 553.

37. Brøndsted 1861. At least one of the versions in English, French and German, which are kept in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, ought to be published.

38. Cf. a letter to Bishop F. Münter in Münter 1925-1949, V, no 70, 89 no. 71, 92. I owe this reference to Tobias Fischer-Hansen.

39. Cf. Christiansen 2000 and the article by Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen in this publication.

# P.O. Brøndsted, a revolutionary?

by Jacob Isager

“We used to tipple punch and talk politics...”  
(Byron on Brøndsted, 1811)<sup>1</sup>

## Brøndsted in politics

Most biographical articles on Brøndsted (fig. 1) focus on his contribution to Classical Archaeology in Denmark and Europe and the deplorable fact that he never finished his grandiose plan of publishing all the results of his investigations in Greece. In his book on Danish intellectual history in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Vilhelm Andersen devotes thirty pages to Brøndsted, pointing out the important role played by him in the so-called Greek Renaissance in Denmark in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> As an example of his moral courage Andersen mentions briefly that Brøndsted praised the revolution in Naples in 1820, demonstrating a spirit of liberty typical of this century and thereby risking his post as a Royal Agent.<sup>3</sup> But what interests Andersen is Brøndsted as a humanist.

In the *Festskrift* to Andersen, K.F. Plesner too describes Brøndsted as a prominent intellectual and a man of the world. In this connection he demonstrates how Brøndsted liked his role as royal diplomat and political amateur.<sup>4</sup> Brøndsted had a talent for being in the right places at the right moments. Involuntarily he ran into the battle of Jena when visiting Weimar in 1806. In Greece in 1812 he met with Ali Pacha (fig. 2) and

many Greeks who later took part in the Greek War of Independence. He had just arrived at Palermo when an uprising broke out in 1820, and shortly afterwards he came to Naples finding the city celebrating a new constitution. He was in Paris during the revolution in 1830 and followed the electoral reforms in England in 1832. Finally, he returned more permanently to Denmark at a crucial political moment but he did not live to witness the new constitution. Plesner concludes that Brøndsted had liberal views but that he was not a republican.<sup>5</sup>

Brøndsted was a keen observer of political events and he confides his many reactions and reflections to his diaries and in letters to his friends. In dealing with these matters he often expands his thoughts into longer digressions on different peoples' right to instigate revolution, and their qualifications for and their worthiness of a new constitution. To judge from the published diaries and letters it seems that his more remarkable thoughts and reflections on revolution date from the years 1820 to 1824, and they are evidently an outcome of the period of the above-mentioned major events with which Brøndsted felt personally connected.

As I shall try to show, we should on the basis of this

1. Letter to John Cam Hobhouse Broughton, dated Athens, the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1811, cf. Brøndsted 1999, 10.  
2. Andersen 1907-1916, II, 1, 134-165.  
3. Andersen 1907-1916, II, 1, 149. Cf. the article by Otto Schepelern in this publication.

4. Plesner 1934, 60-75.

5. Plesner 1934, 71-73.



material be able to put together a picture – maybe not a revolutionary one – of a person deeply engaged in politics.

The excellent biography of Brøndsted written by his friend J.P. Mynster and other contemporary testimonies will help to diversify the picture.<sup>6</sup>

### Brøndsted and Napoleon

Brøndsted's biographer J.P. Mynster gives this description of the young Brøndsted: "As usual for young people his political views were totally different from what they later became. He was a great admirer of Napoleon, especially after his return from Egypt and the battle of Marengo. Correspondingly he hated the English. He later arrived at a totally opposite opinion".<sup>7</sup> It is a summary statement, and I prefer to regard Brøndsted's standpoint in another perspective than that of the foolishness of a young man. In 1801, Denmark had been defeated in a sea-battle by an English fleet. In the following years it became most difficult for the country to find a safe position in the conflict between the great powers, and after the English bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 Denmark was forced to choose sides and had to follow Napoleon. It is difficult to say to what extent this disposition was shared by Danish intellectuals who like Brøndsted, in a broader perspective, had welcomed the French revolution, which had created new liberal ideas and the success of Napoleon.<sup>8</sup>

One has to bear in mind that Brøndsted actually lived and studied in Paris from 1806 to 1809 and witnessed the events from there. When Brøndsted on his way to Paris stopped in Weimar to visit Goethe in 1806, the battle of Jena took place close by, and he was

excited by the presence of Napoleon and his triumphal troops in the streets of Weimar. In his diary of the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, the day after the battle, Brøndsted gives an account of a city filled with conquerors and captives and he inserts his considerations: "The truth is that N[apoleon] is a product not only of the French Revolution, but of this whole age, and of the whole Eighteenth Century ... in short: The vices and the madness of the whole of this miserable century had to be mixed together, before its most perfect flower could burst into bloom."<sup>9</sup>

As late as 1815 a similar view is found in a publication entitled "Europe, France and Napoleon" in which its author, the Danish theologian N.F.S. Grundtvig, prophesies Napoleon's return as a common European and Christian ruler and Prince of Peace to arouse a lethargic and dormant Europe.<sup>10</sup> To Grundtvig the spirit of Napoleon and the spirit of the time converge in total harmony, and he declares Napoleon a wonderful instrument of God, the redeemer that was promised by the revolution.<sup>11</sup> In this connection Grundtvig expresses an extremely negative view of the English, a people that, according to Grundtvig, originated from a mixture of immigrated Celts and of Roman soldiers of low rank with later additions of pirates, brigands and criminal elements from Scandinavia, Northern Germany and France. This book of Grundtvig met its Waterloo together with Napoleon, and Grundtvig later changed his view of England completely.

Nine years later, in 1824, Brøndsted had witnessed the rise and fall of Napoleon. Together with the rest of Europe and along with many other former admirers of Napoleon he has learned his lesson and again he confides his conclusions to his diary: "... later, when the nations with extraordinary effort had helped their lea-

6. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 3-86.

7. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 10.

8. The attitude to Napoleon among the Danish intellectuals is a topic, which until now has not been thoroughly investigated, cf. Tamm 2005, 13ff.

9. Brøndsted 1850, 3.

10. Grundtvig 1815, 23, 26 and 175-176. Cf. Michelsen 1955 and Feldbæk 1991-1992, III, 20-22.

11. Grundtvig, 1815, 113.



Fig. 1. Drawing of P.O. Brøndsted, probably c. 1810, drawn by H.H. Ploetz, Copenhagen. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. No. 4)





Fig. 2. Portrait of Ali Pacha from around 1814, painted by Spyridon Ventouras. Private collection, Athens.



ders out of the humiliating Bonapartian slavery, which the leaders themselves through all kinds of baseness had prepared for themselves, then most of the promises which had been given to the nations in time of distress were not kept, at that point the same strings were plucked again, either to create an illusion of hope among the people or to return to despotism again.” And Brøndsted goes on: “... I think that society’s dependence on one or a few persons’ talent and goodwill, namely absolute monarchy, is a patriarchal form, which is not at all suited for the difficult and complicated conditions which modern European culture has created.”<sup>12</sup> From these remarks it is clear that Brøndsted does not recall (or want to admit to) his former enthusiasm for Napoleon and he seems to present himself as a representative of revolutionary people and blames the kings and leaders in Europe for their humiliating Bonapartian slavery.

### The Greek Revolution and War of Independence

As a young student Brøndsted had dreamt of visiting Greece and his dream was fulfilled. He stayed there from 1810 to 1812 and he was well prepared for Greece and the Greeks. He was, as has already been said, a keen observer and he spoke modern Greek, which enabled him to make immediate and personal contact with the Greeks. He preferred to travel without a guard of soldiers, and he saw this as a prerequisite for making contacts. His journey coincided with crucial political events in Europe. Napoleon had conquered a large part of continental Europe, and in Athens the political situation in Europe was on the agenda when Brøndsted arrived there and agents from the belligerent countries played their political games with each

other. As Lord Byron states in a letter, his friend Brøndsted liked to tiddle punch and talk politics.<sup>13</sup>

When he finally decided to leave Greece and return to Denmark, he made a stop in North-western Greece, in Epirus, where he met with the Turkish governor Ali Pacha. He passed the winter 1812-1813 in Ioannina, where Ali held court. Brøndsted has given a very lively and accurate account of his interviews with Ali Pacha. This account was written in English, German and French and was meant to be published, we assume, in Brøndsted’s lifetime, but the manuscript had to wait for publication until 1999.<sup>14</sup> What gives the account a special value is the fact that it was written after 1822, when Ali was assassinated by order of the sultan and his head sent to the Sublime Porte. In his account Brøndsted relates his conversations with and impressions of Ali Pacha in 1812 which are important in themselves, but more important is Brøndsted’s evaluation of Ali’s political and cultural contributions to the Greek War of Independence seen in the light of what had happened in the years that elapsed between Brøndsted’s visit to the court of Ali in 1812 and the death of Ali in 1822.

Brøndsted reflects on the phenomenon of Ali and the phenomenon of power and he is at once fascinated and repelled by him. He admires the way Ali initially established himself as a head of the traditionally rival clans of Albania, and how later, when the Sultan made him governor of Northern Greece, he brought unity and peaceful conditions to his province. Brøndsted sees the figure of Ali as a solution to the problem of Balkanization and he presents him in this way: “Ali of Tepeleni, a man who by his extraordinary qualities, as well as by his crimes, exercised during more than half a century, an unbounded influence over the finest provinces of Greece, and upon the recent events which have changed the face of those countries, once so

12. Brøndsted 1850, 146-148.

13. Cf. note 1.

14. Brøndsted 1999.



beautiful, and even still so interesting – was, unquestionably, one of the most remarkable personages in the vast Ottoman Empire, the downfall of which has only been delayed to our days by the reciprocal jealousy, and the want of energy and moral dignity in the rulers of Europe. This man, whom history will, doubtless, distinguish as a kind of physiological phenomenon, descended from a Musselman family of Albania, if not of obscure at least of middling rank. Notwithstanding innumerable obstacles, he established himself as the absolute despot over the finest European provinces of the Turkish Empire, and a population of two millions of inhabitants. Daring, and fertile in resources, he knew how to support his usurpations, and his crimes, by an army of about thirty five thousand men – excellent troops, at least for carrying on war in those regions, and against the Turks ... Ali Pacha, the most consummate Albanian of his time, alone knew how to solve a problem extremely difficult – that of uniting under his banners a people the most savage and the most marauding in Europe, divided before his days into a thousand distinct and independent tribes, who plundered and murdered each other without ceasing. He alone was the first who knew how to overawe them all, to terminate their particular feuds, and to subjugate them all beneath his sceptre of iron, so that it would be strictly true to say – that Ali Pacha, for the last twenty years of his long career, was the sole robber in his states, and that there was more personal security in travelling there than in most of the southern countries of Europe. After all, it appears to me that a single privileged plunderer is better than a multitude of subaltern tyrants, not only for travellers, but also for the inhabitants of any country whatever; at least some arrangement can be made with one only, but there is no stipulating with a host of petty plunderers.”<sup>15</sup> Brøndsted concludes here that despotism, though in its nature

monstrous and sterile, still occasionally produces something good, whilst anarchy, the pest of all social order, never brings forth anything profitable whatsoever. He adds: “This truth, I fear, must serve as a consolation, not only beyond the Adriatic, but even elsewhere.”<sup>16</sup>

Brøndsted’s interviews are delightful reading and he depicts Ali as a foresighted, clever though rude politician who manoeuvres rather elegantly between the diplomats of France and England – a source of annoyance to Napoleon, as Brøndsted remarks.<sup>17</sup> I will only quote Brøndsted’s concluding remarks of the figure of Ali: “I own that this extraordinary man made a great impression upon me. Others have seen him under a point of view wholly different; I saw him, absolutely, as I have presented him here. The difference is in the nature of things. Ali is one of those volcanos of a hundred aspects, which providence makes use of in its moral administration as in the physical world, to execute its designs. But these volcanos do not always throw out torrents of fire, and I know of delightful gardens on the sides of Etna, and of Vesuvius, which each year put on the finest verdure, close to those horrible heaps, which have borne on their burning waves death and destruction.”<sup>18</sup>

The figure of Ali as a typical, cruel Oriental despot is found in the many travelling accounts of Greece from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, even in the accounts of the French and British agents staying at the court of Ali. But to their governments they gave more sober reports without oriental colouring. Brøndsted stands out by choosing a middle course. He relates the well-known anecdotes to his readers but he gives a more balanced picture of Ali. This picture has been confirmed by a recent book by K.E. Fleming entitled *The Muslim Bonaparte. Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha’s Greece*, 1999. On the basis of diplomatic correspon-

15. Brøndsted 1999, 34-35.

16. Brøndsted 1999, 35.

17. Brøndsted 1999, 49.

18. Brøndsted 1999, 76-77.

dence, and with the intention of unmasking and explaining the orientalist view<sup>19</sup> of Ali Pacha, Fleming reaches conclusions that explain and support many of the components that created Brøndsted's great interest in Ali as a political figure. She does not refer to Brøndsted, probably because her volume was published in the same year as Brøndsted's account came out.

Fleming demonstrates Ali's conscious abandonment of the Ottoman imperial ideology and the adoption of a more modernist, European-influenced understanding of statecraft and of politics.<sup>20</sup> As Fleming puts it: "He found his role only through the French revolution and the new ideological and political possibilities it brought in its wake."<sup>21</sup> He even promised his Greek subjects a new constitution and wrote to Metternich (of all people!) requesting him to prepare one.<sup>22</sup> He sought in many ways to emulate the figure of Napoleon – with no small success. Lord Byron tells us that the Turks named him the Muslim Bonaparte.<sup>23</sup>

In fact, the Napoleonic wars brought Western Europe to the borders of Ali's reign and it seemed natural for Ali to maintain close and direct contacts with the governmental representatives of the Western countries, in particular Britain and France, which both saw the pasha as a sovereign political entity and a major factor in the geopolitics of the day.<sup>24</sup>

Fleming seems to agree with Brøndsted regarding the political importance of Ali as an organizer of his own state in accordance with western models and, further, in his making Ioannina an economic and cultural centre. Thus Ali prepared the way for the Greek War of Independence. Ioannina became a centre of the Greek movement for independence. As the major centres of

learning in Greece the schools of Ioannina became the feeding institutions for many members of the *Philiki Etairia*, which played an important role in the early steps of the war of Liberation.

Ali was aware of the fact that his Greek secretaries as well as his personal physician were members of the *Etairia*, and he attempted to use it to his advantage when he saw that the Greek insurrection might support his efforts to separate himself from the Sublime Porte. To gain some Greek support against the Sultan's troops in 1819, Ali even claimed to be a member of the *Etairia* himself, and through his *Etairist* secretaries he tried to forge an alliance with the Greek revolutionaries against the Ottomans.<sup>25</sup> But what became most important for the Greek uprising was the fact that Ali's conflict with the Porte and the following battle with the Ottoman government tied up a huge number of the imperial troops.

Brøndsted refers again to the subject of Ali Pacha in a letter written in Paris the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1824 to Mrs. Kamma Rahbek. With the letter are enclosed two prints, one depicting the young pianist Liszt, "created by the Lord as an inspiration and refreshment for many a noble heart," the other showing "an old man, a genius, but at the same time a callous devil, created by the Lord in his wrath as a scourge for degenerate races, Ali Pascha of Ioannina. He has had his day. The Lord broke his heart of stone, when its destiny was fulfilled which was to arouse the dormant Hellas from its long-lasting lethargy ..."<sup>26</sup> As late as 1834 Ali Pacha constituted the theme for a lecture delivered by Brøndsted.<sup>27</sup>

A diary entrance of April 6, 1822, the year of Ali

19. For many travellers the Orient began when they arrived in Greece. The so-called Orientalist discourse as presented by Edward Said has as its backdrop western colonialism and imperialism, but in her book Fleming sees travels to *classical* Greece as a different form of colonialism, where the travellers' account of Ali is coloured by their orientalist view and even fed by Ali himself.

20. Fleming 1999, 77.

21. Fleming 1999, 81.

22. Fleming 1999, 118. Cf. Dakin 1972, 34-35.

23. "the Mahometan Buonaparte", Byron to his Mother, Prevesa the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 1809. Byron 1898-1904, I, 252.

24. Fleming 1999, 7.

25. Fleming 1999, 29 and Dakin 1972, 34-35.

26. Brøndsted 1850, 138.

27. Diary entrance of the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1834, cf. the article by Gorm Schou-Rode in this publication.



Pacha's death, shows him full of dismay: "The Greek war of emancipation, which seems to promise something good for this extremely intelligent people, dissolves itself into party loyalty and it has been defiled by horrible cruelty and unprecedented misdeeds from both sides especially because of the usual unhappy consequences of a long tyranny: "The ruin of true patriotism and its dissolution into the most hollow egoism and nothing but private interests, and, until now, the need of a genius, highly gifted intellectually and physically, who is able to impress the masses and coerce the divided forces into noble unity for a great endeavour. The Greeks everywhere were always even in the most beautiful epoch of this nation, the most difficult people on earth to bring into unity. They were never brought into it, unless submitted to two conditions: An overwhelming danger at their doorstep and the existence of a personally and physically impressive person to lead them."<sup>28</sup>

Brøndsted looks for a personally and physically impressing person to lead the Greeks. He alludes to the character of Pericles and surely has in mind ideal leaders such as those mentioned by his favourite classical authors Plato and Xenophon. Even a figure like that of Ali Pacha might have crossed his mind.

In his correspondence with the Danish Prince Christian Frederik, who clearly demonstrated his Philhellenic sentiments, Brøndsted relates events from the revolt in Greece, and this shows that he maintains contact with friends in Greece. We hear also about his meeting with Count Capodistrias in 1823 in Geneva, with whom he could share his affection for Greece and its fight for freedom. In the preface to the second volume of his *Voyages dans la Grèce*, which came out in 1830, he expressed his joy of the victory over the Turks at Navarino in 1827.

### The revolution in Naples and the following uprising in Palermo in 1820

About the revolution in Naples Brøndsted's biographer Mynster relates: "The revolution in Spain in 1820 seems to have inspired the same movements in Italy. In Naples the military made an uprising in July supported by the people, and the 6<sup>th</sup> of July the King had to promise a new constitution. He transferred the government to the Prince of Calabria. After the Spanish constitution was proclaimed the 7<sup>th</sup> of July, the King and the Prince confirmed with their oath the new constitution of Naples. All this came about without much disturbance."<sup>29</sup>

The monarch and the people seemed to go hand in hand.<sup>30</sup> At that time Brøndsted was staying in Palermo, and when the news from Naples reached Palermo the inhabitants wanted to go further than the Neapolitans. They wanted independence and their own parliament. It came to streetfighting between troops and the mob and much blood was shed in this uprising. Brøndsted was stuck in the middle and did not approve of this uncontrolled revolution. He considered it a disgusting expression of the egoism of the Sicilians and of their lack of solidarity with the Neapolitans, which might have given them a better future. Brøndsted wanted to go to Naples and he finally got a passport and reached Naples the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August, where he stayed the rest of the year.

Mynster comments upon Brøndsted's rather naïve enthusiasm and his very optimistic view of the ability of the Neapolitans to cope with a constitution, which, eventually, was short-lived. A wise and experienced statesman would have foreseen that deeds do not always follow big words.<sup>31</sup>

But Brøndsted sent a very outspoken report back to Denmark. As the Danish court was afraid that Brøndsted would speak out as freely to everybody else, he was told, that his way of evaluating the situation was

28. Brøndsted 1850, 130. Written in Rome.

29. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 38.

30. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 41.

31. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 41.

not in agreement with Danish foreign policy. In his reply to the Danish Minister Niels Rosenkrantz Brøndsted spoke with frankness and with great dignity.<sup>32</sup> He had made his report according to his instructions, which told him to relate honestly what happened. He felt obliged to give his own opinion, not that of his government: "... If I tried to figure out the opinion of your Excellencies or the members of the government about the situation, I would not only feel a coward, but as far as I can see, I would be of no use and doing a lot of damage – of no use because it is unfruitful to relate to somebody his own opinion about something, damaging because my government would miss information about distant matters and events."<sup>33</sup>

Brøndsted clearly utters his astonishment that the government expected to get from him only what they wanted to hear, whereas he assumes that it is his duty to report what actually happened. He made no secret of the fact that he found that the revolutionary tendencies in many countries, especially in Greece, were sincere expressions of the wishes of an oppressed people, not the machinations of some secret societies or conjurations.

Brøndsted's outspokenness here and in the preface of an archaeological dissertation, published in Naples, made him unfit for his position as a royal agent. Yet Prince Christian Frederik, too, came to Naples and witnessed the revolution and the correspondence between him and Brøndsted demonstrates their common interest in new liberal constitutions.<sup>34</sup>

## The possibility of a revolution in Denmark and Brøndsted's general evaluation of the outcome of the Europeans' endeavours to gain new constitutions

In this short contribution I am restricted to present only some tesserae of the mosaic, which depicts the political profile of Brøndsted. Two quotations will illuminate his general evaluation of the outcome of the Europeans' endeavours to gain new constitutions and the possibility for a revolution in Denmark: "If the designation "the Middle Ages" is supposed to mean a period in which Man himself is nothing and nothing original is being created and which only constitute a period in the middle of two ages worthy of the designation real ages, then it seems to me, that our own tumultuous and revolutionary time, in which everything is boiling and fermenting and tumbling without creating anything really remarkable fully deserves this name ... Maybe our children and grandchildren will reap good, ripe fruits from the tree that we planted in bitterness and toil and watered with our tears."<sup>35</sup>

This rather pessimistic attitude is found in the next excerpt from his diary, one year later,<sup>36</sup> where Brøndsted raises the question: Do the Danes have the qualifications of being "a highspirited people", a prerequisite for creating the conditions for public and common welfare? Can we Danes sincerely connect this qualification with ourselves, and why not? The result of 160 years of despotism is a weakened national energy: "With this and many other things in mind I confess, that I, too, belong to those who maybe never shall cry out ineptly and at the wrong moment for a representative constitution, as I myself am guilty of this misfortune, but sincerely with all my heart desire and pray

32. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 42.

33. Quoted in Brøndsted 1844b, I, 42.

34. Brøndsted 1820; cf. Jørgensen & Neergaard 1903-1907, 154; cf. the articles by Christian Gottlieb and Otto Schepele in this publication.

35. Diary, Geneve, the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1823. Brøndsted 1850, 135-137.

36. Brøndsted 1850, 145-148.



from God that before the end of my life I may see such a constitution in my native country, by which its finest and best men without offence and in their full right point out and promote common needs, drive away hollow egoism, unite distracted and half-hearted minds in a noble endeavour, and in the future secure our good nation against the extremes of insult and derision that it has suffered in our lifetime.”<sup>37</sup>

A democratic constitution in due time is suggested here and absolute monarchy is rejected as he already states a little earlier in the same diary entry: “... I think, that society’s dependence on one or a few persons’ talent and good will, namely absolute monarchy, is a patriarchal form, which not at all is suited for the difficult and complicated conditions which modern European culture has created.”<sup>38</sup>

### The revolution in Paris 1830

During his stay in Paris in 1830 Brøndsted again became an eyewitness to a revolution and he gives in his diary a rather detailed account of the events. Following Mynster I shall confine myself to quote this comment by Brøndsted: “This revolution seems until now in every respect to be the most dignified and the most beautiful we have witnessed; this time, at least, all law and order were on the side of the people, while injustice and violence were on the side of its adversaries.”<sup>39</sup>

In a letter from Paris to his friend Jens Møller dated the 27<sup>th</sup> of October he gives a more critical and less flattering evaluation of the behaviour of the Parisian mob during this revolution, which according to Brøndsted ought to result in a combination of a noble king, an excellent constitution and all the things that con-

tribute to freedom, wealth and happiness for the citizens.<sup>40</sup>

### Conclusion: Brøndsted’s role in the revolution in Greece and the political life in Denmark

During his many stays in Rome Brøndsted kept company with many local, Danish and foreign influential people. A member of the Danish circle in Rome, Nils Bygom Krarup gives this portrait of Brøndsted in a letter written in Rome in January 1823 to his cousin N.C. Møhl. In connection with a discussion of the problems of etiquette in Rome and how to address persons, he mentions Brøndsted as an example. How is he to be addressed? The Germans call him Herr von Brøndsted. He does not like to be called Professor, because this title is too common in Rome. Agent of the Court is a title nobody but Krarup uses, because he cannot bring himself to use the title Cavaliere, like the Italians. Krarup declares that he will address Brøndsted as von Brøndsted even if it makes him blush. He proceeds: “We could not have a better person than Brøndsted here. He is very courteous. He often arranges parties and he never fails to invite all the Danes ... In all matters he is liberal and intolerant only of despotism and Grundtvigianism, which things I hate myself.”<sup>41</sup>

Krarup goes on to state his opinion of Brøndsted’s plan for the first volume of the magnificent edition of his *Voyages dans la Grèce*.<sup>42</sup> Krarup looks with critical eyes on this project. Much of the material seems to him to consist of circumstantial trivialities. Krarup refers to a long and tiresome evening, where Brøndsted had presented a chapter from the book, and his verdict is: “The problem with Brøndsted is that he wants to tell

37. Brøndsted 1850, 148.

38. Brøndsted 1850, 147.

39. Diary, the 7<sup>th</sup> of August 1830, Brøndsted 1844b, I, 62-63.

40. Brøndsted 1926, 167-169.

41. Krarup 1957, 145-146.

42. Brøndsted 1826-1830a.

all that he knows and that is a horrible thing.” In his biography of Brøndsted Mynster puts it more kindly: “Brøndsted was by nature a communicative person and he had something to say.”<sup>43</sup>

We are confronted with a many-sided person who is impulsive, passionate, perhaps sometimes tiresome and circumstantial, but generally very sociable and well-liked, with a far-reaching network of European friends and contacts with whom his numerous travels enabled him to meet and discuss the political or scholarly matters that occupied him. It is difficult to evaluate the impact of these discussions. His letters and diaries demonstrate that he was able to keep his contacts with important people in Greece and elsewhere.

In my concluding assessment of Brøndsted as possibly a revolutionary I will try to give an answer to two questions. Is Brøndsted to be considered a revolutionary? If so – did it have any effect on his contemporaries outside or inside Denmark? In this connection we have to divide his life into two periods: The years before 1820 and the years after when a series of revolutions took place in Europe. His interest in Napoleon and his discussions of Greek and European politics during his stays in Athens and Ioannina belong to the period before these revolutions. To this period we can add his public lectures in Copenhagen on ancient and modern Greece. The lectures were well received, but it is hard to tell if they contributed in any larger degree to more philhellenic attitudes in Denmark in this period. And they were not published until after his death.

When we look at the years after 1820, it becomes evident that his contacts in a Europe in revolution, filled with liberalist programs and movements, made their impact on him and there is reason to believe that during exchanges of ideas he on his part may have influenced persons in politically high positions. If I should suggest persons on whom he may have had a greater impact I will point to his Greek contacts who played important

roles in the early stages of the Greek war of liberation. In a Danish context I should point out Prince Christian Frederik, with whom Brøndsted had exchanged positive opinions concerning the revolutions in Naples and in Greece. In 1839 the prince was proclaimed king as Christian VIII. Brøndsted would have appreciated the following statement of A.D. Jørgensen in *Danmarks Riges Historie*: “At his accession Christian VIII was 53 years old; in fact, he had reached the age which Plato prefers for the ruler.”<sup>44</sup> Jørgensen implies that the monarch had the qualities of Plato’s ideal philosopher king, and he gives us a very positive view of the reign of Christian VIII, which has not been shared by later historians.<sup>45</sup>

The new king did not meet the expectations of the liberals. We must assume that Brøndsted felt a little disappointed with his royal friend with whom he for many years had shared his enthusiasm for a new Europe with liberal constitutions. But how do we grasp and define the political standpoint of Brøndsted, a liberalist, who in the most revolutionary period of his life, in 1824, wrote the following in his diary: “Every constitution has to be peculiar to the single specific country, and not to be implanted or copied from the constitution of another country... For the best constitution is the one that best helps every order and individual duly to acknowledge both their duties and their rights. As both duties and rights are different in different states and a product of peculiar and local conditions etc. the conclusion must be that no constitution of any country, even the best, can fully be copied or implanted into another country.”<sup>46</sup>

And he adds a little later: “... I am a royalist with all my heart because I believe this form suitable to promote true happiness and blessing in a state and to secure the welfare of everybody in peace and good order.”<sup>47</sup>

43. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 81.

44. Steenstrup 1896-1907, VI, 255f.

45. Cf. Skovmand 1964, 190-201 (espec. page 193); cf. Olsen 2002-2005, X, 237-246.

46. Brøndsted 1850, 138-139.

47. Cf. a diary entrance from 1817, quoted in Brøndsted 1850, 82: “... exactly because I love and praise my King, I hate and detest the extremists ... and the king’s worst enemies are the hollow, empty-hearted, and egoistic extremists.”



# Ancient vases and ancient regimes. On the relationship between P.O. Brøndsted and Prince Christian Frederik

*by Christian Gottlieb*

In November 1820 the protagonist of this symposium, Peter Oluf Brøndsted (fig. 1), published a learned essay presenting his interpretation of an inscription in classical Greek engraved on an antique bronze helmet recently uncovered in the ruins of Olympia in Greece. The essay was written in Italian in a scholarly style, extensively footnoted, published by a learned society in Naples, and was evidently intended as a contribution to the advancement of archaeology and classical studies, the author's own professional disciplines.<sup>1</sup>

On the face of it, this essay hardly seemed the sort of publication likely to cause a controversy outside the scholarly circles for which it was intended. But so it came to be. Whatever the scholarly merit of the essay it was to suffer what is surely a rare fate for such essays: to be a cause of embarrassment at the highest political level and a minor diplomatic crisis. The problem was not the essay's topic or the author's interpretation of it but the fact that this publication openly combined Brøndsted's relations to the royal court of Denmark with his unauthorized political opinions, briefly pronounced in the preface. As expressly stated on the title page, Brøndsted occupied a position as a so-called "Royal Danish Court Agent to the Holy See" in which

capacity he appeared to act as a sort of official representative of the King of Denmark<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the text of the essay was preceded by an inscription to the heir to the Danish throne, Prince Christian Frederik, who happened also to be present in Naples and with whom Brøndsted had spent a considerable amount of time (fig. 2). A rather conventional expression of veneration for the Prince, it might seem, innocent enough in itself, but not in combination with the political opinions expressed in the preface. Here Brøndsted openly declared his praise of the King of the Two Sicilies for having just granted his people freedom, "the most precious gift that can be given to mortals", i.e. for having yielded to the revolutionary demand for a democratic constitution, modelled on the Spanish one of 1812 – whereby Brøndsted had expressed an opinion directly opposed to that of his own Danish government, as well as of other European governments, the Austrian one in particular, bent on preserving the political order recently re-established at the congress of Vienna after the upheaval of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.

Brøndsted had made a *faux pas*, in other words. His essay on an ancient *iscrizione* had turned into an

1. Brøndsted 1820.

2. On Brøndsted's work as a diplomat and the actual significance of his title, see the article by Otto Schepelern in this publication.



Fig. 1: P.O.Brøndsted, portrait, oil on canvas, by C.A. Jensen, 1842. This portrait, which is a replication of the one from 1827, was probably executed after Brøndsted's death. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat no. 14).



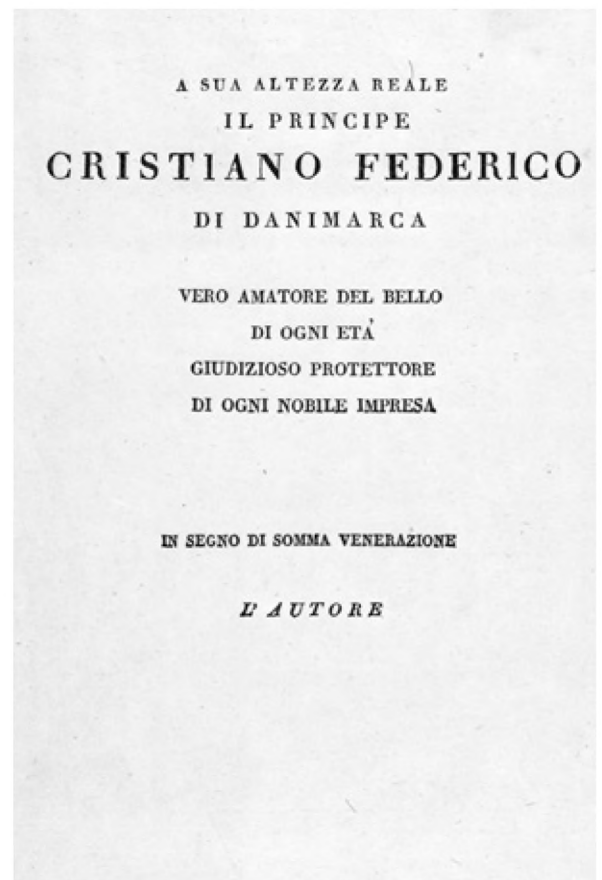
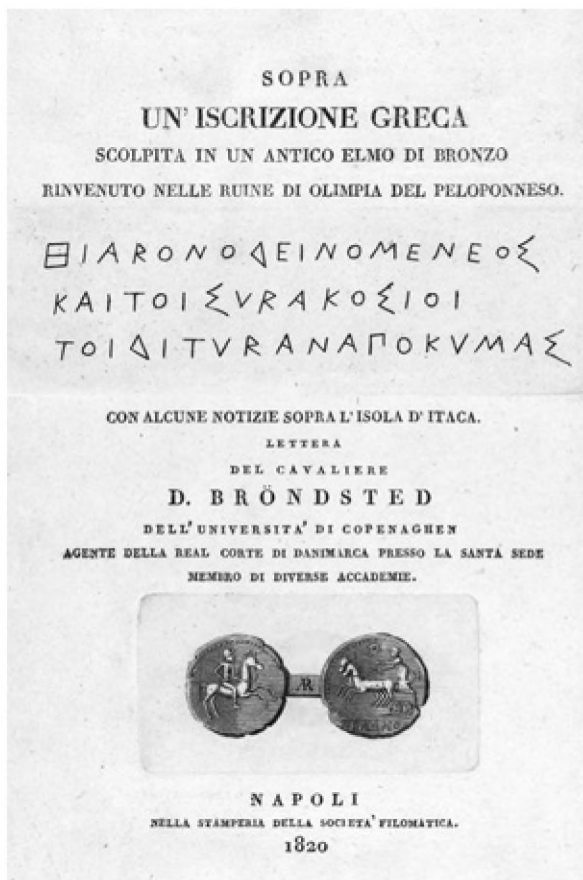


Fig. 2: Brøndsted's ill-fated inscription to Christian Frederik seems innocent enough as it stands: "To his Royal Highness, Prince Christian Frederik of Denmark, true lover of beauty in any age, judicious protector of any noble enterprise, as a sign of the highest respect, the author". Copy of *Brøndsted* 1820 in The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

actual *indiscrezione* that became a particular embarrassment for the man to whom the essay was dedicated, Prince Christian Frederik, who as a result soon found himself the centre of much unwanted attention from representatives of the great powers of Europe. However, despite the embarrassment over the essay and despite the fact that Brøndsted obviously did not change his opinion – though he never again publicly implicated the Prince, – this incident evidently did not lead to a break of relations between them. In 1820

their acquaintance was still relatively new and untried but as evidenced by their respective diaries and correspondence both men seem to have remained on friendly and trustful terms for life, i.e. for another twenty odd years. This fact throws light on the interests, opinions and characters of both parties whose mutual relation is therefore worthy of consideration. However, as there are several aspects of this long-standing relationship, the present contribution will concentrate primarily on one of the two aspects re-

vealed by Brøndsted's archaeological essay with particular emphasis on the early 1820s.<sup>3</sup>

The most obvious side of Brøndsted's relationship to Christian Frederik was their mutual interest in the history and culture of classical antiquity, Greece and Rome in particular, as well as in contemporary art, much of which was inspired by classical models. This was the basis of their relationship and evidently its most important and enduring aspect. In pursuit of their shared interest, Brøndsted as the senior (by six years) became a mentor, guide and interlocutor to Christian Frederik whose aspiration to refine his taste and understanding led him to become an able and dedicated collector of antiquities. In this connection Brøndsted exercised an important influence on Christian Frederik, both as a general intellectual inspiration and more concretely as a collaborator in acquiring a large number of the antique vases, coins, artefacts and other items collected by the Prince and now forming an important part of the collections of the National Museum of Denmark. Acquisition of contemporary art, either originals or copies, was also an important part of their mutual dealings. Numerous letters from Brøndsted to the Prince and by far the most of the Brøndsted-related en-

tries in the Prince's diaries refer to these activities. Earlier studies of the Prince's collections, chiefly by Niels Breitenstein and by some of the editors of these Acts, have touched on this side of their relationship.<sup>4</sup>

The other aspect of their relationship, which is in focus here, is the role played by Brøndsted's political persuasions and his interest in the current affairs of his time. Strikingly illustrated by his essay of 1820, this aspect is otherwise more elusive and perhaps less mutual but even so it remains a recurring theme in their acquaintance. This is due to the fact that Brøndsted's preface was not merely a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm inspired by momentous events he had recently witnessed, but constituted an authentic expression of long-held persuasions. As an outspoken sympathizer with the various liberation movements arising in Europe in the 1820s and '30s, Brøndsted watched revolutions unfold with a mixture of rejoicing and revulsion: in Naples and Palermo in 1820, in Paris in 1830 and the Greek struggle against Turkish domination throughout the decade. Although shocked by the anarchy unleashed by some of these revolts he greeted the political changes as necessary and beneficent.<sup>5</sup> A persuasion that he did not conceal either from his friends

3. This article is based on preserved papers of both parties. The extensive diaries of Prince Christian Frederik/King Christian VIII, housed in RA (The Danish National Archives/Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen), have been published largely in their entirety in Christian VIII 1943-1995. The relevant correspondence by Brøndsted remains mostly unpublished and is preserved partly in RA, partly in KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen). While RA keeps 65 letters from Brøndsted to Christian Frederik of 1813-1842, among which also a few drafts of replies in Christian Frederik's hand in RA, 202 (archive no. 202: Kongehuset, Christian 8, Breve fra forskellige); KB keeps draft copies of those of the period September 1814 – October 1825 in KB, NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 1578 (1578 2°: P.O. Brøndsted, Brevkopibog 1814-25, I-II). KB, NKS, 4648 (4648 4°: Breve til P.O. Brøndsted, hans børn og sønnesønner o.a.) contains one letter of 1842 from Brøndsted to Christian VIII and three letters of 1821 from Christian Frederik to Brøndsted. In addition to this material some of Brøndsted's letters to other correspondents have also been consulted: Thus a series of 17 letters of 1818-1840 from Brøndsted to the Aagaard family (Brøndsted's in-laws), also kept in KB (thanks are due to Dr Jesper Brandt Andersen for directing my attention to this),

also refer to his dealings with Christian Frederik. Brøndsted's letters to his friend Jens Møller, published in Brøndsted 1926, are also relevant in this connection. So are Brøndsted's diplomatic reports sent mostly from Rome 1819-1823 to the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen, Baron Niels Rosenkrantz. The series comprises 53 reports of which all except no. 1, 45-47 and 51 are preserved in RA, 302 (archive no. 302: The Department of Foreign Affairs 1770-1848), 2307 (parcel no. 2307: Reports from the royal agent in Rome, Professor Brøndsted, and from the Danish consul Louis Chiaveri, 1819-1832). Draft copies of these reports can be found in KB, NKS, 1578. Some of Brøndsted's papers have also been posthumously published as extracts from his "travel diaries" by N.V. Dorph in Brøndsted 1850; it has a somewhat misleading title because about half the text derives not from his diaries but from his letters but without indication that this is the case and without citing exact dates and recipients.

4. Breitenstein 1951; Galster 1967; J.S. Jensen 2000; Kromann & Jensen 1986; Lund 2000; Rasmussen 2000b; Rasmussen 2006.

5. On the political ideas of Brøndsted, see the article by Isager in this publication.



or, as demonstrated, from his royal protector who was even publicly confronted with it.

Although Brøndsted's political ideas were hardly original in themselves, there is something striking about his behaviour in this regard that begs the question whether he was expecting more from the Prince than the latter was able or willing to give, or whether he was merely being insensitive and short of intuition. In any case Brøndsted can hardly have been unaware of the Prince's situation: Although the Prince was himself reputed to entertain liberal inclinations he was after all the heir to a kingdom which, though benignly enlightened, still remained one of the formally most autocratic monarchies of Europe. As long as Christian Frederik remained Prince, he was hardly in a position to realize whatever liberal intentions he might have had.

Thus, when considering this aspect of their relationship, the question remains: which role, if any, did Brøndsted's political opinions play? What did he expect from uttering them to the Prince? Sympathy, secret agreement perhaps, or even a chance to influence him? And did they in fact matter to the Prince? – Or, did he simply see them as one of Brøndsted's idiosyncrasies that he chose to tolerate?

Relevant questions, surely. Unfortunately the answers provided by the sources are not clear. What we get are merely hints, suggestions, possibilities that leave plenty of room for speculation and guesswork. This is due to the one-sidedness of the sources. While Brøndsted's opinions are clearly expressed, if not always wholly consistent, in his correspondence and papers, the Prince's papers are sadly silent about how he reacted to these opinions. That he considered them of some importance in some instances is evident, but to

what extent he agreed with them remains unclear. The following brief survey of stages of their relationship is therefore open to several interpretations.

The relationship began in 1813 and lasted with varying degrees of intensity until interrupted by Brøndsted's sudden death in 1842. It began tenuously by correspondence and on Brøndsted's initiative. After seven years abroad Brøndsted had returned to Denmark in September 1813, preceded by the rumour of his exploits in Greece. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of that month he had written the Prince to inform him of his return and of the learning he had acquired on Greece and Italy as well as of his regret that they were unable to meet. The Prince, who had been made aware of Brøndsted's existence at least as early as 1810, had replied favourably, confirming his interest in things Greek and Italian and also regretting that he could not be among those welcoming Brøndsted back home.<sup>6</sup> The relationship had been initiated but it was to be a number of years before they actually met.

The reason why they were unable to meet in 1813 was that in May of that year the Prince had left Denmark to take up the post of governor of Norway, then still part of the united kingdom of Denmark-Norway, in which capacity he was to play an important part whose details cannot be recounted here. Suffice it to say that when Denmark, at the peace negotiations in January 1814, was forced to cede Norway to Sweden, it became the governor's duty to arrange the transfer of Norway to Swedish authority, much to the protest of many Norwegians. In sympathy with the protesters the Prince then chose to disregard his duty and sided with the rebellious Norwegians in their struggle to create an independent Norwegian state. In a few months of intense activity a democratic constitution was drawn up,

6. RA, 202, 128 (parcel no. 128: Bræstrup-Bülöw), Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, Copenhagen the 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1813 and undated draft reply in Christian Frederik's hand. Christian Frede-

rik had been informed of Brøndsted's travels in a letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1810 from Hans West, Danish consul in Rome; it is published in Christian VIII 1965, II, 166.

enacted by the National Assembly at Eidsvold on 17 May 1814 while Christian Frederik was hailed as a hero of liberation and elected King of Norway, the first such for more than 400 years and even a constitutional one. In a sudden, unexpected development the Norwegian people had made a claim to national sovereignty and had acquired the most liberal constitution in Europe. However, since this development was not acceptable to Sweden or to the great European powers backing the peace, Norwegian independence was to be short-lived. After merely five months, and following a brief war, Sweden eventually prevailed: Norway was united with Sweden, though reluctantly allowed to keep its constitution, and Christian Frederik had to leave Norway, a sadder but a wiser man, returning to Denmark in October 1814.<sup>7</sup>

However, though the Prince had lost in the end, he had also succeeded in making a dramatic statement that inspired the admiration of many liberals at home and abroad, as well as the suspicion of the supporters of absolutism, including that of his cousin King Frederik VI. Among his liberally minded admirers was P.O. Brøndsted. In several letters of late 1814 and early 1815 to acquaintances abroad he refers to the Norwegian situation, expressing his sympathy with “our noble Prince Christian Frederik” who “threatened by all the world”, and though elected King of Norway, has had to leave the country again. In a letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1815 there is perhaps a hint of disappointment that “our good Prince C.F.” was not up to “that great task” of liberating Norway.<sup>8</sup> Even so, Brøndsted is quite aware that confronted with such overwhelming opposition, the Prince would not have stood a chance. Thus it seems that Brøndsted, from an early stage of his relationship with the Prince, had good reason to be-

lieve the Prince to be a champion of liberal constitutional government, which Brøndsted hoped to see introduced in his own country before his death.<sup>9</sup> Whether this was also how the Prince saw himself is still a matter of debate, perhaps a question which he might not have been quite decided about himself. In any case it was to be an important issue on his later travels in Europe and in his dealings with influential European peers among whom it was important to play down his liberal reputation.

Although the subsequent period, late October 1814 to late June 1818, was one of only two extended periods when both men found themselves in Denmark at the same time, there is no indication that they actually met. For most of this time Christian Frederik resided in Odense to fulfil the mostly ceremonial post of Governor of Funen, while Brøndsted tried to settle down as husband, father and professor at the University of Copenhagen.

Their first actual meeting appears to have taken place in Altona, in November 1818 according to Brøndsted’s correspondence. By this time the Prince and his wife were returning to Denmark after touring Germany and Austria since June, while Brøndsted, after the death of his wife, was on his way back to Rome to take up his new post of Royal Danish Court Agent and, more importantly for himself, to prepare his great work on his travels and researches in Greece for publication. In a letter to his family Brøndsted recounts how he was delayed in his departure from Hamburg in order to meet the Prince and his entourage for a few days. Although there is a hint of irritation at the delay, Brøndsted obviously comes away with a good impression of the Prince: He has a clear mind and a good understanding of the arts and sciences as well as a natu-

7. On Christian Frederik’s part in these developments, cf. the biographical studies in Linvald 1952, Linvald 1962, Linvald 1965a, Langslet 2000, 44-170.

8. KB, NKS, 1578, I, 2, thus Brøndsted to Consul Gropius in Plön, Copenhagen the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1814; KB, NKS, 1578, I, 9, Brøndsted to Countess Lunzi on the island of Zante, Copenhagen

the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1814; KB, NKS, 1578, I, 12, Brøndsted to an unidentified recipient in Frankfurt, Copenhagen the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1815.

9. According to a comment of the early 1820s, cited from Brøndsted 1850, 148.



ral, not princely feigned, respect for the highest aspirations of human thought. Above all, the Prince appears to Brøndsted full of heartfelt kindness and good nature.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Brøndsted was clearly sympathetic to the Prince from the beginning but to what extent it was reciprocated is not known; the Prince made no record of the meeting.

The following years, 1819-1821, were probably the most intense period of their relationship. This is documented by a considerable number of letters from Brøndsted (at least 19 from 1819-1821) and numerous entries in the Prince's diaries in the course of a year: 26 entries refer to Brøndsted, of which 22 are records of meetings from December 1819 to December 1820, making an average of almost one meeting every two weeks. Much of the time was devoted to excursions to ancient monuments, collections, acquisition of ancient vases, coins and other artefacts. Both parties were now abroad again, Brøndsted since late October 1818, to stay away with a short interruption in 1827 for 14 years; the Prince and his wife since May 1819 on their grand tour of Europe lasting until late August 1822. Their first meeting this time took place, appropriately, in Rome on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1819. The Prince had notified Brøndsted of his expected arrival in a letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of November, while Brøndsted, in his capacity of Court Agent, had secured free passage for the Prince from Cardinal Consalvi. In his reply of the 6<sup>th</sup> of December, Brøndsted took the opportunity of welcoming the Prince to Rome in the most flourishing manner:

“Welcome, Gracious Lord, most heartily welcome

to wonderful and memorable Italy! In the spring we were many Danes in Rome, now we are but few and the best among us, our Albert Thorvaldsen has also left, but we who remain shall all now [...] experience the great happiness of seeing our noble Danish Prince, the true protector of the sciences and the arts, in glorious *Roma*, – oh how much is contained in these four small letters, and how joyful I am that Your Highness shall now behold the great she-wolf – *she* is forever young and her breasts are full of strong and healthy milk”.<sup>11</sup>

In a passage like this it is hard to overlook the flattery, characteristic also of many other letters to the Prince, which may leave us to wonder about its sincerity. This is not easily determined, however, since Brøndsted's attitude to royalty and, in particular, to nobility, was at this time rather ambiguous: Whereas in some instances he is quite clear about his disdain for courtly and aristocratic life and no stranger to the idea of a world without princes, he is no less clear when, elsewhere, he pronounces himself to be a “royalist of all my heart because I consider this form supremely suited to further true happiness and blessing in a state”.<sup>12</sup> Still, it should be noted that the way he addresses the Prince, as noble and gracious protector of the arts and sciences, differs only in degree and lavishness, not in content, from the way he speaks about him to others. Particularly in letters to his family his judgment of the Prince is always sympathetic, even more so as they get to know each other better. Thus, it seems that although Brøndsted was no great admirer of

10. RA, 202, 128 and draft in KB, NKS, 1578, I, 68, Brøndsted to his family, Hamburg the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1818. Brøndsted refers briefly to the meeting in his third letter to Christian Frederik, Munich the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1819.

11. “Vær velkommen, Naadige Herre, ret af Hjertet velkommen i det skjønnne og minderige Italia! Vi vare i foraaet mange danske i Rom, nu ere vi ikkun faa, og den Bedste af os, vor Albert Thorvaldsen er ogsaa borte – men vi Andre ville [...] nu have den store Lykke at see vor ædle danske Prinds, Videnskabens og Konstens sande Velynder i det herlige *Roma* – o! hvor saare meget indbefattes ej i disse fire smaa Bogstaver – og hvor det glæder mig at Ds. Højhed nu selv kan skue den store Ulvinde –

*Hun* er evig ung og hendes Bryster fulde af sund og kraftig Melk”. Brøndsted's emphasis, RA, 202, 128, Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, Rome 6 Dec. 1819. Draft in KB, NKS, 1578, I, 114 in which he refers to Christian Frederik's letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of November. Cf. RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted to Niels Rosenkrantz, Rome the 29<sup>th</sup> of November 1819, and Brøndsted to Jens Møller, Rome the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1819 in Brøndsted 1926, 135.

12. Cf. the letter to Jens Møller, Paris the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1823 in: Brøndsted 1926, 151-2 expressing his admiration of “happy Switzerland”, which manages to live well *without* princes; Cf. also a diary entry of 1824 in Brøndsted 1850, 139.



princes in general, he *was* an admirer of this particular Prince. If there may be a measure of conscious flattery in this and other similar passages there may be no less a measure of authentic admiration, probably the same admiration expressed so unfortunately in the dedication and preface of his essay from about a year later.

On arriving in Rome the Prince was immediately greeted by Brøndsted, at whose place he was annoyed to see for the first time the new version of the Danish state coat of arms without the Norwegian Lion. The following days around Christmas and the new year were also spent in Brøndsted's company visiting St. Peter's Basilica, meeting Pope Pius VII, seeing the Vatican including the Sistine Chapel and as many ancient monuments as possible. The schedule was quite hectic and, as Brøndsted comments in his report to Foreign Secretary Rosenkrantz, he found the Prince "absolutely indefatigable" in his desire to see everything, reflect on everything and compare things. Brøndsted even confesses to have been driven almost tired by the Prince on some occasions. "It is impossible", Brøndsted concludes, "to follow a plan of study with more zeal than that demonstrated by the Prince during his days of excursions in Rome".<sup>13</sup>

After a fortnight in Rome the Prince and his entourage travelled on south to Naples where he became a guest of King Ferdinand of the Two Sicilies. But already in late January he again met Brøndsted who had also come to Naples. Here Brøndsted presented his wish to obtain a two to three-months leave from his duties as Court Agent in order to travel in the spring with his acquaintance Lord Guilford to the Ionian Islands and Sicily to collect material for his book. Brøndsted had written elaborately to the Prince on the

27<sup>th</sup> of January, stating that he had already obtained permission from Rosenkrantz but also declaring that he would refrain from going if it would in any way displease His Highness. Despite this assurance of compliance it is notable that in this matter Brøndsted was not being entirely honest with the Prince. As revealed by the documents it was only in his report of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February that he asked Rosenkrantz for the permission he claimed to the Prince to have obtained already. However this may be, the Prince certainly sensed that this project was important to Brøndsted, as he commented in his diary on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February that Brøndsted seemed so eager to go that the Prince would not let him feel the inconvenience of his absence from Rome to which the Prince planned to return. There is a rare hint here of irritation on the Prince's part but also of indulgence. Obviously, Brøndsted must have been able to count on the Prince's favour.<sup>14</sup>

In any case it was to prove an important decision, since this is the reason why Brøndsted, come July, found himself in the Sicilian capital Palermo a few days before the outbreak of the revolution, which he therefore happened to witness. The experiences of the two weeks he spent there during the upheavals must have left a considerable impression on him, as witnessed by his detailed reports to the Department of Foreign Affairs: "Since last night Palermo is in the grip of total rebellion", begins his 19<sup>th</sup> report of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> of July containing a vivid, almost hour-by-hour eyewitness account of revolutionary developments in the city. About ten days later, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July, followed another copious account of fighting, rioting and murders as well as of the political circumstances. It should be noted that Brøndsted made no attempt to disguise or

13. "Il est impossible de suivre son plan d'étude avec plus de zèle que celui que le Prince a montré en continuant ses journées d'excursions à Rome". Christian Frederik's diary for the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of December 1819 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January 1820 in Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 171, 174, 177 and 188. RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted to Niels Rosenkrantz, Rome the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1819 [i.e. 1820] and the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1820. Also Brøndsted to his family, Rome the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 1820, in which he declares

of the princely couple, Christian Frederik and his wife Princess Caroline Amalie, that he has grown much more fond of them as he has been spending all day every day in their company.

14. RA, 202, 128 and draft in KB, NKS, 1578, I, 122, Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, Naples the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1820; RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted to Niels Rosenkrantz, Naples the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 1820, report no. 14; Christian Frederik's diary for the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1820, Christian VIII 1943-1995, I, 1, 210.



diminish the importance of this ugly side of the revolution; on the contrary, he quite abhorred the anarchy, violence and bestiality perpetrated by an unrestrained mob even as he remained positive towards the prospect of political change. This was also the message to the Prince to whom, on the day before, he had written a letter with enclosed copies of his latest reports to Rosenkrantz. From arriving Neapolitan papers Brøndsted had learned of the revolution taking place simultaneously in Naples and got the impression that, unlike in Palermo, violence and murder had not soiled the Neapolitan revolution which caused a “possibly fortunate change of government in the capital”<sup>15</sup>.

That Brøndsted’s accounts of the Palermitan revolution also left an impression on the Prince is obvious from the fact that he paraphrases these reports extensively in his diary. This should be seen against the background of the almost simultaneous events in Naples, where revolution had broken out on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July, so that the Prince too became a first hand witness to the unfolding of revolutionary events. In both Naples and Palermo the people had demanded a constitution, a demand that had been swiftly granted by the Crown Prince on the King’s authority. In the Prince’s diary these events are recounted extensively and continue to occupy him for the rest of the year even to the extent of his attending meetings of the newly established Neapolitan parliament on several occasions through October and November.

So it did for Brøndsted whose reports to Rosenkrantz keep referring to and commenting on the situation in Naples and Sicily, particularly as the prospect of foreign intervention arose and was eventually realized. The occupation in February-March 1821 of the

Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by Austrian troops in order to undo the political changes found no sympathiser in Brøndsted who did not conceal his views either from Rosenkrantz or from the Prince. Thus, there was no shortage of important issues to discuss and, although the sources do not reveal details, these developments seem most likely to have been the subject of much discussion between the Prince and Brøndsted after the latter’s return, with some difficulty, to Naples by the end of July. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of August Brøndsted talked a great deal about Sicily, according to the Prince’s diary, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the same month the Prince remarks that “Brøndsted read to me his report on the revolt in Palermo”, and then adds, “Seen his coins”, a remark that seems characteristic of the way in which their mutual archaeological and numismatic interests sometimes provided the occasion for discussion of current affairs. Staying in Naples evidently provided plenty of such occasions, as both the Prince and Brøndsted stayed on here until returning together to Rome in late November.<sup>16</sup>

Such was the background that spurred Brøndsted to write the ill-fated preface and dedication of his essay in November 1820. Perhaps in a mistaken belief that the Prince, with whom he had shared his experience, thought along the same lines or without considering that even if he did, he was not in a position to say so. Apparently without realising it, Brøndsted had publicly stated the fact that a seemingly official representative of the King of Denmark and a protégé of the heir to the Danish throne sympathised with political ideas and actions which soon after led the Austrian government to military intervention. That Brøndsted did not realize the implications of his essay is suggested by the

15. RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted’s reports to Niels Rosenkrantz no. 18-20 of the 9<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of July 1820; RA, 202, 128 and draft in KB, NKS, 1578, I, 149, letter to Christian Frederik of the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1820.

16. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 259ff., 263, Christian Frederik’s diary for 17<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> of July, the 5<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1820 and numerous entries for the rest of the year; RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted’s reports no. 21-23, 26-34 and 38, the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1820 – the 5<sup>th</sup> of June 1821, to Niels Rosenkrantz.

fact that he himself notified Rosenkrantz of its publication and of the fact that he had taken “the liberty of dedicating it to H.H. Prince Christian”<sup>17</sup>.

A year later this preface, as mentioned, was to cause the Prince considerable embarrassment as he arrived in Paris. Here he was informed by the Danish envoy that his political views were regarded with much suspicion by representatives of the great powers, because they were seen as too liberal, even quasi-revolutionary. Among the chief causes of this was the Prince’s own prolonged sojourn in Naples and the “inconsiderate preface” by Brøndsted. This was certainly a problem. After Norway the Prince had an image to repair relative to his peers in other European countries, and this reparation was evidently part of the purpose of his grand tour. Now this fragile edifice was being threatened and the Prince had a lot of explaining to do, not least because of the inconsiderate remarks of *il cavaliere* Brøndsted.<sup>18</sup>

It should be noted that already before the Prince’s arrival in Paris, the issue had been raised by Foreign Secretary Rosenkrantz who, in a letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1821, had taken exception to the opinions expressed by Brøndsted in his reports. In a friendly but unmistakable manner he had made it clear to Brøndsted that his judgment of developments in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies did not coincide with that of the Royal Danish Court or of the Danish government. However, this reprimand did not lead Brøndsted to change his opinions nor even to realize that his official position as Court Agent implied certain limits to his

freedom of expression. In a long and spirited reply of the 13<sup>th</sup> of June Brøndsted defended himself, arguing that there was no point in merely repeating to others what they already believed. It was much more useful to hear an authentic expression of differing views. Brøndsted also used the occasion to state his case to the Prince to whom he wrote three days later promising to send the Prince a copy of his reply to Rosenkrantz. As formulated here it is clear that Brøndsted had come to feel quite free to speak his mind to the Prince: “I have as I believe replied sufficiently to these pronouncements [by Rosenkrantz] in my last report of 13 June; and as Your Royal Highness has infused in me the trust on which the noble Prince can count when he has decided to become a powerful supporter of the future welfare of [our] common fatherland, I shall dare next week to communicate to Your Highness a copy of my last report to Councillor Rosenkrantz, believing that no honest man and loyal subject can communicate to this Prince anything better than the full conviction of his soul on some of the most important questions of life”.<sup>19</sup>

On the basis of this statement it is to be believed that this is in fact what Brøndsted had become used to do: to speak his mind to the Prince, and although the latter has left us practically no clue as to what he thought of Brøndsted’s opinions, it may be surmised that since the Prince continued to listen to them, he cannot have found them wholly disagreeable. A case in point may be found in Brøndsted’s next letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of July 1821 where he refers to pronouncements by the Prince concerning the matter of Greece.

17. RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted to Niels Rosenkrantz, Rome the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1820, report no. 23.

18. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 2, 438ff.: “Notices sur les évènements du jour. Paris 1821-1822 par le Comte d’Oldenbourg [i.e.: Christian Frederik]”. Cf. Langslet 2000, 188-197.

19. “Jeg har, som jeg troer, tilstrækkeligen besvaret disse Ytringer [af Rosenkrantz] i min sidste Depeche af 13 Junij; og da Ds. Kongelige Højhed har indgivet mig den Tillid, som den ædle Fyrste kan regne paa naar han har besluttet at vorde en kraftig stytte for fælleds Fædrelands Velfærd i Fremtiden, saa vover jeg i næste Uge at meddele Ds. Højhed en Afskrivt af mit sidste Scriptum til GehejmeR. R[osenkrantz], menende at ingen ærlig

Mand og tro Undersaat kan meddele hin Fyrste noget bedre end sin Sjæls fuldeste Overbevisning om nogle af Livets Vigtigste Anliggender”. RA, 202, 128, Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, Rome the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1821; RA, 302, 2307, Brøndsted to Niels Rosenkrantz, Rome the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1821, report no. 39. It may be noted that a part of Brøndsted’s reply to Niels Rosenkrantz was published already when Christian Frederik was still alive in the short biography by J.P. Mynster: Brøndsted 1844b, I, 42f., a copy of which is still kept in Christian VIII’s library in HM the Queen’s Reference Library/H.M. Dronningens Håndbibliotek, Copenhagen.



Brøndsted here asserts that he sympathises entirely with the Prince's view of the Greek struggle for liberation, "the endeavours of the interesting and highly intelligent Greek nation to throw off the yoke of slavery". Brøndsted goes on to assure the Prince that as soon as he learns something further about the Greek situation he will report it to His Highness (fig. 3). This promise he fulfilled on later occasions in subsequent years by reporting and commenting on developments in Greece, a matter that was clearly also of importance to himself.<sup>20</sup>

After the Prince's departure from Rome in April 1821, he and Brøndsted no longer had the opportunity to meet until Brøndsted's return to Denmark in May 1832. The relationship was kept alive, though, through correspondence: At least 18 letters were sent by Brøndsted to the Prince in the period 1822-30, some of which obviously reply to or refer to letters from the Prince. Even so, no references to Brøndsted are found in the Prince's diaries, which, after his return to Denmark and through most of this time, have been only sparsely kept, in some periods not at all. Most of Brøndsted's letters are concerned with the main aspect of their relationship: art, antiquities or the Prince's collections. Sometimes, however, Brøndsted dropped a comment on his political or cultural opinions. Thus, for instance, on the Prince's birthday, the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1824, Brøndsted wrote the Prince from London to congratulate him. Being in London he took the opportunity to expand on his admiration of this wonderful city, "an immense mirror image of modern civilisation with all its vices and virtues", and more generally of English society, praising the marvellous fruits of a liberal constitution, civic freedom and legality, the experience of which he considers "highly joyful and re-

freshing for anybody with true humanity in his heart and a sincere conviction that precisely where the law obliges all to fulfil their duties, there the rights of all, also of those most highly stationed, are exercised at their best".<sup>21</sup>

This appreciation of London, and generally of England and English life, is quite consistent with remarks made elsewhere on the same topic as well as with his general preference for representative government, civil society and the rule of law. Still, one wonders what he expected the Prince to make of these comments, even after the embarrassment caused by his essay of 1820. Go Thou and do likewise?

The current-affairs theme made a dramatic return in 1830 when Brøndsted, again, happened to find himself in the middle of a revolution in the making, this time in Paris where his stay in some ways became a repetition of his experiences in Palermo ten years earlier. Thus on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July 1830 he wrote the Prince from Paris: "What sad occurrences I have to report to Your Royal Highness!" The letter is obviously hurried and rather disordered in its presentation, leading Brøndsted to ask the Prince gracefully to forgive the "haphazardness with which this has been written down in the midst of incessant thundering of gun and musket shooting, as they are fighting ceaselessly by the Porte St. Denis and on the Boulevard by Faubourg Poisonniere." Once again, Brøndsted's talents as a war correspondent gave the Prince a dense and vivid account of dramatic and important events, continued in his letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> of August, two days after the abdication of King Charles X. Once again Brøndsted is quite adamant in his condemnation of anarchy and mob rule but less explicit about his judgement of the political implications. This time, there is also no indication of how

20. On Brøndsted as a philhellene, see the investigation of Danish Philhellenism in Krarup 1986, particularly pp. 24-27.

21. "Erfaringen er i høi Grad glædelig og vederqvægende for Enhver, som har sand Humanitet i Hjertet og inderlig Overbevisning om, at just der, hvor Loven forpligter Alle til at opfylde

deres Pligter, just der hjemles Alles, ogsaa de mest Ophøiedes Rettigheder bedst". RA, 202, 128 and draft in KB, NKS, 1578, II, 85, Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, London the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1824. Over the years Brøndsted many times wrote specifically to congratulate the Prince on his birthday.



Fig. 3: Bust of Prince Christian Frederik appropriately clad in ancient Roman attire, sculpted by Bertel Thorvaldsen in Rome in 1821 and shipped home to Denmark by Brøndsted in May of the same year. Property of Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen. Photo by Ole Woldbye.



the Prince reacted to Brøndsted's account or to the developments themselves.<sup>22</sup>

In the last decade of Brøndsted's life, from his return to Denmark in May 1832 until his death on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1842, he began again to have meetings with the Prince. Now their meetings were not nearly so often, though. 28 meetings are recorded in the Prince's diaries in this period, averaging 2-3 times a year, while 27 letters are preserved. By far the most of these meetings, as recorded by the Prince, and most of the letters were concerned, as usual, with ancient vases, coins, art, lectures on excavations etc. However, now and then, the current-affairs theme appeared again, as on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1834 when Brøndsted read a lecture on Ali Pascha of Joanina or, about a year later, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of February 1835, on Greece. Already in 1833 he had donated a new publication of his to the Prince, one of several adorned with a personal, handwritten inscription (no more printed ones!). The book in question was his edition of the deceased German major Friedrich Müller's description of the military situation in Greece in 1827-28 (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus Griechenland*, Paris 1833) in whose preface he expressly describes himself as a philhellene, confirming publicly his continued interest in the current affairs of his time.<sup>23</sup>

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 1839 the old King Frederik VI died, after an effective reign of 55 years, and Prince Christian Frederik ascended the throne as King Chris-

tian VIII. This change of government had been long awaited, particularly by liberals hoping that the erstwhile leader of the Norwegian rebellion of 1814 would now grant his own country a similar constitution. However, as it soon became clear that the new King had no immediate plans of constitutional change these expectations gave way to widespread disappointment, a sentiment that Brøndsted might be expected to have shared. However, if he did, he didn't say. On the contrary, at least in his letters to the King, he expressly stated his disapproval of such critics. Being in London at the time, he only had second-hand experience of the change, but enough to judge the situation. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 1839 he had written to congratulate the King, praying that he and his reign would receive the blessing of God. About a month later, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1840, having read of critical reactions in the papers, he wrote a long letter to the King to express his support: "... it seems to me that my dear compatriots should think more about the meaning of the well-known Italian saying "che va piano, va sano" [what goes gently goes soundly]. It seems neither appropriate to talk much about the Eidsvold Constitution before our reigning King has had the time to utter *his* opinion, or to preach to [him] the desirability of several changes while the body of the blessed [late] King is still resting in the palace opposite. Certain of Your Majesty's pronouncements to the good men of the town of Corsøer [on Zealand]... did no harm at all and would, as I

22. RA, 202, 128, Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, Paris the 28<sup>th</sup> of July and the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1830. In a letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1830 he reports to Christian Frederik on the new French government, commenting that the new government will have an "ultraliberal colour which will neither suit nor in the smallest degree further the true happiness of this country".

23. Christian VIII 1943-1995, III, 98, 113, Christian Frederik's diary for the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1834 and the 26<sup>th</sup> of February 1835. Apart from the essay on the Greek helmet four presentation copies with handwritten inscriptions for Christian Frederik are known to exist: Brøndsted 1832, now in the library of the department for Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities at the National Museum of Denmark; Brøndsted 1835a, now in the library of The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, The National Museum of Denmark; Müller 1833; Brøndsted 1834, both in HM The

Queen's Reference Library. The Reference Library's copy of Brøndsted 1826-1830a, splendidly bound in one volume (described in Rohde 1985, 191-209), bears no handwritten inscription and is therefore likely to have belonged to King Frederik VI to whom the printed dedication is addressed. In a letter to Christian Frederik from Paris the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1830, RA, 202, 128, Brøndsted informs Christian Frederik that he has just sent a copy of the French edition of vol. II, just published, to the Prince and a copy of the German edition to the Princess. Of these only the copy for the Princess has been preserved in the Reference Library, the Library of Caroline Amalie, together with a copy of vol. I. Both are inscribed by the author to Princess Caroline Amalie and dated in Paris the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1826 and the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1830 respectively.



hope, have a good effect on our *radicals*. Radicalism is a rash on the bodies of most states in our days, a sickness [...] which can be very dangerous. With us it has until now only affected the *skin*, as far as I can judge; here, in England, it is much worse ...”<sup>24</sup>

The sharp denunciation of radicalism is notable, but to what extent it implies that Brøndsted had now revised his views of twenty years earlier is not clear; nor is it known whether he appreciated the King’s hesitation as a sign of the latter’s cautious and gradualist approach, though the reference to the Italian proverb might suggest as much.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1842, Brøndsted died after a fall from his horse. By all appearances the relationship between Brøndsted and the king had remained intact right up to this point. The last entry in the King’s diary referring to Brøndsted dates from the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1842 when the King had Brøndsted, H.C. Ørsted and others for dinner; while the last preserved letter from Brøndsted to the King is dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1842. It is quite brief and seems merely to have accompanied an enclosed essay by Brøndsted mentioning two of the vases in the King’s collection. Thus, the relationship between the two can be said to have ended more or less on the same note as it began, with their shared interest in the history and remains of classical antiquity, but now informed by years of study and the accumulation of important collections.<sup>25</sup>

However, although Brøndsted himself had died the

relationship was, in a sense, continued even beyond this point by the King’s efforts to have the unpublished parts of Brøndsted’s work published in a suitable form. According to the King’s diary the initiative came from Brøndsted’s daughter, Mrs Hall. Having settled the economic side of the matter (Brøndsted had died indebted<sup>26</sup> to the King), the King entrusted the task of editing his works to Mr N.V. Dorph, who in the following years published some of Brøndsted’s works. One of these, and the only one coming close to the splendour of his unfinished *Voyages*, was the edition of his work on the so-called “Ficoronian Cista” which came out in a folio edition in 1847, the year before the King died. For obvious reasons this work was not inscribed by the author but it still, in a sense, bears witness to an important relationship: “Published by Royal command”<sup>27</sup> proclaims the title page – as an appropriate last greeting from the relationship’s surviving party.<sup>28</sup>

It was mentioned above that the political aspect of their relationship treated here was hardly the most important to either of them. Throughout their acquaintance ancient vases evidently predominated over ancient regimes. However, as demonstrated by this investigation, the issue of ancient regimes and their prospective substitution with new ones remained a recurring theme throughout their acquaintance. As an issue of great importance – to the Prince also on a very personal level – it had a potential for considerable tension: the desirability and feasibility of representative

24. “Ikkun synes det mig at mine kjære Landsmænd skulde bedre betænke Meningen med det bekendte italienske Ordsprog: “che va piano, va sano”. Det synes hverken passende, førend vor regjerende Konge har faaet Tid til selv at yttre *sin* Anskuelse, at tale meget om Eidsvoldconstitutionen eller at foredrage Regenten Ønskeligheden af adskillige Forandringer, imedens salig Kongens Liig endnu hviler i Paladset lige over for. Visse Ytringer af Ds. Majestæt til de gode Mænd fra Corsøer [...] skadede slet ikke, og ville, som jeg haaber, være af god Virkning paa vore *Radicaler*. Radicalismen er en Udslet paa de fleste Statslegemer i vore Dage, en Sygdom som [...] kan blive meget farlig. Hos os har den, saa vidt jeg skjønner, hidtil ikkun afficeret *Huden*; her, i England, er den meget værre, ...”. Brøndsted’s emphasis, RA, 202, 128, Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, London the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1840. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June of that year Brønd-

sted attended the official coronation and anointment ceremony of Christian VIII in the Frederiksborg Castle Chapel.

25. Christian VIII 1943-1995, IV, 1, 205, Christian VIII’s diary for the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1842; KB, NKS, 4648, Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, Copenhagen the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1842.

26. Cf. the article by Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen in this publication.

27. “Efter allerhöieste Befaling udgivet”.

28. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1-2, Christian Frederik’s diary for the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1843, the 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1843, the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1844, the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1844, the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1844, the 21<sup>st</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1844, the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 1845, the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1845, the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1846, Langslet 2000, 333-41 and 379f.



constitutional government versus the well-trying principles of absolutism, which had existed in Denmark since 1660. The fact that the tension did not result in a break suggests that the Prince and King cannot have been wholly unsympathetic to Brøndsted's opinions. And, although this side of their relationship had no visible, tangible results, it is worth noting the little known fact that in the last year of the King's life he devoted much of his renowned energy to the preparation of precisely what Brøndsted had wanted to see before his death: the introduction of constitutional government. The granting of the constitution had been planned for the autumn of 1848 to coincide with the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Oldenburg dynasty and as a voluntary gift from the King to a mature people.<sup>29</sup> The sudden death of the King in January 1848 disrupted the plan and the introduction of the constitution was left to his son, Frederik VII – who was to exercise his father's command. Whether these plans were in any way inspired by Brøndsted is unknown. But it is not unlikely that the opinions voiced by Brøndsted over many years and the momentous experiences shared with him by the Prince contributed to the King's realization that the days of absolutism were numbered.

Thus, even if the ancient vases were a more important aspect of their relationship than the issue of ancient or new regimes, they provided the possibility for the commoner P.O. Brøndsted to talk with the heir to the throne about subjects that would have been unthinkable with any of Christian Frederik's predecessors. Their shared interest in archaeology, classical studies and the arts brought them together on a sort of common – even level ground – where they could converse on equal terms. For Brøndsted it provided an opportunity not merely to promote the professional interests of himself and others but also to present the Prince with political views which, if hardly original in themselves, were still quite bold and controversial. In the terms of the history of scholarship and as a tale of changing social mores the relationship between P.O. Brøndsted and Prince Christian Frederik is an illustration of the changes brought by the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the professional scholar of a non-aristocratic background who by virtue of his professionalism meets with the princely amateur and future king on equal terms.

29. Langslet 2000, 333-41 and 379 seq.

# “London ... in reality the capital of Europe” P.O. Brøndsted’s dealings with the British Museum

by *Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen*

Throughout his life P.O. Brøndsted was a great admirer of all things English, he had many English friends and enjoyed staying in London, attending meetings in the House of Commons and following the political life. In his own words: “Such a school, such a theatre for education and reflexion ... London is the true centre of the modern civilization with all its virtues and flaws. The true place in our time for exchange of all ideas, inventions and products, and as such ... in reality the capital of Europe.”<sup>1</sup>

This paper concentrates on the long periods P.O. Brøndsted spent in London engaging himself in various activities involving the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, his several attempts to sell his archaeological collections, his study of the Parthenon sculptures, and his pursuing of another of his great interests – Greek vases.<sup>2</sup>

## “A fine collection”

In the autumn of 1824 Brøndsted went to London to prepare for the planned English edition of “*Voyages dans la Grèce*”. After the publication of the French and German edition he found himself in severe financial difficulties but was still adamant that an English edi-

tion should be published. In order to raise the money for it he tried to sell a collection of antiquities, amassed during his years in Italy and Greece. He had a special interest in coins but otherwise he did not in his collecting concentrate on any particular type of objects or on specific periods. He seems to have more or less picked up various objects as he came upon them. Brøndsted made the offer through an agent, Adolphus Richter, and the collection in question consisted of five cases listed in a handwritten catalogue attached to Richter’s letter: “Being of opinion that a fine collection of ancient greek sculptured marbles and also a certain quantity of ancient sculptured terra-cottas in my possession would form a valuable acquisition for the British Museum, I have the honor to offer those remarkable objects to the Trustees of that Institution for the very moderate prizes mentioned in the following catalogue.”<sup>3</sup>

“In the case that the Trustees intend to purchase this interesting collection, I only take the liberty to observe, that, my affairs obliging me to leave London on the 18th of Novemb. next, it is my wish and respectful proposition that this little affair might be settled, and the consignment of the five cases containing those grecian marbles and antiquities might take place before the 17th of November”.<sup>4</sup>

1. Brøndsted 1844, 55.

2. I want to extend my warm thanks to Bikubenfonden for their generous support, which enabled me to likewise experience London in the autumn of 2005 and study the papers related to Brøndsted’s activities in the archives of the British Museum (BM). I also want to thank Gary Thorn, Museum Archivist, Dr. Dyfri Williams, Keeper, Ian Jenkins, curator, Paul Roberts, cu-

rator and other staff members in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities for their great patience and valuable help. All letters and documents are transcribed as written as to misspellings and inconsequent use of capitals.

3. Handwritten catalogue attached to the letter. See Appendix I.

4. BMA (British Museum Archives), OP (Original Papers), V, No.1958, the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1824.



The offer was recommended to the Trustees of the Museum in a report read at their meeting on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November: “Mr. Adolphus Richter, of No. 30 Soho Square, offers for sale to the trustees a small collection of ancient Marbles, Terra-cottas, bronzes, etc, the price of each article is marked in the catalogue which accompanies the offer, the whole amounting to £ 890. Mr. Combe has inspected this collection and begs to say that he thinks it would prove a desirable acquisition to the British Museum; he is also of opinion that the price asked for it, is not beyond its value.”<sup>5</sup>

The Trustees, however, postponed the decision, and Brøndsted himself withdrew his offer in a letter to Henry Ellis, secretary to the Trustees: “I am particular obliged to You for Your kindness to communicate me, by Your letter of yesterday, the result of a general meeting of the Trustees of the British Museum, concerning a fine collection of ancient greek marbles and terracottas which are in my possession and have been offered, according to my wish, by Mr. Richter, to the British Museum, for the sum of 890 £.

You state, Sir, in your kind letter, that, the decision of the Trustees is referred to the Committee meeting “of the next month”.

My affairs obliging me to leave London at the end of this week and to shut up previously the five heavy cases containing the abovementioned collection I must beg You to consider this business as postponed till some future epoch, when I probably shall return to London and have the honor to inform you accordingly.”<sup>6</sup>

Brøndsted returned to London in spring of 1826 and renewed his offer to the British Museum in April even offering to wait for payment until the following year – adding that if he were rich enough he should not require any payment at all: “I request You also kindly to

observe that, in the case that the Trustees wish to purchase my collection of Greek marbles &, it will suit me even as well to receive the amount in January 1827 as to be paid immediately. My proposal is any thing but a mercantile speculation; I wish that some little results of my researches in Greece may be deemed worth entering the British Museum, and I should have presented them as a gift to that noble institution, if I were rich enough to do so.” Reflecting on the wishes of the Trustees he went on to recommend certain objects: “I shall venture to observe confidently, that those architectural parts and the beautiful torso quoted under *statues, Case No.2* (now engraved in my work “*Voyages et recherches en Grèce*”, 1<sup>ère</sup> livraison, Paris 1828 in fol. Plate IX) would form, in my opinion, the most interesting objects of the present collection, with regard to the contents hitherto exposed of the British Museum. In my collection of Terra cottas there are many fine pieces, but You have already even as good specimens, except three or four pieces in my collection which I believe to be of superior kind.”<sup>7</sup>

Apart from the torso from his excavations on Kea, which Brøndsted singles out,<sup>8</sup> the collection comprised a young male figure, named Hymen, of Greek workmanship found 1819 at the Via Appia, a Doric capital and a front tile from the temple on Aigina, front tiles from the Apollo temple at Phigaleia, and 48 ornamental terracottas from Greece and Italy. Despite Brøndsted’s very eloquent letter and imploring words the Trustees were not moved, and on a meeting on April 8<sup>th</sup> resolved “that the Purchase of the collection be declined.”<sup>9</sup>

But Brøndsted did not give up so easily, and years later, in April 1840, he made a final effort and offered the collection to the British Museum – but again to no avail.<sup>10</sup> In this final offer there is no mentioning of ei-

5. BMA, OR (Officers’ Report), vol. 8, No. 1799.

6. BMA, OP, V, No. 1982.

7. BMA, OP, VI, No. 2143, the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1826. See also Appendix I.

8. See the article by John Lund in this publication.

9. BMA, Index CE 3/10/2957.

10. BMA OP, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1840. The offer was declined in a meeting of a Standing Committee the 11<sup>th</sup> of April. BMA, OP, XVIII-XX, No. 5355.



Fig. 1. Fragment of an architectural ornament, a sima, with volute-palmette decoration. From the Apollo temple in Phigaleia. 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The National Museum, Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities.

ther the torso from his excavations on Kea or the torso of a young male, Hymen.

The British Museum not having acquired any of the objects offered by Brøndsted the question arises as to what happened to them. The capital from Aigina and the architectural ornaments from Aigina and Phigalia

entered the Royal Cabinet of Antiquities in Copenhagen after Brøndsted's death and are now in the National Museum (fig.1).<sup>11</sup> There is a slight possibility that the torso from Kea may yet be traceable,<sup>12</sup> but of the other objects there seems to be no trace.

However, a close scrutiny of the index to minutes of

11. Capital from Aigina inv.no. ABb 193. Antefix from Aigina inv.no. ABb 194, antefixes from Phigalia inv.no. ABb 195 and ABb 196, sima from Phigaleia inv.no. ABb 197. Christiansen 2000, 71-73.

12. See the article by John Lund in this publication.



meetings of the board of Trustees and its subcommittees for 1831 revealed a peculiar entry: “Pedestal ordered for statue purchased from Chev. Brøndsted.”<sup>13</sup> The subcommittee in question ordered that – not just any pedestal – but a *revolving pedestal* be made for the statue recently purchased by the Trustees from the Chev. Brøndsted.<sup>14</sup> And an entry in the register of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum reads: “Marble. Statue of Hymen. Purchased of the Chev. Brøndsted. £ 30. NO. 1703. This statue had already been offered in 1819, found in the ruins of an ancient Roman House on the Via Appia, near Rome.”<sup>15</sup> The British Museum archives do not yield a letter of thanks from Brøndsted after the acquisition – so when exactly it was made remains an open question.

### The statue of Hymen

The statue, made of Carrara marble, shows a youth resting on his right leg (fig. 2).<sup>16</sup> The head has been reattached to the body and joins the neck on the right. The hair falls in long tresses over the shoulders and he wears a wreath around his head. The nose is a modern addition and the surface has been cleaned. The deep drilling in the eyes and the hair places the statue in the time of Hadrian.

Today we may not regard this as a very important ancient sculpture but the treatment of it in the British Museum – the ordering of a “revolving pedestal” – speaks another language. The statue can be traced in the various editions of “Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum”. The “Synopsis” from 1832 shows the statue placed in Group IV among the Townley Sculptures, “Finest statues of the Roman Period. From Augustus to Hadrian” and states the year of acquisition as 1831.<sup>17</sup> Later it could be seen in the Third Graeco-Roman Room, which contained “demigods, heroes and others associated with religion, poetry, or mysticism in the Greek and Roman creed”.<sup>18</sup> The Illustrated London News, which recorded the opening of this room published also an engraving, which shows the arrangement (fig. 3).<sup>19</sup> A photograph from 1875 shows the statue in the Graeco-Roman basement<sup>20</sup> and another from 1890 also has it in this basement<sup>21</sup>. It is a kind of sculpture that was very popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and can be found in many collections, though today mostly in their storerooms.<sup>22</sup> Brøndsted’s naming the statue Hymen, a kind of god of weddings, of which there are no known representations in sculpture, can perhaps be put down to his mainly philological approach to antiquity.<sup>23</sup>

13. BMA, Index to Minutes, vol. II, S.C. 44, the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1831.
14. BMA, Minutes of Sub Committees, vol. I, CE 7/1/44, the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1831.
15. BM, Greek and Roman, Register of Antiquities II, no. 1703. Brøndsted had originally offered the statue at a price of 130 £.
16. British Museum, inv. no. 1703. I thank the staff of the Department of Greek and Roman for locating the statue in the basement and taking me to see it.
17. Synopsis 1832, 152, no. 25, group IV: Finest statues of the Roman Period. Fragment of a Statue, probably Hymen, the head encircled by a wreath of flowers. Purchased in the year 1831. (This is one of the few entries in a Synopsis that gives a year for the acquisition). The Synopsis from 1876 has a handwritten note next to the entry of the statue which reads: “This appears to be the statue offered to the Museum by Mr. Adolphus Richter in 1824”. Vaux 1851, 220.
18. Synopsis 1855, 95: “Mutilated statue of a youth, small-life-size, commonly described as Hymen, on the head is a wreath of flo-

wers. Found on the Via Appia near Rome, in 1817, and purchased of the Chevalier Brøndsted, 1831.

19. Illustrated London News, the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1855, 324; Jenkins 1990, fig. 281.
20. Photo F.York, The Graeco-Roman Basement looking east, c. 1875. Jenkins 1990, fig. 54.
21. Photo, The London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company, 1890. Jenkins 1990, fig. 155.
22. Reinach 1904, III, 24, 6 places the statue in the type: “Apollon, type viril achaïque”
23. OCD describes Hymen or Hymenaeus in this way: it was customary at Greek Weddings to cry “Hymen Hymenai o or o Hymen Hymanai. Rightly or wrongly this was understood as an invocation of a being called Hymen or Hymenaeus, and various stories were invented of him, all to the effect that he was a very handsome young man who either married happily or had something happen to him on his wedding day.



Fig. 2. The statue of Hymen acquired from P.O. Brøndsted by the British Museum 1831. Photo, Courtesy of the British Museum.

24. Letter to Professor Nyerup in KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 2400 of the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1827. A German art historian and critic, K. von Rumohr was the first to publish the heads as belonging to the Parthenon, see Rumohr 1825. See also the article by Jan Zahle in this publication. The National

## The Parthenon

While in London Brøndsted started working seriously on the Parthenon sculptures and he changed his original plan for the content of the second volume of “Voyages” and made the Parthenon metopes the subject. During a visit to Copenhagen in 1827 he had realised that two heads in the Royal Kunstmuseum belonged to the Parthenon – heads that he had hitherto believed to represent a male and a female probably belonging to a temple in Athens – not committing himself to which.<sup>24</sup>

In 1828 he brought casts of the heads to London and presented them to the British Museum: “Having recognised last year when I was at Copenhagen, that two very fine heads of Pentelic marble, which were sent from Athens in the year 1688 by Captain Hartmand and presented to H.M. the King of Denmark’s Museum, belonged originally to the exterior frieze on the southern side of the temple (now in the British Museum, marked No.4), I suppose it to be of some interest to those who study the Athenian marbles in the B.M., to compare the Copenhagen fragments with the remaining metope.”<sup>25</sup>

In this letter Brøndsted suggests that the heads belong to the eight metope, which was numbered as “four” in the museum display. Unfortunately neither he himself nor the British Museum followed his recommendation – “to compare the Copenhagen fragments with the remaining metope”. Had this been done right away – and had the heads been tried matched with other metopes – it might have been realized that they did not belong to the eight but to the fourth metope and Brøndsted could have avoided the wrongful publication of the heads made in the second volume of “Voyages” in 1830.<sup>26</sup> In the British Museum the match was not made until 1831 as Edward Hawkins’ report to the Trustees demonstrates: “Mr. Hawkins has the honour of reporting to the Trustees that having attentively examined the two casts, some time

Museum of Denmark, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, Inv.nos. Abb 13 (centaur) and Abb 14a (lapith). Rasmussen 2000, 89. Christiansen 2000, 71.

25. BMA, OP, the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1828.

26. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, 200-202.



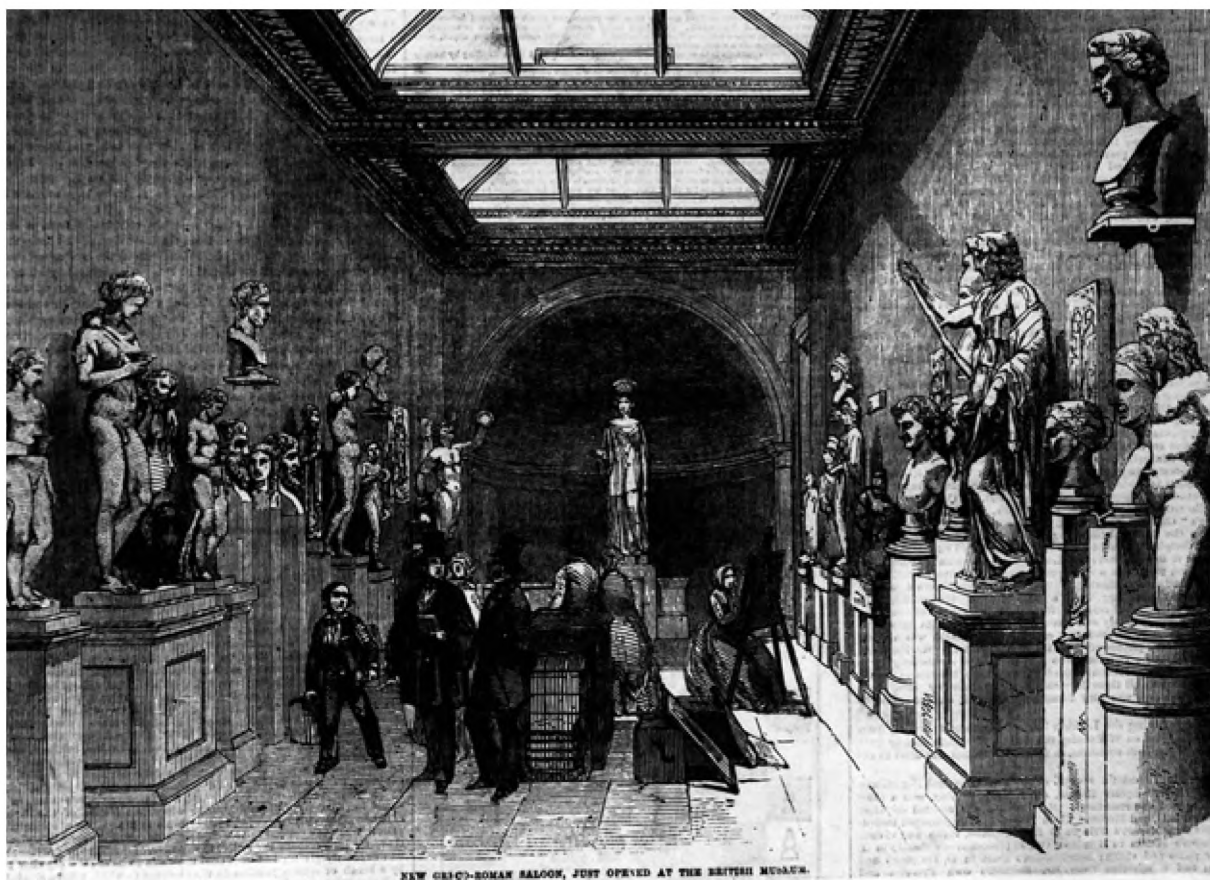


Fig. 3. The Third Graeco-Roman Room, which opened in 1855. The statue of Hymen stands at the right wall. Illustrated London News, 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1855. Photo, Courtesy of the British Museum.

since presented to the Museum by the Chev. Brøndstedt, he was induced to believe that they had belonged to the eighth museum Metope. Having requested the assistance of Mr. R. Westmacott and the conjecture having been found correct, the two heads are at present attached to the Metope.<sup>27</sup>

Evidently it had been forgotten that Brøndstedt had suggested that the heads belonged to the eight metope on the temple not the one labelled eight in the display,

so when Hawkins and Westmacott years later tried them on the metope labelled eight in the museum display they happened on the right metope – number four on the temple – and made the match of heads to bodies.<sup>28</sup>

Hawkins' report continues: "The original heads are now in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, and Mr. Hawkins has some reason to believe that they might be transferred to this Museum in exchange for a set of the

27. BMA, OR, vol. 14A, CE 5/14/2862, April 1831

28. Description 1830, 43, Contents and additional plate (XVII).

Here is given another account stating that "The officers of the

Museum hesitated to assent to the Chevalier's opinion" and "that it was found that the heads precisely adapted themselves to the figures of the Third Metope"



Fig. 4. The west pediment and the metopes from the south side of the Parthenon. South metope IV on the left has plaster casts of the heads attached. Photo, Courtesy of the British Museum.

casts of the Metopes, and as Mr. Hawkins considers they would be a most interesting and desirable acquisition he requests permission to communicate upon the subject with the Director of the Copenhagen Museum.” There can be little doubt that it was Brøndsted who had given Hawkins “some reason to believe...” as he himself had broached the same idea already in 1830

in a letter to Prince Christian Frederik.<sup>29</sup> The permission was duly given,<sup>30</sup> but nothing came of it.

While studying the Parthenon sculptures Brøndsted worked and corresponded intensively with Charles Robert Cockerell.<sup>31</sup> In several letters to Brøndsted Cockerell demonstrates a great respect for his work:<sup>32</sup> “...I can never doubt that it (your valuable memoir)

29. The article by Jan Zahle in this publication.

30. BMA, Index to Minutes, the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1831, CE 3/12/3348.

In 1819 Count Forbin, director of the Museum at Paris made an offer of the metope bought at the Choiseul Gouffier sale for the Louvre in exchange for “certain Casts of the Elgin and other marbles”, but nothing came of that either. BMA, CE 3/12/2731, the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1819.

31. A large correspondence with Cockerell preserved among Brøndsted’s papers in KB testifies to his great commitment to the Englishman’s work and to Cockerell’s great respect for Brøndsted’s work.

32. KB, NKS, 1546, the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1829.



will supersede all that has been said or written on the subject and be the only standard of authority on the Parthenon Marbles. I consider that no man has ever had or can again have the united advantages of learning, leisure to study exclusively and means and opportunity of travel and reflexion on these materials, which you have had". He appealed several times to the Trustees to be allowed to postpone the publication of his own work on the sculptures in order to benefit from the observations of Brøndsted<sup>33</sup> – but the Trustees were not so inclined and it was ordered "that he should strictly confine himself to a mere description of the Marbles themselves, and that he should avoid all speculative discussion, and, so far as is possible every statement liable to controversy."

Over the next decade Brøndsted continued his studies on the pediment sculptures of the Parthenon and in 1840 he tried to obtain prints of the plates made for the museum's own publication.<sup>34</sup> Not having any luck with this he offered the manuscript to the Trustees of the British Museum for publishing.<sup>35</sup> His offer was declined and the manuscript was never published.<sup>36</sup>

### The Siris bronzes

During his stay in Italy Brøndsted had made a splendid acquisition in Naples, two bronze ornaments that cover the shoulder clasps of a cuirass, decorated in high relief. They both show the combat between a Greek warrior and an Amazon. They were allegedly found at Garmantum near the Siris river in South Italy and were among his most cherished possessions. In the original plan for "Voyages" the Siris bronzes were the subject of the second volume<sup>37</sup> and he was already working on them in 1822 when he wrote his friend Jens Møller, "I am for the time writing on my unrivalled bronzes from Garmantum and I hope it shall be good".<sup>38</sup> When he made the metopes of the Parthenon the subject of the second volume of "Voyages" his intention was to publish the bronzes in the third volume<sup>39</sup> but nothing ever came of this.

The cherished bronzes were not part of the collection offered the British Museum in 1824 or 1826. But in 1831, still faced with financial difficulties, he offered the Siris bronzes to the museum at a price of 1000 pounds. The offer was duly presented to the Trustees but this offer also was declined.<sup>40</sup>

But even though Brøndsted had no luck in 1831 with the British Museum the Siris bronzes eventually did end up in the museum. In 1833 Brøndsted's friend William Richard Hamilton persuaded the Society of

33. BMA, General Meeting, vol. V, CE/1/6/1352, the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1829: "A letter from Mr. Cockerell dated Dec. 1 was read, stating, that he had suspended the proposed corrections of his Description of the Athenian Marbles from a wish to take advantage of a work upon the same subject by The Chevalier Brøndsted (sic), now nearly ready for the press..."

34. BMA, MSC (Minutes of Standing Committee), the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1840.

35. BMA, MSC, the 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1840: "The Chevalier offered the Trustees the Manuscript of his Dissertation on the Pediments of the Parthenon on condition that the Trustees would print the Manuscript either at the chevalier's cost or at their own, as a supplementary volume to the Museum work on the Athenian Marbles and embellish it with good impressions of the plates."

36. The manuscript is kept with Brøndsted's papers in KB.

37. Rasmussen 2000, 87; The article by Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen in this publication.

38. Brøndsted 1926, 147: "Jeg skriver I denne sidste Tid over mine uforlignelige Bronzer fra Garmantum og jeg haaber det skal blive godt".

39. Rasmussen, 2000, 90.

40. BMA, CE 3/12/3338: "Mr. Bankes laid before The Board a Letter from The Chevalier Brøndsted dat. 9<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1831 offering to the Trustees two very beautiful specimens of Greek art designated by the Chevalier The Bronzes of Siris at the price of £ 1.000 and three other Bronzes at the price of £ 600." The Trustees resolved "That Mr. Bankes be requested to thank The Chevalier Brøndsted for his offer and to acquaint him that The Trustees are under the necessity of declining the purchase of these bronzes."



Fig. 5. The Siris bronzes. Shoulder clasps from a cuirass. 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The British Museum. Photo, Courtesy of the British Museum.

Dilettanti to set up a subscription with the intention of presenting the bronzes to the British Museum. He also tried to persuade the museum into contributing: “A letter from Mr. W.R. Hamilton addressed to The Principal Librarian was read, dated 14 may stating that the Soc. of Dilettanti had taken steps to collect a subscription towards the purchase of The bronzes of Siris with the aim of presenting them to The British Museum, and that the Committee of the Society for effecting this object was anxious that the Trustees should be apprised of the circumstance in order that they might judge of

the expediency of contributing on the part of the Museum towards completing the Subscription.”<sup>41</sup> The Trustees did not act immediately, and Hamilton went to great lengths to secure the bronzes for the museum, writing to several members of the Board of Trustees ensuring their support and keeping the Trustees informed on the progress of the subscription.<sup>42</sup> In September 1833, Hamilton could at last write J. Forshall: “I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the whole of the monies subscribed towards the purchase of the Bronzes of Siris having now, within a few pounds ex-

41. BMA, General Meeting, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1833.

42. BMA, OP, vol. X, the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1833, letter Alexander Baring, Trustee. The 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1833, letter to Henry Ellis. The 11<sup>th</sup>

of July 1833, letter to Mr. Bankes, Trustee. The 19<sup>th</sup> of July 1833, letter to J. Forshall, secretary to the Trustees acknowledging the resolve of the Trustees to contribute 200 £.



clusive of the 200 £ told for that purpose by the Trustees of the British Museum, been paid into the Bankers' Hands, I am ready at any time to take them to the Museum, and give them in charge to such Person as the Trustees may think proper ..."<sup>43</sup> Brøndsted was pleased and later presented the Trustees with his "Memoir on the Bronzes of Siris" published by the Society of Dilettanti.<sup>44</sup>

### Brøndsted's work on Greek vases

The year of 1831 was a busy year in London for Brøndsted. Apparently he sold the statue of Hymen to the British Museum, he approached the museum with the offer of the Siris bronzes and later that year made the museum yet another offer of antiquities but he also found time to pursue another of his great interests, Greek vases.

An Italian dealer, Signor Campanari, had come to London and exhibited his collection of Greek vases with the intention of selling them to the British Museum. Campanari offered the vases to the museum,<sup>45</sup> and asked Brøndsted to work out a catalogue of the collection. While engaged in this work Brøndsted himself made the museum an offer, writing to the Trustees: "I take the liberty to offer to the British Museum for very moderate prices, a beautiful collection of ancient Greek bronzes and terra-cotta Vases found in my excavations or purchased during my travels in Greece and Sicily. I enclose a summary catalogue, of which more copies may be had, if desired. Every number of this classical collection may be purchased separately, except no. 13, 14 & 15 which belong together."<sup>46</sup>

The report to the Trustees by Edward Hawkins, head of Antiquities, stated that the collection of Brøndsted contained many objects "Which are highly valuable and interesting; those more peculiarly so to a Museum are, No. 10 consisting of various ornamental fragments of an ancient Etruscan chariot. No.12. Specimens of Greek armour from Marathon. No. 13. A circular chest decorated externally with engraved figures of Adrastes and his seven chiefs preparing to depart for the siege of Thebes. No. 14 & 15 the various contents found in the above chest. The above enumerated articles are offered at the price of £ 450 but if they could be obtained at a more moderate sum, the acquisition would be very desirable, as they possess much archaeological value."<sup>47</sup>

While Brøndsted waited for the decision of the Trustees on his own offer he worked on the catalogue of the Campanari collection. Edward Hawkins also studied the Campanari collection and warmly recommended that the Trustees acquired it: "Mr. Hawkins has also examined the ancient vases of Sig. Campanari, from whom I expected to have received a descriptive catalogue, which however is not yet finished. These vases as well as those lately exhibited in Regent St. are of exceedingly great interest and historical value; they are more ancient than the Hamilton Vases and as the inscriptions which appear upon them certify the subjects of the paintings, they will probably enhance greatly the historical value of the Hamilton collections, and the purchase of a selection of them would be exceedingly desirable for the Museum which scarcely possess any of the same age and character."<sup>48</sup> Campanari almost lost patience with Brøndsted and in January made excuses to Mr. Hawkins for not being able to produce the catalogue – but Brøndsted had ex-

43. BMA, OP, vol. X, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1833.

44. BMA, MSC, the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1836; Brøndsted 1836.

45. BMA, OP, vol. XI, the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1831. The Trustees had already in a General Meeting on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December ordered that Edward Hawkins should report as to the importance of these Vases to the museum "taking care not to give the Proprietor the least Encouragement to expect that the Trustees will purchase them", BMA, CE 1/6/1404.

46. BMA, OP, vol. XI, the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1831. The printed cata-

logue entitled "A Classical Collection of Ancient Greek Bronzes and Terracotta Vases" listing 21 entries is inserted in the back of volume XI of OP, but not marked as belonging to Brøndsted's letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of December. Only a comparison of the entries with the report on the collection laid before the Trustees by Edward Hawkins show that this is indeed the catalogue of his collection. See Appendix II.

47. BMA, OR, vol. 14B, 3008, January 1832.

48. See note 47.



Fig. 6. Lekythos from Campanari's collection. Presented to Prince Christian Frederik in 1832. The National Museum, inv.no. Chr. VIII 375.

plained to him that he wanted to produce “un opera classica.”<sup>49</sup>

Early in 1832 the catalogue of the Campanari collection was published entitled “A brief Description of Thirty-two Ancient Greek Painted Vases, lately found in excavations made at Vulci in the Roman Territory, by Mr. Campanari and now exhibited by him in London, no. 15. Leicester Square”.<sup>50</sup> But neither Hawkins' enthusiasm nor Brøndsted's excellent catalogue could



persuade the Trustees and purchases were made from neither Campanari nor Brøndsted.<sup>51</sup> Brøndsted, however, acquired a couple of the Campanari vases himself: he requested one as payment for the catalogue and bought another. The latter was a vase of a very special shape and function – a wine cooler – a so-called psykter, the other a fairly large black-figure lekythos showing the birth of the Greek goddess Athena (fig. 6-7).<sup>52</sup> He would have liked to acquire still more, but

49. BMA, OP, vol. IX, the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1832.

50. Brøndsted 1832.

51. The Trustees declined both offers in February 1832. BMA, CE 3/12/3448 “The Secretary was directed to acquaint Messrs. Brøndsted and Campanari that the Trustees declined any purchase from their collections.” Brøndsted had in 1831 in Paris staged a small exhibition of his collection of bronzes and in 1833

he managed to sell some of the objects in this collection to the Louvre, see Rasmussen 2000, 94-95 and Christiansen 2000, 74.

52. Brøndsted later presented Prince Christian Frederik with both vases and they are now in the National Museum of Denmark, the psykter inv.no. Chr.VIII 837, Rasmussen 2000b, 34-35; the lekythos inv.no.Chr.VIII 375, Rasmussen 2006, 213-215.



when he returned to London in 1832 he found that they were all sold, and in a letter to Prince Christian Frederik he complained: "I had hoped to find still the ugly Roman and at least some of his beautiful Greek vases; I had even brought a little money hoping to obtain at least one more of these splendid vases, but my hope was unfulfilled. Both Campanari and his vases were gone when I came here in November. My writing about it (the Campanari collection) induced (I regret to say) the rich brothers, the Bankers Rogers, Colonel Leake, and a couple of other amateurs here to buy at once 13 or 14 of the 32 in my little catalogue and at my latest arrival here I learned that Durand from Paris came shortly after my departure for Denmark in spring and bought the remaining 17 or 18 – they are gone, gone for ever. My Gracious Lord knows my salarium: the peculiar vase with Minerva's birth. It is well worth having but still (as a friend of mine has expressed it) it is one of this world's many strange moral discrepancies that another man's talent has filled Mr. Campanari's pocket with 1500 pounds Sterling."<sup>53</sup>

In December of 1831 Brøndsted wrote a paper on the so-called Panathenaic vases to his learned friend Sir William Richard Hamilton. This paper – or letter as it was described – was published the following year in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature in London.<sup>54</sup> The main vase treated was the so-called Burgon amphora found in 1813 in Athens by Mr. Thomas Burgon and two others on exhibit in London from excavations in Etruria. Brøndsted is very thorough in his description of the circumstances around the find of the Burgon amphora, as well as of his descrip-

tion of the motifs, the inscriptions and the content of the vases, and he treats the trade in oil as well as the ancient measures of capacity compared to the vases' capacity and discusses the age of the vases. A comparison of Brøndsted's paper with the latest scholarly work on Panathenaic vases<sup>55</sup> shows that both treat the exact same aspects. Only with regard to the dating is Brøndsted off the mark placing both the Burgon amphora and the others 100 years too late.

After having finished the Campanari catalogue in 1832, Brøndsted took up another challenge – the publication of a very special Greek object which he had seen in London and which he also mentions in the letter to Christian Frederik.<sup>56</sup> The peculiar object – a box formed as an astragalos – fascinates Brøndsted and he interprets it as a box for astragaloi, the sheep's bones used for the Greek game of Knucklebone<sup>57</sup>. He writes excitedly about it asking the Prince to take the drawing he encloses with the letter to the Royal Academy of Art and ask for the members' opinion – in case they could come up with some other explanation for its use than he himself had suggested. The paper was intended for publication at first by the Royal Society of Literature but later in the same letter he states that he has decided to submit it to the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin of which he had just been made an honorary member.

This long letter to the Prince also contained another valuable piece of information. He informs the Prince that the Royal Society's special commission engaged in the publishing of the series of guides to the collections of the British Museum "Useful and entertaining knowledge" at their recent meeting had voted which

53. Letter to Prince Christian Frederik dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1832 in the Danish National Archives (Copenhagen), archive no. 202: Christian the 8<sup>th</sup>, letters from different persons, P.O. Brøndsted: "Jeg havde haabet at finde endnu her den grimme Romer og i det mindste nogle af hans skjøne græske Vaser (han forekom mig omtrent som de *sorte* Slavehandlere, vi stundom mødte i Levanten og som bragte dejlige Cinasserinder til torvs); jeg havde endog medbragt lidt Penge for om muligt at faa fat paa en eeneste endnu af de herlige Vaser – men dette Haab slog fejl; Både Campanari og alle hans Vaser vare borte da jeg kom her i Novemb. Mit Skrivt over denne Gjenstand forarsagede (jeg må næsten sige *desværre!*) at de rige Brødre Banquiererne Rogers, Colonel Leake og et Paar andre Amateurs her strax købte 13 el-

ler 14 af de 32 beskrevne i min lille Bog, og ved min sidste Ankomst her erfoer jeg at Durand fra Paris kom hid kort efter min afrejse til Danmark i Foraaret, og *kjøbte alle de øvrige 17 eller 18* – they are gone, gone, gone for ever. – Min nådige Herre kjender mit Salarium: den mærkelige gamle Vase med Minervas Fødsel; den er nok værd at have; imidlertid er det dog (som en af mine Venner her rigtigheden bemærkede) et af denne Verdens mange *moralske Misforhold* at *et andet Menneskes Talent* har fyldt hr. Campanaris' Lomme med 1500 Pd. Sterling."

54. Brøndsted 1831.

55. Bentz 1998.

56. See note 53.

57. British Museum, inv. no. E 804.

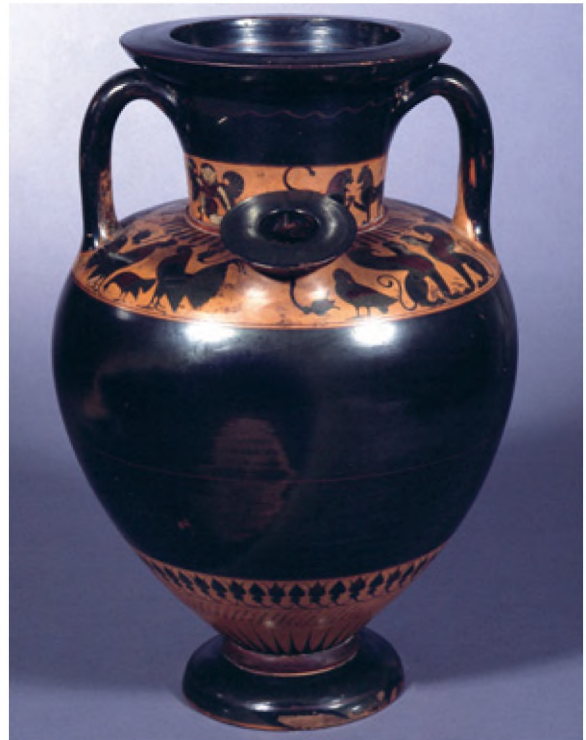


Fig. 7. Psykter from Campanari's collection. The National Museum, inv.no. Chr. VIII 326.

scholar should be offered to publish the collection of Greek vases in the British Museum – and the majority of the votes fell to Brøndsted. The offer included the right to have drawings made of as many vases as he liked at the commission's cost and the offer of a payment of 12 pounds for every printed sheet. Brøndsted did not commit himself as yet – he thought it prudent to await permission from the Prince.<sup>58</sup> But his hesitations were quickly put at ease, as Adler wrote him that he might as well accept the offer right a way as it was

a great honour and that travelling to London to inspect the work on the drawings should not constitute a problem.

Whether he ever even began this project remains an open question – as a letter from his friend Hamilton from the following year shows: “Mr. Long often asks me whether you are making any progress in your history and description of the fictile vases of the same establishment (the BM) Of course I answer in the affirmative – but whether truly or not, Apollo has not yet

58. ”Det vil maaske interessere D. kongel Højhed at erfare at da Commissionen her til Fortsættelsen af det vidtløftige Værk til “useful and entertaining Knowledge” nyligen var forsamlet til Bestemmelse af det Spørgsmaal: hvilken Videnskabsmand det skulde tilbydes først at udgive den græske Vasesamling i det Britiske Museum? faldt de fleste Stemmer paa mig; jeg fik strax derom, paa officiel Maade en skriftlig Meddelelse; de tvende Hovedpunkter i Forslaget, nemlig en Fuldmagt til at lade tegne

(paa Commissionens Bekostning) saa mange vaser som jeg vil, og Bestemmelse af et Salarium paa 12 Pd. Sterling for hvert (trykte) Ark, ere vistnok meget tillokkende; imidlertid har jeg forbeholdt mig ikke afgjørende at besvare Forslaget inden i Februar maaned fra Kiøbenhavn. Commissionen selv tilstod mig denne Latitude da Værkets Udgivelse er bestemt at begynde med Aaret 1834”.



told me.” – And again in June of the next year, 1834: “I have mentioned to Mr. Long the prospect you had of being in London in July or August next. He is very anxious that your manuscript on the vases which was to have been ready by the end of last year should not be delayed and he will probably write to you...”<sup>59</sup>

Most likely Brøndsted never took up the offer – the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum have no record of his doing so, and likewise, he never published the paper on the astragalos. As in so many other instances he got sidetracked on the way.

### The Durand vases

Even though Brøndsted seems to have disappointed his friend Hamilton by not getting the job done on the manuscript for the publication in the series “Entertaining and Useful Knowledge”, Hamilton bore him no grudge – rather the contrary. So when in 1836 the French collector Edmé Durand set up for sale his excellent collection of Greek vases<sup>60</sup>, Hamilton at once wrote Hawkins at the British Museum and suggested that Brøndsted be engaged as an agent for the museum at the auction:<sup>61</sup> “Pray excuse this hasty work – I feel there is no time to loose. Should the Trustees have made up their minds to lay out a sum of money (it ought not to be less than 2000 or 3000£) and if you are unable to go to Paris for the purpose – Why I would ask the Chevalier Brøndsted be sounded? He is I know going there very shortly. He is one of the best judges of these objects – he knows fully well their market value, and from a long and intimate acquaintance with him, I am convinced that the interest of the public might be safely entrusted in his hands.” Other mem-

bers of the Trustees supported Hamilton’s suggestion and Brøndsted was indeed sounded. He made his comments in a long letter to Josiah Forshall, not being particularly subtle: “As to the question which You also put to me whether the very lamentable deficiencies in the Series of Greek Vases in the British Museum might not be best remedied by making purchases at once, on a large scale, at the approaching sale, I have no hesitation in saying that I look upon the Cabinet of greek Vases in the Br. Mus. as the very weakest of all the departments; and regarding it, not as a mere object of curiosity, but as a systematic and useful series of specimens in that branch of ancient monuments, You want almost everything.”<sup>62</sup>

As a result of the efforts of Hamilton and others Brøndsted was engaged as the museum’s agent.<sup>63</sup> He prepared meticulously for the auction; drawing up lists of the vases he thought would enhance the collection in the best way. In Paris he not only made the successful bids for the vases, he also ordered the crates, and oversaw the packing and shipping of the about 400 vases he acquired. During the auction he wrote to J. Forshall keeping him abreast of the progress he made:<sup>64</sup> “The sale goes on very well indeed and we have got most beautiful specimens of all kinds of Greek vases, of which I shall send you the list, with an exact indication of the prizes, on Monday next, and also the necessary information concerning the conveyance which causes me a good deal of trouble (much more than the sale itself) but which is now arranged, I believe in the best possible way ... It is of the greatest importance that the sum to be granted for that purpose should be raised at least to £ 4000; if not, we shall be paralysed in the midst of the sale and the object for which Mr. Hawkins and myself have been sent hither

59. KB, NKS, 1546 2°, letters to P.O. Brøndsted from foreigners.

60. Durand 1836.

61. BMA, OP, vol. XIV, the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1836.

62. BMA, OP, vol. XIV, the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1836

63. One Trustee, Samuel Rogers, suggested Mr. Millingen as the agent: “He is well acquainted, not only with their intrinsic, but their market value”, BMA, OP, vol. XIV, the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 1836.

64. BMA, OP, vol. XV, the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1836.



Fig. 8. P.O.Brøndsted, painting, oil on canvass, by C.A. Jensen, 1837. The painting was exhibited this year in both London (Royal Academy of Arts) and Copenhagen (Art Society) and remains in family possession. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat.no.11).

will not be fully attained.” And a few days later he continues:<sup>65</sup> “I have the honor to inform you that the results of the first three days sale containing all ninety lots, each of them bearing the original ticket of the sale, with my seal and signature, and most carefully packed up in six large cases have been forwarded this day on the “roulage ordinaire ...” ending the letter on an imploring note: “Pray let us have the full sum of £ 4000. We can absolutely not do without it.”

Although Brøndsted was happy and flattered by the

65. BMA, OP, vol. XV, the 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1836. Further letters from Paris reporting on the sale the 14<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of May.

commission from the British Museum his thoughts also went to Copenhagen and the Vasecabinet there, which sadly enough did not benefit from the sale. After the sale Brøndsted wrote Prince Christian Frederik: “... how often I thought of your collection, my Lord! Oh, I sighed at times, if only I could have acquired these wonderful objects for my Prince”.<sup>66</sup> But there was no money to be had from the Prince to acquire vases at the sale. Brøndsted did buy some coins for the Royal Coin Cabinet and for himself a pair of

66. Letter in RA, 28<sup>th</sup> June 1836: “Hvor ofte tænkte jeg ikke paa Deres Samling, naadigste Herre! ak, sukkede jeg stundom, gid jeg kunde anskaffe disse herlige ting for *min* Prinds”. See details in chapter by C. Gottlieb in this book, ref. 3.



gold earrings, which he later presented to the Prince.<sup>67</sup>

Back in London Brøndsted made a final report, meticulously drawing up accounts of the purchases, the packing and other expenses.<sup>68</sup> So when Hawkins made his report to the Trustees he was full of praise for Brøndsted.<sup>69</sup> “The Chevalier Brondsted did not allow any thing to interfere with the due execution of the commission entrusted to him; and the judgement with which he made his selection of objects, and the combined spirit and discretion with which he conducted his biddings are universally acknowledged by the archaeologists of France. Mr. Hawkins feels confident that the objects purchased will satisfy the Trustees that they could not have entrusted the interest of the museum to any one more competent or conscientious.”

The Trustees were pleased, but Hamilton was a little disappointed:<sup>70</sup> “For myself I rather regret that you have bought so many of moderate prices which are to be picked up every day – I would have preferred none but real important chef d’œuvres.” Hamilton might have directed this criticism elsewhere because as Hawkins stated in his report “the limited means placed at the disposal of the Trustees did not allow of the purchase of any of those few which were the most celebrated and gave the loudest reputation to the collection.”<sup>71</sup>

Naturally 400 vases cannot all be called masterpieces, but among the Durand vases was the amphora by Exekias, the celebrated black-figure painter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, showing the Greek hero Achilles and the Amazon queen Penthesileia – now almost an em-

blem of the vase collection in the British Museum<sup>72</sup>. The acquisition also comprised some of the vases, which had been part of the Campanari collection the acquisition of which the Trustees had declined only five years earlier.<sup>73</sup> As a token of their gratitude the Trustees presented Brøndsted with a gift of 200 guineas<sup>74</sup> – a gesture he greatly appreciated – although he had not expected any – but as he wrote in his thank you note, “I do not however affect to say that I am above it” – travelling and staying in Paris had been expensive.

But although the enterprise on the whole was successful it did have a rather unfortunate *Nachspiel* as an entry in an Index to minutes of meetings of the Trustees show: “Correspondance with respect to silk stockings found in cases of antiquities at the custom house.” Apparently a packet of silk stockings had been found in the last box with vases from Paris and both Hawkins and Brøndsted are called upon to explain themselves. During a meeting of the board in late July the matter was discussed and their letters presented.<sup>75</sup> At last, with the support of Sir William Richard Hamilton, Brøndsted refuted all accusations from the custom officers and the issue seems to have been dropped:<sup>76</sup> “I enclose a letter (which you will be kind enough to send me back) from the Duke of Hamilton. I got it yesterday in the evening. It proves at least to those confounded customhousespiders who wanted to entangle me in their most infamous cob-webs, that Ch. Bröndsted is neither a lyer nor a smuggler – shame upon them!”

67. Durand 1836, no. 1984, 2175, 2182-3, 2190, 2193; Rasmussen 2000, 94, fig. 8 (inv.no. ChrVIII 768)

68. BMA, OP, vol. XV, the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1836 “With a paper enclosed and containing nine original and official receipts”.

69. BMA, OR, June 1836.

70. Letter to Brøndsted, the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 1836 in KB, NKS.

71. See note 69.

72. See the article by Ian Jenkins in this publication.

73. See the article by Ian Jenkins in this publication; Rasmussen 2006, 217, fig. 11.

74. BMA, Minutes of Committee, the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 1836. C 4305.

75. BMA, MSC, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1836, C 4338-4339. “In reference to the packet of stockings there were laid before the Board the letters to the secretary from Mr. Hawkins of the 13<sup>th</sup> June and from the Chevalier Brøndsted of the same date; a letter from the Chevalier Brøndsted of the 29<sup>th</sup> June and the secretary’s reply of the same date with an answer from the Chevalier of the same evening.” These letters are not to be found in Original Papers in the archive.

76. BMA, OP, the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1836.

## Appendix I

Catalogue of the offer made in 1824 by Adolphus Richter

## Statues

*Case N<sup>o</sup>. 1* The greater part of a young male figure, probably representing a Hymen, of greek workmanship (parian marble) found in 1819 in the ruins of an ancient Roman house on the *via Appia* near Rome.

Pound sterling 130

*Case N<sup>o</sup>. 2* Female torso of the most exquisite greek style and workmanship, probably of a statue representing Diana (Artemis) found in 1812 by excavation in the ruins of the ancient city of Carthoa on the island of Ceos near Attica in Greece.

Pound sterg. 450

## II ARCHITECTURE

*Case N<sup>o</sup>. 3* **A** One of the capitals on the interior pillars in the temple of Panhellenian Giove on the island of Egina in Greece.

P<sup>a</sup> sterg. 100

**B** One of the painted marble fleurons which surrounded the roof of that temple.

Pound sterling 20

*Case N<sup>o</sup>. 4* **C** Fragment of the ornament upon the pediment of the temple of Apollo Epicurias near Phigalia in Peloponnesos.

P<sup>a</sup> sterg. 60

**D&E:** Two marble fleurons of those which surrounded the roof of that temple.

P<sup>a</sup> sterg. 40

**F** Fragment of a fine ornament of the temple of Minerva Polias on the Acropolis at Athens.

P<sup>a</sup> sterg. 10

## III TERRACOTTAS

*Case N<sup>o</sup>. 5* Forty eight pieces of ornamental Terracottas; three of them purchased in Greece and forty five found by excavation (in the year 1822) at Palostrina (ancient Proneste) near Rome

P<sup>a</sup> sterg. 80

Total sum P<sup>a</sup> sterg. 890-

## Appendix II

Printed catalogue of the offer made in 1831: Original Letters and Papers. Vol. IX. July 1831 – Dec. 1832. Mounted in the back of the volume of letters with no reference to Brøndsted's letter of 7 Dec. 1831.

## A CLASSICAL COLLECTION OF ANCIENT GREEK BRONZE AND TERRA-COTTA VASES

## I: ANCIENT GREEK BRONZES

1. An elegant Greek Lamp, the handle forming a mask; in excellent preservation. – Elevation over the handle, 8 inches.
2. A round Tripod with lion's feet; in high preservation. – Height, 5 inches; diameter, 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches.
3. A very elegant Lamp, chiselled in imitation of a palm-branch. – Height, 16 1/2 inches.
4. A remarkably fine specimen of Greek plated work, in silver, (consisting of oakwood covered in silver), probably the fragment of a candelabrum, or the foot of a chair; found near Taranto in Apuglia. – Height, 11 inches.
5. A whole Figure, representing a young Bacchus, holding up a cluster of grapes in his left hand; found in 1820, near Syracuse, in Sicily. – Height, nearly 8 inches.



6. Two Fragments (the handle and cover) of a large Vase, found, by excavation, in the year 1823, in the neighbourhood of Volterra. The extremities of the handle are chiselled like two heads, with two satyrs over them in a kneeling position, and supporting the upper part. – Diameter from one head to the other, 12 inches.
  7. A Greek helmet of extraordinary preservation, and with elegant ornaments, partly of inlaid work on the forehead. – Height, 9 inches, diameter, 10 inches.
  8. The Bit of a Horse, found some years ago, in the neighbourhood of Larissa, in Thessaly; in high preservation.
  9. Several ancient Greek Utensils, viz. a beautiful patera; five peronæ or fibulæ, of various forms and magnitude; a scraper (to be used after the bath); an elegant architectural ornament; a handle or button shaped as a lion's head (probably destined as the ornament of a door); a beautiful little female figure with Cupid at her side and a small dog – all found by excavation in a ruin at Palæstrina (ancient Præneste).
  10. Two Caryatides, the handles and several pieces of the bas-reliefs and the pole-ornament shaped as a lion's head, parts of a triumphal car, found by excavation in the year 1819, at Rieti (in ancient Etruria). The two Caryatides are perhaps the most remarkable specimens hitherto discovered of Etruscan workmanship in bronze. – Height, 10 inches.
  11. Fragment of a Greek Cuirass, with two shoulder-hinges. – Breadth, 15 inches.
  12. Some beautiful specimens of Greek Arms, viz. a, the bronze covering of a warrior's belt; b, two greaves; c, two spears (of which the larger one was found in 1812 at Marathon, in Attica); and d, the covering of a horse's forehead.
  13. A Dressing-box, ornamented with figures delineated on the outside, and representing warriors preparing to leave home. – Thirteen figures; 10 1/2 inches high: diameter nearly 10 inches, found by excavation in the year 1822, at Palæstrina.
  14. The Handle and the three Feet, in the shape of lions' feet, belonging to the preceding No. 13, together with a collection of the articles which were found in the above-mentioned box, viz. a small earthen Vase for ointment, an alabaster Lechytyos, or oil-vase &c, which, united to No. 15, prove that No. 13 was a dressing-box destined for common use in the bath, or in the palæstra.
  15. A very fine Mirror, with ornamental figures on the reverse, representing Aurora rising in her car, leaving the symbols of darkness (the dog and the helmet of Aïs), and meeting with a Genius who offers her a wreath as vanquisher of the night.
- II: ANCIENT GREEK VASES IN TERRA COTTA
16. A very elegant Vase, found in a tomb near Athens, representing preparations for matrimonial ceremonies, in two groups, containing four figures on one, and three on the opposite side. – Height, without the cover, 6 inches; with the cover, 9 1/2 inches.
  17. A very old Sicilian Vase, found perfect in a tomb near Agrigentum, representing (in black figures on yellow ground) a young hero, with his horse and two dogs, addressed by two females, one on each side. The names appear to be written near each of the three human figures. – Height, nearly 10 inches.
  18. A painted Female Figure, covered with a full and beautiful drapery; the head uncommonly well preserved; found in a tomb near Megara in Greece. – Height, about 9 inches.

19. A painted Head, 3 inches high, of some Greek hero, with a wreath of laurel leaves; found at Tyndaris, in Sicily.
20. A remarkably fine Female Head, of some mythological figure, having blue horns and wings projecting from the forehead, with golden hair and blue ear-rings; found near Tyndaris, in Sicily. – Height, 3 1/2 inches.
21. A beautiful Fragment, found near the Temple of Theseus at Athens, of a large Vase, with figures in relief, representing a young Bacchus, conducted by Cupid and a Faun to Ariadne. – Height, 4 1/2 inches.

London:

J.Moyes, Castle Street, Leicester Square.



# British reception of the Durand vases sold at auction in Paris

*by Ian Jenkins*<sup>1</sup>

Sir William Hamilton is justifiably celebrated as the founder of British interest in Greek vase-painting. A few vases had reached the British Museum before 1772, but in that year the remarkable acquisition was made of Hamilton's first vase collection. It has become famous as the first major collection of Greek vases to reach British shores, and also because of the great impact that the publication of the collection had on contemporary taste.<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to relate here the now familiar story of Hamilton's vases and their influence on such important figures as the potter Josiah Wedgwood, the modeller and sculptor John Flaxman and that 'high-priest' of Regency style Thomas Hope.<sup>3</sup> Of more interest: here is the comparison drawn some fifty years later between the Hamilton vases in the British Museum and the collection of Chev. Edmé-Antoine Durand, sold at auction in Paris in the late Spring of 1836.<sup>4</sup>

Durand was born at Auxerre on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1768. He was the son of a wealthy merchant and entered the mercantile profession himself, acquiring a formidable fortune. With this he built up a collection of paintings, prints, gems, coins and vases.<sup>5</sup> Part of his vase collection was sold to the Louvre in 1825; the rest was not

disposed of until after his death at Florence on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1835.<sup>6</sup>

Peter Oluf Brøndsted, Director of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen,<sup>7</sup> advising the British Museum as to whether it should attempt to procure some of the Durand vases at the Paris sale, has this to say: "The Hamilton Collection was formed half a century ago on a comparatively small scale and restrained to a few localities in the provinces of the Kingdom of Naples ... They [the vases] were among the best of their day but they will not in any way compare with those more recently discovered. They are, in fact, superannuated, and of little or no use for systematic and archaeological study. The Durand collection is exactly the reverse and contains just what the British Museum wants, viz. a fine and almost complete collection of select specimens of all kinds of Greek vases ..."<sup>8</sup> Brøndsted places great emphasis on the importance of what he calls "a systematic and useful series of specimens", the lack of which he felt made the collection of vases at the British Museum the weakest of all its collections – "a mere object of curiosity".

This letter is one of a series of documents in the archives of the British Museum that relate to the even-

1. The author wishes to thank D. Bailey, D. von Bothmer, L. Burn and B. F. Cook for their helpful comments upon a draft of this paper. It was first published (in French) in Laurens and Pomian 1988, 269-278 and is included in the present volume at the request of the editors.  
2. Fothergill 1969, 66ff.; Haskell 1984, 177-91; Vickers 1987, 98-137; Jenkins & Sloan 1996.  
3. For Hope see Watkin 1968, especially 106-08; also Waywell 1986, espec. 36; Tillyard 1923.

4. Witte 1836.  
5. Amat 1968, 652.  
6. 7,380 objects at a cost of 480,000 francs including 2,260 vases: Pottier 1896, 62f.  
7. Berghaus & Schreckenbergh 1983, 294.  
8. BMA (British Museum Archives), OP (Original Papers), XIV, the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1836.



Fig. 1. Adam Buck and his family, 1813. Water colour on board. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

tual acquisition of a number of vases from the Durand sale. They are of interest for their objective appraisal of the state of the art of vase-collecting at this time, and through them we are made aware of the difference in approach between the prevailing interest of late-eighteenth-century connoisseurs, and those of the next generation.

The momentous event that coincided with this new thinking was the discovery of the vase-rich tombs at Vulci on the estate of Napoleon's younger brother Lu-

cien Bonaparte, the Prince of Canino as he became known. In the years 1828-29 over 3,000 vases were excavated in the Etruscan tombs where they had been deposited in antiquity. A number of publications recorded the new finds soon after their discovery.<sup>9</sup> The second volume of the *Annali* of the recently founded *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* carried a frontispiece with an engraved allegory of the excavations.<sup>10</sup> (fig. 2) The central figure is imaginatively adapted from the birth of Erichthonios shown on the namepiece of the Painter of Munich 2413,<sup>11</sup> the subject having been reproduced in the first volume of *Monumenti Inediti* (fig. 3).<sup>12</sup> Instead of Erichthonios, Ge (the Earth) yields up an unexpected harvest (here a neck-amphora); on the left Athena keeps count with stylus and writing-tablet, while on the right a male figure assists in the excavation. The Athena is adapted from another Munich vase, a Panathenaic amphora by the Triptolemos Painter, also published in the first volume of *Monumenti Inediti*.<sup>13</sup>

Canino was not the only proprietor of the great cemetery at Vulci, for originally there were three. Canino's was the most fruitful part; next came that of Candelori excavated by Secondiano Campanari and Melchiade Fossati; finally, that of the Feoli family.<sup>14</sup> The Vulci vases were quickly dispersed, either through public sale or private arrangement, and a number of public and private collections were thus equipped. Durand's was one of these.<sup>15</sup>

The British Museum was slow to react and quickly fell behind the major public collections of Paris, Berlin and Rome.<sup>16</sup> Thirty two of Campanari's vases, catalogued by Brøndsted, were brought to England in 1832

9. Canino 1829; Gerhard 1831, 5-218. For a full bibliography see: Jahn 1854, xvi and note 19; Bothmer 1987, 190ff; De Angelis 1990.

10. *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Vol. II, 1830, frontispiece to the first fascicule drawn and engraved by St. Ange Desmaisons.

11. Ex Canino, Beazley 1963, 495, 1; Beazley 1971, 380; Bérard 1974, plate 2, fig. 5.

12. Gerhard & Panofka 1829-1833, pl. 10.

13. Plate 26.6; Beazley 1963, 362.14.

14. Gerhard 1831, 6-8; Jahn 1854, xv-xvi; Dennis 1848, plate facing page 397 gives a map of Vulci with the various properties clearly marked.

15. Gerhard 1830, 257; and see Campanari below.

16. Paris acquired the first Durand collection in 1825; the first vases to come out of the Canino tombs were excavated clandestinely and were sold to Dorow, from whom they quickly passed into the Royal collection in Berlin; the first Candelori collection went to the Vatican.





Fig. 2. Frontispiece of the second volume of *Annali del Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* showing an allegory of the discovery of the vases in the Etruscan tombs at Vulci.

and displayed in London in the hope that they would be purchased by the British Museum.<sup>17</sup> This hope was unfulfilled, but an amusing anecdote to link the names of Campanari and Durand is recorded in a letter of W. R. Hamilton: “I remember very well two or three years ago”, writes Hamilton, “when Campanari was over

here and disposing of his vases at very moderate prices, Durand hearing of it came to England and in my presence told Campanari that he was spoiling his own market – offered him high prices and carried him off, vases and all, to Paris”.<sup>18</sup> Durand evidently then bought some of the Campanari vases, for at least two

17. Brøndsted 1832. Correspondence relating to the Campanari vases can be found in BMA as follows: OP, IX, the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1831; the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1831; the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1832; the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1832; 10 Eb. 1832. Officers Reports

14A, December 1831; 14B, January 1832, cf. the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

18. BMA, OP, XIV, the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1836.

of the finer pieces reappear in the 1836 sale catalogue of the Durand collection.<sup>19</sup>

Hamilton was among those who urged the Trustees of the British Museum to make whatever purchases they could at the forthcoming sale. He lamented the fact that the national collection had fallen so far behind those of Italy, Germany and France. The few vases of any major importance in Britain at that time were, he felt, in private hands, in the cabinets of the banker and poet Samuel Rogers and Col. Wm. Leake, numismatist and classical topographer.<sup>20</sup> The opinion of these two distinguished figures was also sought<sup>21</sup> along with that of Thomas Burgon, merchant and collector, who was to go bankrupt, finishing his days as a paid employee cataloguing coins in the British Museum.<sup>22</sup> They were all equally enthusiastic in urging the purchase of the Durand vases, but what was it that set the Durand Vases apart?

Brøndsted had spoken of their providing the basis for a more systematic and ‘scientific’ understanding of Greek vases, and indeed before the excavations at Vulci there was insufficient scope among the existing repertoire to attempt a valid analysis of the different schools and their chronology. In a survey of two hundred years of vase-connoisseurship, Dietrich von Bothmer praises the pioneering efforts of Eduard Ger-

hard who was the first to attempt such a system on the basis of the new vases from Vulci.<sup>23</sup> Of especial importance were the new inscriptions that gave the names of the ancient potters and painters. However the authors of the Durand sale catalogue, Jean de Witte in consultation with Charles Lenormant, drew back from questions relating to style and manufacture, preferring a classification based on subject matter and shape. The various divisions, therefore, were arranged under such headings as mythological subjects, heroic, mystical and funerary, civic life, animals and monsters, and then by shape for the non-figured or plastic vases. A chart of shapes and their names was included at the back of the catalogue.<sup>24</sup> The detailed descriptions of the Durand vases, therefore, focused attention upon their illustrative properties, their ability to document topics of antiquarian interest (figs. 4-5).

In short we may say that what set the Durand vases apart from the Hamilton collection was the fact that while the latter had appealed largely on aesthetic grounds, the Durand collection was more the scholar’s choice. The frequency of potter and painter signatures on the Vulci vases has already been mentioned, but of particular interest in the Durand vases were the inscriptions often to be found identifying individual figures in the paintings.<sup>25</sup> It may be argued, however,

19. Witte 1836, no. 318 and 643.

20. For Rogers see Jenkins 1988, appendix, p. 457, no. 18; For Leake see Greifenhagen 1985, 123-5 and the article by Witmore & Buttrey in this publication.

21. BMA, OP, XIV, the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 1836 and the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1836.

22. BMA, OP, XIV, the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1836.

23. Bothmer 1987, 191. That is not to say that a chronology of Greek vase-painting had not been attempted previously, thus: D’Hancarville 1767, 108; Millingen 1813, viii.

24. Bothmer 1987, 193.

25. Thus Edward Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities, writes (BMA, Officers Reports 18, April 1836): “(the Durand vases) ... are of an exceedingly early period, decorated with mythological and historical subjects of great interest and having in many instances the names of the characters attached to their representations ... Some of the subjects are illustrative of ancient authors, others assign actions to well-known characters for which we have no written authority ... It may be safely asserted that nothing has

contributed more to the illustration of the mythology and heroic history of early Greece than the vases of that class which are now offered for sale”. Hawkins then goes on to laud the variety of shapes to be found among the Durand vases. But another document makes it clear that *subjects* interested the British Museum above *shapes*. A copy of a draft letter, unsigned but perhaps by W.R. Hamilton, gives instructions on behalf of the Trustees for what it would be desirable to acquire from the Paris Sale. (BMA, OP, XIV, April 1836): “... As many of those we possess are invaluable for the beauty of their forms, as for the variety of shapes and exquisite polish, we wish more particularly to direct your attention to those which appear to possess interest from the subjects illustrative of the history, mythology, epic, lyric and dramatic poetry of the Greeks – as well as of their ordinary habits of civil life – and of those which, bearing Greek inscriptions (whether in the archaic characters or those of the best period of Grecian refinement), have interest for the philological inquirer and antiquary ...”





Fig.3. The birth of Erichthonios. Engraving after the name vase of the painter of Munich 2413.

that this *Hamilton-aesthetic v. Durand-antiquarian* opposition is too simplistic. Certainly, learned men were not indifferent to the beauty of the Durand vases; equally, the *cognoscenti* of Hamilton's generation had not overlooked the light that vases could shed upon questions relating to the beliefs, manners and customs of the ancients. A brief acquaintance with d'Hancar-

ville's commentary upon the Hamilton vases confirms that there certainly was this interest. Two vases that most readily spring to mind when we think of the Hamilton Collection are the celebrated Meidias hydria, London E224, and the calyx-krater, London E460.<sup>26</sup> The first shows the rape of Leucippidai by the Dioscourai in the upper register, while in the lower

26. For the fame of these two vases see references collected by Jenkins 1988, 450-1, notes 20-22.



Fig. 4. Achilles and Penthesilea. Black-figure amphora signed by the potter Exekias (and attributed to him as painter). (Ex-collection Durand). British Museum B210.

frieze we find Herakles resting in the Paradise Garden of the Hesperides. The krater shows a victorious *kitharodes* being crowned by Victories. In the eighteenth century it was thought to show the apotheosis of Homer. These two vases were famous in their day both for the quality of their drawing and for their subject matter.<sup>27</sup> In general, however, the Hamilton Collection contains a large proportion of late-Attic and South-Ita-

lian vases, the painted decoration of which, although often highly decorative, is frequently imprecise with regard to subject matter. Such vases were adequate for furnishing Wedgwood the potter with a repertoire of shapes, painting techniques and figured decoration, and for providing Thomas Hope with the necessary resources for his neo-Greek reconstructions to elevate British taste in such matters as costume and furniture.<sup>28</sup>

27. Among the other vases most celebrated in the Hamilton collection was the volute-krater London F248, sometimes known as The Hamilton Vase. This was admired for aesthetic reasons. For the preeminence of the volute-krater in the neo-classical taste for

vases, see Jenkins, 1988, note 19, for scholarly consideration, more akin to those associated with the Durand vases, attention also focussed upon the Corinthian column-krater London B37.

28. Hope purchased part of the second Hamilton collection in 1801.



The Durand vases were of a different kind. They included a large number of Attic black- and early red-figured vases, where the drawing is not only tighter and more restrained, but also the iconography more intriguing.

There is another reason for the apparent readiness of some scholars to dismiss the Hamilton vases as ‘obsolete’ that has to do less with the vases themselves than with changing trends in the intellectual approach towards vases generally. At the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, a number of scholars subscribed enthusiastically to the notion that Greek vases could be interpreted ‘mystically’ and ‘symbolically’. C.A. Boettiger and A.L. Millin were among the first to expound a complete theory of Greek vase-painting based upon the supposed connection between vases and mystic, especially Bacchic, religion.<sup>29</sup> The tendency to see vases in this way, however, goes back to the influence of such publications as D’Hancarville’s *Recherches sur l’Origine, l’esprit et les progrès des arts de la Grèce ...* published in two volumes in 1785.<sup>30</sup> This wide-ranging and exhaustingly speculative work owes a great deal to contemporary interest in Oriental religions and, in particular, that of India.<sup>31</sup> A number of volumes and monographs were devoted to unraveling the hidden meaning of Greek vases but one highly evocative image seems to capture the mood of the period, namely an extraordinary watercolour drawing by the Irish-born artist Adam Buck, now in the Yale Center for British Art. It is signed and dated 1813 and

shows the artist and his family with the bust of a deceased child.<sup>32</sup> (fig. 1)

The vases in columbarium niches in the background serve to illustrate both the contemporary vogue for vases as decorative adjuncts to fashionable interiors, and the notion conveyed in Thomas Hope’s words that “... vases relate chiefly to Bacchanalian rites...Connected with the representation of mystic death and regeneration”.<sup>33</sup> An analysis of the subjects of the vases in the Buck portrait shows how in choosing these, in particular, the artist wished to convey the idea of death and rebirth, of rest and release from mortal pain. These themes are linked to the family group in the picture through the funerary *term* in the background showing the bust of a deceased child.

Two of the vases in Buck’s drawing are from the Hamilton collection, and in his *Vasengemälde* Boettiger drew extensively on the same source. By the 1820’s, however, the mystic approach to vase-painting was being condemned as an aimless folly. J. Millingen thought the progress of vase studies had been greatly hampered by it and he was unequivocal in his condemnation<sup>34</sup>: “The vases, of which the origin is supposed to be so mysterious”, he writes, “are no others than the common pottery intended for the various purposes of life and for ornament, like the China and the Staffordshire ware of the present day”.

Millingen’s was an unusually practical mind, and the discovery of the Canino vases coincided with a new mood of positivism among the savants of the day.

29. Boettiger 1797-1800; Millin 1802-1806.

30. Haskell 1984.

31. Mitter 1977, Ch. II: ‘Eighteenth Century Antiquarians and Erotic Gods’.

32. For a bibliography of this drawing and a detailed discussion of its prosopography and iconography see Jenkins 1988.

33. Hope 1807, 23; Cf. Hamilton 1791, 42: “It is highly probable, that most of these vases served for sacred purposes, and were chiefly dedicated to the rites of Bacchus.”; Hamilton 1795, 6: “... the most probable conjecture is, that these sacred vases were placed in the sepulchres of such only of the deceased, as had been initiated in the great Eleusinian Mysteries ...”

34. Millingen 1822, iv-vi: “Another cause of the little progress in

the study of this branch of antiquity, may be ascribed to the opinion, that all the painted Fictile Vases we possess, were originally intended for use in the mystic ceremonies of Ceres and Bacchus; that the subjects represented on them, related to such ceremonies; and that they were placed in tombs as symbols that the deceased had been initiated. The number of Dionysiacal subjects, with which vases are adorned, gave rise, in great measure to this opinion, which, though totally unsupported by any ancient authority, has, most unaccountably, become so prevalent, that it extended even to Winckelmann, Visconti, and Zoëga, and probably induced those great luminaries of archaeological science, to neglect a class of monuments which offers so much interest”.



Fig. 5. Banqueteer and hetaira. Tondo of a red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos. (Ex-collection Durand). British Museum E44.

In presenting an entirely fresh repertoire of subjects, they usurped the importance that the Hamilton vases once had. The latter, associated as they were with outdated fashions and fancies were declared, for the time-being at least, obsolete. We are reminded of the manner in which the arrival of the Elgin Marbles in England, and their eventual purchase for the British Museum in 1816, was seen by some to usurp the position formerly held by Charles Townley's collection of classical sculpture.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, in terms of the development of taste and the history of scholarship the Canino vases may be seen to have made a shock-of-the-new impact similar to that of the Elgin Marbles. A grudging acknowledgement of the previous status of the Hamilton vases was still allowed upon aesthetic grounds, but even here the Durand vases might be held superior. Ed-

ward Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum writes: "... independently of their high interest to the scholar ... (the Durand vases) are exactly such as there is at present a great anxiety to display before the great mass of the people, with a view to familiarize their eyes to fine forms, to improve their general taste and promote the production of elegant works in various branches of manufacture, and thereby enlarge the commerce of the country."<sup>36</sup>

This last appeal to the improvement of the arts and the promotion of British manufacture is precisely that which Hamilton had made in the publication of his first vase collection prior to offering it for sale to the British Museum in 1772.<sup>37</sup> British commercial interest becomes a talking point also in the second Marquess of Northampton's statement upon the subject.<sup>38</sup> The Mar-

35. Cook 1977, pp. 34-5.

36. Loc. cit. note 25.

37. Vickers 1987.

38. BMA, OP, XIV, the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1836.



quess was himself in the process of putting together a rich private collection of vases, mainly from the tombs at Vulci. These became known as the Castle Ashby vases, and the collection remained intact until 1980. He defines the purpose of a public collection of vases as “archaeological, artistical and commercial”. By *archaeological* he meant the study of iconography, on the one hand, and the process of manufacture, on the other; this he thought would appeal to a German government. Under the term *artistical* he again included the techniques of potting and painting, but also what he termed “the birth, progress, perfection and decline of design in the painting and potting of vases”. This he thought would appeal to an Italian or French government. Finally, *commercial* he defined as “the improvement of the designs of the forms of our own fictile manufacture”. This, he feared, would appeal most to an English House of Commons. Northampton went on to give a prescription for the different categories of vase he thought were needed to create such a representative collection.

The result of so much discussion was that Edward Hawkins and Brøndsted did go to Paris and they purchased on behalf of the British Museum around 400 vases at the Durand sale. These were not as many as they would have liked and not always of the same quality or interest. They were, however, the first major acquisition of vases since the purchase of Hamilton’s first collection more than a half-century earlier; their acquisition, moreover, represents a crucial stage in the development of what is now the British Museum’s great and representative collection.<sup>39</sup> The name of Sir William Hamilton is a familiar one to the British people, not least because of his notorious relationship with Emma Hamilton, and her association with Admiral Lord Nelson. However he is also known by many for his interest in Greek vases. The Chevalier Durand, by contrast, still less Peter Oluf Brøndsted, are hardly known in England outside the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. I hope this paper will do something to advertise the importance of their contribution to the history of British collecting.

39. A number of not very distinguished vases had been acquired from Charles Townley’s estate in 1814 and through the Payne Knight bequest in 1824.

# P.O. Brøndsted and early research on the sculptures of the Parthenon

by Martin Kreeb

One of the results of Peter Oluf Brøndsted's travels and study was the publication in Paris of *Voyages dans la Grèce* (Paris, vol. I 1826, vol. II 1830) (fig. 1), appearing simultaneously in German as *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland*.<sup>1</sup> However, of the eight projected volumes only two were actually published, while a planned edition in English did not appear at all.

Brøndsted prepared the publication well, travelling again to the Levant, this time to the Ionian islands and Sicily in 1820, in order to research ancient monuments and to accumulate examples for comparison. What he had collected and recorded in his diaries, he revised in part at Rome, in part at Paris. In 1824 and again in 1826 he spent some time in London, according to the biography of R. Cockerell with whom he exchanged ideas,<sup>2</sup> to whom (together with Thorvaldsen) he dedicated the second volume of *Reisen und Untersuchungen* and to whom he owed the plan of the Parthenon printed in that volume (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> When he came to Paris for the first time, in 1806/07, he had met Karl Benedikt Hase, responsible for the Cabinet des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque Impériale.<sup>4</sup> In his foreword to the first volume of *Reisen und Untersuchungen* he thanks Hase, and also the archaeologist and egyptologist Jean

Antoine Letronne and the archaeologist Desiré Raoul-Rochette. Letronne wrote numerous reviews on subjects related to Greek archaeology.<sup>5</sup> Given the fact that Brøndsted thanks these two scholars, we may assume that he had discussed matters of ancient Greek art, mythology and topography with both of them.

In the preface to his great publication Brøndsted announced that "the aim of this work is to present the results of the journeys and investigations in a worthy manner."<sup>6</sup> After the publication of the first two volumes, however, there was a major change in the life of Brøndsted, who returned to Copenhagen and resumed the duties of his professorship in classical philology and archaeology at the University of Copenhagen and so was not able to continue the edition. This is a pity, for more than one reason. The German archaeologist Karl Otfried Müller tells us that numerous etchings for the third and possibly further volumes had been prepared already when Müller published his review of Brøndsted's second volume in 1835: "Der Ref.[erent] kann nur wünschen, daß Herr Geh.[eimer] Leg.[ations]-Rath Brøndsted diese Lieferungen, zu denen sehr zahlreiche Kupferplatten bereits gestochen sind, nicht lange zurückhalten möge [my italics]."<sup>7</sup> But as

1. Brøndsted 1826-1830a; Brøndsted 1826-1830b.

2. See Watkin 1974, 99 and 62.

3. Brøndsted 1826-1830b, 132 fig. XXXVIII.

4. Delisle 1868-1881, II, 280; see also ADB, X, 725-727.

5. For instance Letronne 1818; Letronne 1820a; Letronne 1820b; Letronne 1820c.

6. "die ... Resultate, so wie die Reisen und Unternehmungen ...

würdiger Weise aufzustellen, ist der Zweck dieses Werks", Brøndsted 1826-1830b, I, XIII-XIV.

7. Müller 1835 (citation: p. 1847). Thanks are due to Dr. Maria Eßfinger, Heidelberg, and to Claudia Voos, Bonn, for providing me with copies of the articles in these early volumes of the periodical, not available in Greece.



REISEN UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN  
 IN  
**GRIECHENLAND,**  
 NEBST  
 DARSTELLUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG  
 VIELER NEUENTDECKTEN DENKMÄLER  
 GRIECHISCHEN STYLS,  
 UND EINER KRITISCHEN ÜBERSICHT ALLER UNTERNEHMUNGEN DIESER ART,  
 VON PAUSANIAS BIS AUF UNSERE ZEITEN.

S.<sup>r</sup> M. dem Könige von Dänemark

GEWIDMET VON

D.<sup>s</sup> P. O. BRÖNDSTED,

DER UNIVERSITÄT ZU KOPENHAGEN UND MEHRERER AKADEMIEN MITGLIEDE; RITTER DES DANEBROGORDENS,  
 KÖNIGL. DÄNISCHEM GEHEIMEN LEGATIONS-RATHE UND GESCHÄFTSTRÄGER AM RÖMISCHEN HOFE.

*Zweites Buch.*



XXXV.

*Paris,*

GEDRUCKT BEI A. FIRMIN DIDOT, KÖNIGLICHEM BUCHDRUCKER,  
 JACOBSSTRASSE, N<sup>o</sup> 24.

1830.

Fig. 1: Brøndsted, Reisen und Untersuchungen vol. II (Paris 1830), title page.

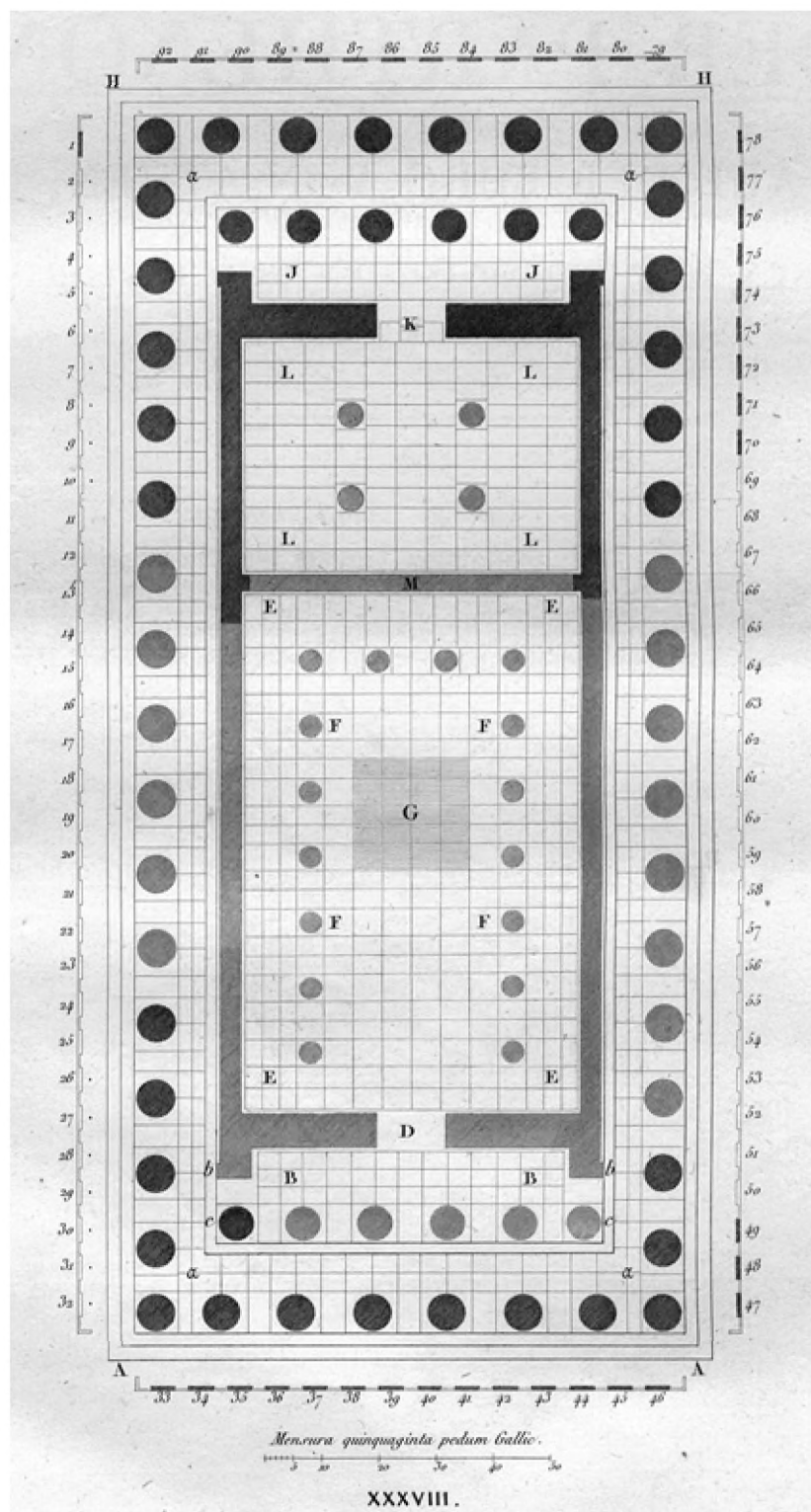


Fig. 2: Plan of the Parthenon, by C. R. Cockerell. Brøndsted 1830b, pl. XXXVIII.



early as 1832 Brøndsted had become also director of The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen. His *opus magnum* remained a torso.

The contents of the two volumes are given on their respective title pages. The subtitle of the second volume does not quite exactly correspond with the contents, as we shall see, because the description of the Parthenon should have continued in a third volume. Actually, the second volume, the main text of which begins with page 131,<sup>8</sup> contains

- a) thoughts on the beginning and development of the Doric frieze in Greek architecture;
- b) the decoration of the mentioned frieze;
- c) the shape and decoration of the pediments;
- d) descriptions of two fragments from the Parthenon in the Royal Museum, Copenhagen, together with a historical account of why and when the fragments arrived in Denmark;
- e) finally the metopes of the south side of the Parthenon.

We shall mainly deal with Brøndsted's presentation and interpretation of these metopes, and the question of what has survived of his interpretation to our own days.

Let me first mention, in a few words only, the architectural decoration of the Parthenon.<sup>9</sup> This is thought by many to be the most splendid of all Greek temples, erected between 447 and 432 B.C. It was decorated with 92 sculpted metopes, a sculpted frieze with a length of 160 m, and two sculpted pediments with around fifty colossal marble figures. In the cella of the temple stood the colossal statue of Athena Parthenos on a basis, which also was ornamented with sculpted reliefs.

The metopes are to be seen over the columns and

just beneath the roof, from outside the temple like the pediment sculptures. The frieze had not been placed above the architrave, but on top of the cella walls, to be viewed from inside the corridor running around the interior of the building, the so-called peristyle. That caused difficulties in interpretation, as to whether the images were meant to be admired by humans or by the gods alone.<sup>10</sup> One gets a good impression of the limited light in the narrow corridor from the replica of the Parthenon in scale 1:1 at Nashville, Tennessee.

The Parthenon had stimulated the curiosity of all travellers visiting Athens, beginning with Cyriac of Ancona in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, who has given us the first sketch of the western façade and, sketched under the façade, of a small part of the frieze; and also, in one of the two versions of his drawing, some metopes sketched above the pediment.<sup>11</sup> Pictures and descriptions of the Parthenon continued with the French traveller Jacob Spon and his English companion George Wheler in 1675,<sup>12</sup> up to the two English architects James Stuart and Nicholas Revett in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> Two historical moments, however, were of major importance for the later research on the architectural sculpture of the temple. In the years 1674/75 Charles Marie Ollier, Marquis de Nointel, ambassador of France to the Ottoman Empire between 1670 and 1679, travelled in Greece accompanied by two painters. One of these, usually known as Jacques Carrey,<sup>14</sup> worked about two months on the Acropolis in order to prepare drawings of the sculptures for Nointel. Today we know 19 sheets with drawings by the artist. Twelve years later, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of September 1687, an explosion destroyed the Parthenon's whole central part, together with sections of the frieze and the central metopes (as far as they had not been destroyed when

8. The first volume ended with page 130.

9. See, for instance, Holtzmann 2003, 101-144. It is not necessary to cite more literature here – there are hundreds of books and articles on the subject. I shall mention, later, only four of the main works or articles dealing with the sculptures of the temple.

10. See, for instance, Osborne 1987.

11. See, for instance, Mallouchou-Tufano 1994, 165 figs. 1-2; Beschi 1998, 96f. figs 2-3.

12. See, for instance, Kreeb 2001.

13. See Stuart & Revett 1762-1816 and Salmon 2006.

14. It is not the place here to discuss or to resolve the problematic question, whether the drawings of the Parthenon sculptures are owed to Carrey or to his Flemish colleague (anonymous for us). See for instance Bowie & Thimme 1971. For other opinions, Holtzmann 2003, 250. Holtzmann has told me that he is referring to Vandal 1900.

the temple became a Christian cathedral). Thus, most of the research after 1687 depends on the mentioned drawings. A lively picture is provided by F. Fanelli, an Italian who took part in the blockade and was present at the bombardment, immediately after the explosion.<sup>15</sup>

Brøndsted spent some time at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and in Rome before travelling to Greece. Jacob Spon and other voyagers before him had done the same thing, whereas James Stuart and Nicholas Revett had stayed in Rome for a while at least. The difference was that Brøndsted saw at Paris the above mentioned drawings of the Parthenon sculptures, which entered the Bibliothèque Nationale after Nointel's death and after some adventures. They were familiar to the scientific world from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since some of them had been etched for B. de Montfaucon,<sup>16</sup> and the pediment drawings had been used also in the atlas of the Abbé Barthélémy's well-known *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*.<sup>17</sup> Brøndsted was thus better prepared to see the building than his predecessors had been. (Spon and Wheler had also seen the sheets, at Constantinople in Nointel's house where they were received as guests. But they did not pay attention to the importance of the drawings. Stuart and Revett regretably did not know of their existence.)

Besides examining the drawings at Paris, Brøndsted also studied the ancient literary sources, in part directly through the manuscripts. So for instance he discusses a textual emendation in Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 36, 5, having worked through six Latin codices.<sup>18</sup> These studies, and his knowledge of the texts in general, allowed him to propose interpretations for what he saw on the Parthenon.

There is a major difficulty with the interpretation of

the Parthenon sculpture, which has never been resolved: We do not have ancient descriptions of the subjects of the metopes or the frieze. Pausanias mentions only the subjects of the pediments, and that very briefly (I 24, 5). Therefore Brøndsted (like all scholars before and after him) had to try to interpret. As for his theoretical background, in the foreword to the first volume of *Reisen und Untersuchungen* he mentions his commitment to Johann Joachim Winckelmann and to Ennio Quirino Visconti, once the Pope's and later Napoleon's antiquary.<sup>19</sup> Visconti was one of the first scholars to deal with the Parthenon sculpture in his *Mémoires sur des ouvrages de sculpture du Parthénon* (1818).<sup>20</sup>

Brøndsted's theories with respect to the metopes of the Parthenon were as follows. There were 92 sculpted metopes on the temple, two times 32 along the long sides and two times 14 along the front- and backsides, respectively. The 14 metopes of the east side of the temple, the ancient entrance, show, according to Brøndsted, "only actions of the goddess Athena herself and of her favourite heroes, Herakles and Theseus".<sup>21</sup> Today one interprets the east metopes as illustrating the fight between the gods and the giants, with a series of different names for the particular gods, however. There is a good overview in a table produced by Berger that allows us to get just an idea of what it is possible to figure out.<sup>22</sup>

The 32 metopes on the north side show, according to Brøndsted, Lapiths, Amazons, Athena, Perseus, Bellerophon, while some of the scenes cannot be understood. But actually North 24, 25 and 28 are scenes from the Ilioupersis, as Praschniker demonstrated in 1928, and if it is correct that North 29 illustrates Se-

15. Mallouchou-Tufano 1994, 168 fig. 6. See also Korres 1994, 155 fig. 21.

16. Montfaucon 1719–1724.

17. Barthélemy 1825, atlas volume pl. 19.

18. See Brøndsted 1826–1830b, II, 219 note 6. Brøndsted had studied at the Bibliothèque Impériale, in connection with Pliny, the codices Latini 6789. 6802. 6803. 6804 (not »6084«, as in his text). 6805. 6806.

19. Brøndsted 1826–1830b, I, XVI.

20. Visconti 1818/1830.

21. "nur Thaten der Athene selbst und der beiden, von ihr vorzüglich begünstigten Heroen, Herakles und Theseus", Brøndsted 1826–1830b, II, XIII.

22. Berger 1986, 56–57.



lene, one may understand North 1 as an illustration of Helios, the metopes between North 1 and North 29 reporting the Trojan war, and North 30–32 the assembly of the gods in connection with that war. Brøndsted's interpretation has not stood the test of time.<sup>23</sup>

On the west side of the Parthenon Brøndsted saw the battle of Marathon, that is to say a battle between Greeks and Persians. The metopes had the misfortune to be at the entrance façade of the Christian church built into the Parthenon in the early Christian epoch. For this reason the believers destroyed the ancient scenes by beating them with hammers, as they had done also to the North and East metopes. Thus not even the English painter William Pars, who made drawings of the West metopes about 1765/66, could decipher the sculptures very well. The question still remains today, whether the Greeks struggle with humans, i.e. Persians, or mythological beings, i.e. Amazons. Ernst Berger believes that no trousers are to be seen, so he votes in favour of Amazons, because Persian warriors wore trousers.<sup>24</sup> Burkhard Wesenberg had discussed the question just three years before Berger's book was published.<sup>25</sup> It is clear that Brøndsted had a good idea, whether or not it may one day be proved right or wrong.

But Brøndsted's main concern in the second volume of *Reisen und Untersuchungen* was the 32 metopes of the south side. Before him only William Martin Leake had discussed these sculptures to any extent.<sup>26</sup> Earlier travellers, as Spon and Wheler, Guilletière and Cornelio Magni,<sup>27</sup> all of them in Athens between 1675 and 1687, had observed only the battle between centaurs and young men and women. All of the 16 metopes that had been transported to the northwestern part of Europe, that is 15 to London, 1 to Paris and two frag-

ments to Copenhagen, show exclusively centaurs, because every one of them has been taken from the south side of the temple. The opinion of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that the metopes of the Parthenon showed exclusively depictions of the Lapiths' and centaurs' myth, could thus survive into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. I mention especially A. C. Quatremère de Quincy, a wise and careful scholar, who believed, however, that there were at least 80 metopes with representations of centaurs.<sup>28</sup>

It is Leake's and Brøndsted's merit to have laid a firm foundation for the discussion to follow over the next 190 years. Brøndsted counts only 23 metopes with centaurs within the 92 metopes once on the Parthenon. Five of the 23 show centaurs with female antagonists. Far more interesting are the nine metopes South 13–21, and there are dozens of different suggestions as to how to explain them. Nearly all scholars suggest they illustrate local myths of Attica. The problem is, however, that no battle with centaurs is known by the literary or artistic tradition to have taken place in Attica. Is a break in the subject of the South metopes possible? We do not know. One may compare, once again, one of Berger's tables with the different interpretations of South 13–21, Brøndsted's proposals being the first ones on top of the table.<sup>29</sup>

One development in research could not have been foreseen, however, by Brøndsted or by anyone else. Research on the Acropolis began soon after the Greek war of independence.<sup>30</sup> First of all, the ruins of the Turkish village had to be dismantled. Lots of fragments that came to light were put into piles of stones, being lost again immediately. Only in the last two decades has a program to recover these fragments been established by the responsible scholars of the Acropolis Ephorate. Because of this program, archaeologists

23. Praschniker 1928, 87–141; Berger 1986, 12–17.

24. Berger 1986, 99.

25. Wesenberg 1983, 203–208.

26. Leake 1821, 226–232.

27. See, for instance, Stark 1880, 136–137 (“Carolo Magni” instead of “Cornelio”); Kreeb 2001.

28. Quatremère 1818, 54.

29. Berger 1986, 92–93.

30. See, for instance, Pantou & Kreeb 2005.

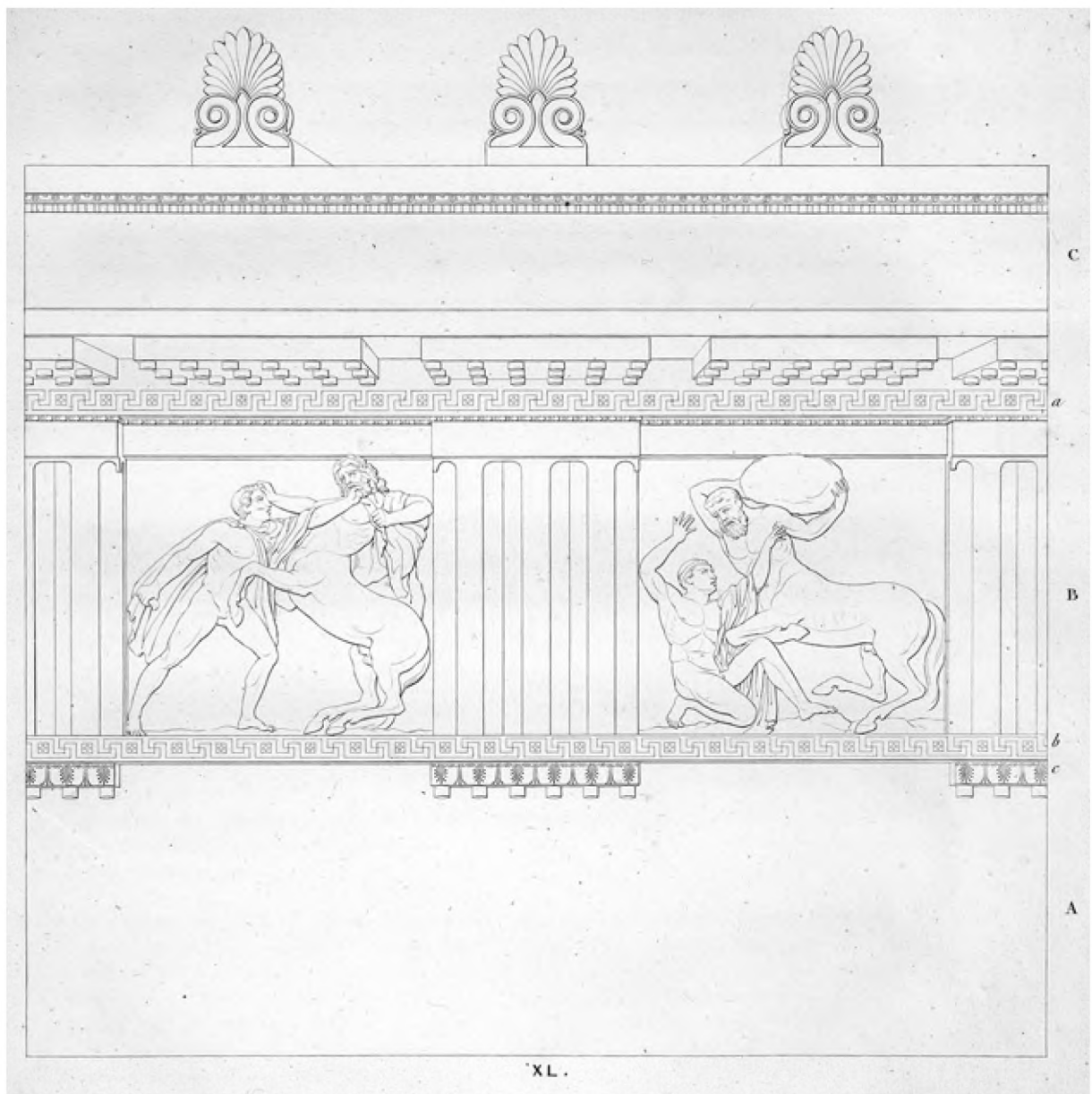


Fig. 3: Metopes South 7 and 8, with surrounding entablature. Brøndsted 1830b, pl. XL.



like Ismini Trianti or Alexandros Mantis have been able to reconstruct parts of metopes thought to have been lost forever, for instance South 20 and South 21.<sup>31</sup>

South 20 was destroyed by the explosion of 1687.<sup>32</sup> As Brøndsted (relying on ‘Carrey’) saw a roll in the hand of the figure at the left, he interpreted two priestesses or maidens with text rolls, perhaps law codes. The new attachments of Akr 1118 and Akr 3332 show clearly that the figure at left holds part of a cloth taken from a loom. Mantis writes: “Taken in connection with the woman spinning in metope 19, it is now certain that metopes 19 and 20 illustrate the making of a new piece of cloth (the preserved fragment of which recalls the peplos in the east frieze). It is difficult to determine what part the right-hand figure plays in these preparations, because the slightly curved cylindrical object that she holds in her right hand (variously interpreted as a law code, knife, band, torch) has been irretrievably lost.”<sup>33</sup> Brøndsted’s interpretation, as also those of Murray and Schrader, is certainly wrong.<sup>34</sup>

South 21, too, was destroyed by the explosion of 1687.<sup>35</sup> Because of the partial nudity of the woman at the right side, Brøndsted interpreted her as a woman who had just given birth, coming together with a priestess to visit the wooden statue of Artemis from Tauris. However other xoana, wooden cult statues, stood on the Acropolis, like the statue of Athena erected by Erichthonios,<sup>36</sup> or the Palladion from Troy,<sup>37</sup> or the statue of Eileithyia from Delos,<sup>38</sup> or a xoanon of Artemis Chitone.<sup>39</sup> According to Brøndsted both the xoana of Artemis and the one of Eileithyia influenced the representation. Both are goddesses who help women in childbirth. But now we know that the

woman on the left side of the metope undresses the xoanon, while the barebreasted woman possibly takes finery from the xoanon’s head (or, as B. Sismondo Ridgway suggested, is washing the statue).<sup>40</sup> Mantis proposes that South 19–21 show a sequence of a common topic – but we do not as yet know what it is.

What else can be said about Brøndsted’s publication? With the help of his friend Cockerell he tried to provide a reconstruction of the metopes with the surrounding entablature (fig. 3). The drawing shows South 7 and 8, and Cockerell wrote observations on traces of ancient colour, which can still be recognized today. Brøndsted also interpreted, to some extent, the Parthenon fragments in Copenhagen. He believed that they belonged to the metopes shown in the drawing, South 7 and 8. Today we know they belong to South 4.<sup>41</sup>

What did Brøndsted really achieve with his publication of parts of the Parthenon sculpture? He was the first not only to make use of all of the “Carrey” drawings, but also to present them in outline sketches – as far as he managed to publish his work (fig. 4). The outlines do not represent Carrey’s drawings with accuracy, but Brøndsted interpolated the state of the metopes at his own time. He presented a drawing by R. Cockerell of the plan of the Parthenon (fig. 2). Up to that time one could use only the plans made by Stuart and Revett or in the “Elgin Marbles” publication of 1818. He discussed problems that were examined by other scholars of his time, as the roots of the Doric order or the polychromy of ancient Greek buildings, being perfectly up-to-date with the research of his own time. He tried to summarize the iconographical pro-

31. Trianti 1992, 187–197; Mantis 1997, 66–81.

32. Brøndsted 1826–1830b, II, 240–249; drawn by ‘Carrey’; Brommer 1967, 107–108. 237; Mantis 1997, 75–77.

33. Mantis 1997, 76–77.

34. Brommer 1967, 237.

35. Brøndsted 1826–1830b, II, 250–264; drawn by ‘Carrey’; Brommer 1967, 109. 237–238; Mantis 1997, 77–79.

36. Paus. I 26, 7; Apollodoros III 14, 6 § 9.

37. Apollodoros III 12, 3 § 4–10; see Paus. I 28, 9.

38. Paus. I 18, 5.

39. Callimachus, Hymn to Artemis 225–227; Scholion in Callimachus’ Hymn to Zeus 77.

40. See Mantis 1997, 78 with mentioning of the suggestion of Sismondo Ridgway.

41. See Holtzmann 2003, 125 fig. 105: S 4, not S 8; see Brommer 1967, pl. 177; Brommer 1967, pp. 80–82, especially 81 “Bruchstücke in Kopenhagen”. Cf. the article by Jan Zahle in this publication.

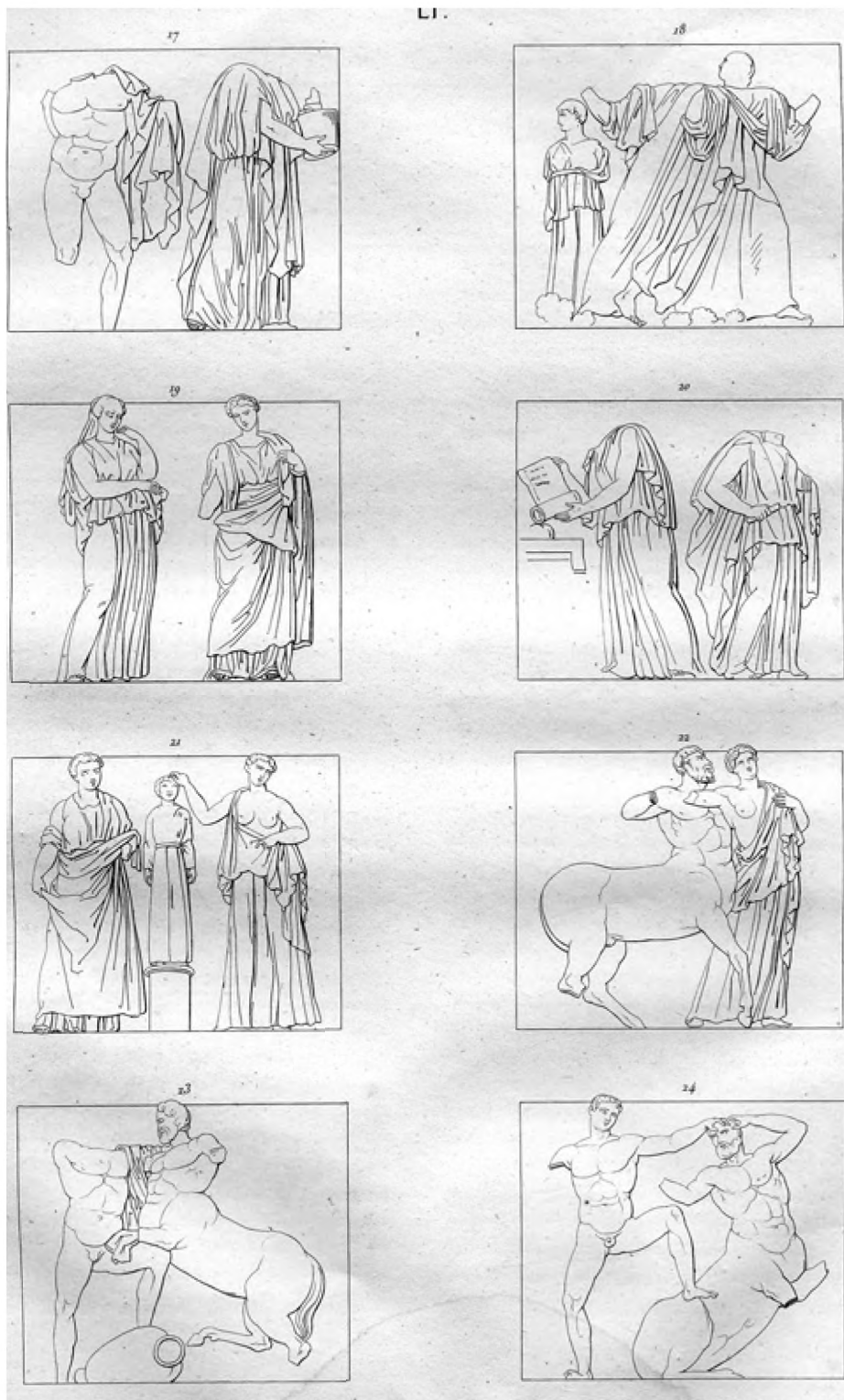


Fig. 4: Metopes South 17 – 24, outline sketches. Brøndsted 1830b, pl. LI.



gram of the Parthenon sculpture, and he analyzed *all* the South side metopes, the ones preserved in the British Museum, the Louvre and *in situ* on the Parthenon, as also the ones thought to be lost at his time. Finally, for his interpretation he used all his philological and mythological learning, and came to certain results that have stood since then. Of course, others were rejected on the basis of more or less sound arguments.

It is harder to say what Brøndsted did not attain. He apparently was not very fond of stylistic analysis. He was interested in the interpretation of the scenes, which he saw, but normally he did not look for comparable material for iconographic comparison or the study of different sculptors' work. But that was quite normal at his time. Karl Otfried Müller in his review of the first volume of *Reisen und Untersuchungen* felt that it suffered from a certain loquaciousness, and Adolf Michaelis repeated that judgement; the same

Müller, however, admitted in his review of the second volume that he had not meant to be rude.<sup>42</sup> Of course, if we compare the very compact writing of Frank Brommer in the 1960s with the literary style of Brøndsted in 1826/30, we might imagine how we could reduce the pages of *Reisen und Untersuchungen*.<sup>43</sup> But that is not the point, I think, and Brøndsted has a right to have written in personal style.

Finally, Brøndsted's book has been used by a great number of scholars, among them Brommer and Berger. It may please the honourable association of scholars who are participating in this colloquium on Peter Oluf Brøndsted to learn that both volumes in German and also the second volume of the French edition have been made available as digital copies on the Internet.<sup>44</sup> It is to be hoped that this might be another step in the direction of taking Brøndsted's work into account again.

42. Michaelis 1871, 101; Müller 1835.

43. Brommer 1967.

44. Thanks are due to Dr. Maria Effinger. The web addresses are:  
<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/brondsted1826bd1>;  
<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/brondsted1826bd2>;  
<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/brondsted1830>.

# P.O. Brøndsted's relations to the Danish literary, artistic, national and political revival

by Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen

## Introduction: Brøndsted and the so-called Golden Age of Denmark

Peter Oluf Brøndsted (fig. 1) and his works were important in the cultural life of the so-called *Danish Golden Age*. Contemporary writers actually sometimes used this expression, although the honest and decent scientist Hans Christian Ørsted in the heyday of the era didn't like it at all. He wrote to Adam Oehlenschläger about "... the foolish conceit by which many writers would make our time a *Golden Age*".<sup>1</sup> But Brøndsted was a dedicated and most learned lover of Greek Antiquity and the Greece of his days. He had a knowledge of – and a feeling for – Greece, and as he communicated both scholarship and sentiments successfully to his contemporaries we may be allowed to call his contribution to the *Zeitgeist* a golden one. He played his part in the construction of a Danish Philhellenism, the development of classical scholarship, and even of the decorative arts in Denmark. His books were well printed and often beautifully illustrated, quite apart from their scholarly contributions. Only these high standards could satisfy his taste for the perfect. Brøndsted is a person worth knowing.

When I saw the list of participants of the symposium

and the titles of the papers I decided that some modest glimpse of the *parish pump* of Copenhagen with its rural dependencies in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century might be a subject of some interest in the present context, especially to non-Danish speakers since much of the material concerning Brøndsted, in spite of the efforts of Ejnar Dyggve, Otto Mørkholm, Ida Haugsted and Jacob Isager among others, is still available only in Danish.<sup>2</sup>

This essay is centered around the period after Brøndsted's return to Denmark in 1813 from his travels in Greece, and the period after his second return in 1832 until his death in 1842.<sup>3</sup> My intention is to relate very briefly some incidents of Brøndsted's life in Copenhagen and to write about some of his very many friends and relations in Denmark. Of course his personality and personal preferences cannot be omitted from a narrative like this.

The famous European connections of Brøndsted are well known: Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, George Gordon Lord Byron, and Brøndsted's fellow travellers in Greece (as well as the other classical philologists and archaeologists of his time). In his own copy of the first volume of *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland* (1826), now in the Royal Library of

1. Nørregård-Nielsen 1994, 29.

2. Dyggve 1943, 139-149; Mørkholm 1981, 138-148; Haugsted 1996, 11-45; Brøndsted 1999.

3. The article in general is based upon the biographies in DBL 1 and DBL 3. And upon Brøndsted 1844b; Brøndsted 1850; Brøndsted 1926; Troels-Lund 1920-1922, I; Andersen 2005.





Fig. 1. Portrait of P.O. Brøndsted, oil on canvas, signed by C.A. Jensen, 1827. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. No. 7).

Copenhagen, he carefully noted the opinions of some of his learned critics – Goethe and the classical philologists August Böckh and Georg Friedrich Creuzer.<sup>4</sup>

### Brøndsted's Copenhagen

Brøndsted knew almost everybody of any importance in Danish cultural and political life in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, including Royalty. Making acquaintances was never a difficult task for Brøndsted who possessed a well-developed social intelligence.

But there is more to it than that. Brøndsted's Copenhagen was a small town and the University likewise a small one. All those with an academic education or with roots in the group of wealthy merchants or landed gentry knew each other, or were related. You would as a rule have to be at least superficially friendly even to someone with whom you absolutely disagreed, but you could also have literary feuds as a part of the social game.

A small example from 1828-29 concerning scholarship and theological controversy must suffice. The learned theologian, Semitic scholar and numismatist Jacob Christian Lindberg was a strong and definitely a quarrelsome adherent to a *schismatic* part of the Danish Church, centered around the charismatic figure of Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig. Both were opposed to rationalism, deism, the beginnings of liberal theology and in general to the official order of the Danish Church. Brøndsted's friend, the theologian and, from 1834, bishop of Sealand Jacob Peter Mynster, found both Grundtvig, his cousin by adoption, and the rude Lindberg absolutely abhorrent as did most of the bishops and professors of theology of the time. The professor Henrik Nicolaj Clausen called Lindberg "A

psychological Peculiarity"<sup>5</sup>, and that was not meant kindly at all. In 1828 Clausen's friend, the professor *extraordinarius* in theology Mathias Hagen Hohlenberg, like Lindberg a Semitic philologist, denied Lindberg access to a Phoenician inscription of which he had a transcript which Lindberg needed for his master's thesis. Lindberg of course knew that Brøndsted was a friend of Mynster, a professorial colleague of Hohlenberg, and moreover Brøndsted *had* to be Lindberg's theological opponent.

But Lindberg appealed for Brøndsted's help. And Brøndsted in Paris immediately provided a new and better copy of the text from the original. Mynster was always Brøndsted's friend no matter what. Judging by their letters they respected each other's decisions. Brøndsted actually – and with good reason – admired Lindberg's learning and cooperated with him in numismatic studies even if they disagreed in other matters. Brøndsted thought that Lindberg needed his help and that Hohlenberg had not behaved in accordance with Brøndsted's own view of the high calling of a genuine scholar. Lindberg replied in one of his numerous polemical pamphlets praising Brøndsted highly for his generosity while bestowing learned but almost insultingly formulated blows on Hohlenberg. Brøndsted, however, was not happy at all with Lindberg's triumphant reaction and wrote him a reproachful letter: Lindberg had to extinguish *the Volcanoes of Hatred and Zealotism* and exchange them with the *Springs of Love, Justice and Equity* and stop being a *Rebuking Guest*. If not, Brøndsted would not see him anymore in spite of Lindberg's great gift for scholarship. Lindberg obviously reformed,<sup>6</sup> because Brøndsted actually employed him as an assistant in 1835 at the collection of coins and medals.

4. The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen), New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling, 1448 2°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland nebst Darstellung und Erklärung vieler neuentdeckten Denkmäler griechischen Stils, und einer kritischen Übersicht aller Unternehmungen dieser Art, von Pausanias bis auf unsere Zeiten*. Erstes Buch. Paris, 1826 (with figures, illustrations, maps etc.).

This copy also contains Brøndsted's later handwritten comments to his original text.

5. Quotation from H.N. Clausen in Clausen 1877, 117.

6. Lindberg 1829; Baagø 1958, 128-130; Mørkholm 1981, 209. Cf. also the articles by Nadia Haupt and Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.



In spite of the feuds, you would be either family or colleague and would almost always meet *the others* at parties in private homes, or publicly at the University, at the University Library, or from 1793 in the likewise public Royal Library, The Royal Theatre or wherever decent people met. Copenhagen was a provincial town with a rather strict code of conduct, but the code could be slightly altered if you had the necessary social skills and – just as necessary – social position.

Brøndsted became a man of the world and stood out as such at an early age. It is my impression that he actually could provoke the *bourgeois* and the intellectual public of Copenhagen – especially when people found him self-assertive or thought that his noted *procrastination* was too extensive.<sup>7</sup> He had been habitually late from his early youth: even his essay as a student in order to obtain the *Gold Medal* of the University was delivered too late. His literary first appearance in the *University Journal* of 1801, edited by the professor *eloquentiae* Jacob Baden, two brief texts on the description of Achilles' and Hercules' shields *according to Homer and Hesiod* – a spin-off from the essay – was of course also delayed.<sup>8</sup> Later on, as a member of the Bible-Society and the Commission to make a new translation of the New Testament he was given the privilege of always being late, as is related by his biographer and old friend Bishop Mynster.<sup>9</sup>

When it comes to social coherence of this all-encompassing community it must be noted that the general death rate in Danish society was high at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. A rather large proportion of the population was consequently raised by stepparents, relatives or friends of the family. This phenomenon included all layers of society with the result that even in a *bourgeois* setting there existed networks of people

with different names who had been brought up together as children. This strengthened the social web.<sup>10</sup>

Brøndsted provides a typical example. After his wife's untimely death in 1818 at 28 years of age, he sent his children to be brought up by the Aagaard family at Iselingen (fig. 2), where they spoke of "Father Brøndsted" and "Father Aagaard".<sup>11</sup> Frederikke and Marie, Brøndsted's and Aagaard's wives, were twin sisters of Brøndsted's friend, co-student and co-traveller Georg Koës. They for their part had been raised by the vicar-family Winther together with Koës' fiancée Caroline Falck. In that respect, they had a close relationship with the son of the house, the later poet and short story author Christian Winther, whose mother after her husband's death in 1808 married another vicar, later bishop, Rasmus Møller, whose son Poul Martin Møller befriended Brøndsted. P.M. Møller also became a poet, translator of Homer, philosopher and a university teacher. He was an ideal for Søren Aabye Kierkegaard, who printed a posthumous dedication to Møller in one of his major philosophical works, *The Concept of Anxiety* (1844), calling him "The happy lover of Graecicism ...". P.M. Møller was in his youth one of the most beloved sons of Bakkehuset, as Karen Margrethe (Kamma) Rahbek, the mistress of Bakkehuset, felt. He lived there as a young student, and the three girls that the Winthers also brought up visited the house. Knud Lyhne Rahbek, the owner of the house, was an old friend of the vicar Hans Christian Winther.

## Bakkehuset

Bakkehuset, i.e. *The House on the Hill*, had originally been an illicit inn placed strategically where the old road from Copenhagen to the south of Sealand had to

7. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 27; J. Jensen 1992, 104.

8. Baden 1801, IX, 48, 86-91, 97-102.

9. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 28-29.

10. Christensen 1977-1992, IX, 22-40.

11. Hammerich 1980, e.g. 31



Fig. 2: The manor house Iselingen. Lithograph (1865) by the artist Joachim Ferdinand Richardt and the lithographic draughtsman Nordahl Grove. It was published in the series *Prospecter af Danske Herregaarde*, vol. 1-20, Copenhagen 1844-1868. In the foreground the stocky Holger Halling Aagaard and the former Danish Prime Minister C.C. Hall.

pass a steep hill at Valby, where everybody going to and from Copenhagen was wont to pause. Bakkehuset was eventually (1784) made into a kind of summer residence for people from Copenhagen who could rent some rooms there far from the crowds and noise of the city, but of course not from the dirt and mud, which was ubiquitous.

Today, it is almost impossible to imagine the surroundings of Bakkehuset in the final years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup>. The Carlsberg Breweries took up lots of space during the 19<sup>th</sup> century close to the old house, and the area was made a residential quarter by the end of the same century. But

Rahbek loved the then rural settlement and although Bakkehuset severely needed mending, he spent one summer there and then actually rented a small flat in the old worn down summerhouse for the whole of the year from 1787 and on. In 1802 he bought the place for his wife and himself in spite of its condition and his impossible economic situation.<sup>12</sup>

Rahbek was always without money although he was a diligent and important publicist of various periodicals, which were part of the *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit* of the time. Most important were probably the periodicals for intellectual discussion called *Minerva* (1785-1808 and 1815-1819). Rahbek was a theater-maniac

12. Jørgensen 2001, 37.



and a man of the social clubs, a truly generous friend of his friends; a poet specializing in the composition of drinking songs, a translator, a teacher of history and a learned historian of literature. He was co-author of the first history of Danish poetry. His protector was the *patron* of the University, the Duke of Augustenburg, brother-in-law of Crown Prince Frederik, then governing, later King Frederik VI. The Duke created an extraordinary professorship in aesthetics for his client in 1790, and Rahbek became his private secretary in 1793. In 1799, with regard to his theatrical interests he was appointed one of the three directors or managers of the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen.

In 1798, after two years of engagement Rahbek married Karen Margrethe (Kamma) Heger, who hardly ever went into Copenhagen unless for the purpose of going to church to hear her favorite preacher, Mynster.<sup>13</sup> She lived with her husband, with her house, friends and her self-made garden. Some have supposed that she began the tradition in this country of sending flowers to people on special occasions.

In spite of the semi-royal protection by the Duke of Augustenborg Rahbek stayed a friend of former fellow-students who now vehemently criticized the absolute government: Malthe-Conrad Bruun and Peter Andreas Heiberg who were sentenced to exile in 1800. Both went to Paris. One became a famous geographer under the name of Malte-Brun in France. The other – Peter Andreas Heiberg – became part of the *entourage* of Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, later French minister of foreign affairs, as a translator and secretary. Brøndsted came to know both of these exiles during his stays in Paris. Other guests in Bakkehuset at the time were friends of Rahbek: the writers and philosophers of the time, such as the troublesome poet Jens Immanuel Baggesen and the impressive and influential Danish-German philosopher and romanticist Henrich Steffens, one of the inspirers of a new Danish poetry.

With Kamma's arrival in 1798, the guests of Bakkehuset gradually changed. Her older brother, Carl

Heger, a student of theology, served from 1809 as the lifelong personal librarian of Crown Prince Christian Frederik, later King Christian VIII. Heger, who possessed a special timid ability for friendship and contacts, provided the house with new guests. The young master-poet Adam Oehlenschläger was also a frequent visitor. He was later appointed professor of aesthetics, even if he was rather uneducated as a young man. Two other guests, however, had secured Oehlenschläger's *examen artium*. They were Anders Sandøe Ørsted, a young up-and-coming government official and, in old age, politician and prime minister, and his brother, later a famous scientist and professor, Hans Christian Ørsted, the discoverer of electro-magnetism. Oehlenschläger and the Ørsted brothers remained friends for life. The former was also a friend of Steffens, but was provoked to a long-lasting literary feud by another house guest, Baggesen. Oehlenschläger was at first primarily interested in Kamma's sister Christiane, whereas Anders Sandøe Ørsted took a special interest in Oehlenschläger's sister Sophie. Both parties eventually married. But again Baggesen interfered. To the discomfort of everybody, he obviously fell in love with Sophie Ørsted and did not hide it. Not everything was ideal and idyllic in the Bakkehuset. Brøndsted also became a friend of the house and with his sense for politeness and neutrality obviously avoided getting involved in the skirmishes. He knew the other guests from the University and from his travels.

A special role was played by Carl Heger's friends Ole Hieronymus Mynster, MD, the doctor of Bakkehuset (meaning Kamma), and his brother the aforementioned Jacob Peter Mynster, the spiritual advisor of the house (also meaning Kamma). Kamma referred to him as *Uncle Job* in the special language of the house; although the name *Job* actually originated in his schooldays. As bishop of Sealand, Mynster later became the *primas* of the Danish Church and married the daughter of one of his predecessors, Maria Frederica Franzisca (Fanny) Münter.

13. Mynster 1832; Clausen 1877, 250, 298-299.

Kamma Rahbek was mainly educated by her father, co-judge at one of the lower courts of Copenhagen. She read and spoke English, German, Italian, Spanish and even Portuguese, and when Brøndsted arrived she tried to learn Greek in order to follow her new friend – but it turned out to be difficult for her. She had an irresistible charm and was a blessed and very productive letter-writer. She was a word-maker of her own. Everything could get a new name in the special Bakkehus-language as it has been called – and she baptized her surroundings, giving them more or less friendly pet names, a habit that infected her acquaintances and visitors who in the Bakkehus-language were called “the generals”.<sup>14</sup> Her husband was named *the squirrel* because he was red-haired all over and was always eating the seeds that were intended to be the food of his canary-bird. Moreover he was, as Boswell says of Doctor Johnson, no friend of clean linen. Kamma at one point proclaims with triumph to Mynster that he has put on a clean shirt without her interference – the actual words are that he did it “un-flogged, yea even un-asked”.<sup>15</sup>

Brøndsted, “the little Professor Worm”, was known to the Rahbeks from at least 1806 when Mynster in a letter of January the 30<sup>th</sup> reports that they had travelled together to Brøndsted’s half-cousin and Mynster’s friend, the learned rural dean and expert in Coptic, Wolf Frederik Engelbreth in Lyderslev in Sealand.<sup>16</sup>

Later that year, Brøndsted and Koës left Denmark to travel through Germany where they met Oehlen-schläger in Dresden and began their *Grand Tour*. The three of them saw Goethe in Weimar. They went to Paris, ending their common journey in Rome in 1809. Later on the two young classicists set out for Greece with their co-travellers. Koës died 28 years old in Zakynthos/Zante on the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1811. Brøndsted was ill with dysentery in Asia Minor at that time and was devastated when he heard the sad news of his friend’s death in Thessaly on September the 26<sup>th</sup>.<sup>17</sup>

The Rahbeks and Brøndsted obviously met when Brøndsted returned to Copenhagen from his long travels in 1813. Immediately after his return to Copenhagen he was appointed *professor extraordinarius* in philology. Kamma Rahbek tells Mynster in a letter from “*the month of lilies*”, which is an old name for October, that she was very fond of hearing Brøndsted, whose name in Bakkehuset consequently became *the Greek professor*, speaking the “rather harmonious modern Greek” with “his young beautiful Greek”. The young man was Nicolo Conrad Lunzi of Venetian origin, from the island of Zakynthos. His father who had been the local Danish consul decided in his will that the son should visit Denmark. When Brøndsted was on the island to raise a monument to Koës he was appointed to fulfill this wish and in effect *adopted* the boy for some years. Kamma was deeply fond of the teenager. She continued to Mynster, “But it was an even greater pleasure for me to find Br. far more different from what I had expected – he was really very amiable”.<sup>18</sup>

### Molbech as an editor and Brøndsted as an early topical art-critic

Among the people that Brøndsted met in Bakkehuset on his return was Christian Molbech, another friend of Carl Heger. Molbech had no formal academic degree and was of a socially and intellectually melancholy, peevish personality, totally devoid of humor. In spite – or maybe *because* – of this he possessed an enormous working capacity and had professionally as an editor of periodicals opinions about almost everything, primarily literature and history. He also edited medieval texts and a Danish dictionary among other innumerable tasks. Among his many projects he founded the Danish Historical Society<sup>19</sup> and the Danish *Historical Review*<sup>20</sup>, which is still alive, and sometimes kicking.

14. Dreier 1993-1994, I, introduction.

15. Mynster 1875, 123.

16. Mynster 1860, 77.

17. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 19.

18. Mynster 1875, 124.

19. Den danske historiske Forening.

20. Historisk Tidsskrift.



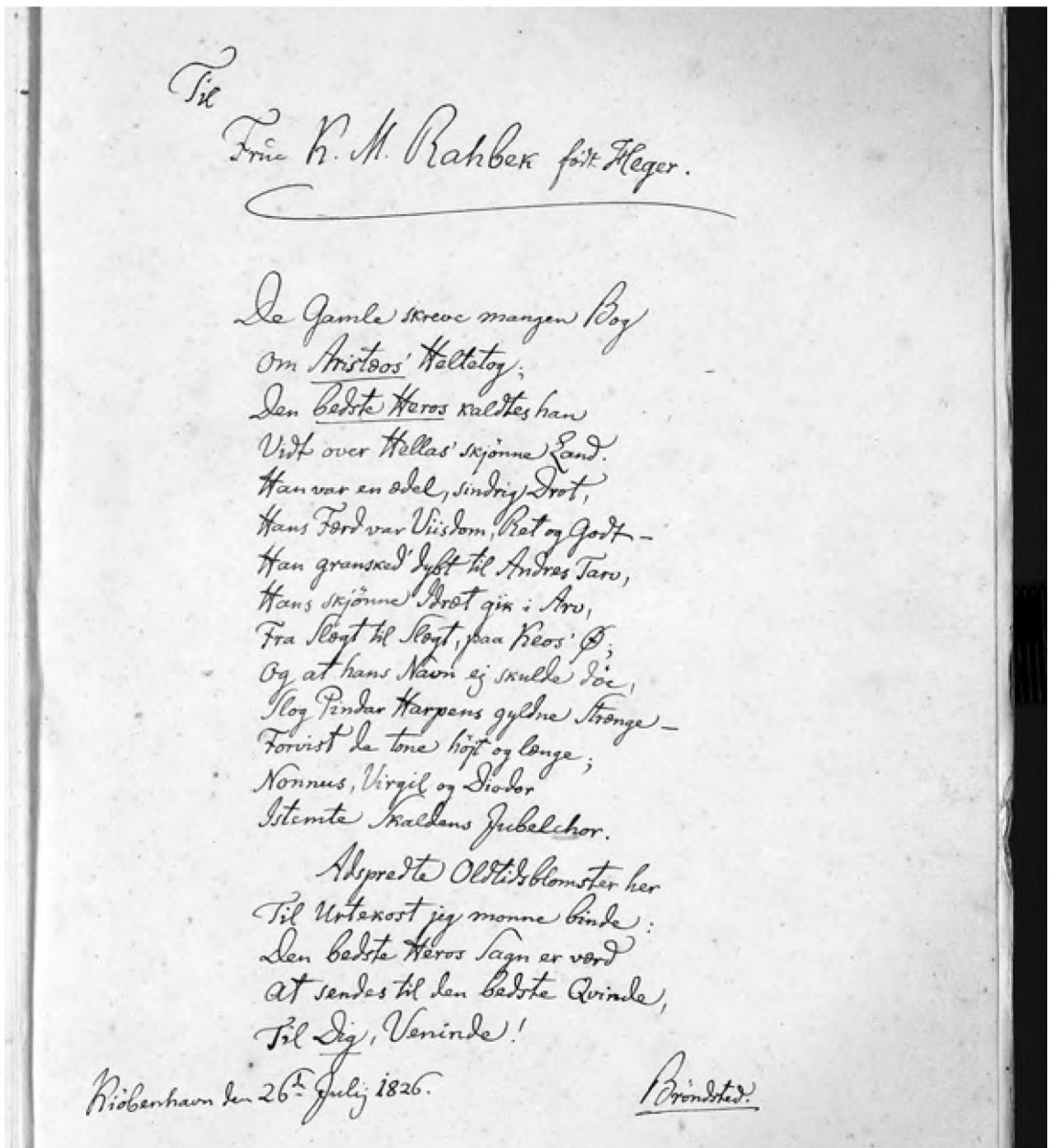


Fig. 3: In the essay a presentation copy to Kamma Rahbek of the first volume from 1826 of the *Voyages dans la Grèce* is mentioned. The dedication "To Mrs. K. M. Rahbek nee Heger" is shown here. The topic of the dedication is taken from the contents of the volume: the description of the archaeological sites, finds and antique legends of the island Keos. The dedication has the *Heros Aristæos* as its point of departure. Some parts of the rhymed text can probably be translated – in prose – like this: "He (Aristæos) was a noble, clever King, his dealings were Wisdom, Right and Good – He always studied other persons' needs deeply. His beautiful efforts were inherited from Age to Age on Keos' Island ..." – His name was never to die for he was always remembered by posterity: Pindar as well as Nonnus, Virgil and Diodorus praised his memory – "Mingled flowers of Antiquity here are made a bouquet, the legend of the finest *Heros* is worth sending to the best Woman – To you, my Friend! Copenhagen, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1826. Brøndsted". Danish private collection.

Molbech was employed at The Royal Library with the title of Secretary, which meant that he was in fact one of the few librarians in the institution. That position he loved: the daily contact with the old books as well as the new ones gave him the material for his academic discussions in letters and articles in periodicals mostly edited by himself. He also wrote books (among the most influential, *Walking Tours in Youth through my Native Country I-II*),<sup>21</sup> and his literary results were almost always long-winded and came on like a torrent. It was therefore not without reason that he was called *Molbekken – the Mol-creek*. From 1813 to 1817 Molbech edited the monthly periodical *Athene*, the *yellow booklets* so-called because of the color of the glazed paper that was used as wrappers.<sup>22</sup>

Kamma gave Molbech names, among them *the Editor* and *the Wolf*. The first term could be totally neutral but could also contain the meaning that he *edited* himself as quite another person than he was. The second nickname was probably bestowed because of his *praise-hunting*, belligerent and sinister mind – he insistently required acceptance in all situations. He actually forced Kamma in 1813 into an intimate correspondence to make her an instrument in his efforts to mend his mental insecurity. Kamma eventually let the correspondence slowly die out in 1815 after about 280 letters between the two.<sup>23</sup>

Molbech probably persuaded Brøndsted in early 1814 to write a review of an example of the new nationally and idealistically based painting. It was called “a presentation-piece”, painted by Johan Ludvig Gebhard Lund in order to become a member of the Royal Academy for the Fine Arts. Its subject derived from Saxo Grammaticus, *The Return of Habor from Battle and his Reception at King Sigar’s Court*. Brøndsted who had seen and sensed and read about art of the highest quality during his travels wrote the small and mostly enthusiastic essay, which was published in

*Athene* in April of the same year. He probably knew Lund from Rome where Lund had been living in the ambience of Thorvaldsen.<sup>24</sup> This diminutive article of Brøndsted probably became the first example of topical art-criticism in Denmark so that with his little work he founded a genre. Not, of course, without an anonymous objection by a “q” in the next installment of *Athene*.

### Brøndsted and the Rahbeks – a friendship

As a friend for Kamma, Brøndsted was certainly different and undoubtedly more convenient than Molbech. The worst he could do to his friends socially was to ask them to listen to his playing the piano, but he did play rather well.<sup>25</sup> He must have been a polite, kind, and with his human reserve of strength, a well-meaning and supportive friend.<sup>26</sup> He gave Kamma a copy<sup>27</sup> of the first volume of *Voyages dans la Grèce* (1826) in the special edition in folio, printed in only 55 copies, with a long and lovingly versified dedication in his characteristic handwriting dated the 26<sup>th</sup> of July (fig. 3).

The friendship between Kamma and Brøndsted grew stronger and stronger from 1813. One reason could have been that their religious sentiments were probably almost identical, a personally rooted, undoubting, almost spontaneous belief.<sup>28</sup> *Uncle Job* had had his influence, but the sheer Christian security of a life in God’s hand and a deep trust in an ever-forgiving Lord was a confidence that Mynster had never given Kamma. He was a speculative theologian. He had his basis in scripture, in the biblical texts, and he became after certain psychological breakthroughs an orthodox Lutheran. But in the eyes of his time – and in Kamma’s – he was at the same time a great, influential and stimulating preacher.

The older he got and the more responsibilities that were heaped upon him, the more did he take on the po-

21. Molbech 1811-1815.

22. Molbech 1813-1817.

23. Dreier 1993-1994

24. Bobé 1935, 177-198

25. But see J.P. Mynster’s remarks in Brøndsted 1844b, 78.

26. Brøndsted 1844b, 29.

27. This copy of Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, is now in a Danish private collection.

28. Troels-Lund 1920-1922, I, 119-121.



sition of the Church of the Danish absolutist state. In his posthumously published memoirs, written in old age, he admitted that he had suffered from what we today probably would call *depression*. That illness could have had an influence on his religious feelings and utterances.<sup>29</sup>

Nobody ever heard Brøndsted complain of such afflictions. He was physically and mentally strong, and in his own view could and should manage any practical and psychological obstacle. This he proved on his long and dangerous travels and by the handling of his personal losses, all with the help of the Lord, as Brøndsted saw it. One of the few preserved statements about his Faith is in a personal contribution to the collected works of his old teacher Oluf Worm, who “awakened in my young heart a need for religion and the strong hope for eternity which well-rooted never fails, not even among the worst rocks and skerries of life”.<sup>30</sup>

Rahbek presumably found Brøndsted to be a man of vast knowledge and a gifted teller of stories about incidents from a life in both the remotest part of Europe (at that time) and Europe’s famous capitals. Brøndsted was a social and amusing boon to Rahbek himself and to the guests of Bakkehuset. It was also fortunate that Mynster’s young wife Fanny – 21 years younger than *Uncle Job* – and Brøndsted’s wife Frederikke liked each other, and that Frederikke was only five years older than Fanny. Brøndsted’s father in Horsens officiated at the marriage of his son and Frederikke in October 1813 and Mynster married his Fanny in 1815.

However, 1818 became an *annus horribilis* for the acquaintances of Brøndsted and for Brøndsted himself. Oehlenschläger’s sister Sophie Ørsted died; Mynster’s older brother, the famous MD and cultural communicator, died; Mynster’s first son died shortly after birth; and Brøndsted’s wife too died, after the birth of their third child, their youngest daughter.

## The manor house Iselingen

Brøndsted was out of his mind. But it is said that Frederikke had made him promise that if anything happened to her he would let her sister bring up the children, “because then they will not feel any difference: Marie is me and I am her”.<sup>31</sup> And so it happened. Brøndsted could not stand being in Denmark after Frederikke’s death and left for his second long stay away from Denmark from 1818 to 1832, leaving his three children in the care of the generous owners of the manor house Iselingen near Vordingborg: his wife’s sister and the jurist and military judge Holger Halling Aagaard who had inherited Iselingen from his father.

Here I must thank Jesper Brandt Andersen, a chief physician and pediatrician living in one of the old houses that is part of Iselingen. He has given me scholarly help by publishing a well-informed and sympathetic essay, *P.O. Brøndsted and the manor house Iselingen – a symbiosis of The Golden Age*.<sup>32</sup> This essay is a must for everyone interested in the life and times of Brøndsted, especially if one wants to see him in his Danish social setting. Brandt Andersen tells the story of Brøndsted’s long delays in returning to Denmark, and the substantial economic support that the couple at Iselingen granted him, always urging him to come home to his children. But he also tells the story of the many lively and enthusiastic letters about European culture and events that Brøndsted sent home to Iselingen (66 of these are preserved in the Royal Library). So the Aagaards brought up Brøndsted’s children and provided him with money as well, while as a benefit the family at Iselingen received culturally valuable knowledge from Brøndsted abroad. This appears to be part of the reason for Brandt Andersen’s use of the word *symbiosis*.

29. Mynster 1854, 40-41.

30. Brøndsted 1835c, 13.

31. Andersen 2005, 67.

32. Andersen 2005.

## Brøndsted and the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals

Brøndsted finally returned to Denmark in May 1832, and he became director of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals at Rosenborg Castle half a year later. He thereby outclassed one of the most gifted and industrious Danish numismatists and archaeologists at the time, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen. Thomsen was the person who from practical observations created the basic version of the theory of material classification of the three prehistorical ages: stone, bronze, and iron. Moreover, he was since 1816 secretary of the Commission for Antiquities established in 1807. And in this respect he was the main figure behind the creation of what is now the National Museum of Denmark which – with appropriate reverence for his efforts – has been called Thomsen’s Museum. Thomsen also worked much with coins. It was therefore disappointing for him to see Brøndsted suddenly becoming head of the collection. He described Brøndsted as a person who wanted the position out of *vanity* and of course maintained that he had received the appointment because of his rank. But as time went by they came to be on friendly terms.<sup>33</sup>

Brøndsted also took up his position as professor – now as *ordinarius* – in philology and archaeology. He also reinvoked old relations. He and Oehlenschläger again became close friends, writing poems to each other on special occasions as for their birthdays in 1837.<sup>34</sup>

## Brøndsted and the new generation of politicians and humanists

At Iselingen after his return to Denmark, Brøndsted met some of the young men who would become important in the next generation of politicians and hu-

manists. They were for the most part university friends of Georg Aagaard, the oldest son of the house.<sup>35</sup>

Among the young men were Ditlev Gothard Monrad, a theologian and scholar in Semitic languages, who became one of the members of the first non-absolutist government in March 1848 as *Kultusminister* (minister for Church and Education). He was also a member of the assembly to negotiate a Danish democratic constitution (1848-49). Monrad became one of the most influential founding fathers of Danish parliamentary life. He was one of the authors of the constitution and became prime minister in 1864 in one of the most dangerous situations of the nation since the wars against Sweden in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Owing to his despair at the failure of his ambitions for the nation he went into voluntary exile in New Zealand. The fatal loss of Schleswig was in the end *his* responsibility: he had declined a suggestion about arbitration from the British and that had its consequences. But he recovered from his depression and returned to Denmark in 1869, ending his days as bishop of Lolland-Falster.

Another of the young guests at Iselingen was Count Frederik Marcus Knuth of Knuthenborg. Aristocracy, and for that matter Royalty, were not unknown to the cultivated and wealthy Aagaard family, but they maintained a style of life that was *bourgeois* and indeed almost modest. Thus, the couple did not tolerate the luxurious use of servants and coachmen in livery. Knuth had the confidence of Christian VIII, and was appointed *Anttmand* – i.e. prefect – for the county of Sorø and at the same time Head Director of the Academy of Sorø in 1847, when only 34 years old. As a friend of the house and as a nobleman with the right to nominate vicars for certain parishes he procured an office for Monrad. Knuth was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in March 1848. He died young but his presence as

33. J. Jensen 1992, about Brøndsted's relation to Thomsen in particular pp 102-104. "The friendly terms" between the two of them are kindly related to me by Jørgen Steen Jensen, cf. the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication. After Brøndsted's death Thomsen finally and rightfully became director of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals

34. Brøndsted 1839, 304; Oehlenschläger 1837, 226-229.

35. The basis for the following description is the various biographies in DBL 1 and DBL 3. Neergaard 1892-1916 has also been consulted. A list of Lindberg's pupils is published in Baagø 1958, 114-121. Hammerich 1980, 23-33, especially p. 32, has provided the basic list of persons.



a friend of the house shows the breadth of the Iseligen circle.

To the family of the manor house Brøndsted himself introduced one of the two people who were to be the most important in the later history of Iseligen, his young friend Martin Johannes Hammerich, a pupil of Jacob Christian Lindberg from Borgerdydsskolen. He became, like Lindberg, a master of Semitic languages – as well as writing his master's thesis on Nordic mythology in 1836 – and after 3 years of studies abroad, he became an able expert in Sanskrit. He translated Kalidasas *Sakuntala* in 1845, a translation that is still read. But in 1835 he was invited to Iseligen “as if in order to say good-bye”<sup>36</sup>, as he put it, before he was due to travel abroad, and fell in love with the 15-year-old daughter of the house Anna Mathea, a person whom everybody loved. They married in 1841 and he became – born teacher as he was – headmaster of his own old school, Borgerdydsskolen on Christianshavn in 1842. He and Anna Mathea stayed there with their children until 1867, in which year they inherited Iseligen from her father. The two of them maintained Iseligen as a *cultural institution* outside Copenhagen but with the same connections to the university and the literary, political and artistic milieu in the capital as had the old Aagaards.

Holger Halling Aagaard's young colleague as a military jurist, Carl Christian Hall, was also one of the friends of Georg Aagaard. Hall later became judge, advocate general and professor of Roman law. In his democratic political career he was Minister of Culture, Education and the affairs of the Church, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Prime Minister. However, Monrad and his supporters did not consider him for Prime Minister in December 1863, because they wanted to confront the Germans in confidence of the support of the Great powers. But in the 1830s Hall was just another of the young men in love at Iseligen. He married Brøndsted's oldest daughter Augusta Marie Frederikke in 1837. That

brought him closer to Christian VIII who knew Augusta Marie, as she called<sup>37</sup> herself, from earlier days, and thereby she probably furthered his career. The Halls moved out to Frederiksberg and bought a villa close to the old Bakkehus. Augusta Marie talked a lot about *Father Brøndsted* and resembled him in certain ways, though she was even more politically naïve. She was married to a politician and statesman but that had no influence upon her immediate affections even in matters of state. In 1863, when her husband for a period was as well Prime minister as Minister for Foreign Affairs, she donated money in her own name to the rebellious Poles, although at that time Denmark could very well have used the support of Russia in its own dangerous situation with regard to Prussia and the rest of Germany. Denmark needed all the help the nation could get from the great powers in order to keep Bismarck at bay. But Augusta Marie found the Russian oppression of Poland abhorrent and acted, I suppose, as she felt her father would have done. It did not make her husband's life as a minister any easier.

### Brøndsted and contemporary politics

Brøndsted's own political *blunders* in 1820 as Royal Agent for the Danish Court at the Papal See are discussed elsewhere in this publication. Brøndsted stayed in Rome as if nothing had happened but remained a constitutionalist *and* monarchist. In his published traveler's diaries there are at the end some reflections from 1821-1824 on constitutionalism and monarchy: “I am a royalist with all of my heart, because I believe that this form of commonwealth is better than any other to further true happiness and blessings in a state, and it offers the possibilities of peace and good order to secure the well-being of all”.<sup>38</sup> In the end his fatherland eventually *would* have a constitution as a result of the European and Danish uproar demanding parliamentary development. The public turmoil of March 1848 had its effect.

36. Andersen 2005, 94.

37. See e.g. a personal and signed remark about “Father Brøndsted” in the presentation copy to C.C. Hall of Werlauff 1858. Now it is in a Danish private collection.

38. Brøndsted 1850, 138-149. Quotation from page 139. See the articles by Jacob Isager and Schepele in this publication.

If Brøndsted had lived he would presumably have been made a royally appointed member of the general assembly in view of his merits. The members of the assembly were elected – or royally appointed – in order to negotiate and create a Danish constitution, but I think that by the end of the meetings of this assembly in 1849 he would have voted *against* the final draft for the constitution, just as his friends Mynster and A.S. Ørsted did. The democratic elements in the constitution weighed too heavily and the intelligent and educated elements, the landowners and the industrious *bourgeois* had not acquired the influence that Brøndsted probably would have found necessary in order to establish a stable political and civil society.

In this connection one can note a letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> April 1840 from Brøndsted to Mynster from London in which he describes at length and in great agitation a meeting led by the industrialist and utopian socialist Robert Owen. Brøndsted writes among other defamations, “The man in question really means in all sincerity that all divine and human institutions upon which our present society is founded, such as Christianity, religious belief, marriage, the right of property and its enforcement, the educational system, universities, courts of justice, prisons and penitentiaries etc. etc. etc. are partly unnecessary, partly tyrannical and highly absurd institutions, all of which ought to be exterminated in a well arranged society to make space for a Socialism which will consist of a loving community of all possible and impossible things and which (so he thinks) if rightly conducted will make all other kinds of government or state totally superfluous”. The letter stands in sharp contrast to Brøndsted’s usual kind and tolerant acceptance of other people, different though they might be culturally or of different levels of society. It is amazingly acidic in its attitude toward Owen’s audience: artisans, ordinary workers and their women-folk. Brøndsted was obviously no friend of proletarians who might stand in opposition.<sup>39</sup>

39. Mynster 1862, 208-215. Quotation from page 210.

### Brøndsted and his famous acquaintances

Proletarians or not – Brøndsted was safe in his own circles. As has been stated before, Brøndsted knew all of the significant people in the Copenhagen of his day. Among these, three personalities of the Danish 19<sup>th</sup> century are internationally known today. One was an old friend, the second a person with a more remote relationship to Brøndsted, and the third a nuisance.

The friend was Bertel (Alberto) Thorvaldsen whose father, an Icelandic wood carver, lived in poverty in Copenhagen. Brøndsted probably met Thorvaldsen during his first stay in Rome and was, like everybody else, impressed by the artistic genius of the authentically taciturn descendant of Icelandic masculinity: no words but lots of work. But Thorvaldsen represented the ideal of the romanticist conception of the original brilliant and almost autochthonous Great Artist. During his time as Agent in Rome Brøndsted helped Thorvaldsen with negotiations and correspondence with his customers, a task which he obviously performed with pleasure.

But a much-discussed problem arose in May 1823, when Brøndsted borrowed the substantial sum of 2000 *scudi* from Thorvaldsen in order to cover his most immediate needs. Brøndsted’s financial situation was at that time very strained. The transaction was a loan, for which Brøndsted pawned his coins and books as security. Thorvaldsen kept the coins and the books, which to this day are preserved in his Museum in Copenhagen.<sup>40</sup>

Brøndsted was a generous person but in his own happy-go-lucky way unreliable in financial matters. He was never able to repay Thorvaldsen and of course found the situation embarrassing. Thorvaldsen was for his part niggardly by nature. The sculptor and medalist Frederik Christopher Krohn, who worked unpaid for the great master in his *ateliers* on Piazza Barberini for a couple of years from 1835, once wrote to his father-in-law when Krohn had produced yet another child, “... you talk, Dear Father, about getting money from Thor-

40. Mørkholm 1982.



valdsen, but the skinflint is the last man in Rome that I would ask to borrow money from. You would not believe what difference there is between the artist Thorv. and the man Thorv. In the first respect he is in my mind's eye a Demigod, but in the second an incomprehensibly base miser".<sup>41</sup>

Brøndsted did not express himself like that about his Hero of Art, and he preserved *his* friendship with Thorvaldsen, writing to him about visiting Iselingen during Thorvaldsen's stay in Copenhagen in 1819-22. When the sculptor was back in Denmark from 1838 and sometimes lived at the nearby manor house of Nysø he eventually visited Iselingen to Brøndsted's great pleasure. In 1819, Brøndsted even offered (hopefully as a joke) any one of his young daughters as a wife to Thorvaldsen, at his choice. After the loss of his books and coins Brøndsted actually created a new library (2753 numbers in the auction catalogue) – and he must have bought coins again for he was obviously a compulsive numismatist.<sup>42</sup>

Hans Christian Andersen was a more remote acquaintance. Brøndsted met him in Paris in May 1833, whereupon they took tea together, according to Andersen's travel-diaries. Brøndsted presented Andersen with a copy of his newest book (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus Griechenland*) and of course played the piano: a waltz composed by himself. The two of them walked together to the library in "Cardinal Ricellieus Hotel", as Andersen writes, where Brøndsted explained a prospect of Athens to his guest. Furthermore, Brøndsted praised Andersen as a genuine poet in a small rhymed epistle dated "Paris, Midsummer 1833": he prophesied that Andersen would soon receive The Laurel Wreath. Andersen never forgot that early and friendly recognition. He actually quoted Brøndsted's piece in his memoirs and kept the little poetic page in his Scrapbook – his *Album*. As an old man Andersen

had Lemercier's lithographic portrait of Brøndsted after a drawing by L. Dupré, also from 1833, hanging on the wall in his apartment, directly over the main table.<sup>43</sup>

At the time, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard was making a nuisance of himself. In June, July and September 1841, Brøndsted, in his capacity as one of the professors of classical philology, was a member of the committee to judge Kierkegaard's thesis for obtaining his master's degree. It was written not in Latin but in Danish, which was highly unusual – only three examples, among them Hammerich's, had been seen before. Kierkegaard's thesis, now of course famous, was entitled *On the Concept of Irony with continual reference to Socrates*. The professor of philosophy and dean of the faculty Frederik Christian Sibbern, Kierkegaard's old teacher, did not like the work, but tried to find a compromise. Johan Nicolai Madvig, one of the three professors in classics and Brøndsted's colleague, disliked it – it "hunted the piquant and witty which often changes into the vulgar and tasteless"; but negotiations about revisions are always difficult and in the case of Kierkegaard probably would not have any effect. This he writes to the other professor in classics, Frederik Christian Petersen, who also hesitated to accept the thesis. Petersen suggested "that several excesses of the sarcastic and mocking style should be removed as being ill-timed in an academic dissertation". H.C. Ørsted, at the time Rector Magnificus of the University of Copenhagen and *almost* the Supreme Court in this particular case, was for his part dryly furious: he also condemned the language of the book as vulgar, tasteless, and long-winded.

The man of the world, Brøndsted, like Madvig, could observe Kierkegaard and his thesis at a certain distance. He wrote in a letter to F.C. Petersen, "Some internal temptation has provoked the young man to

41. Nørregård-Nielsen 1996, 115.

42. Plesner 1942, 71.

43. Andersen 1926, I, 112; Andersen 1971-1977, I, 149-150; Andersen 1980, folio 107; photograph of Andersen's living room in

Feigenberg 1996, 13; identification of picture: see Brøndsted 1926, 168; cf. Strunk 1865, 99, no. 470. Cf. the article by Mikala Brøndsted in this publication.

jump over the fence that divides proper irony and cheap satire from the vulgar and exaggerated non-refreshing area ... but if the author really has taken a liking to it ...”<sup>44</sup> then Brøndsted was willing to let it pass with no further fuss.

After further negotiations with theologians and a teacher of philosophy the *arbiter* was King Christian VIII himself who (influenced by his old friend Brøndsted?) accepted that the defense of the Danish book could take place, provided that it was followed by 15 Latin theses and that the deliberations should be held in Latin. So they did, and including lunch the ceremony lasted 7½ hours, *in good Latin* we are told.<sup>45</sup>

### Brøndsted and music

After such an effort one needed some pleasure and relaxation. For Brøndsted that was often synonymous with his beloved piano. We know that he held musical evening entertainments on Fridays when back in Copenhagen. He loved music. It was an essential element of a civilized life – and moreover, of the civilization of the ancient Greeks. One must not forget that his friend Koës had taken a special interest in ancient Greek music. The theme of harmonious Greek culture is actually the core of Brøndsted’s short memorial speech published in 1835 on the composer and musician Friederich Daniel Rudolph Kuhlau. Kuhlau, originally from Hanover, had lived in Copenhagen since 1810 as a naturalized Dane and was one of the major early romantic composers in Denmark. He had been Brøndsted’s own musical teacher in 1817. But Brøndsted himself actually began early as a musician. He was as a boy in 1794-96 invited to give small piano-entertainments for the imperial Russian court exiled in Horsens (Russian interior politics!).<sup>46</sup>

If you read the Diaries and Records of Crown Prince Christian Frederik from his stay in Rome from 1819 to

1821 you will find that Brøndsted used his connections to procure visits for the Prince to various notable collectors of antiquities and especially coins, and of course he showed him his own specimens. But you will also note that music was an integral part of the evening entertainments for the Prince. Thus, for instance, at the domicile of the Prince himself on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January 1820 professional artists performed – but Brøndsted of course *had* to play: “Un maitre de musique Giovannini accompagna ses dames sur le piano, et Brøndsted joua aussi.”<sup>47</sup>

Brøndsted was especially fond of romantic music. He wrote in May 1824 to Kamma Rahbek to whom he sent as a small gift a couple of lithographed portraits. “One of the pages shows a young, innocent angel inspired by heavenly harmony, the young Listz, created by the Lord in his Mercy as an inspiration and refreshment for many a noble heart”.<sup>48</sup> But it was obviously with a critical mind that he listened to others play, especially if in his opinion they were just showing off. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 1819, while in Bologna, he wrote in his diary, “I again heard the half-mad Paganini play his totally-mad variations, doing everything with a violin except the one thing: to play the violin.”<sup>49</sup>

### Brøndsted’s death and the financial consequences

Brøndsted had lived a full life in Greece and Europe as well as in Copenhagen. He may not have published much, but his studies were learned, and his excavations in Greece were probably the state of the art at the time. His lectures at the University of Copenhagen in 1815-17 were a success even though he unusually charged a not inconsiderable fee.<sup>50</sup>

His major publication, based on his travels, archaeological work and artistic studies, appeared both in

44. Garff 2000, 171.

45. Garff 2000, 167-172.

46. Brøndsted 1835b; Brøndsted 1844b, I; Johannsen 1967, 8-12.

47. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 188.

48. Brøndsted 1999, 12; Cf. Brøndsted 1850, 138.

49. Brøndsted 1850, 94.

50. Brøndsted 1815, 5. See the article by Jørgen Mejer in this publication.



# VOYAGES DANS LA GRÈCE

ACCOMPAGNÉS  
DE RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES,

ET SUIVIS

D'UN APERÇU HISTORIQUE SUR TOUTES LES ENTREPRISES DE CE GENRE QUI ONT EU LIEU  
EN GRÈCE DEPUIS PAUSANIAS JUSQU'À NOTRE TEMPS ;

OUVRAGE ORNÉ D'UN GRAND NOMBRE DE MONUMENTS INÉDITS, RÉCEMMENT DÉCOUVERTS, AINSI QUE DE  
CARTES ET DE VIGNETTES.

Dédié à S. M. le Roi de Danemark,

PAR

P. O. BRÖNDSTED.

L'AUTEUR se propose de présenter au public les résultats du séjour qu'il a fait en Grèce et des recherches auxquelles il s'y est livré avec ses compagnons de voyage, dans les années 1811, 1812, 1813, et plus tard en 1820.

Les personnes qui s'intéressent à la Grèce, à ses arts et à son histoire, n'ignorent pas qu'une société d'artistes et de savants, dont l'auteur avait le bonheur de faire partie, entreprit et exécuta, depuis 1811 jusqu'en 1814, une suite de voyages et de recherches dans la Grèce européenne et dans quelques parties de la Grèce asiatique, où elle obtint les résultats les plus importants, qui ont augmenté considérablement ce que l'âge actuel possède de beaux monuments de l'art antique des Grecs, ou qui, appartenant aux monuments proprement dits historiques, intéressent les études archéologiques, et jettent de nouvelles lumières sur les institutions publiques et privées, ainsi que sur les rapports politiques et commerciaux de ce peuple illustre.

L'ouvrage que nous annonçons a pour but d'exposer ces résultats, de rendre compte des voyages et des entreprises qui les ont produits, et de fixer leur place dans l'ensemble des travaux faits de notre temps pour augmenter ou pour rectifier nos connaissances sur la Grèce ancienne et moderne.

Depuis son retour de la Grèce, l'auteur, bien que distrait par beaucoup d'autres travaux, ne perdit jamais de vue l'objet de ses plus chères occupations, celui d'étudier à fond et de rédiger,

( 2 )

avec tout le soin dont il est capable, les nombreux matériaux qu'il avait rapportés de ce pays classique. Il n'a pas non plus négligé de comparer les fruits de son propre voyage avec l'ensemble des résultats obtenus par les précédents voyageurs. Les mêmes motifs l'ont déterminé à entreprendre, en 1820, un autre voyage dans les îles Ioniennes et en Sicile, afin de rectifier ses idées sur plusieurs points importants, et surtout afin de pouvoir comparer les monuments siciliens avec ceux de la Grèce proprement dite : car, qui est-ce qui fut jamais assez préparé pour un voyage scientifique dans le pays des Hellènes ?

De cinq amis qui passèrent ensemble en Grèce pour puiser à la source même de l'instruction classique, trois seulement revinrent dans leur patrie; le docteur G. Koës et le baron Haller de Hallerstein moururent en Grèce. Un des vœux que l'auteur a le plus à cœur est de faire connaître le mérite de ces hommes excellents, et d'honorer leur mémoire par un ouvrage qu'il se plaît à regarder comme un monument modeste élevé sur leurs tombeaux; il sait que leurs compagnons de voyage et les siens, MM. le baron O. M. de Stackelberg et F. Linckh, sont pénétrés des mêmes sentiments.

La nature variée des matériaux dont doit se composer cet ouvrage nous défendait d'adopter la forme ordinaire des productions littéraires appelées *Voyages*, c'est-à-dire, celle d'un récit qui suivit chronologiquement les différentes excursions et entreprises dont il peut être question. Comme il s'agit ici à la fois d'archéologie, d'histoire, de géographie, des monuments et des peuples; comme un objet découvert en 1811 ou 1812 se trouve souvent expliqué par d'autres objets trouvés ou considérés en 1820 et 1821, et l'auteur se proposant de promener le lecteur tantôt dans la Grèce ancienne, tantôt dans la Grèce moderne, il a dû renoncer à une forme qui aurait entraîné des répétitions nombreuses; car l'objet principal qu'on se propose est *de tirer des journaux de voyages et des portefeuilles de l'auteur tout ce qui lui a paru nouveau, remarquable et important sous quelque rapport, soit pour la science, soit pour l'art, soit enfin pour la connaissance des localités et de la Grèce actuelle; de rédiger ces-matériaux choisis avec la vérité historique la plus rigoureuse, et de les expliquer, autant que ses forces le lui permettent, à l'aide des connaissances qui constituent l'érudition moderne.*

En comparant tant de monuments d'espèces différentes, l'auteur s'est convaincu de plus en plus combien les productions du génie et de l'esprit des Grecs se complètent et s'expliquent les unes par les autres; persuasion qui le détermina surtout à n'épargner ni soins ni dépenses pour que les monuments véritablement grecs qui comparaitront pour la première fois gravés et expliqués dans cet ouvrage fussent publiés d'une manière digne du génie de la contrée célèbre à laquelle ils appartiennent. Les grandes planches représenteront tantôt des ouvrages de sculpture inédits, tantôt des vases de bronze récemment découverts, tantôt des vues de sites les plus remarquables. On y joindra aussi des cartes géographiques et des plans de topographie, des *fac-simile* d'inscriptions inédites, et de simples traits d'une foule d'autres objets qui seront classés d'après l'ordre même des matières auxquelles ils se rapportent. A l'égard de monuments plus petits, qui néanmoins sont d'un grand intérêt et fournissent souvent des lumières inattendues, tels que médailles inédites ou rares, pierres gravées, figurines en bronze ou en terre cuite, etc., on s'est déterminé à procéder à peu près, dans la publication de ces monuments, comme le hasard les a fait tomber entre les mains du voyageur. C'est rarement que ces petits témoignages de la vie publique et des habitudes des Grecs s'offrent à lui entièrement isolés. La fortune les conduit volontiers entre les mains de l'étranger, que le peuple voit occupé à la recherche d'autres monuments helléniques. Souvent, vers le soir, les plus belles médailles antiques, et quelquefois des pierres gravées, des figurines en bronze ou en argile, des pâtes antiques de diverse matière sont apportées au voyageur et viennent le réjouir, comme une nouvelle récompense de sa jour-



( 3 )

née laborieuse, et comme une sorte d'hommage inattendu du génie invisible qui plane encore sur la Grèce; ainsi, dans l'ouvrage que nous annonçons, toute cette classe de monuments, d'une moindre dimension, mais non pas d'une moindre valeur, sera distribuée successivement dans les diverses livraisons, tantôt à raison de la matière même à laquelle ils se rapportent, tantôt comme des vignettes et des culs-de-lampe en tête ou à la fin des chapitres. Gravés nettement et avec la plus grande fidélité, ils intéresseront sûrement le connaisseur, et ils plairont, comme les plus beaux ornements possibles, même à celui qui n'est pas versé dans l'art numismatique et dans la connaissance des pierres gravées.

Chaque section sera accompagnée d'une *explication des planches*, qui fera connaître suffisamment tous les objets d'art représentés par le burin, ou renverra à la partie du texte qui en contient l'explication. Pour faciliter la recherche, chaque planche, de quelque espèce qu'elle soit, celle qui sera exécutée avec le plus grand soin, aussi-bien que le simple trait ou le *fac-simile* d'une inscription, portera un numéro, qui sera répété dans la table des planches à la fin de la section, et au moyen duquel on trouvera sur-le-champ l'explication que l'on cherche. Les soins que l'auteur a pris pour s'assurer d'une exécution parfaite pouvant n'être pas encore une garantie suffisante, nous citerons ici les noms de quelques-uns des artistes distingués qui ont travaillé ou qui travaillent encore aux dessins ou à la gravure des planches, tels que MM. Bettelini, Dupré, Lindau, Marchetti, Podio, Reinhart, Riepenhausen, Ruspi, Rusweigh, Sarti, Testa, etc., à Rome; MM. Benard, de Clugny, Saint-Ange Desmaisons, Fauchery, Garson, Hacq, Mongeot, B. Roger, Schröder, Simonet, P. Tardieu, etc., à Paris.

La publication *par livraisons* a paru la plus commode pour le public, pour l'auteur même, enfin pour les artistes occupés à une entreprise dont l'exécution exigera un certain laps de temps. La souscription est ouverte pour HUIT LIVRAISONS, qui formeront le tout, et seront terminées par un aperçu critique de tous les voyages ou plutôt de toutes les recherches scientifiques entreprises en Grèce depuis Pausanias jusqu'à nos jours. L'auteur espère fournir trois ou quatre livraisons, c'est-à-dire la moitié de l'ouvrage dans le courant de l'année prochaine; et le tout pourra être achevé dans deux ou trois ans.

L'impression du texte est confiée à MM. FIRMIN DIDOT, père et fils. — Les planches seront tirées par MM. DURAND et SAUVÉ.

Paris, Décembre 1825.

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#### APÉRÇU DES PRINCIPALES MATIÈRES QUI SERONT TRAITÉES SUCCESSIVEMENT DANS LES DIFFÉRENTES LIVRAISONS.

I <sup>re</sup> LIVRAISON. Coup-d'œil sur les voyages et recherches qui ont donné lieu à cet ouvrage. — Voyage d'Athènes à l'île de Céos. État actuel, histoire, archéologie et géographie de cette île remarquable. — Fouilles et découvertes faites dans les ruines de l'ancienne ville de Carthage. — Résultat de cette entreprise, avec des cartes géographiques, des inscriptions et des vignettes. — Retour à Athènes.	✓	faites en Albanie (Épire). L'état politique de ces contrées en 1812 sous Aly-pacha de Tépéli. Portrait de cet homme extraordinaire et relation de ses divers entretiens avec l'auteur.
II <sup>e</sup> LIVRAISON. Suite des recherches faites à Céos. — Considérations sur quelques points touchant les monuments et l'histoire de l'île de Thermia. — Observations	✓	III <sup>e</sup> LIVRAISON. Bronzes découverts dans les environs de Siris. Description et explication de ces monuments. Leur importance pour l'histoire de l'art des Grecs. Comparaison avec d'autres ouvrages d'origine grecque. Représentation et explication de plusieurs monuments inédits rapprochés des bronzes de Siris. Résultat de ces recherches.
	✓	IV <sup>e</sup> LIVRAISON. Départ d'Athènes, et voyage par Co-

Fig. 4: A copy of the *prospectus* of the *Voyages dans la Grèce* printed in Paris in 1825. The invitation to subscribe includes a short history of the genesis and background for the work and a detailed plan for the publishing of the work in 8 volumes in French and German. It contains a description of the various types of editions (various sizes of the books and the various kinds of paper used) and of course their prices.

( 4 )

rinthe, Sicyone, Stympalé et Phénée. Découverte des sources et de la chute du Styx dans les montagnes de Nonacris. Topographie de cette partie remarquable de l'Arcadie. Examen des assertions singulières des anciens au sujet de la qualité de l'eau du Styx, et résultat de l'analyse chimique de cette eau. — Départ de Phénée. Voyage par Tripolitza, Caritena et Andritzena aux ruines du temple d'Apollon à Bassa, près de Phigalie. — Long séjour auprès de ce temple et histoire des fouilles. — Résultat de cette entreprise.

V<sup>e</sup> LIVRAISON. Topographie de Phigalie et des environs de la Néda, d'Ira, etc. — Examen critique des fables relatives aux Amazones et aux Centaures, pour servir d'introduction à l'exposé des sculptures de la frise du temple d'Apollon des Phigiens. — Explication de ces ornements du temple, conformément aux dessins faits sur les marbres originaux par le baron de Stackelberg. — Voyage de Phigalie à Mistra, aux ruines de Sparte et d'Amylee, et de là par le Taygète à Calamie (Calamata), et à Ithome (Matromati). Retour, par l'Élide et Olympie, à Patras.

VI<sup>e</sup> LIVRAISON. Séjour à Delphes (Castri), et voyage par la Bœtie, l'Ébée et la Thessalie. — Remarques sur

Larisse, la vallée de Tempé, les montagnes de Thessalie et le golfe Pélasgique. — Du mythe des Argonautes et de son emploi dans les monuments de l'art. — Vase de bronze relatif à cette série mythologique. — Autres vases de bronze inédits, représentant des sujets analogues.

VII<sup>e</sup> LIVRAISON. Excursion à Égine. Géographie et archéologie de cette île. Séjour auprès du grand temple. De la découverte faite par MM. de Haller, Cockerell, Linckh et Foster, des statues du fronton de cet édifice. Représentation et description de ces ouvrages originaux, sortis de l'école d'Égine. Essai d'une explication de ces compositions sous le double rapport de l'art et du sujet représenté.

VIII<sup>e</sup> LIVRAISON. Coup-d'œil sur toutes les contrées grecques en Europe, depuis les monts Acrocérauniens, le Pinde et l'Olympe, jusqu'au Taygète. Observations comparatives sur les Grecs anciens et modernes. Vues sur la destinée future de ce peuple. — Aperçu historique de tous les voyages scientifiques entrepris en Grèce depuis Pausanias jusqu'à nos jours. — Résultat de cet aperçu, et indication de nouvelles recherches qu'on pourrait faire en Grèce, avec grande probabilité de succès.

Table générale des matières contenues dans tout l'ouvrage.

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Et après la publication de la 4<sup>e</sup> livraison, pour les non-souscripteurs, 45 fr. et 70 fr.

La première livraison de chacune des deux éditions française et allemande paraîtra dans le courant du mois de Janvier 1826.

ON SOUSCRIT A PARIS,

CHEZ JULES RENOUARD, LIBRAIRE, RUE DE TOURNON, N<sup>o</sup> 6.

Et chez { A. SCHUBART, rue Choiseul, n<sup>o</sup> 4.  
FIRMIN DIDOT, rue Jacob, n<sup>o</sup> 24.  
DEBURE frères, rue Serpente, n<sup>o</sup> 7.  
TREUTTEL et WURTZ, rue Bourbon, n<sup>o</sup> 17.  
chez GYLDENDAL (Deichmann).  
— BRUMMER.  
A COPENHAGUE, }  
A STUTTGART, chez COTTA, éditeur.

A SAINT-PÉTERSBOURG, chez S. FLORENT et HAUER.

A VIENNE, chez ARTARIA et C<sup>o</sup>.

A FRANCFORT, chez JUGEL.

A AMSTERDAM, chez DUFOUR et C<sup>o</sup>; MULLER et C<sup>o</sup>.

A MILAN, chez STELLA; G. SILVESTRI.

A FLORENCE, chez AUDIN et C<sup>o</sup>.

A ROME, chez DE ROMANIS.

A NAPLES, chez SCARPATI et STARITA.

IMPRIMERIE DE FIRMIN DIDOT, RUE JACOB, N<sup>o</sup> 24.

Among other details the *prospectus* contains a short register of the artists who have worked on or who will be working on the exquisite illustrations of the whole *opus*. Some of the illustrators also took part in the publishing of copperplates of Thorvaldsen's reliefs. The *prospectus* has hitherto been unknown at least to Danish scholars and is not in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. Danish private collection.



French, *Les Voyages dans la Grèce*, and in German, *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland*.<sup>51</sup> Actually only two of the eight planned volumes ever appeared, and even though this, his chief work, was printed in only 555 copies intended for all Europe it nevertheless could not sell. As late as in 1927 you could buy both the French and the German versions at the Royal Library in Copenhagen – the Danish state had obviously taken over the remaining copies. They were printed on some of the varied qualities of paper that Brøndsted wanted, at a price beginning at 10 Danish kroner for the ordinary German version (*en papier fin*) going up to 50 Danish kroner for probably the best French edition then available (*papier velin*). The exquisite French edition in folio *en velin*, printed in only 55 copies for Royalty, celebrities, etc. cannot – I think – have been part of the stock of the Royal Library. It must be added that a Danish skilled worker at the time (1927) earned about 1.60 Danish kroner per hour on a basis of 48 hours a week.<sup>52</sup>

The explanation of the fact that the Danish state took over the remaining copies is probably money. We have to look into the diaries of King Christian VIII who was rather interested in Brøndsted's effects.<sup>53</sup> In his diary for January 1844 the King wrote that Brøndsted's friend, the titular professor Niels Vinding Dorph, had told him about Brøndsted's unpublished works. The King granted a public subsidy and Dorph became their editor. It is stated on the title page of *The Ficoronian Cista* (1847) that the book was "Published by Royal Command".<sup>54</sup>

In January 1845, still according to the diaries, Brøndsted's daughter Augusta Marie Hall expressed to the King her pleasure with the room selected in the Palace of Christiansborg to house the belongings of her Father. If they really were placed in the Palace they must have disappeared during the fire of 1884. The ex-

planation of the Royal interest – or at least a part of it – is revealed during a conversation on the first of January 1846 between the King and Just Mathias Thiele, his personal librarian, well-known collector of folktales, biographer of Thorvaldsen, and sometimes resident at Bakkehuset etc. The annual audiences to say "Happy New Year" to the absolute Monarch could also be used for more practical purposes. The King says about Brøndsted's estate that he can not for the moment accept "pieces of art, manuscripts, paintings" as payment for the debt that Brøndsted had to the Royal cashier's office. Furthermore the King has to donate to the estate some thousand rigsbankdaler in order to make ends meet. Brøndsted's position as a friend of the King and an internationally known scholar probably had to be protected from rumours about economic irresponsibility. But before the King can do anything he has to know the results of the negotiations with the estate of Thorvaldsen, and how Brøndsted's affairs with his German publisher were settled.

Brøndsted's humor when it came to the obstacles of producing books is rather refreshing with his own difficulties in mind. The literary aesthetic Peder Ludvig Møller who apart from his mostly critical work published in periodicals also wrote a few books, tells in his *A Short Account of the History of Printing*<sup>55</sup> (1841) that Brøndsted proposed a toast "to the subscribers" at the festivities in Copenhagen on the official occasion of the 400-year jubilee of the art of book-printing. He said that he once had given Frederik VI one of his books in a foreign language and that the King asked him to write something in Danish. Following the King's wish Brøndsted went to a printing-office, made a deal with the printer, and produced an invitation to subscribe to this scholarly work. They got *two* subscribers. Then one of them died, and the project was subsequently abandoned. Brøndsted asked the assem-

51. Brøndsted 1826-1830a; Brøndsted 1826-1830b.

52. Behrend 1925-1927, I-II, advertisement on the back of the printed wrapper; Thestrup 1991, 45.

53. Christian VIII 1943-1995, IV, 2, 405, 543, 615.

54. Brøndsted 1847.

55. Møller 1841.

bly to drink to the health of *all* subscribers. Everybody present laughed.<sup>56</sup>

Brøndsted's endeavors were undertaken with a firm faith in his mission and in its importance. Once when his mother wrote to him about his restlessness and extravagances he replied quoting from one of his father's sermons: "Cast your Bread upon the Water and you will find it long after." And he continued, "I have thrown a part of my bread both spiritual (which is my knowledge and my insight) and a part of my earthly or material bread (which is my property) on the ocean and the roaring and widely rolling billows and it has bettered my scholarship, myself and my Fatherland".<sup>57</sup>

Brøndsted must have been insolvent when he died. It is economically dangerous to live splendidly and to publish books of the quality that Brøndsted wanted.

## The End

Brøndsted died in Copenhagen in 1842 as he had lived in Greece – dramatically. He fell from his horse on an morning's ride in the street of Esplanaden. Brøndsted, who was Rector Magnificus that year, encountered the economic administrator of the University, the jurist, Professor Peter Georg Bang. They had a short conversation but Brøndsted had in his haste forgotten to thank Bang for an essay just written. He turned his mount back too quickly in order to renew the conversation politely, as always, but fell from the horse.

In the fall Brøndsted's pelvic region was broken on the pavement. In spite of his injuries he was able to walk by himself to the nearby Royal Frederiks Hospital in Bredgade. As Oehlenschläger put it, "He was Herculean and had excellent health". But in spite of his physical strength Brøndsted died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1842, from internal bleeding and his death was possibly also caused by the crushing of his urinary system. The sources say that his body was swollen, which is part of the consequences of internal bleedings. Injuries of that kind were incurable in those days. But the devastation of his hip and the crushing of the "soft parts" of his abdominal interior must have been the main reason for his death (fig. 5).<sup>58</sup>

As Brøndsted was Rector Magnificus the University arranged his interment. Some of his oldest friends carried out the official ceremonies: Mynster delivered the funeral oration and Oehlenschläger composed the five stanzas of the *cantata*:

The fourth stanza may be translated roughly thus:

*Our friend! All things Beautiful on Earth  
Beckoned to you in God's own Nature:  
In Youth you hurried from the North,  
To Walls of Hellas rich in Memories;  
But more important than Beauty, Studies,  
Were to you Words of Christ: Be Pious, Righteous!*<sup>59</sup>

56. Møller 1841, 232-233.

57. Brøndsted 1850, 149-150.

58. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 85; Oehlenschläger 1850-51, IV, 171-172: the two eyewitnesses wrote that: J.P. Mynster: "all the parts of his hip and abdomen came out of order", A. Oehlenschläger: "something broke inside" – both have remarks about how swollen he became. Brøndsted 1926, 9 actually just wrote: "inner bleedings"; Jørgen Steen Jensen has kindly related an old

oral tradition from The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, The National Museum of Denmark: that Brøndsted died from a crushing of his urinary system. I thank the chief surgeon; doctor of medicine, of the University Hospital of Glostrup, Svend Schultze, for an instructive conversation, that left no doubt that the main reason for Brøndsted's death was internal bleedings.

59. Oehlenschläger 1842.





Fig. 5: Sometime in the 1930s the great-grandchild of Brøndsted, Johannes Brøndsted, later professor of Nordic archaeology and director of the National Museum of Denmark, but at that time assistant curator at the museum, received this plate from a person who had been out with his spike to search some rubbish heaps near the inner harbour of Copenhagen. It is probably made of pewter (I have not had it in my hands) and is related to a widespread custom in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century of fastening such plates on top of the lid of the coffin. It may have been placed in front of Brøndsted's coffin in the Church of our Lady (today the Cathedral of Copenhagen) before and/or during the funeral because it obviously wears no traces of corrosion and cannot have been interred or placed in a churchyard. Is it possible that it has just been stored away in some quiet corner of the church and totally forgotten – and then later on just thrown away? Brøndsted's friends and relatives all knew Latin well enough to write the text.

In translation the text should be:

Peter Oluf Brøndsted.  
 An illustrious Knight. Professor of Philology and Archaeology.  
 The eloquent narrator of Greek literature.  
 The strenuous discoverer of Greek monuments.  
 Characterized by love for the fine arts and intelligence.  
 A good citizen. A generous man.  
 The most loving Father of three children,  
 Whose mother he grieved for a long time.  
 Born near Skanderborg on November the 17<sup>th</sup> 1780.  
 He died not by an insidious illness but was snatched away in the middle of life's strength.  
 Rector of the University of Copenhagen.  
 June the 26<sup>th</sup>, 1842.

The plate is still owned by a descendent.

# P.O. Brøndsted and the neo-antique interior

by Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen

In this short paper<sup>1</sup>, I want to try to place our hero in the fertile environment of which Peter Oluf Brøndsted formed an active part. It will be no more than a few hints to suggest that he might have played a greater part in the direction taken by Danish art than has hitherto been recognised.

The cultural debate in Denmark in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was to a considerable degree centred on the subjects of globalisation and nationalism, though the prospect was rather different from what is current in Denmark today. In an international perspective, the decorative art of the period was characterised by the efforts to profile the various countries' national heritage. In Denmark, this process was much spurred on by the defeats the country had suffered to Britain, i.e. the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 and the loss of the fleet. These disasters were followed by a national bankruptcy in 1813, and there were mutterings here and there in the community.

Oehlenschläger's poem "The Golden Horns" from 1803 has always been considered the beginning of Romanticism in Denmark. Together with folklore studies, archaeology became an instrument that could reinforce the small country's estimation of its own worth, and Danish history became a special concern in a large number of fields, including art and science, which during this period were transformed from having been a source of support for the monarchy to now being very much a tool of national politics.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period filled with intellectual

currents moving in different directions and intermingling with each other. For at the same time as focusing on a sense of things national and Scandinavian, Denmark also experienced a strong classicistic movement within the decorative arts, which – in contrast to classicisms elsewhere in Europe such as Empire, Biedermeier, George III and Karl Johan etc. – was not an adaptation of Antiquity's abundance of idiom and ornamentation, but was based *directly* on the *original* model, that is to say the art of Antiquity, often even to the extent that it is almost possible to talk of copies.

P.O. Brøndsted played some role or the other in this movement, which was to turn out to be long-lasting and vigorous.

It is a striking feature of Danish art in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that a small number of families who were related to each other by marriage put their stamp on cultural life. The mansion of Iselingen in southern Zealand became such a focal point of culture, but in contrast to nearby Nysø, where Thorvaldsen and Hans Christian Andersen were among Baroness Stampe's distinguished guests, Iselingen has not achieved the same prominence. This is despite the fact that artists such as Constantin Hansen, P.C. Skovgaard, Jørgen Roed, C.A. Jensen and last but not least P.O. Brøndsted were regular visitors, and that Danish Golden Age interior design received some of its essential impulses from Iselingen.

In 1813, Brøndsted had married Frederikke Koës, the sister of his travelling companion in Greece, Georg

1. Translated by Glyn W. Jones.



Koës. Frederikke died as early as 1818 while giving birth to their third child. The three children were raised by her sister Marie and brother-in-law Holger Halling Aagaard, the owners of Iselingen. Iselingen now not only became the home of the Brøndsted children, but in practice also of P.O. Brøndsted himself, as, due to the sorrow he only overcame at a late date, he never achieved the home he had dreamt of together with Frederikke. The lack of a home of his own is clearly to be seen in his letters to Marie and Holger.

Danish furniture underwent a flourishing period in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In brief, Danish interior decoration during this period can be divided stylistically and formally into three groups: a French-inspired royal empire, a bourgeois empire and finally, what I have called a neo-antique. The source of inspiration of the latter was antique depictions of Greek and republican Roman furniture (fig. 1), supplemented by the few surviving pieces or fragments of furniture that could be seen in the museum in Naples.

Relative to the subject of this conference it would of course have been appropriate to be able to link the Danish artists' interest in ancient Greek art and archaeology directly to our main figure, but it is probably not quite so simple. The threads are interwoven, and as we have very few written indications indeed relating to the physical world of that time, such as for instance how people arranged their lives and homes, this must be limited to an attempt to view the environment in which Brøndsted moved. But there can scarcely be any doubt that he played a part in the fashioning of an important segment of Danish furniture – a segment that later became of importance to Danish furniture design in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Ida Haugsted's seminal documentation<sup>2</sup> of Danish artists' relations with Greece, we repeatedly encounter examples that demand closer investigation relating to their subsequent effect within the realm of Danish decorative art. Here, mention need

only be made of the architect Jørgen Hansen Koch, whose fascination with Greek art dated from about the same time as that of Brøndsted, and whose interest in the construction of buildings is an early example of a feature that is also a characteristic of neo-antique furniture – construction and form being prioritised as highly as decoration, if not more highly.

Be that as it may, Denmark experienced a strong interest in Greece, which seems at the same time to have been related to a dissociation from the Imperial Rome that especially Napoleon and after him several of the European princely houses, including the Danish royal family, had cultivated. I have elsewhere dealt with the conspicuous political element in this phenomenon, which already found expression in the writings of the philosopher Tyge Rothe from about 1780 and is paralleled in several works, including the furniture, by the painter Nicolai Abildgaard.<sup>3</sup>

Starting as early as the beginning of the 1790s, Abildgaard was the first to re-create a number of pieces of furniture palpably and directly modelled on Antiquity (fig. 2). The fashion in Europe at large was otherwise to reformulate and modernise rather than to copy the idiom and decorative principles of Antiquity. However, it was the Danish artist's intention to go back to the source – perhaps also because this turned out to harmonise with a certain simplicity in style towards which Danish artists were moving during this period. Whether this had any influence at all on Brøndsted's interest in Greek archaeology, I cannot say, but Brøndsted must surely also have received impulses from his surroundings. Examples from other branches of science are referred to in Ida Haugsted's book.

Starting out from the collection of letters in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Jesper Brandt Andersen has recently written an account of the many family relationships in the group centred on the small country mansion Iselingen.<sup>4</sup> Of central importance, as is well

2. Haugsted 1996.

3. Gelfer-Jørgensen 2004, 178-315.

4. Andersen 2005, 39-100. I am grateful to Nils Ohrt for this reference.



Fig. 1. Apulian pelike from Christian VIII's collection (no. 316). The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.



known, was Brøndsted's friendship with the philologist Georg Koës, who had studied the Greek writers under the German philologist F.A. Wolf in Halle. The two brothers-in-law, however, first spent some time in Rome before embarking on the journey to the eastern Mediterranean, and it was to Rome that Brøndsted returned after the death of Frederikke. It is from letters from Rome to his sister-in-law and brother-in-law, Marie and Holger Aagaard at Iselingen that we can gain an impression of his circle of friends there. Moreover, these deeply personal letters, which deserve to be published, provide an insight into the pain from which he never recovered.

Among the subjects he talks of in the letters is his friendship with Thorvaldsen. A factor that might have been of significance for the neo-antique movement in Danish furniture and interior decoration – something that I cannot verify, but only suggest – is his meeting in Thorvaldsen's workshop with the young sculptor Hermann Ernst Freund. Freund had come to Rome the previous year, and for ten years he now became the master's closest associate. It is also interesting that when the Prince, Christian Frederik, came to Italy on a prolonged visit in 1819, Freund was invited to dinner with him along with Brøndsted and Hansen Koch.<sup>5</sup> It would be useful to know more about the Brøndsted, Hansen Koch and Freund constellation.

When, after spending 10 years in Rome, Freund reluctantly returned to Copenhagen in 1828 in order to assume the professorship of sculpture, he sought to re-create his "Herculanum on Zealand" in his official residence. Walls, ceilings and floors were decorated as closely as possible in accordance with the interiors in the ancient cities near Naples (fig. 3) and not in the adapted Pompeiian style that was to be seen everywhere in Europe at this time. This latter had been formed on the basis of Roman grotesque painting such as had been re-created in Raphael's loggias in the Vatican and Villa Madama; Freund's decorations were to be as much like the ancient originals as was feasible. The same applied to the furniture, which, where possi-



Fig. 2. N.A. Abildgaard, klismos chair in gilded beech wood with blue painted cane seat, early 1790s. The Danish Museum of Decorative Art, Copenhagen.

ble, was shaped like the Greek (fig. 4); where, as in the case of the cradle, beds and piano, this was not possible, the pieces of furniture were given an extremely simple form that acted as a background to the near-antique decoration (fig. 5).

In the case of Abildgaard and the later Golden Age painters there are many suggestions that the choice of Greek and Republican Roman art as models – rather than the far more extensive material from the later imperial age – hid an element of social criticism, not to say a political choice. This appears not to have been true of Freund. What persuaded just this artist not merely to follow the general stylistic trends of the time but to go back to the sources can scarcely have been the inspiration from Abildgaard, who was dead before Freund embarked on his artistic training. And although

5. Haugsted 1996, 64.

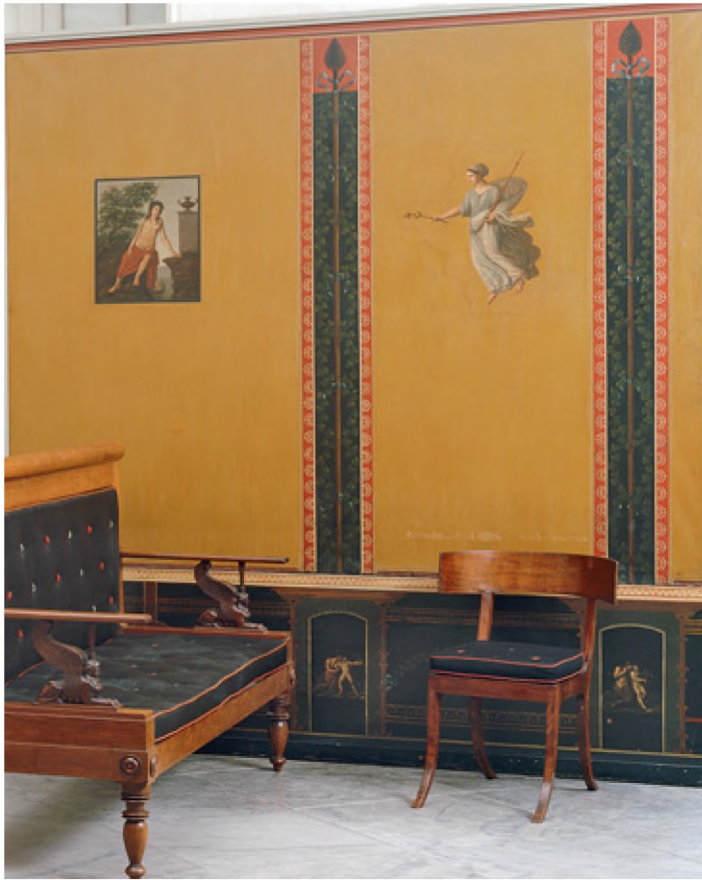


Fig. 3. Section of wall from H.E. Freund's residence in Materialgaarden in Copenhagen with sofa and chair by the artist. Oil paint on canvas on more recent wooden frame. The Danish Museum of Decorative Art, Copenhagen.

the interior decoration in Abildgaard's official residence in Charlottenborg was famous, it seems unlikely that Freund had seen it.

So here hypotheses must take the place of facts. And this is where Brøndsted enters the arena. He writes home that he visits Thorvaldsen almost every day, where he presumably equally often found Freund, who had taken up residence in Thorvaldsen's apartments the year before Brøndsted returned to Rome.<sup>6</sup> And Freund was fond of listening to "Brøndsted's brilliant and inspiring illustration of so many an archaeological question [that] had his entire interest."<sup>7</sup>

6. Freund 1883, 59.

7. Freund 1883, 64.

8. "et af de fortræffeligste Mennesker, jeg kender, min inderlig hengivne Ven." KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek,

In a letter to his family, Brøndsted talked of Freund as "one of the most excellent people I know, my profoundly devoted friend".<sup>8</sup> During Freund's journey back to Denmark, the two met in Paris, where Brøndsted "especially examined the cabinet of coins and the collections of antiquities".<sup>9</sup> Freund was, of course, neither the first nor the only artist to be fascinated by the art of the Greek and early Roman period, from which articles for everyday use could be studied in the museum in Naples, but together with Abildgaard he was the first to make use of the archaeological sources, that is to say the *originals*, as a *direct* model. It is plainly to

Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 4648 (4648 4<sup>o</sup>: Letters from Brøndsted to his children a.o.), letter to Marie Aagaard.

9. Freund 1883, 150.





Fig. 4. H.E. Freund, armchair of mahogany veneer on deal. Upholstered seat and backrest with later cross-stich embroidery. 1830-36. The Danish Museum of Decorative Art, Copenhagen.

be seen throughout the account written by his son of his father's life as an artist that the purity of Greek art had fascinated him: he had been taken "into the arms of Phidias" while in Italy.<sup>10</sup> In particular, the meeting with the Parthenon sculptures had made a deep impression on him.<sup>11</sup> In Copenhagen "[Bishop] Münter's extensive knowledge of Antiquities attracted him to the Bishop's Palace"; he was a regular visitor in the home

of Münter's sister, Frederikke Brun, the merchant H. Puggaard and his wife Bolette, née Hage, and he was frequently to be seen in "Brøndsted's circles".<sup>12</sup>

Before Freund died in 1840, the various rooms in his home had each been given its Pompeiian decoration; of these, only a single one now survives. The rooms were at the same time provided with an array of "Greek" furniture and other household utensils. Knowledge of Greek art was at this time limited in comparison with the number of publications on Roman art. When the art from the ancient cities near Naples was introduced as a model, it was, however, not only due to the lack of relevant information, but primarily because Pompeii and Herculaneum were considered to be the heirs to Greek art, and because, as is well known, the vases were thought to have been imported from Greece. Be this as it may, Freund's home became a great source of inspiration for many Danish artists, several of whom had helped to decorate furniture and walls. From this, an interest in Greek and Roman *republican* art spread to many parts of Danish decorative art with a long-lasting effect (fig. 3).

Brøndsted returned to Denmark in 1832, and interest in Greek antiquity scarcely diminished in the little group of artists around Freund, who perhaps even attended some of Brøndsted's very popular series of 44 lectures on Greece.<sup>13</sup> As suggested above, alongside the archaeological interest, the neo-antique movement reflected a political standpoint. In Denmark, Greece was very much the focus of interest of an important group of figures from cultural life with an interest in politics. As is well known, the Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453, and three years later, Christian Athens had fallen under Islamic rule. Not until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was there fertile soil for a national, Greek liberation movement, which was immediately

10. Freund 1883, 248.

11. Freund 1883, 251.

12. Freund 1883, 203-04.

13. Greek inspiration being limited to a small, but centrally placed group of artists and art lovers is not least due to the fact that the instruction provided by the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts

for architects and artisans, not least cabinet makers, was characterised by the German-born architect G.F. Hetsch's norms for ornamentation. One of those for whom Hetsch had worked before coming to Denmark in 1815 was Napoleon's court architect Charles Percier, whom he thought of as his teacher. He thus represented a classicism inspired by imperial Rome.



Fig. 5. H.W. Bissen, cradle of oak and deal decorated with oil paint by G.C. Hilker. Ca. 1836. The Danish Museum of Decorative Art, Copenhagen.

supported by many European groups and refugee Greeks, who were inspired by the French Revolution. The Greek War of Independence was fought between 1821 and 1829, soon involving several European nations. It became a battle between Christianity and Islam, but it was also a battle in which the Greeks held up history as a model when in the peace treaty of 1829 the country became a republic with a liberal constitution.

As said above, when we delve into the group of Golden Age artists and families who had an interest in art, we quickly discover how closely they were related

to each other. And a constant feature in this group of national liberals, which included the politician and later member of the constitutional committee, C.C. Hall (who married one of Brøndsted's daughters in 1837), is the ideological struggle for the abolition of absolutism and the introduction of democracy. In this connection, Brøndsted also played a part, and not only as an archaeologist. Before leaving for Rome in 1818, he had been appointed Danish court agent to the Holy See and consequently had the duty of making reports. But the authorities in Denmark became concerned that in several of these he expressed sympathy for the King





Fig. 6. The Madonna room at Iselingen. Old photography. The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

of Naples, whom a rebellion had moved to grant his realm a free constitution. Despite this, he made no secret of his enthusiasm for the new freedom movements, especially the Greek, and later for the results of the July Revolution. The impulses from these were of course interlinked. The interest in ancient Greece naturally resulted in an interest in the new modern state, which again had its influence on Danish conditions – and so back and forth, and further there was the synergy between art, archaeology and philology producing impulses from one area to the other.

It was only while examining the letters to his family in the Royal Library that I realised that Brøndsted might have played a bigger part than so far assumed relating to the decoration of one of the most striking,

but no longer surviving rooms in the history of Danish Golden Age art, that is to say the so-called Madonna Room that was created some time towards the end of the 1840s. The name was given to a room in Martin Hammerich's home as Head of the School of Civic Virtue (Borgerdydsskolen) in Christianshavn, which was re-created at Iselingen when the Hammerich family took over the mansion in 1867 (fig. 6). Martin Hammerich, who started his academic career with the dissertation "The Conditions of the Freemen in Rome's Age of Freedom" (1830), and who was present at Brøndsted's lectures on the Parthenon frieze in 1834, was invited to Brøndsted's musical evenings, where he soon became a weekly visitor.<sup>14</sup> Hammerich, who later became a member of the Constitutional Assembly, was an important figure in the neo-antique environment, which, as can be seen, has only been sporadically charted. Furthermore, it was through Brøndsted that Hammerich joined the group associated with Iselingen, where he met his future wife, Anna Mathea, who was the daughter of Brøndsted's sister-in-law, Marie Aagaard. In addition, Martin Hammerich published Brøndsted's studies of the Bassae temple in 1861.<sup>15</sup>

Today, we can only form a pale impression of the Madonna Room, and neither have the Iselingen rooms from Hammerich's time been preserved.<sup>16</sup> But through the son Holger's description<sup>17</sup> we gain the impression that it was a quite unusual room and that the Madonna Room was in the true sense of the word a piece of *Gesamtkunst*.

The room was given its name after Raphael's "Sistine Madonna", which Jørgen Roed had been given the task of copying from the original in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden in 1851.<sup>18</sup> As in Germany and elsewhere, Denmark in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

14. This account is contained in a letter quoted in Andersen 2005, 94.

15. Brøndsted 1861.

16. KB is one of several places where there exist a small number of photographs from Iselingen after it was rebuilt in the 1860s. However, these photographs provide a good impression of furni-

ture and paintings. Several of them are reproduced in Gelfer-Jørgensen 1988, figs. 135-37, 140. On Iselingen see also Hammerich 1913 and Kjærboe 1969-1970.

17. See preceding note.

18. The painting is today in the main room in the mansion of Fuglsang on the island of Lolland.



Fig. 7. C.A. Jensen's copy from 1822 of Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* in the Pitti Galleri in Florence. Oil paint. Private collection.

experienced a growing interest in Raphael and his art, resulting not only in people being inspired by his manner of painting, but also directly copying his works so that they so to speak could be experienced in Denmark (fig. 6 and 7). This became a not unimportant aspect of Danish Golden Age art. The enthusiasm for Raphael flourished in many parts of Europe at this time, as also did the interest in the painters from the early Renaissance period, the pre-Raphaelite age. This is obviously a complex phenomenon, but one stimulus was again a predilection for the simple and original, since Raphael was seen as an heir to the art of Antiquity.<sup>19</sup> One of the earliest examples of a copy of works of art from the Renaissance – something that accelerated towards the second half of the century – can in fact be traced back to Brøndsted. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1822 he wrote the following in a letter to his sister-in-law Marie Aagaard:

“It has amused me that neither you nor Holger in your

19. Ohrt 1999, 60-74.

20. “At hverken Du eller Holger i Eder Skarpsindighed har udfundet af hvem vel Originalen til den lille, meget vellykkede Copie som Jensen [har malet] for mig, kunde være, har moret mig. Jeg lod Eder ... Flid uden bestemt Angivelse derom, da jeg først skrev om min lille Pakke, for ikke at bestikke Eder til gunstigere Dom om dette søde Billede end dets indvortes Værd fortjener. Originalen er i Florens og dens Forfatter en til sin Tid udi Maleriet- og Tegnekonsten haabefuld ung Mand nemlig – Raffaello



Fig. 8. M.G. Bindesbøll, chairs from Iselingen in oak with painted decoration and original upholstery. Ca. 1850. The Museum of South Sealand, Vordingborg, Denmark.

perspicacity has discovered who might be the original of the successful little copy that Jensen [has painted] for me. I deliberately left you without any specific information about this when I first wrote on my little package so as not to bribe you to make a more favourable judgement of this sweet picture than its innate value deserves. The original is in Florence, and its source a young man who in his day once showed hope in the art of painting and drawing – that is to say Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino. Now I imagine you will realise whence the blessed Mother received her full face and the child a glance that in a remarkable way unites loftiness with child-like innocence. This latter task is difficult, and so most painters who portray the Christ Child are stranded either on one rock or the other, as they either give us an unusually beautiful child or, what is still worse, such a terribly wise little creature that no human being can believe that this is a child in its first tender years”.<sup>20</sup>

Sanzio da Urbino. Nu tænker jeg Du indseer hvorfra den velsignede Moder fik det fulde Aasyn og Barnet et Blik som paa forunderlig Maade forener Højhed med barnlig Uskyld; denne sidste Opgave er vanskelig, hvorfor ogsaa de fleste Malere som fremstille Christusbarnet strande enten paa den ene Klippe eller paa den anden, idet de enten give os et almindeligt smukt Barn, eller, hvad der er endnu værre, et saa forskrækkeligt klogt lille Væsen at intet Menneske kan troe at samme er et Barn i de tidligste spæde Aar.” KB, NKS, 4648.





Fig. 9. M.G. Bindsbøll, chair of gilded and painted wood, beech, oak and deal. Seat cushion originally with pale yellow silk cover. 1840s. The Danish Museum of Decorative Art, Copenhagen.

This Madonna is still in Florence, in the Palazzo Pitti. A few years ago, C.A. Jensen's little copy of Raphael's "Madonna della Sedia" (fig. 7) was sold at auction. This presumably must be the painting from Iselingen, although there is no provenance to provide information relating to Jensen's painting.<sup>21</sup> In addition, prints of the motif are to be found with descendents of the Iselingen family. Furniture for the Madonna Room

was commissioned from the architect M.G. Bindsbøll; this includes a set of chairs, the back supports of which were given the same shape as that on which the Madonna in Raphael's painting (fig. 7) is sitting. In the room, too, there was a piano designed by Bindsbøll on which the keyboard was supported on two griffins of the type he had designed for the showcase for cameos and intaglios in Thorvaldsens Museum.

21. Danish poets, including Ingemann, cultivated early Renaissance art. See for instance Ohrt 2004, 23ff. According to Charlotte Christensen, the merchant, economist and publisher M.L.

Nathanson also commissioned a copy of the Madonna della Sedia from C.A. Jensen, which was "painted after a copy of the original". Christensen 1991, 96.

Bindesbøll created another piece of Gesamtkunst for the home of the Puggaard family in Store Kongensgade in Copenhagen. Parts of the wall decorations have survived, as have a set of chairs and a pair of stools that were copied from some of the bronze furniture in the Naples museum.

There can scarcely be any doubt that the charismatic Brøndsted was a central figure both in Copenhagen of his time and in the circle that regularly met at Iselingen – his actual home. How direct Brøndsted's influence was on the Danish artists must remain an open question. The neo-antique, the form of classicism whose model was the archaeological discoveries, gradually spread: "into the circle which, profoundly concerned with the ideas of the July Revolution, sought to prepare

the way for the ending of absolutism, at the same time as presenting itself as the warmest protector of literature and art. In the residences of Hage, Hammerich, Hornemann, Puggaard, Lehmann and others, as at the homes of the artists, it was possible to see Greek chairs, tables with carved legs, couches etc."<sup>22</sup>

That this fashion spread further to other groups is demonstrated by the following passage, which could be read in the publication of The Industrial Society in 1852: "I once heard of a man who wanted some new furniture talking about this to a cabinet maker. When the latter promised to show him some beautiful models he had received, the man replied: Oh yes! As long as it is not something Greek!"<sup>23</sup>

22. TFK, 1885, I, 182.

23. Ussing 1852, 66.



# P.O. Brøndsted – The resolute agent in the acquisition of plaster casts for the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen

by Jan Zahle

The Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen flourished in the years from 1808 to 1839 when Prince Christian Frederik (King Christian VIII 1839-1848) was *præsæs* (president). After decades of frugality he settled its economy favourably and had the constitution revised; also, he took a keen interest in the appointment of professors and in the awarding of medals, scholarships and travel grants. He also took care of the Academy's *apparatus*, the collections of books, prints, art-works and plaster casts. In 1810, he successfully obtained money from King Frederik VI to acquire the late Professor Nicolai Abildgaard's valuable library. The truly remarkable series of acquisitions of casts from 1810 onwards were often instigated and occasionally even paid for by him (fig. 1.)<sup>1</sup>

Christian Frederik was sincerely interested in the fine arts and was a great collector of antiquities, medals and ancient coins. His journey with his wife Caroline Amalie in 1818 and their Grand Tour from May 1819 to September 1822 through Germany to Italy and back through Switzerland, France and England were true cultural and educational pilgrimages for they gave keen attention to museums, artists' studios, art academies, monuments and important archaeological sites. His high position opened all doors – also those of relevance to the Academy and for cast collecting. In Stuttgart, he visited the studio of the sculptor

Johann Heinrich von Dannecker on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1818 and saw the collection of casts, which he had gathered for King Wilhelm I. Friedrich Karl of Württemberg with regard to a public art museum (cf. below). In December 1819, he paid a visit to the Academy of Fine Arts in Venice, where he noted amongst other things the arrangement of two rooms with plaster casts. Both visits were recorded meticulously in his diaries.<sup>2</sup> In Rome and in Naples, Christian Frederik benefited from the association with Bertel Thorvaldsen and with two others of his subjects: the internationally acknowledged art-historian Carl Friedrich von Rumohr from Holstein<sup>3</sup> and the archaeologist and numismatist Peter Oluf Brøndsted. Both were from that time in close contact with Christian Frederik, and one of his ways to show his appreciation was to have them elected honorary members of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1826.

Brøndsted first came in touch with Christian Frederik in 1813, and their relationship developed into what may be termed a respectful friendship because of their shared interests and a mutual understanding of character. Already on the 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1819, Christian Frederik suggested that Brøndsted should be elected an honorary member of the Academy,<sup>4</sup> and undoubtedly the prince sympathized with Brøndsted's strong wish to reside in Rome as Agent of the Royal

1. I owe many thanks to Susanne Løber and Emma Salling for their help and for useful information, and to Jakob Vaagholt for his working out of figures 1 and 12.

2. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 109-112, 160-163.

3. Kjærboe 2003.

4. RA (The Danish National Archives/Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen), 1626 (archive no. 1626: The Royal Academy for the Fine Arts/Det Kongelige akademi for de skønne kunster, 1814-1968), 1.1-18: Dagbog 1815-1821, the 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1819.



Fig. 1. The north part of the Antique or Figure Hall of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in the 1820s. Montage of paintings by K. Andreassen Baade 1827/28 (left) and H.D.C. Martens 1821 (right). Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, Inv. M. 01589, and Thomas Le Claire Kunsthandel, Hamburg. Montage: Jakob Vaagholt.



Danish Court to the Holy See, a position that was granted in 1818. On his way to Rome, Brøndsted met the princely couple in Altona, where he received letters and instructions.<sup>5</sup>

## In Germany

Brøndsted proceeded southwards to Weimar, where he visited Goethe, to Nuremberg, to Stuttgart, where he visited von Dannecker, and to Munich. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1819 he reported in detail and very frankly to Christian Frederik on his mission for the Academy. The Crown Prince, Ludwig of Bavaria, had received Christian Frederik's request for casts of the sculptures from the temple of Aphaia on Aegina positively, "a happy triumph" – albeit with certain reservations that only disclosed his "jealousy of these sculptures". "But this good man cannot delude Thorwaldsen and me" – beyond doubt we shall get this noble work of art to Denmark and "not even the smallest fragment ... shall be missing in the Danish specimen of the plaster copies".<sup>6</sup> Brøndsted also described in some detail the "Antique and Plaster Cast Hall" ("Salon") in Munich and the recent acquisition of casts of the Parthenon marbles ("robbed" by Lord Elgin) and of the splendid Phigaleian frieze "that our group excavated in 1812." These art works ought also to be in our Academy and "If only the requested sum for acquisition and transport were available and if I live and have my own work furthered I should gladly go to England on my own account."

The eagerness of Brøndsted in these matters is hardly surprising. Unexpected, however, is his enthu-

siasm for the 12 figures of the apostles of the Sebaldus monument by the German sculptor Peter Vischer from c. 1510 in the Sebaldus Church in Nuremberg.<sup>7</sup> He praises them both to the Prince and in private letters: "I have arranged plaster casts of at least the twelve apostles of the Sebaldus tomb to be sent to me in Copenhagen. They are frankly the most splendid bronze statuettes I know, outside the ancient Greek sculpture. How astonishing that such pieces of art came into being in Nuremberg in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century."<sup>8</sup>

Apparently they aroused interest in Copenhagen, since they were borrowed by the Academy and were displayed in its annual exhibition in 1820. The catalogue reveals that Brøndsted also acquired Peter Vischer's self-portrait from the monument.<sup>9</sup> In 1834, the same 13 figures are listed in an inventory of the Academy, and perhaps they are the Brøndsted ones. In a letter to his friend, the Danish theologian Jens Møller from Nuremberg in 1818 he states: "Should I die in Italy, please present these plaster casts on my behalf to our Academy of Fine Arts."<sup>10</sup> Very likely he presented them himself. Nothing, though, is known about the fate of his casts, and nothing in the archives of the Academy discloses the provenance of the casts listed in 1834 (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup>

Rare casts of high renaissance and baroque sculptures are documented in Copenhagen before this time, but Brøndsted's figures appear to be the first medieval/early renaissance ones. Both he and the Academy were completely in line with the period's interest in the religious art of Central and North Europe of that period. Brøndsted may have seen them first during his

5. KB (The Royal Library/Det kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 4648 (4648 4°: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted, hans børn og sønnesønner o. a.), letter to Holger and Maria Aagaard, Hamburg the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1818: "Derfra tog Prindsen mig med til sit Logis hvor han meddelte mig adskillige Breve og Kommissioner til Bayern og Italien."  
6. RA, 202 (archive no. 202: Kongehuset, Christian 8., konge), 121-163 (1794-1848, udat., Breve fra forskellige), letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1819.

7. Osten & Vey 1969, 22.

8. KB, NKS, 4648, letter to Holger and Marie Aagaard, Stuttgart the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1818. Quoted in more detail, Andersen 2005, 71

9. RA, 1626, 1.3-4: Kopibog 1813-1832, letter to Brøndsted's friend J. Møller, the 30<sup>th</sup> of Marts 1820; Fortegnelse 1820, no. 50.

10. Letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1818, Brøndsted 1926, 130.

11. Two are preserved, Kjerrman 2004, 390 inv. KG81 (KG: Kunstakademiet Gipsafstøbning), KG535.



Fig. 2. The remaining two figures from the Sebaldus monument, acquired by Brøndsted, in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. KG81 and KG535. Height 0,37 m and 0,58 m.

visit to Weimar because Goethe since 1813 owned two of the apostles and Vischer's self-portrait.<sup>12</sup> Brøndsted's enthusiasm and his prompt acquisition of the casts, however, reveal his ever inquisitive and pioneering mind. From 1823, the figures are known to have been added to several collections of classical casts.<sup>13</sup>

12. Schuchardt 1848-1849, 337 no. 129-130; Jericke 1958, 83-84. See for the visit to Goethe, Brøndsted 1850, 86 and the letter to Aagaard, see note 8, Andersen 2005, 70-71.

13. Baker 1981, 1.

14. Lange 1886, 40-45 no. 269, 274-285

15. Oppermann 1930, 30-35; Thorvaldsen was accused of having copied them, cf. Hauch 1871, 241.

16. Badstübner-Gröger 1990, 239, 245 and *passim*.

17. RA, 302 (archive no. 302: archive no. 302: The Department of

In his catalogue of the Royal Academy's collection of post-antique casts from 1886 the art-historian Julius Lange discussed the Sebaldus figures in some detail.<sup>14</sup> He noted that Thorvaldsen studied and sketched the apostles and that their influence can be traced in the artist's apostles in the Cathedral in Copenhagen, modelled from 1821 to 1824 and installed 1839.<sup>15</sup> Lange believed that Thorvaldsen saw the art works in Nuremberg in 1819 on his way to Denmark. However, he did not visit Nuremberg, and it is therefore highly likely, that he studied Brøndsted's casts in the Academy. Be that as it may, the apostles were already famous at that time. In 1821/1822, the German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel applied Vischer's apostles to the chancel rail in the Berliner cathedral in the Lustgarten, and he had many followers.<sup>16</sup>

### In Rome and Naples

In several official and private letters during his residency in Rome 1819-1823, Brøndsted comments on the Aeginetan sculptures. In 1816 Thorvaldsen had restored them. In the beginning of 1819 moulds were produced under the supervision of Johann Martin von Wagner, the agent of the Bavarian Crown Prince Ludwig, and in December the same year the casts were ready.<sup>17</sup> In 1823 they and many art works for both King Frederik VI and the Prince were packed in more than 30 cases to be sent with a ship in April.<sup>18</sup> However, anxiety because of a crisis between France and Spain may have postponed the dispatch and exactly when the Aeginetans arrived in Copenhagen is not known for sure. Two consignments arrived in 1825 and 1828, respectively, but with different contents. Only in 1828 (and onwards) were the Aeginetan sculptures (testify-

Foreign Affairs 1770-1848), 2307 (parcel no. 2307: Reports from the royal agent in Rome, Professor Brøndsted, and from the Danish consul Luigi Chiaveri 1819-32), Report 9 the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1819; RA, 202, 121-163, letter to Christian Frederik, the 6<sup>th</sup> of December 1819.

18. RA, 302, 2307, Report 49 the 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1823; RA, 202, 121-163, letter to Christian Frederik, datable because of concordance with Report 49.



ing to the genius both of the Greeks and of Thorvaldsen) displayed in the Academy exhibition as appears from the catalogue and other written and pictorial sources as well.<sup>19</sup>

During Christian Frederik's stay in Italy from November 1819 to June 1821 he and Brøndsted met frequently. In January, February and October 1820 in Naples the Prince visited the *Real Museo Borbonico* in *Palazzo dei Regi Studii* several times, either alone or together with Brøndsted, and they both documented the visits in their diaries. The museum had been founded only a few years earlier, in 1816, and included both the Farnese Collection with many Roman (often restored) copies of Greek sculpture and the rich and unique finds in bronze and marble from Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Christian Frederik used the handbook by Giovambattista Finati, *Il Regal Museo Borbonico I, delle Statue I*, Napoli 1817, and worked systematically through the collection, number by number.<sup>20</sup> For the present purpose the following entry is of interest (with the present inventory numbers;<sup>21</sup> the items printed in italics below were to turn up in the Academy's collection of casts): "2 février [1820] je visitais les bronzes aux Studii accompagné de l'agent de notre cour à Rome, Brøndsted, qui designa avec moi quelques bronzes, dont les plâtres pourraient être un ornement de notre académie, savoir l'Hercule enfant avec les serpents [MN ?], *le Mercure* [MN 5625], les deux Faunes [MN 5624 and 5628] et la tête de Cheval [MN 115391]. Le plâtre est déjà tiré de l'Apollon trouvé à Pompéi [MN 5629], et il ne serait pas difficile de se procurer, je crois."

The two entries by Brøndsted are known from Dorph's edition from 1850, but have since been lost.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that they are excerpts from letters. The first is not precisely dated, but undoubtedly sums up

the new and fresh experiences. Dorph wrongly dated the other to August 11, 1819 (when Brøndsted was in Rome and the Alban Hills<sup>23</sup>). The correct date is October 11, 1820, to judge from Christian Frederik's diary.

In the first entry Brøndsted states "the collection of bronzes in the sculpture hall is without equal and of the highest importance both for our understanding of the virtuosity of the ancient artists and as a reminder that the Greek artists by far preferred this material: most of the marbles that are preserved are only copies." Three bronze statues are mentioned, the "jolly and laughing Faun resting on his sack of wine" (MN 5628), the "gracious, gently smiling and thoughtful Hermes" (MN 5625), and the "slender and beautiful Mercury" (MN ?)

The second entry "With Prince Christian in the Studii" has the character of a review of selected statues and busts, some of which were noted in the first entry and by the Prince: The Faun (MN 5624?), Apollo (MN 5629), the drunken Faun (MN 5628), the two *roe-deer* (MN 4886, 4888), "*Venus Victrix* from Capua ... mon dieu, what a marvelous statue" (MN 6017), Herakles Farnese (MN 6001), "*Aristides*" (MN 6018), Homer (MN 6023), Antinous (MN 6030), "the small, painted female Statue from a fairly late period in the old, almost Aeginetan style" (*Diana from Pompeii*, MN 6008), the small statue of Isis (MN 976), "Minerva gradiens in a very old style, though from a much later time" (MN 6007).

The visit in the Studii was apparently very successful, but did not immediately result in orders of casts. However, in 1828 the seated Hermes came to Copenhagen from Paris, and in 1833 the Venus Victrix, Aischines ("*Aristides*"), and a relief (MN 6688) came by ship from Naples and Leghorn (Livorno). The Diana from Pompeii arrived in 1838 together with 41 other items, mainly small figures and ornamented

19. Fortegnelse 1828, 16 nos. 188-189; KB, Add. 1183 4<sup>o</sup>: C.W. Eckersberg's diaries, the 18<sup>th</sup> of February 1829; Zahle 2004, 103, 119, 204.

20. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 210, 275 the 15<sup>th</sup> of January and passim, with Brøndsted the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> of February and the 11<sup>th</sup> of October 1820.

21. Napoli 1989, 105, 107, 111, 127, 135, 135, 147, 155, 157

22. Brøndsted 1850, 101-02 and 108.

23. RA, 302, 2307, Report 9, the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1819.

utensils in bronze.<sup>24</sup> In 1866, the number had risen to 69 and included also one of the roe-deer. The statues in question were highly desirable for many cast collections and might well have been acquired without the princely visit. The visit, however, testifies to the keenness and determination of both the president of the Academy and his highly qualified advisor.

## Paris – London

Brøndsted spent the years 1824 to 1832 in Paris and London – except for a short visit to Denmark in 1827. Very conveniently he could comply with wishes of Christian Frederik and the Academy for casts from these metropolises. In 1827, 1828 and 1833 he traded successfully with the *L'atelier de moulage du Musée du Louvre* that was directed by François-Henri Jacquet 1818-1846. The factory had been founded in 1794 and comprised valuable forms taken from the contents of Musée Napoleon, now mostly returned to Italy or otherwise dispersed, and from the Borghese collection, purchased in 1808.<sup>25</sup> Also important in 1818 was the acquisition of valuable forms and casts of two metopes and parts of the Parthenon frieze accomplished 1786-1792 by Louis Fauvel in Athens for the late count Choiseul-Gouffier, who was by then French ambassador to the Porte.

The arrival in Europe of Greek originals of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC – from Aegina, Phigaleia<sup>26</sup> and Athens – definitely established that the ‘canonical’ statues in Florence, Rome and Naples were only copies of the Roman Period. Brøndsted’s notes in Naples agree with this view, which is all the more understandable because of his experiences in Greece in 1810-1813 and, as we shall see, of his pioneer work on the sculptures of the Parthenon. Also Christian Frederik was fully

aware of this aesthetic revolution, as it appears from his diary from his abovementioned visit to von Danecker, October 1818: “Dans un appartement voisin les meilleurs statues du Musée Napoléon en plâtre étoient placées, savoir la Venus de Médicis, l’Apollon du Belvédère, l’Hermaphrodite, l’Hercule avec l’enfant Bacchus sur ses bras, le Torse, Laocoon et plusieurs autres. Le célèbre sculpteur prisait le Torse audessus de tous les autres comme l’imitation la plus naturelle de la chair humaine. Il disait que Canova étoit du même sentiment, et celui-ci reconnaissait le Torse et les statues apportées par le lord Elgin en Angleterre pour les seuls restes d’une haute antiquité vraiment grecque et du tems de plus beau de l’art tandis que les autres statues tant vantées, même l’Apollon du Belvédère doivent en comparaison être considérées comme des copies romaines d’une antiquité grecque perdue. ... Danecker attendait les plâtres de la collection du lord Elgin qu’il croyait déjà arrivés à Francfort,<sup>27</sup> et moyennant cette grande et belle acquisition la collection du Roi de Wurtemberg pourra être considérée de la première valeur dès qu’une salle de statue propre à cela sera arrangée.” And Christian Frederik acted accordingly. In 1819 he procured from London and presented to the Academy the torso of Poseidon, Ilissos, Dionysos, the horse head of Selene, and south metope 27 from the Parthenon (fig. 1); in 1825 he also gave the ‘Weber-Laborde’ head from the Parthenon (fig. 7), as well as a fragment of the frieze in 1836.

In 1827 Brøndsted had realized the Academy’s wish to procure the famous Greek original, the Venus from Milo (Louvre, Ma 399) as well as both hands of the Silenus with the Infant Bacchus (Ma 922) and both legs of the so-called Germanicus (Ma 1207).<sup>28</sup> The arrival was noted in the journal *Kjøbenhavnsposten*,<sup>29</sup> and the Venus was reviewed by the art-historian and

24. RA, 1626, 1.1-25: Dagbog 1838-1840, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 1838 and the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December 1838; RA, 1626, 7.1-179: Bilag til regnskaberne 1837-1838, invoice from the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1838. Bilag 42 procured by the sculptor F.C. Krohn.

25. Rionnet 1996, 6, 341; Rionnet 1999.

26. Brøndsted 1861.

27. See below.

28. Cf. RA, 202, 121-163, letter from Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, the 15<sup>th</sup> of October 1827 and RA, 1626, 1.2-13: Journalsager 1827-1828, letter from Brøndsted to the Academy with invoice, the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1827.

29. No. 100, the 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1827, 404.



professor at the Royal Academy Niels Lauritz Høyen. In 1828 Brøndsted organized one of the largest acquisitions ever of plaster casts for the Academy.<sup>30</sup>

In a letter to Christian Frederik of October 19, 1827 Brøndsted forwarded a catalogue<sup>31</sup> of casts available from Jacquet and suggested the purchase of the statue of Diana from Gabii (Ma 529) and the bust of Venus from Arles (Ma 439). Later, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March 1828, he stated that the expected arrival from Rome of the sculptor H.E. Freund, (professor 1829-1840) would be a fine occasion to realize the planned purchases. Promptly – already on the 13<sup>th</sup> of April – the Academy forwarded a specified list of casts to buy. Characteristically for transactions when the president was involved the letter starts: “The Academy has through its High President received Your Honour’s kind offer of ...”<sup>32</sup> No doubt about the keenness of Christian Frederik!

The Academy specified 16 statues, four busts and all the available reliefs from the Parthenon besides four small copies of statues and a selection of legs, arms, feet and hands. Brøndsted and Freund, in fact, acted fairly independently and omitted 12 of the desired pieces while adding several others. In an informative and expert letter to Christian Frederik Brøndsted argues in detail for their choices.<sup>33</sup> In the scheme (fig. 3), the whole transaction is summed up for the sake of convenience. Note the authoritative reason for omitting nos. 17-20 and the categorical refusal of no. 15, “La Génie du Repos éternel” for being displeasing (fig. 4).<sup>34</sup> The addition of the reliefs from the “Lanterne de Demosthène” (the Monument of Lysicrates) is hardly surprising because they are originals of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and because Brøndsted had lived in the very building – at that time still part of a Capuchin monastery – for three months altogether.<sup>35</sup>

In June this account was accepted with praise and

his wish to acquire certain other pieces was complied with.<sup>36</sup> In 1833, therefore, a third consignment arrived from Jacquet comprising 31, mainly architectural ornaments and one of the reliefs that Brøndsted had opted for.<sup>37</sup> In the end of the same year, the Academy acknowledged the reception from Brøndsted of a small copy of the Venus from Milo “by David”.<sup>38</sup>

It is noticeable that in 1828 many Roman copies too were both asked for and acquired despite the preference for casts of Greek originals. Of course, the ‘paradigm shift’ shall not be taken too literally and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> Century both Greek originals and Roman copies were to co-exist in the public museums all over the world. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century few such originals were known – and fewer still available in plaster casts. From the contemporary *Akademisches Kunstmuseum* in Bonn the subject is touched upon in 1819 by its ‘founding fathers’, the two professors A.W. von Schlegel and F.G. Welcker, the same year as the museum was established; “In der ersten Hinsicht sind die Elginschen Sculpturen vom Parthenon und die in Phigalia ausgegrabenen Basreliefs sehr wichtig, weil sie unbezweifelt aus der Zeit und der Schule des Phidias herrühren ...

Von München dürfte erst in der Folge etwas zu erwarten seyn, wenn die Sammlung seiner Königl. Hoheit des Kronprinzen aufgestellt und zum Theyl abgeformt seyn wird; besonders die äusserst wichtigen, noch in Italien befindlichen Aeginetischen Statuen.

Unser Erachtens dürften die Stücke in einer Sammlung von Gypsabgüssen nicht fehlen, welche wegen ihrer Eleganz und vollständigen Erhaltung den ausgebreitetsten Ruhm geniessen, z.B. der Vatikanische Apoll, der Laokoon, die Mediceische und Capitolinische Venus usw. Für den Zweck der Belehrung aber möchte das übrige aus Stücken bestehen, worauf die

30. Høyen 1828, 45; Høyen 1871, 43.

31. Preserved in RA, 202 together with the letter.

32. RA, 1626, 1.3-4; Kopibog 1813-1832.

33. RA, 202, 121-163, letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1828.

34. Clarac 1826-1853, 332, pl. 300; LIMC VI, 705 no. 21 pl. 417; Cuzin 2000, 421 Cat. 225.

35. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 354-355.

36. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1828.

37. RA, 1626, 1.2-16: journalsager 1832-1833, letter to Thiele, Paris the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1833; RA, 1626, 7.1-269: Akademiets kassebog 1813-1851, kasseregnskab no. 58 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1833.

38. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog, the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1833. *David* is probably the sculptor Pierre-Jean David d’Angers.

<i>Required by the Academy - acquired</i>	Remarks	KA Reg. 1834	Louvre mould, Museum
<b>1 Le Silene et le jeune Bacchus</b>	-	<b>Aa46</b>	<b>R289; Louvre, Ma 922</b>
2 Le Gladiateur borghèse	Mould worn, already in KA		R210; Louvre, Ma 527
<b>3 L'Achille borghèse</b>	-	<b>Aa56</b>	<b>R154; Louvre, Ma 866</b>
4 L'Apolline	Mould worn, already in KA		R144; Uffizi 229
<b>5 L'Adonis</b>	-	<b>Aa38</b>	<b>R124; Vatican 560</b>
<b>6 Le Faune en repos du Capitole</b>	-	<b>Aa47</b>	<b>R284; Capitole 739</b>
<b>7 Le petit Faune borghèse</b>	-	<b>Aa48</b>	<b>R281; Louvre, Ma 594</b>
8 Le Discobole	Another copy of Vatican statue already in KA, the Mattei copy preferable		R187; Louvre, Ma 89
9 Jason, dit Cincinnatus	Too restored		R227; Louvre, Ma 83
<b>10 Un fils de Niobe [Ilieneus]</b>	-	<b>Aa59</b>	<b>R261; Munich 270</b>
<b>11 Un Athlete [Boxer]</b>	-	<b>Aa63</b>	<b>R163; ?ex Arolsen</b>
<b>12 Le groupe des Lutteurs</b>	-	<b>Aa65</b>	<b>R239; Uffizi 216</b>
13 Faune, portent un chevreuil	Mediocre, no mould		R-; Prado 29-E
14 Apollon Sauroctone de 5 pieds [Borghese]	Mediocre copy, the one in the Vatican preferable		R151; Louvre, Ma 441
15 La Genie de Repos éternel	Displeasing, expensive		R209; Louvre, Ma 435
<b>16 La Venus accroupie</b>		<b>Aa34</b>	<b>R139; Louvre, Ma 53</b>
17-20 Copies de Statues antiques [reduced] <b>Venus from Milo</b>	Inadequate for study, only decorative	Acq. in 1833 <b>Aa27</b>	<b>R300; Louvre, Ma 399</b>
<b>21 Venus d'Arles [bust]</b>	-	<b>Ab22</b>	<b>R298; Louvre, Ma 439</b>
22 Ariadne de Capitole [bust]	-		R-; Capitole 734
<b>23 Mercure grec [bust]</b>	-	?	<b>R622?</b>
24 Amour grec avec la tête [bust]	-		R696; Vatican 769
<b>25 Jambes, Bras, Pieds &amp; Mains</b>	-		
<b>26-48 Basreliefs du Parthenon</b>	-	<b>Ac01-03</b>	<b>R444 f. passim; Athens / London / Louvre</b>
<i>Addenda</i>			
<b>Le Mercure Assis</b>	Splendid, most useful	<b>Aa26</b>	<b>R245; Napoli 5625</b>
<b>14 Basreliefs – lanterne de Demosthene</b>	Interesting	<b>Ac06-19</b>	<b>R477; Athens</b>
<b>'Esculape' assis</b>	Splendid	<b>Aa73</b>	<b>R157; Munich 202</b>
<b>J. Henning "[4] cadre des copies des Basreliefs du Parthenon et du temple de Phigalie"</b>	Excellent, cheap	-	R-; Göttingen 1990, nr. A 1560
<b>Le basrelief de la Bacchante</b>	Fine	<b>Ac37</b>	<b>R331; Louvre, Ma 4658</b>
<b>Le basrelief de Jupiter, Junon et Thetis</b>	Fine	<b>Ac49</b>	<b>R364; Louvre, Ma 486</b>
<b>Le basrelief de Latone, Diane et Apollon</b>	Fine	<b>Ac57</b>	<b>R358; Louvre, Ma 683</b>
<b>Deux fragmens d'un autel triangulaire</b>	-	<b>Ac67a-b</b>	<b>R788; Louvre, Ma 672</b>
<b>Deux petite torses de femme (fragmens), ex Choiseul Gouffier</b>	Beautiful	?	<b>R?</b>
<i>Wishes</i>			
Relief with Euripides, seated	Excellent work		R195; Louvre, Ma 343
Four or five minor Basreliefs <b>Vase funéraire de Marathon</b>	Remarkable with regard to execution and antiquarian interest	Acq. in 1833 <b>Ac76</b>	<b>R818; Louvre, Ma 789</b>

Fig. 3. Scheme of options and acquisitions of Brøndsted and Freund in Paris on behalf of the Academy, 1828.



Gunst der blossen Kunstliebhaber nicht eben vorzugsweise sich richtet.“<sup>39</sup>

There are clearly three levels of quality: the Greek originals, the most famous of the Roman copies and the many pieces that are important for education but not really favoured by connoisseurs. The Bonner museum was partly a university study collection, partly a public museum, whereas the Academy collection was aimed primarily at artists and connoisseurs. The criteria of collecting may therefore have differed somewhat. The contents of the collections, however, were not that different. Between 1820 and 1827 four large consignments were furnished by Jacquet to Bonn, and the catalogue by Welcker in 1827, aimed at the general public, included many of the same pieces as in Copenhagen: all the Fauvel Parthenon casts, the Lysicrates frieze, and almost all of the Roman copies: le Siléne et le jeune Bacchus, l’Achille Borghése, l’Adonis, le Faune en repos du Capitol, le petit Faune Borghese, La Niobe fils, le groupe des Lutteurs, Venus d’Arles (bust), the 4 cadres contenant la copie des bas-reliefs d’Athenes et Phigalie, and the reliefs with Latone, Diane et Apollon and with Jupiter, Junon et Thétis.<sup>40</sup> However, both the Genie de Repos éternel and the small copies despised by Brøndsted and Freund were also purchased.

Ehrhardt has made the interesting observation that when it came to write for the public about the Greek originals like the Parthenon reliefs, Welcker had very little to say:<sup>41</sup> two lines on the two Metopes and 24 on the 23 frieze slabs in contrast to 53 lines on the two above-mentioned reliefs with the Olympian gods. Apparently no scholarly, analytic discourse had yet evolved to be communicated to the public. Still, much could be explained about the history of the Parthenon and in general about the pictorial program. More

specifically Welcker could have explained that the figures on the plaster casts were in a better state than the originals. At some unknown time before 1818, when the Louvre acquired the Fauvel moulds, many details, heads, arms, legs, parts of drapery had been restored, a very interesting feature and characteristic of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> The Parthenon originals, however, were never touched – an important indication of the new esteem of originals. It is surprising that Brøndsted in his letter and elsewhere passes this by unnoticed.

In December 1826 Brøndsted had moulds and plaster casts produced of two marble heads in the Danish Royal Collection (inv. nos. ABb13-14), and in February 1827 he presented copies to the Academy and discussed them in some detail.<sup>43</sup> At that time he believed one of the heads to be female and could therefore only establish that “these fragments have belonged either to a frieze or a metope of an Athenian temple with a representation of the myth of the amazonomachia.” In the above-mentioned letter of May 27, 1828 to Christian Frederik he attributes them to the 8<sup>th</sup> metope showing a centaumachie (one of the 15 ones in the British Museum) on the south side of Parthenon. The same attribution recurs in his authoritative book on the Parthenon from 1830.<sup>44</sup> In this respect he was misled by the Carrey drawings from 1674 and apparently never tried to see if the heads fitted on the metopes. The keeper of antiquities at the British Museum Edward Hawkins and the sculptor Richard Westmacott did so in April 1831 and realized that the two heads (casts presented by Brøndsted in 1828) fitted on the 4<sup>th</sup> metope.<sup>45</sup> Brøndsted procured a cast of this metope for the Academy in 1832.<sup>46</sup>

Brøndsted’s opinion of the relative value of marble originals and plaster casts appears from his letter to Christian Frederik from Paris of July 1830: “If the

39. Ehrhardt 1982, 25

40. Welcker 1827, pp. 104, 186 statues, busts and reliefs.

41. Ehrhardt 1982, 53, cf. also 61-62.

42. Beschi 1984, 320; Bauer & Geominy 2000, 167-173.

43. RA, 1626, 1.2-13: Journalsager 1827-1828, letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1827. See the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

44. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, II, 171ff., 200-202. Cf. the article by Martin Kreeb in this publication.

45. Jenkins 1992, 81. See the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

46. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1832, p. 339; RA, 1626, 7.1-269: Akademiets kassebog 1813-1851, kasseregnskab 1832, bilag 63, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 1832.



Fig. 4. Génie du Repos éternel, Louvre Ma 435.

government would transfer the two fragments to the Academy of Fine Arts, and the Academy then would dispose of them in favour of The British Museum in London, then, I believe, I can procure for the Academy as a remuneration a complete collection of all casts of

47. "Dersom Regjæringen vilde afstaae vort Academie for de skjønne Konster hine tvende Fragmenter, og Academiet saa disponere over dem i Faveur af det Britiske Museum i London, saa troer jeg nok der at kunne udvirke som Godtgjøreelse for Academiet at man spenderede for samme en complet Samling af alle Gibsafstøbninger af de Atheniensiske Marmorværker (en valeur af omtrent 500 sterl.), hvilken for vort Academie vilde være en stor Vinding, en sand Konstskat, som det maaskee ellers vil blive vanskeligt at erholde ...", RA, 202, 121-163, the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1830.

the Athenian masterpieces (of a value of c. 500 £). This would constitute a great advantage for our Academy, a true art-treasure that otherwise hardly could be obtained."<sup>47</sup> The episode, however, is documented also in the archives of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum: "16th April 1831 Permission was given to Mr. Hawkins to communicate with the Director of the Royal Museum at Copenhagen on the subject of two heads belonging to the Metope ..., which, it was believed, might be had in Exchange for a set of the casts of the Metopes."<sup>48</sup> It appears that Brøndsted valued the Copenhagen marble originals much higher than the British did!

The prince's answer is not known and nothing happened, nor did a proposal in 1819 to exchange the Parthenon south metope no. 10, just acquired by the Louvre, for casts of the Elgin and other marbles lead to anything.<sup>49</sup>

In 1833, the Academy asked Brøndsted for casts of Greek originals and in June 1833, 100 rigsbankdaler was paid for 44 Greek ornaments from the British Museum.<sup>50</sup> In 1835 Brøndsted was requested to buy for 200 rigsbankdaler Greek ornaments at his own choice.<sup>51</sup> In a letter from Brøndsted to Christian Frederik of June 28, 1836 one gets an interesting insight in Brøndsted's thoroughness and his possible share in the establishment of an official plaster cast workshop in the British Museum – the third of its type after Paris in 1794 and Berlin 1818:<sup>52</sup> Brøndsted had made a careful selection of terracotta reliefs from – amongst others – the Townley collection, but he argues to postpone the making of moulds until the autumn or the next year when the British Museum has established its own cast workshop, "for this purpose and especially to profit from the know-how and

48. Jenkins 1992, 81. See the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

49. Jenkins 1990, 103.

50. RA, 202, 121-163, letter from Christian Frederik, the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1833; RA, 1626, 7.1-269: Akademiets kassebog 1813-1851, kasseregnskab 1833, no. 61.

51. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 29<sup>th</sup> of November 1835.

52. RA, 202, 121-163, letter the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1836.



arrangement in the Louvre in Paris the director of British Museum's antique department and coin collection, Mr. Hawkins, traveled with me to Paris".<sup>53</sup> Hitherto one had to contract with a private former and one had a certain responsibility for the delicate objects to be copied. A museum workshop will have the responsibility and prices will be reduced to perhaps one third! – In fact, the British Museum established a cast service in 1836.<sup>54</sup> However, there is no evidence concerning the ornaments and terracottas requested by the Academy, and the order appears for unknown reasons never to have been fulfilled. The situation explains why N.L. Høyen's offer during a stay in London in 1835 to obtain "the missing Elgin marbles and other architectural works of art" came to nothing.<sup>55</sup> Brøndsted was more successful with the acquisition of casts in plaster and sulphur of Greek coins for the "Copy-Room" of The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, of which he was director from 1832. Only four days before the letter to Christian Frederik he could report the near completion of many casts, and, in fact, that year (1836) he was able to enlarge the study collection with 4,544 casts. When he died in 1842, it comprised c. 10,000 casts of coins mainly from the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>56</sup>

### Embellishment of the Coin Cabinet

In 1838, Brøndsted was concerned with casts on his own initiative. He wanted to embellish The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Rosenborg Castle that had been established in 1781 in three rooms, the Greek, the Roman and the Danish room. They were equipped with cabinets by Johannes Wiedewelt, professor at the Academy, and decorated with golden lions in plaster made by Domenico Maria Gianelli, cast-

maker at the Academy (fig. 5), and with egyptianizing sphinxes and portrait medallions of the Danish kings by a pupil of Wiedewelt, the sculptor C.F. Kindgren. In the 1830s, two more rooms were added, to house i.a. the study collection. In 1835 regular opening hours for the public were established and a guidebook prepared.<sup>57</sup> Brøndsted explained his plans to his chief, Count C.O. von Haxthausen, in August 1838: "The other matter ... is about a *more dignified and beautiful decoration* of the main room of the Cabinet. In fact, the ornament (from the time of Wiedewelt, about 50 years ago) of a lot of small *lion figures* on the large cabinets, and above them on the wall flat medallions, are just as shabby and embarrassing as the cabinets, designed by Abildgaard[!], are beautiful and most appropriate. This is clear to everybody and I have always, from the first day I entered the Coin Cabinet as a civil servant, wished to replace this dull lion-repetition with *bronzed plaster casts of beautiful ancient busts*. With the help of professor Freund I made a first effort of this last week on one of the cabinets in the Danish room. I placed three splendid ancient busts, and because the effect is extremely beautiful I should hereby most respectfully propose to accomplish it throughout and later, on the forthcoming auction, to sell the foolish animals that so far have disfigured the handsome room. To realize this, in fact, *seven big and sixteen smaller bronzed plaster casts* are needed. After having gone through all ancient busts in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts ... together with Professor Freund and made my selection and made an estimate together with the cast-maker [of the Academy, F.] Pierri, I am certain that *the entire beautiful decoration of all the cabinets in the Coin Cabinet can be accomplished at the cost of 185-190 Rigsbankdaler*, an amount smaller than what will be at hand as a part of

53. Loc.cit. "just for denne Hensigt, især for at benytte de Erfaringer og Indretninger man har i le Louvre i Paris rejste Forstanderen for det Brit: Museums Antique Gallerie og Myntcabinet hr Hawkins med mig til Paris.". The primary purpose of the journey, though, was to attend the Durand sale, see the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

54. Jenkins 1990, 104; Jenkins 1992, 36.

55. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1835; RA, 1626, 1.2-17: journalsager 1833-1835, letter the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1835.

56. Brøndsted 1980; Mørkholm 1981, 142; See the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.

57. Horsnæs forthcoming; Märcher forthcoming.



Fig. 5. One of Johannes Wiedewelt's cabinets from c. 1783 with bronzed plaster lions by Domenico Gianelli. Photo by Sophus Bengtsson, c. 1940, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals.



the auction income. But before I write to the Art Academy and ask for permission to have casts made of the selected busts, I shall herewith beg for the timely acceptance from the director, the more so because I, of course, wish to accomplish the planned change of decoration *before* the frequent visits in the cabinet due to the auction in September ...”<sup>58</sup>

The permission was granted, the Academy was formally approached with a list of the desired busts only two days after,<sup>59</sup> and on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, the Academy answered favourably. In May 1839 the following announcement was inserted in the *Berlingske Tidende*: “*The Royal Coin and Medal Cabinet* That recently has been furnished with an enlarged exhibition of coins and the rooms of which have been embellished with bronzed plaster casts of Ancient busts, will open again to the public Saturday, 25 May at noon, ...

Brøndsted, Director”<sup>60</sup>

We have several means to reconstruct the group of busts in question, though not completely – cf. the scheme (fig. 6):

1) Brøndsted and Freund selected 23 *busts* from the Antique in the Academy (fig. 7).

2) Later the same month was added a bust of Thorvaldsen by H.W. Bissen, no. 16.<sup>61</sup>

58. RA, 216 (archive no. 216: Det Kgl. Mønt- og Medaillekabinet 1718-1849), Indkomne breve, 1840, p. 60, the 5<sup>th</sup> of August 1838: “Den anden Sag ..., angaaer en ædelere og skjønnere Decoration af Cabinetets Hovedlocale. At nemlig den Forsiring (som tilblev i Wiedewelt’s Tid, for omtrent 50 Aar siden) af en Mængde smaa Løvefigurer paa de store Armoires, og paa Muren bag ved flat placerede Medaillons over samme, er ligesaa mesquin og flau, som Myntskabene selv, til hvilke Abildgaard gav Tegningen, ere smukke og meget passende, indseer Enhver, og jeg har stedse, fra den første Time jeg indtraadte i Cabinetet som dets Embedsmand, ønsket at kunne remplace denne kjædsommelige Løverepetition med bronzerede Afstøbninger i Gibs af skjønne antike Buser. Ved Professor Freund’s Hjelp forsøgte jeg dette i forrige Uge for det Første med eet af den danske Sals Armoires, paa hvilket jeg placerede tre herlige antike Buser, og da Virkningen er overordentlig skjøn saa bør jeg herved allerærbødigst foreslaae, at udføre det Hele paa denne Maade og siden, paa vor forestaaende Auction at sælge de ufornuftige Dyr, som hidtil vansirede det smukke Locale. Men til Udførelse heraf behøves syv store og sexten mindre bronzerede Gibsafstøbninger.

3) In the Inventory of the Coin Cabinet of 1840 28 *busts* are mentioned: five in the Roman room, 15 in the Danish room, three in the Greek room and five in the copy room.<sup>62</sup>

4) Photographs of the three rooms in the old exhibition of the Coin Collection in the Prinsens Palais (1867-1932) show 15 *busts*. Five of these are not preserved. The plan of the exhibition makes the size of the cabinets along the invisible walls known. There were presumably altogether at least 21 busts, but 23 are also possible:

Fig. 8. The 1<sup>st</sup> room (Greek and Roman coins) with eight busts, nos. 1-8. For the sake of symmetry one more bust can be assumed to the right on the cabinet along the long wall and one or three more on the cabinet along the 4<sup>th</sup> wall.

Fig. 9. The 2<sup>nd</sup> room (foreign medals and medieval coins) with four busts, nos. 9-12, and one assumed bust on the cabinet along the 4<sup>th</sup> wall.

Fig. 10. The 3<sup>rd</sup> room with Danish coins and medals and with three busts, nos. 13-15, and, for the sake of symmetry, three busts assumed on the cabinet along the 4<sup>th</sup> wall.

5) Photograph from the Coin Collection in the new (present) premises (1938) show only 1 *bust*, no. 17 (neither seen on the other photographs nor preserved).

Efter at have gennemseet i disse dage med Professor Freund alle antike Buser som det Kongelige Akademie for de skjønne Konster ejer, og derefter gjort mit Udvalg og mit Overslag med Afstøberen hr Pierri, er jeg kommen til vished om, at den hele skjønne Decoration af alle Myntcabinetets Armoires vil kunne udføres med en udgift af 185 til 190 Rigsbankdaler, hvortil meer end tilstrækkelig Ressource synes snart at ville blive forhaanden ved en Deel af Auctionsbeløbet. Men inden jeg corresponderer med Konstacademiet om Tilladelse til at foranstalte Afstøbninger af de udvalgte Buser, bør jeg herved udbede mig Chefens Tilladelse til i denne Henseende at foranstalte det Fornødne; og jeg attraaer Chefens betimelige Indvilgelse saa meget mere som jeg naturligvis, maa ønske, at kunne udføre den tilsigtede Decorationsforandring inden de hyppige Besøg i Cabinetets Locale, hvilke Auctionen i September vil foranledige ...”

59. The 9<sup>th</sup> of August 1838 – not preserved.

60. Märcher forthcoming.

61. RA, 1626, 1.1-25: Dagbog 1838-1840, the 19<sup>th</sup> of September 1838.

62. RA, 216, Indkomne Breve, 1837-1841, 169-171.

Room	No.	KAS	1834	MODEL	IDENTIFICATION	MUSEUM	FRITEKST
1	1	Dep427	Ab14	KAS274	Bust. From the statue "Pallas or Minerva from Velletri"	Paris, Louvre Ma 115	Lange 1866, no. 96; LIMC II, 1984, 1078-1080, no. 36.
1	2	Dep432	Ab16	KAS2181	Bust. From the statue "Apollo Belvedere"	Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere	Lange 1866, no. -; Helbig I, 1963, no. 226; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 8.
1	3	Dep424	Ab08	-	Face-mask from the bust "Jupiter Otricoli"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala Rotonda	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 77 bust; Helbig I no. 33.
1	4	-	-	-	Bust. From the statue "Diana from Versailles"	Paris, Louvre Ma 589	Lange 1866, no. 92 statue; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 30.
1	5	Dep428	Ab30	-	Bust. of "Commedia"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala Rotonda	Lange 1866, no. 373; Helbig I, 1963, no. 60.
1	6	Dep423	Ab32	KAS1540	Bust. From the statue "Hercules Farnese"	Napoli, Museo Archeologico 6001	Lange 1866, no. 144; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 46.
1	7	Dep433	Ab11	KG130	Face-mask "Juno Ludovisi", Antonia Minor?	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano	Lange 1866, no. 82; Helbig III, 1969, no. 2341; Kjerrman et al. (eds.) 2004, 375.
1	8	Dep422	Ab43	KAS1513	Bust. From the statue "Antinous Braschi"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala Rotonda	Lange 1866, no. 382; Helbig I, 1963 no. 34.
2	9	Dep480	Aa39	KAS257	Bust. From the statue/torso "Eros Centocelle"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino	Lange 1866, no. 117 statue; Helbig I, 1963, no. 116.
2	10	-	Ab76	-	Head of young man, Hermes?, looking down towards his left	Wiltshire, Bowood House?	Lange 1866, no. -; Simm 1981, no. 884 Taf. 13c.; ; Bauer & Geominy 2000, 123 Abb. 80.
2	11	-	Ab81	-	Bust. Young man with short beard, from the group "The blinding of Polyphemus"	Berlin 1329. Destroyed 1943	Lange 1866, no. 161; Conticello, Andraea and Bol 1974, 65 cat. 1, 2.1 pl. 49-51; Bauer and Geominy 2000, 155-158, Cat. 37.
2	12	-	Aa69	-	Head. From the statue "Capitoline Antinous"	Rome, Musei Capitolini	Lange 1866, no. -; Helbig II, 1966, no. 1424; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 74.
3	13	Dep417	1809: 85	-	Bust. "Ariadne", "Leukothea", Dionysos.	Rome, Musei Capitolini 734	Lange 1866, no. 128; Helbig II, 1966, no. 1430.
3	14	-	Ab22	KG1130	Bust. From the statue "Venus from Arles"	Paris, Louvre Ma 127	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 105; Kjerrman et al. (eds.) 2004, 338.
3	15	Dep429	1809: 76	KAS34	Bust. From the statue "Apollo Musageles"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala delle Muse	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 84; Helbig I, 1963, no. 82.
?	16	-	Nb3-4	KS 312-13	Portrait (herm) of Thorvaldsen by H.W. Bissen 1831.	KA KS 312 (marble), KS 313 (plaster)	Charlottenborg Udstilling 1833 no. 223; Rostруп II, 1945 no. 57.
?	17	-	-	-	Bust. Hermes with winged petasus by H.E. Freund(?)	-	Oppermann 1916, 61-63
-	18	Dep418	? Ab59	KAS289	Bust. Portrait of Domitilla? wife of Vespasianus	Rome, Musei Capitolini	Lange 1866, no. -; Helbig II, 1966 no. 1286.
-	19	Dep419	-	-	Bust. Homer	?	Lange 1866, no. -; Close to Napoli 6023.
-	20	Dep420	Ab49	-	Bust. Portrait of Socrates	?	Painting by Nickelsen 1841, Zahle 2004, cat. 28; Lange 1866, no. 193.
-	21	Dep421	Ab34	KAS1512	Bust. Niobe from the statue of Niobe with her youngest daughter	Firenze, Uffizi 294	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 151; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 66.
-	22	Dep425	Ab54	-	Bust. Roma with Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf on the sides of the helmet	Paris, Louvre Ma 547	Clarac 170 pl. 1100; Lange 1866 no. 101.
-	23	Dep426	Ab18	KAS281	Head. Hermes with wingless petasus	Wiltshire, Bowood House	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 123; Bauer & Geominy 2000, 124 Abb. 81.
-	24	Dep430	1793: 77; Ab51	-	Bust. Portrait of a man with short beard, "Diogenes"	?	Lange 1866, no. -; Cf. Boehringer 1979, 113 no. 63 "Philosoph", ex Ferrari; Fittschen 1990, A 609, A 611, pl. 43; recent variant of A 1445 "Diogenes", ibid. pl. 42.
-	25	Dep431	Ab33	KAS64	Bust of Hercules	London, British Museum 1782	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 147; LIMC IV 1988, 749 no. 364, pl. 469.

Fig. 6. List of the busts, partly seen on the photographs, figs. 8-10. Nos.1-16 are preserved in the Royal Cast Collection, the whereabouts of nos. 17-25 are not known.





Fig. 7. A studio, "Malerstuen", in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, room F in the plan (fig. 14), with plaster busts and a cupboard with minor objects, amongst other things anatomical casts. J.F. Richardt (c. 1839). The 'Weber-Laborde' head is no. 4 from the left on the lower shelf. The Thorvaldsen Museum, Inv. B 284.

It is flanked by Gianelli's lions which were not sold and which again from 1938 decorate Wiedewelt's cabinets in the Coin Collection. None of the other busts appear on other photographs; consequently by that time they had been relegated to a depot.

6) In 1988, 19 busts were transferred to The Royal Cast Collection (fig. 11). Nine of these are not documented in the photographs.<sup>63</sup>

The busts were painted to imitate bronze. A fine bronze-like lustre is well-preserved on the Eros Centocelle (no. 9 in the scheme). On the rest, however, the lustre is to a high degree covered by dark paint that cannot but derive from repairs.

Altogether 25 busts are thus documented; see the scheme (fig. 6). Most of them appear in the inventory of the Academy from 1834, some are depicted in contemporary paintings (fig. 7), and 11 of the collection's busts that were copied are preserved today. The discrepancy between the 28 busts in the inventory of the coin cabinet in 1840 and the only 23 ordered in 1838 cannot but mean that Brøndsted ordered them subsequently. In fact, we know he asked for one extra, no. 2), above. Both nos. 16-17 are post-antique and this may have been the case also with the last three.

The group of the ancient busts is interesting in many respects, not least because it enables us to identify

63. Zahle 1993, 98-99.



Fig. 8. Room 1 in the exhibition in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medal c. 1930.

eight busts in the Academy collection. But more important in the present context is the fact that we can perceive what Brøndsted and Freund judged would embellish the Coin Cabinet in the eyes of the general public. Except one or two, all of the busts are antique and belong to the category of 'ideal sculpture' of gods, semi-gods and athletes besides a few portraits of famous Greeks (nos. 19-20) or idealized portraits (nos. 7, 8 and 18). One piece (no. 24) is an 18<sup>th</sup> century work. No portraits of Roman emperors were selected although there were some in the Academy's collection. Noticeable is also the absence of the much admired Greek originals: heads from the Parthenon, the 'Weber-Laborde' head or the two male ones in the Royal Collection from a metope. In fact, the choice of deco-

orative busts by Brøndsted and Freund conformed wholly to the third 'Bonner' category of antique sculpture (see above), i.e. pieces that are important for education and have public appeal.

### Brøndsted's achievement

Brøndsted appears appreciative throughout of the value of plaster casts for documentation, study and the experience of art and for their educational value. Whether working on his own initiative or at the request of others, he appears highly qualified in both artistic and technical matters. However, when it comes to an appraisal of his formative influence on the Academy's





Fig. 9. Room 2 in the exhibition in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medal c. 1930.

collection of casts there is some uncertainty. Brøndsted was definitely not alone on the scene.

Without doubt, Christian Frederik was very competent and deeply involved – and he was a passionate collector. He owned a list of the casts of the Elgin marbles executed in 1817 by the sculptor Richard Westmacott and undoubtedly their acquisition in 1819 was due to him. It is presently not known, however, whether he got them as a gift from King George IV, who at that time presented them to the courts of Prussia, Tuscany,

Naples and to Pope Pius VII; or whether he bought them as did the courts at St. Petersburg, Bavaria and Wurttemberg (see above).<sup>64</sup> As King of Hanover, George IV, likewise most generously provided casts of both the Parthenon sculptures and slabs of the Phigaleia frieze to his own University of Göttingen in 1830.<sup>65</sup> Other institutions like the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn had great difficulties in getting hold of such precious pieces.<sup>66</sup>

Brøndsted collaborated throughout with his friend,

64. Jenkins 1990, 102.

65. Fittschen 1990, 12, 57 no. A 151-152, 155, 157-158, 159(?), 163-164, 177; 71 no. A 240-241.

66. Ehrhardt 1982, 25, 41, 45, 46, 65, 106, 118, 119, 132, 133.



Fig. 10. Room 3 in the exhibition in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medal c. 1930.

the sculptor Hermann Ernst Freund: in Rome in the early 1820s, in Paris in 1828 and again in Copenhagen in 1838. In letters written on his way to Rome in 1817-1818 Freund described the marvelous gallery with the Mengs' cast collection in Dresden, and in the Uffizi in Florence he forgot time and place in admiration of the Venus Medici, the Apollino, the Wrestlers, the Faun and the "Arrotino" (a Scythian whetting his knife).<sup>67</sup> His passion for ancient sculpture is described at some length by the author Carsten Hauch, who in 1826-1827

67. Oppermann 1916, 37.

lived in the same Roman house (Thorvaldsen's) as he did. Together and accompanied by Johann Martin von Wagner, they visited many museums and he noted their insights and preferences:<sup>68</sup> "Twice a week I visited the Vatican. It surprised me to learn that the masterpieces, which for long have been reckoned as the very best – like Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoon-group – are now no longer of the first category, and that art-works had been discovered that even surpassed them with regard to purity and noble style. I had a striking instance

68. Hauch 1871, 213-, 220-, 253, 256-258.

69. Hauch 1871, 220.

70. Hauch 1871, 221-222.





Fig. 11. A selection of the busts chosen by Brøndsted and Freund for The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals and now preserved in the Royal Cast Collection, nos. 20, 13, 18, 22, 21, 24 in the list fig. 6.

of it when I saw the so-called Lord Elgin's marbles (though in plaster casts) and the remnants of the bas-reliefs from the Parthenon."<sup>69</sup> "When I saw for the first time the colossal torsos that are called Lord Elgin's marbles both Freund and Wagner accompanied me. Wagner looked at them untiringly and especially expressed his admiration for one of these art-works, the body of which is somewhat turned to one side. 'From an anatomical point of view one or two objections could be made,' he said, 'but the genius with which it has been made and the life and the play of muscles that has been created, hardly find a parallel in any art-work we know of,'..."<sup>70</sup>

Freund's opinion is not reported by Hauch, but from

his oeuvre the profound impact of the Parthenon frieze is clearly recognized, especially from his "Ragnarok" frieze for the Christiansborg Castle (1841).<sup>71</sup> As portrayed by Hauch he was more 'traditional' and more absorbed by the wide range of art expressions in the Roman museums. His passion for the finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum in Museo Borbonico in Naples is well known from the arrangement of his residence as a "Little Italy" in Pompeian style.<sup>72</sup>

Immediately after Freund's return to Denmark in 1828 the Antique or Figure Hall of the Academy was completely renovated and further rooms facing the Kongens Nytorv were taken in (figs. 12-14). In the southern room casts of the Greek originals were

71. Monrad 1986.

72. See Gelfer-Jørgensen 2004, ch. III; the article by Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen in this publication.



Fig. 12. The south part of the Antique or Figure Hall of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in the mid 1830s. Montage of paintings by an unknown painter (1830s) and P.H. Gemzøe (1835). Private collections in Switzerland and Denmark. Montage: Jakob Vaagholt.



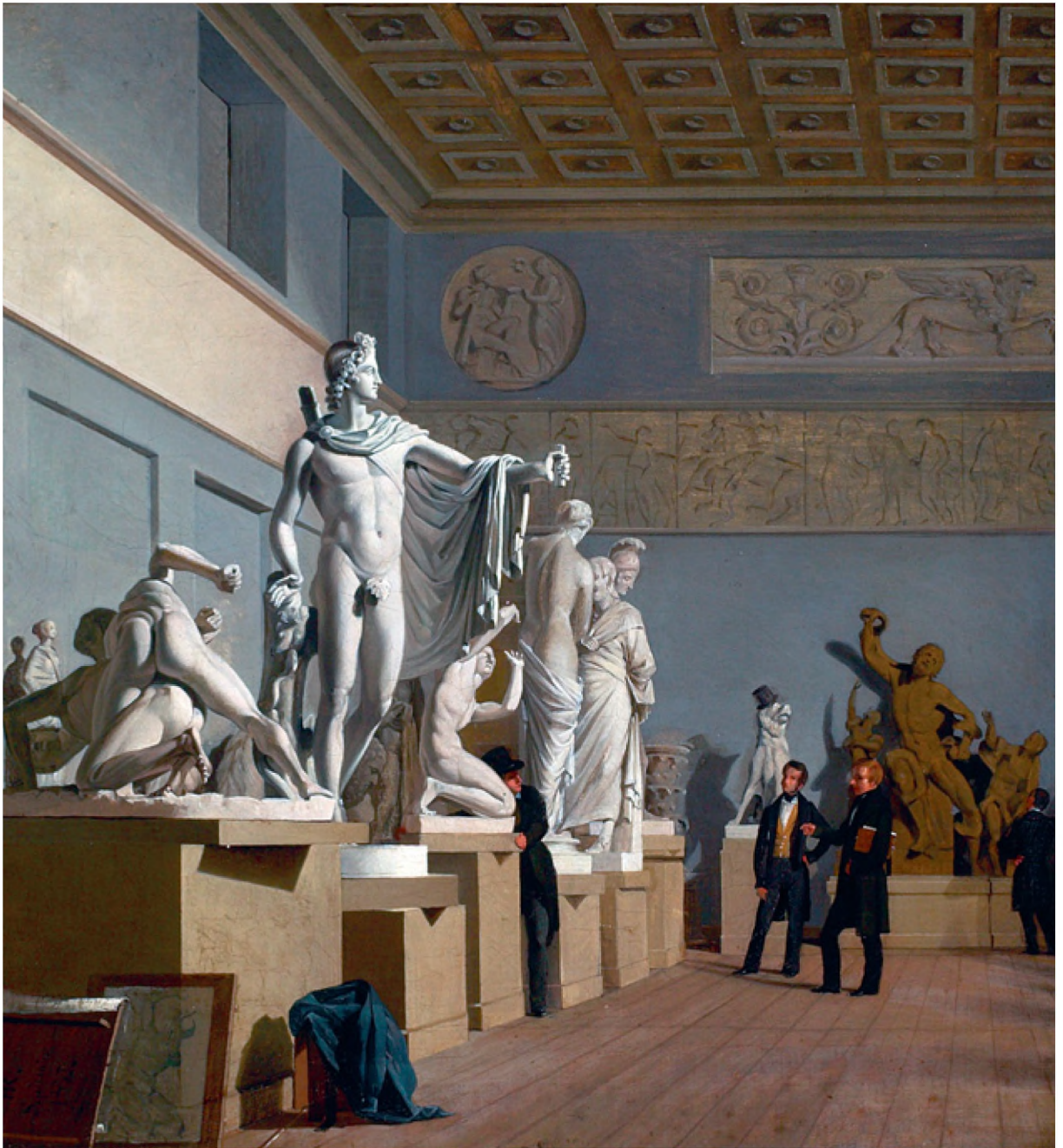


Fig. 13. The northwest part of the Antique or Figure Hall of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 1837.  
P.H. Rasmussen (1837). Private Collection, Denmark.

placed: the Aegina and Parthenon sculptures and the Venus from Milo together with a few other new acquisitions. The Antique Hall was devoted to 'the grand tradition' that had developed since the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, with casts of famous statues in Italian public and private collections. The statues (of varying sizes) were placed in two freestanding rows and – together with busts – all along the four walls; reliefs were only put on the end walls (Greek, Roman, Thorvaldsen). In the northern room, the 'modern' art was placed: works by Thorvaldsen. The concept ingeniously combines an overall (but not detailed) stylistic development with a separation of Greek originals and Roman copies and is, in fact, very advanced for the time. A glance at the exhibition in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn makes this clear: here the statues were placed in five rows as counterparts according to motive, style or size. The governing principle was aesthetic and intrinsic rather than chronological.<sup>73</sup> The professors of the Academy were responsible for the new exhibition in Copenhagen, and we have no written sources telling about their deliberations. Whether Brøndsted contributed is not known, and from mid 1827 to 1832 he was not in Denmark. In 1835 Freund acquired casts from Berlin, and the same year he took charge of the Academy's casts, hitherto watched over by the secretary.<sup>74</sup>

Brøndsted had a keen interest in the fine arts and he belonged to the international scholarly elite. Personally, as a scholar and an agent he used and encouraged the uses of plaster casts. Beyond doubt he was a stim-

ulating and most experienced partner in the building up of the Academy's cast collection. He appears representative for the very beginning of archaeology and art history as well-defined professions. In his occupation with Greek originals (the Parthenon) he was *avant garde*, but in his selection of casts for the Coin Cabinet he was traditional, perhaps due to a desire to please the public. In fact, as noted by Ian Jenkins, the Parthenon sculptures only became widely admired in the 1860s,<sup>75</sup> without, however, rendering the bulk of the statues of 'the grand tradition' superfluous. Their co-existence in great national plaster cast collections of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was yet to come.

Finally, one may speculate about how Brøndsted would have acted if he had become director of the cast collection. Judging from his efforts as director of the Royal Coin Cabinet he would certainly have built up a much larger collection for study and also for the education of the public. Already three years after his appointment in the cabinet it was re-organized, and its scholarly *apparatus* greatly enlarged.<sup>76</sup> The exhibition was improved and a catalogue for the public was produced. Certainly Brøndsted would have published a catalogue as F.G. Welcker did in Bonn in 1827 with a 2<sup>nd</sup> edition in 1841 and a supplement in 1844,<sup>77</sup> but after his death in 1842 it was left to the young Julius Lange to publish the casts after the antique in the Royal Academy, 1866. In the meantime, Ludwig Müller had published a catalogue of the newly installed collection of casts after the antique in the Thorvaldsen Museum in 1850.<sup>78</sup>

73. Ehrhardt 1982, 47-52 with plan Abb. 2-3.

74. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1835 and the 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1835.

75. Jenkins 1992, 37-38.

76. Cf. above and the articles by Nadia Haupt and Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.

77. Welcker 1827; Ehrhardt 1982, 47-56.

78. Lange 1866, Müller 1850.



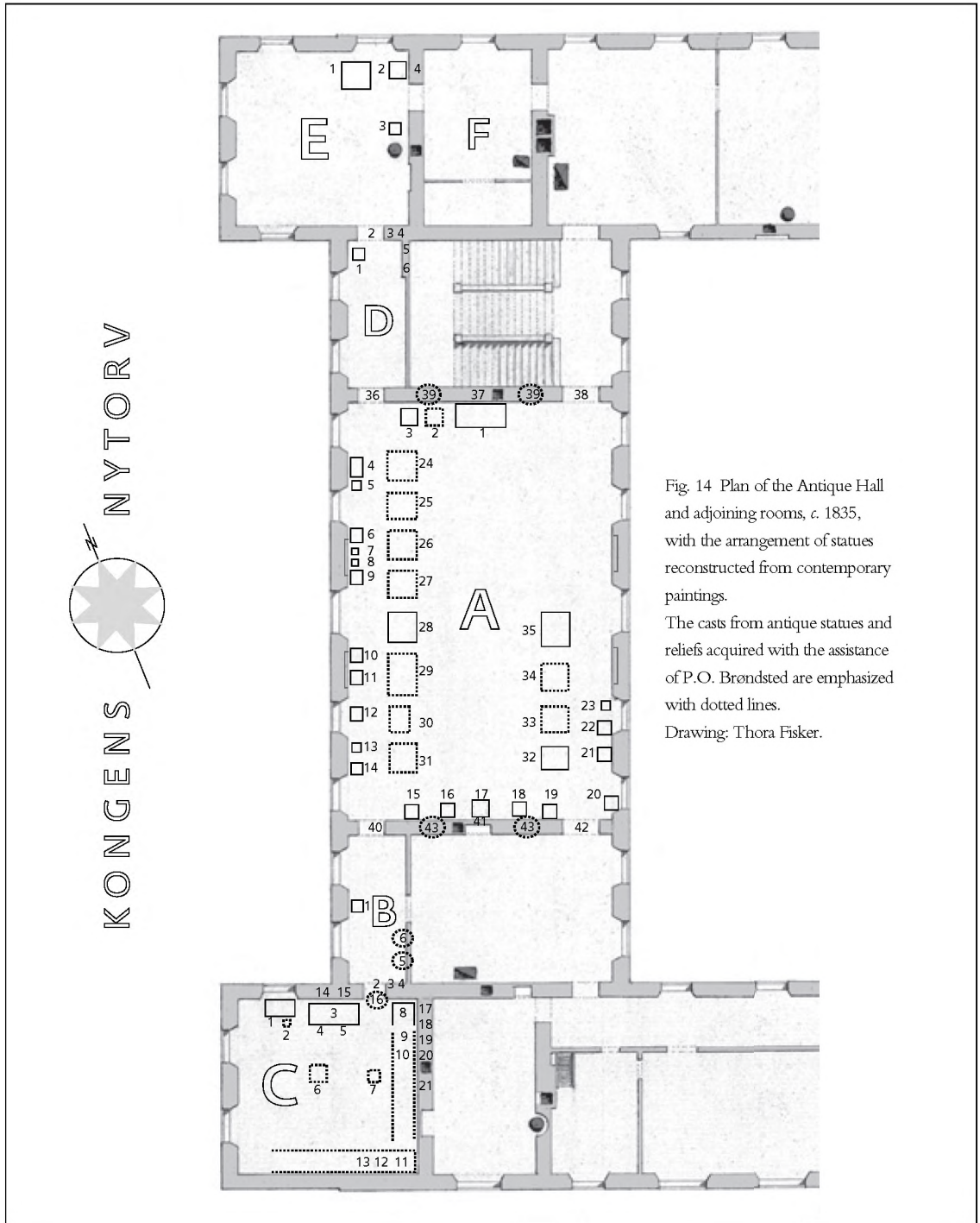


Fig. 14 Plan of the Antique Hall and adjoining rooms, c. 1835, with the arrangement of statues reconstructed from contemporary paintings.

The casts from antique statues and reliefs acquired with the assistance of P.O. Brøndsted are emphasized with dotted lines.

Drawing: Thora Fisker.

<b>A ANTIQUE HALL</b>		<b>B SOUTH CORRIDOR</b>	
A 1	The Laocoon group	B 1	Calyx crater
A 2	Mastiff or Molossus dog		South wall
A 3	Barberini Candelabrum	B 2	Hector's Death by H.W. Bissen
A 4	Venus Callipygus	B 3	Relief with a Hore?
A 05	Head of Hercules Farnese	B 4	The Giustiniani Stele
A 06	Head of Marcus Aurelius' horse		East wall
A 07	Unidentified head or bust	B 5	Several figures from the Sebaldus monument, Nuremberg?
A 08	Unidentified head or bust	B 6	Slabs of the Lysicrates monument frieze?
A 09	Ceres Mattei		
A 10	Venus Medici	<b>C SOUTH ROOM</b>	
A 11	Head of Antinous Braschi	C 1	Unidentified statue
A 12	Statue, Capitoline Venus?	C 2	Bust of Venus from Arles
A 13a	Head of Melpomene	C 3	Ilissos from the west pediment of Parthenon
A 13b	Jupiter Otricoli	C 4	Head of Pollux
A 14	Capitoline Isis	C 5	Unidentified bust
A 15	Venus Callipygus	C 6	Venus from Milo
A 16	Candelabrum, Louvre	C 7	Crouching Venus, Louvre
A 17	Bust of Frederik V by J.-F. Saly	C 8	Poseidon from the west pediment of Parthenon
A 18	Candelabrum, Vatican	C 9-13	Warriors from the pediments of the temple of Aphaia in Aegina
A 19	Bacchante		North wall
A 20	Artemis, restored as Ceres by Thorvaldsen	C 14a	Parthenon, metope south 27
A 21	Juno Ludovisi	C 14b	Combat, the 'Albani Relief'
A 22	Capitoline Antinous	C 15	Female head from grave stele
A 23	Head of Antinous as Bacchus	C 16	Apollo, Artemis and Leto at a sacrifice with Victoria
A 24	Ares Borghese		East wall
A 25	Aeschines	C 17	Grave relief from Thespieae
A 26	Venus from Capua	C 18-20	Unidentified reliefs
A 27a	Psyche by G. Cali	C 21	Apollo, Artemis and Leto towards column with statuette of goddess
A 27b	Iloneus		
A 28	Apollo Belvedere	<b>D NORTH CORRIDOR</b>	
A 29	The Wrestlers	D 1	Portrait of Cicero by Thorvaldsen
A 30	Adonis Centocelle		North wall
A 31	Silenus with the Infant Bacchus	D 2	The Apostles Peter and Johannes healing a Lame by Thorvaldsen
A 32	Germanicus	D 3	The Genius of Death by Thorvaldsen
A 33	Capitoline Marble Faun	D 4	The Disciples at Emmaus by Thorvaldsen
A 34	Seated Mercury		East wall
A 35	Perseus by Canova	D 5	Count Lambertenghi and two children mourning by Thorvaldsen
	North Wall	D 6	Three singing angels by Thorvaldsen
A 36	Tondo with Hercules and Hebe by Thorvaldsen		
A 37	Part of frieze of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina	<b>E NORTH ROOM</b>	
A 38	Tondo with Hygiea and Aesculapius by Thorvaldsen	E 1	Amor Triumphans by Thorvaldsen
A 39	Parthenon, west frieze X 18-19, XII 22-23; north XLVI-XLVII 128-136; east VI-VII 41-56	E 2	Portrait of I.C. Dahl by Thorvaldsen
	South Wall	E 3	Venus with the Apple by Thorvaldsen
A 40	Tondo with Minerva and Prometheus by Thorvaldsen	E 4	Unidentified relief
A 41	SS Apostoli Eagle in Wreath		
A 42	Tondo with Jupiter and Nemesis by Thorvaldsen		
A 43	Parthenon, west frieze II-IX 2-9,11-17		

Fig. 14.



# J.C. Lindberg and P.O. Brøndsted: the first Danish publication of a Kufic coin hoard – the genesis of an extraordinary book

by Nadia Haupt



Fig. 1: Portrait of Jacob Christian Lindberg. The lithograph was made in 1867, after a photograph probably taken during his last year. I.W. Tegner & W. Kittendorf.

In the middle of the so-called Golden Age in Denmark, the brilliant young philologist and theologian Jacob Christian Lindberg<sup>1</sup> (fig. 1) published a numismatic study in French entitled *Lettre à M. le Chevalier P.O.*

*Brøndsted, Conseiller d'État, Conseiller intime de Légation, agent de la Cour de Danemarck auprès du Saint Siège, Membre de l'Académie de Berlin, de Turin, de Florence, de Corfou, et de la Société de Littérature Scandinave etc. Sur quelques médailles cufiques dans le Cabinet du Roi de Danemarck, récemment trouvées dans l'île de Falster et sur quelques manuscrits cufiques.* (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> This was the first major publication of a Danish Viking Age silver hoard which paid special attention to the Kufic coins, and it included beautiful illustrations of such coins and their Arabic inscriptions in black, red, green and gold. It is true that the eccentric antiquarian Martin Friedrich Arendt had already published a short paper in 1808 on Per Tham's private collection of Kufic coins, but the Sønder Kirkeby publication must be counted as the first Danish book on Kufic coins.<sup>3</sup>

The 93 coins published by Lindberg – presumably a hoard – were primarily Kufic. They had been found at Sønder Kirkeby on the island of Falster, where they had been buried after AD 846/47 (the *terminus post quem* for the youngest coin). The find also comprised fragments of silver including two bracelets dated to the Viking Age. A national monetary system hardly existed in Denmark when the coins were buried, in the oldest period of the Viking Age in Denmark (c. AD 750-950). Financial transactions were based on the weighing of silver, which may explain the popularity of the Kufic dirhems, which were often produced from silver from rich Central Asian mines – the Central

1. DBL 3, IX, 53ff.; Kromann & J.S. Jensen 1983. I wish to thank Krista and Viggo Petersen's Foundation for financial support.  
2. Lindberg 1830.

3. Høgsbro 1998, 130. Arendt's article was published in *Magazin Encyclopédique*, 1808, tome VI, 311-313: Notice sur une suite de médailles coufiques.



A

**M. LE CHEVALIER *P. O. BRÖNDSTED***

CONSEILLER D'ÉTAT, CONSEILLER INTIME DE LÉGATION, AGENT DE LA COUR DE DANEMARCK  
AUPRÈS DU SAINT SIÈGE. MEMBRE DE L'ACADÉMIE DE BERLIN, DE TURIN, DE FLORENCE, DE  
CORFOU, ET DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE LITTÉRATURE SCANDINAVE, etc.

SUR

**QUELQUES MÉDAILLES CUFIQUES DANS LE CABINET  
DU ROI DE DANEMARCK, RÉCEMMENT TROUVÉES  
DANS L'ÎLE DE FALSTER,**

ET SUR

**QUELQUES MANUSCRITS CUFIQUES**

PAR

***JAC. CHR. LINDBERG.***

AVEC XII PLANCHES.

---

***COPENHAGUE.***

AUX FRAIS DE *SCHUBOTHE*, LIBRAIRE.

1830.

*De L'imprimerie de Fabricius de Copenhague.*



Fig. 2: The first page of the publication of the Sønner Kirkeby hoard, with the dedication to the Chevalier P.O. Brøndsted. Photographer: Arnold Mikkelsen, the National Museum of Denmark.



Asian coins having mostly been brought to Northern Europe via the Caspian Sea and the Russian rivers.

The Sønder Kirkeby hoard entered the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals in accordance with the time-honoured law concerning *Danefæ* (i.e. treasure trove), which had been most recently revised in 1752, when a *placat* was issued in the name of King Frederik V, describing what was included in the definition of *Danefæ*. Coins were mentioned specifically – together with *other objects of rarity* – as the property of the Crown, when found in the ground and without any owner. Antiquarian interest had obviously superseded the purely fiscal point of view as far as treasure trove was concerned, a most important development for the study of numismatics.<sup>4</sup>

By attempting to track down the coins comprised in this find, I have tried to reconstruct the relationship between the people who were somehow involved with them from the beginning. They were found in 1827 by a farmer, who handed all of them over to the vicar of Sønder Kirkeby, P. J. Sundorph<sup>5</sup>, who sent them on to the Chancellery of the Exchequer. Sundorph must have written a letter to the Chancellery as well, because the first written evidence known to me (a letter from the Chancellery to the Director General of the Royal Museums, Adam Wilhelm Hauch)<sup>6</sup>, contains much information, including a description of how the farmer had found the coins when digging in a bog, which could not otherwise have been known.<sup>7</sup>

Hauch was obliged to enquire whether the Royal Museums might be interested in the silver objects from the bog of Sønder Kirkeby. This he did in two letters.

He sent the first to Professor Christian Ramus,<sup>8</sup> the head of the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals at Rosenborg Castle, explaining that the hoard contained 17 whole silver coins and 76 fragments. Hauch dispatched the second letter to the secretary of the Royal Commission of Antiquities, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen<sup>9</sup>, asking him whether the Commission would be interested in some of the silver objects, two bracelets and other pieces, even if they were – unfortunately – fragmentary.<sup>10</sup> When Ramus did not reply, Hauch had to send a second letter,<sup>11</sup> to which Ramus immediately replied, requesting 17 whole coins and 7 fragmented ones for The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals.<sup>12</sup> In addition, Hauch asked the Chancellery of the Exchequer how many objects the two institutions wanted to keep for their collections. In the same letter, he enquired if it was possible to hand the rest of the objects back to the vicar, Sundorph.<sup>13</sup> The coins subsequently published by Lindberg were those obtained by the Cabinet.

The Chancellery of the Exchequer were obliged to test the silver, in order to pay the finder for his *Danefæ*, and they asked the mint master at the Royal Mint in Copenhagen to do this. The latter, Conrad Frederik Gerlach,<sup>14</sup> made the necessary technical examination of 17 whole and 7 fragmented coins as well as of 4 pieces of silver, the total value of which was calculated to be 8 rigsbankdaler and 31½ skilling in silver.<sup>15</sup>

This kind of bureaucratic administrative routine was quite common at the time. The same kind of correspondence were exchanged between Hauch, the Chancellery of the Exchequer and the museums in the case

4. Mørkholm 1980, 32; Jørgensen & Petersen 1998, 12.

5. Wiberg 1960, 245.

6. DBL 3, VI, 82ff.

7. RA (The Danish National Archives/Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen), 216 (Archive no. 216: The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals), Letters received, from the Chancellery of the Exchequer to Hauch the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1827.

8. DBL 3, VI, 597f.

9. DBL 3, XIV, 481ff.

10. The National Museum of Denmark, Danish prehistory, Topographical archive, 070212, letter from Hauch to Thomsen the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 1827.

11. RA, 216, Copy book, from Hauch to Ramus the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1827.

12. RA, 216, Letters received, from Ramus to Hauch the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 1827.

13. RA, 216, Copy book, from Hauch to the Chancellery of Exchequer the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1827.

14. Rønne 1986, 102f.

15. RA, 442 (archive no. 442: The Royal Mint), The Mint in Copenhagen, Copy book, to the Chancellery of Exchequer the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1827; RA, 442, The Mint in Copenhagen, Letters received, from the Chancellery of Exchequer the 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1827.



Fig. 3: Picture of all the remaining coins and the two bracelets from the hoard. The coins are still to be found in The Royal Collection of Coins & Medals, the National Museum of Denmark. The two bracelets in silver are at present held by the department of Danish prehistory, the National Museum of Denmark. Photographer: Arnold Mikkelsen, the National Museum of Denmark.

of other hoards such as that of St Jørgensbjerg (near Roskilde), found in 1802, and the two great Viking hoards from Selsø and Tørring.<sup>16</sup> My study of the whole correspondence suggests, that the coins, which

did not enter The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, were probably returned to the vicar Sundorph, who was supposed to return them to the finder.<sup>17</sup> Two years later, in 1829, the vicar wrote to Thomsen, thanking

16. Posselt 1989, 122, 195; Märcher 2007.

17. R. Skovmand and C. von Heijne write that the hoard had 97 coins, but according to the contemporary sources in the archives it contained 93 coins including 4 Sassanian ones. Apparently

Skovmand had added the 4 Sassanian to the 93 and ended up with a total of 97. Galster 1924, 9; Skovmand 1942, 35; von Heijne 2004, 337, no. 6.6.



him for sending some pages of the planned book about the hoard, and saying that he was pleased with the work of Lindberg. Sundorph's letter is in the Archive of the Royal Commission of Antiquities, of which Thomsen was the secretary, but nothing indicates that the Commission as such was involved in the publication.<sup>18</sup>

Today it is possible to identify the coins from the Sønder Kirkeby hoard in the trays of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals (since 1867 called The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals) (fig. 3), and Johannes Østrup referred to them in his catalogue of Arabic and Turkish coins of the Collection.<sup>19</sup> It is, however, important to stress that the hoard as such never entered the Register of Finds at The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, and the non-numismatic silver was only registered by Thomsen in the Register of the Royal Antiquities Commission many years later – in 1844.<sup>20</sup>

Lindberg's publication of the Sønder Kirkeby hoard had remarkable and for its time unique illustrations. It contained drawings not only of the 18 Kufic and 4 Sassanian coins from the hoard, but also of the Arabic inscriptions, surrounded by circles and annulets. The author himself cut the clichés and produced all the illustrations. Lindberg emphasizes the importance of careful illustrations in his preface – even if Kufic coins for religious reasons do not have any other decoration than inscriptions. Only thus may misinterpretation of the inscriptions be avoided (fig. 4).

This was not the first numismatic publication by the young theologian. Lindberg had already published an essay on Punic coins in 1824. In this, his first book, he convincingly attributed the coins issued by the

Carthaginians in Seksi to the town Almuñécar, on the Spanish coast between Malaga and Almería.<sup>21</sup> His results were soon accepted internationally, and are, as far as I know, still valid.

Lindberg drew inspiration from the learned bishop Frederik Münter (fig. 5a-b), who was well versed in theology, philology, archaeology, numismatics and several other fields as well.<sup>22</sup> Münter maintained an extensive correspondence with many scholars in Europe, and assisted by Lindberg he developed a private collection of coins, including Kufic coins.<sup>23</sup>

Münter's network also included Brøndsted, but this does not explain why Lindberg dedicated the Sønder Kirkeby publication to Brøndsted, who was not living in Copenhagen at the time. Even if the latter was a man of many talents, Kufic coins seem to be too far away from his normal interests. It has been suggested to me that perhaps Brøndsted had helped the publication financially, but this is difficult to believe, since Brøndsted often had his own financial troubles.

But a clue may be found in the preface to Lindberg's *Lettre*, where the motive behind the dedication is clearly stated: "... en vous remerciant publiquement de l'assistance, dont vous avez bien voulu seconder mes études ..." and more pointedly, "... mes sentiments de reconnaissance pour la bonté, dont vous avez daigné m'assister dans mon entreprise littéraire, en vous donnant de la peine, pour me rendre un service qu'un autre m'a refusé quoiqu'il l'eût pu faire sans le moindre embarras pour lui".<sup>24</sup> The full explanation of this affair is to be found in The Royal Library in Copenhagen, where four letters exchanged between Brøndsted and Lindberg are preserved in the two scholars' rich private

18. The National Museum of Denmark, Danish prehistory, Topographical archive, 070212, letter from Sundorph to Thomsen the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1829.

19. Østrup 1938.

20. The National Museum of Denmark, Danish Middle Ages & Renaissance, Register of the Royal Commission of Antiquities, Register, no. 8433: "Two silver rings, bracelets ... found by peat cutting in a bog at Sønder Kirkeby on Falster ... several Kufic and Sassanian silver coins, which are kept in the Coin Cabinet." ("To Sølvringe, Armbaand, ... F. ved Tørvegravning i en Mose ved Sønder Kirkeby paa Falster ... Flere cufiske og sassanidiske Sölvmynter, der opbevares i Myntcabinettet".)

21. Lindberg 1824; Mørkholm 1981, 138, 146; Lund 2000, 121-22.

22. DBL 3, X, 197ff.; Kromann & Jensen 1983, 177.

23. Mørkholm 1981, 138. When Münter died, he left a collection of more than 10,000 coins, mainly Roman but containing as well more than 3,300 Greek coins and 400 Kufic coins. All the Kufic coins were donated to The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals after Münter's death, and Lindberg registered them. Haupt & J. S. Jensen 2007.

24. Lindberg 1830, 3, 6.

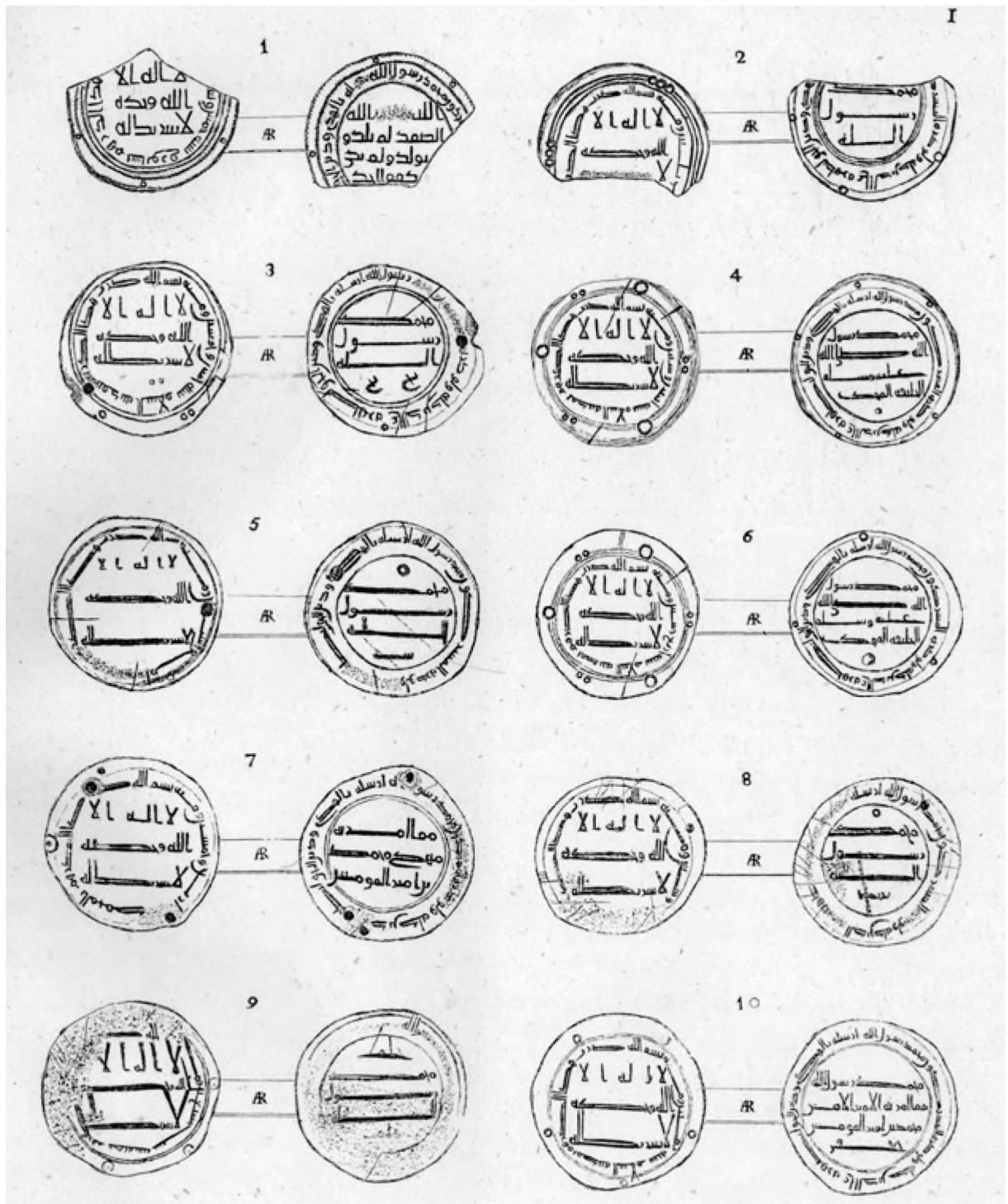


Fig. 4: Some of the beautiful illustrations in the publication. The book included two plates illustrating the coins, plus ten plates of various Arabic inscriptions from coins and manuscripts. Photographer: Arnold Mikkelsen, the National Museum of Denmark.



archives. We learn from this source that Lindberg had contacted Brøndsted in Paris in the autumn of 1828, because he needed his help in making a copy of a Punic-Greek inscription engraved on the front of a marble altar from Malta, which was in the possession of the Bibliothèque Mazarin in Paris. Lindberg needed the inscription for his work toward the degree of Master of Arts, which he was preparing for the senior lecturer in theology, Matthias Hagen Hohlenberg<sup>25</sup>, at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>26</sup>

Brøndsted received Lindberg's letter some ten days afterwards, on Saturday the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1828, and he answered the next day, describing in technical terms how to make a copy of the inscription from the marble altar. In September 1828, all official institutions in Paris were closed for holidays, but Brøndsted wanted to help young Lindberg to finish his thesis, and in his letter he notes that he had to bribe the guard to be allowed to enter the Bibliothèque Mazarin. He is always very direct in his letters, i.e. he made sure to tell Lindberg that the letter to Denmark actually cost him 3 francs, which was more than the 2½ francs needed to bribe the guard. Brøndsted ended his letter asking Lindberg to send his greetings to his nephew, Andreas Christian Brøndsted<sup>27</sup>, and to wish him good luck with his exams, because he was slightly worried about the young man's studies. He also sent greetings to Hohlenberg.<sup>28</sup>

In November 1828 Lindberg handed in his paper for the master's degree at the University of Copenhagen: *De Inscriptione Melitensi Phoenicio-Græca*.<sup>29</sup> He explained in his introduction to the thesis how Brøndsted had helped him by copying the Punic-Greek inscrip-

tion, and referred to the letter, which included the technical details for making the inscription available.<sup>30</sup> But in the following year, 1829, shortly after having handed in his thesis, Lindberg opened an academic discussion with Hohlenberg, who had written a critical review of it.<sup>31</sup> In those days it was not unusual to publish counter-arguments against one's critics. Lindberg wrote – and had printed – a pamphlet of 38 pages, a so-called *open letter*,<sup>32</sup> in which he accuses Hohlenberg of having prevented him from using – or even looking at – Hohlenberg's original drawing of the Punic-Greek inscription from Malta. Lindberg emphasized that it was only thanks to Brøndsted that he had been able to finish his thesis. Lindberg also alleged that Hohlenberg did not understand the scientific use of Punic-Greek coins, with respect to their Punic-Greco script, whereas Brøndsted, a true scholar, could see the coins' importance.<sup>33</sup> This review provoked Hohlenberg to open a full-scale attack, but the incident ended in a disaster, as the students of the Faculty of Theology at the University stopped taking his teaching seriously.<sup>34</sup>

Two years after Brøndsted had helped Lindberg, the latter again wrote to Brøndsted, mentioning the debt he felt towards him.<sup>35</sup> Lindberg said that he could not thank Brøndsted enough for his support when he was preparing his thesis, and that the only way to demonstrate his gratitude was by honouring Brøndsted in his publication of the hoard from Sønder Kirkeby. Brøndsted answered Lindberg's letter only some months later, in July 1830, with the excuse that he had been extremely occupied with work for the previous 6 or 7 months and consequently did not have the time to answer.<sup>36</sup> Brøndsted mentions in his letter that he would

25. DBL 3, VI, 419.

26. KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelige Samling), 1545 (1545 2<sup>o</sup>: Letters to P.O. Brøndsted from Danes), no. 154: Letter from Lindberg to Brøndsted the 9<sup>th</sup> of September 1828.

27. DBL 3, III, 28.

28. KB, 922 (Additamenta 922 4<sup>o</sup>), no. 139: Letter from Brøndsted to Lindberg the 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1828.

29. Lindberg 1828.

30. Lindberg 1828, 1.

31. Lindberg 1829.

32. Et såkaldt *Sendebrev*.

33. Brøndsted had for a time his own collection of coins, cf. Mørkholm 1982.

34. DBL 3, VI, 419.

35. KB, NKS, 1545, no. 155: Letter from Lindberg to Brøndsted the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1830.

36. KB, 922, no. 140: Letter from Brøndsted in Paris to Lindberg the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1830.





Fig. 5a-b: Bishop Frederik/Friderich Christian Carl Hinrich Münter and his wife, Marie Elisabeth Münter, born Krohn. Both portraits are made by Jacob Kiærskou, around 1790. The decorations with the monogram of Frederik VI are added later. Privately owned.

send Lindberg his new book, the second volume of the *Voyages*, “because I write to a man of science”.<sup>37</sup>

However, Brøndsted was somewhat surprised by the dedication, especially as he did not have any professional skills with Kufic coins. He pointed out that it would have been more correct if the publication had been dedicated to other *great men*, e.g. the French orientalist Baron Silvestre de Sacy.<sup>38</sup> To sum up, Brøndsted noted that it was quite natural to do small favours for colleagues, such as the one he had done, indicating in this way that the public dedication was a little too much.

37. “Da jeg skriver til en Videnskabsmand”.

38. MKL, XIV, 162ff.

39. KB, 1545, letter from de Sacy to Brøndsted the 19<sup>th</sup> of July 1830.

The back of the letter was used by Brøndsted, writing to Lindberg, 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1830, cf. note 31. I have not been able to ve-

We know that Brøndsted was acquainted with de Sacy, because the last page of his letter to Lindberg was actually written on the back of a letter from Sacy. In it he thanks Brøndsted for having sent both the second volume of his *Voyages* and the publication of the Sønder Kirkeby hoard. But at the time de Sacy was writing this letter, the Frenchman was much occupied with a lot of work and did not have time to read Lindberg’s publication. But he promised that the next time he was going to his country house, he would find time to read – and to write a review of – Lindberg’s book.<sup>39</sup>

Once again Brøndsted was very direct in his letter to

rify if de Sacy actually wrote a review of Lindberg’s book, and if, in such a case, the review was published. It should not, however, be forgotten that the events of the July revolution in Paris might have influenced de Sacy’s thoughts, in which case the writing of a review might have been postponed.





Fig. 6a-b: P.O. Brøndsted. Cut silhouettes, assigned to N. C. Fausing, probably the late 1830's. The Royal Danish decoration, which is seen at one of the cuts, was a typical feature, which in all probability delighted the 'chevalier' Brøndsted. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. no. 13).

Lindberg, saying that he thought it would have been better if Lindberg had published the book about the Sønder Kirkeby hoard in Latin rather than in French. He was also a bit surprised to read Lindberg's description of Prof. Hohlenberg in the *open letter*: "Hohlenberg is not by any means, has never been and can never become such a person as you describe him".<sup>40</sup> However, Brøndsted was not going to be involved in this dispute; he advised Lindberg to be profound and reasonable in his scholarship.

Since Lindberg was familiar with numismatics, Brøndsted ended the letter by encouraging him to have a look at the Greek coins in Brøndsted's second volume of *Voyages*, and he wanted Lindberg to give his opinion about the coins. Brøndsted ended his letter with remarks about his personal relations in Copenhagen. As an example he again mentioned his nephew, Christian Brøndsted, but this time showing himself as the disappointed uncle. Brøndsted simply asked Lindberg *not* to send any greeting to his nephew, who had not finished his studies. Furthermore Brøndsted wondered if it were possible for Lindberg to send greetings to others of Brøndsted's friends back home: "If you meet Mr. Vicar Grundtvig,<sup>41</sup> Thomsen, Professor Lund,<sup>42</sup> Eckersberg<sup>43</sup> and Thiele<sup>44</sup> at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and other good acquaintances of mine, I would kindly ask you to greet these gentlemen from me."<sup>45</sup>

This is the last known letter in the matter between the two men. Two years later, in 1832, Brøndsted be-

came Keeper of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals. He remained in this position until his death in 1842, and he modernized the institution, which had been established in 1781. Among many other initiatives such as several new administrative devices, he promoted research in Kufic coins.<sup>46</sup>

The assistance of Brøndsted in procuring a facsimile of the Malta stone – and Lindberg's ensuing dedication of the publication of the Sønder Kirkeby hoard – were to become a prelude to the cooperation between the two men during Brøndsted's period as Keeper of the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals.<sup>47</sup> Besides cataloguing the Kufic coins and the collection of oriental coins in the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, Brøndsted assigned Lindberg to register and publish all new in-coming Viking hoards comprising Kufic coins.<sup>48</sup>

The friendship of Brøndsted and Prince Christian Frederik, later King Christian VIII, also influenced Lindberg's other numismatic publications. Brøndsted and Prince Christian Frederik were both in contact with Christian Tuxen Falbe<sup>49</sup>, who served as Danish consul-general in Tunis, but was known to them primarily for his professional skills in archaeology and numismatics. It has often been suggested in publications on the Golden Age in Denmark that Falbe and Lindberg only became acquainted after Brøndsted came to the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals.<sup>50</sup> But they had actually known each other much earlier. That emerges from the letters of both Lindberg and Brønd-

40. "De, mon dieu! Hohlenberg er jo ingenlunde, har aldrig været og kan umuligen nogensinde blive en *Saadan* som De skildrer ham."

41. DBL 3, V, 318ff. When Lindberg was not at the Coin Cabinet he travelled around in Denmark to preach the word of Grundtvig.

42. DBL 3, IX, 167.

43. DBL 3, IV, 100ff.

44. DBL 3, XIV, 446ff. Just Mathias Thiele was Professor at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts from 1828, and was one of the friends included in the circle of the Rahbeks at Bakkehuset.

45. "Hvis De seer H<sup>r</sup>. Pastor Grundtvig, Cancellieraad Thomsen, Professoren Lund, Eckersberg og Thiele ved Kunstakademiet og andre mine gode Bekjendte, da beder jeg mig venligen erindret hos disse Herrer."

46. The article by Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication; Märcher forthcoming.

47. RA, 216, Letters received, from Brøndsted to Hauch the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1835. Cf. the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.

48. Lindberg 1842a.

49. DBL 3, IV, 322f.; Mørkholm 1981; Lund & Sørensen 1988, 9-11; Lund 2000. Falbe took up the initiative to publish the coinage of North Africa. He worked on the project together with Lindberg.

50. Mørkholm 1981, 146; Kromann & J.S. Jensen 1983, 183-186; J.S. Jensen 2000, 53.



sted, because it was apparently Falbe who brought the Sønder Kirkeby publication to Brøndsted in Paris.<sup>51</sup> This is not surprising; during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, almost all Danes who were part of the cultural, political and intellectual environment knew each other.

Lindberg's publication of the Sønder Kirkeby hoard, with its dedication to Brøndsted, was a pioneering work – dealing with material, which Brøndsted was

not particularly familiar with. But after he returned to Denmark, as a man of international repute, and was appointed Keeper of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, more energy was focussed on the Kufic coins and their importance in the Viking Age. It is in no small part thanks to the practice initiated by Brøndsted and Lindberg, that more than 7,000 Kufic coins found in Denmark have been registered today.

51. Cf. KB, NKS, 1545, no. 155: Letter from Lindberg to Brøndsted the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1830; Cf. KB, 922, no. 140: Letter from Brøndsted in Paris to Lindberg the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1830.

# P.O. Brøndsted as Keeper of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals

*by Jørgen Steen Jensen*

When P.O. Brøndsted in 1832 returned to Copenhagen from his prolonged stay abroad he was planning to resume his activities as a professor of Greek language at the University of Copenhagen (fig.1). But then Christian Ramus, who since the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had been Keeper of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, suddenly died during a vacation, the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1832. A fortnight afterwards, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July, Brøndsted applied to the King for the position, delicately indicating that the Cabinet, “even if it was beautiful and rich, perhaps was not sufficiently used for more general dissemination of important historical knowledge”.<sup>1</sup> In many ways Brøndsted set out to bring the Cabinet to a standard, which he knew from other contemporary European cabinets, first and foremost London and Paris.

In 1832 the Cabinet had only one permanent position, that of the Keeper, but since 1820 an assistant, Ole Devegge, was temporarily employed by Ramus for preparing a new catalogue of Danish medieval coins. Devegge, who as assistant for the new publication was preparing the drawings, also applied for the position as Keeper (the 6<sup>th</sup> of August), and finally on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, also applied. Thomsen had been a secretary of the Royal

Commission for Antiquities since 1817, and he was also a very keen numismatist, specializing in the Middle Ages. His private collection was considerable, and he had a network of correspondents all over Europe.

In this situation Brøndsted was actively working for his own candidature, submitting two versions of his ideas about a plan for the Cabinet. It should be open once a week for two hours (except in four or five winter months), the Keeper should be expected to give one or two numismatic courses a year, free of charge, and an annual journal in Danish or French should be published. The idea of establishing a collection of casts in plaster or sulphur was also brought forward.

No doubt Prince Christian Frederik, to whom Brøndsted had rather close relations<sup>2</sup>, was actively supporting the candidature of Brøndsted, support that was as much the more important, because in the previous year, 1831, the Prince had been officially proclaimed the Crown Prince and consequently was now a member of the Council of State.

But diplomacy had its chance, because Ramus had had a considerable salary, which included the means for the payment of Ole Devegge. Consequently the director, the old, but very influential and highly intelligent Lord Chamberlain, A.W. Hauch suggested to the

1. Archives of the Lord Chamberlain, the chief of The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, The Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet), Copenhagen, cf. W. von Rosen (ed.), I, 1, 1983, 136 seq. Thanks to the late Senior Archivist Frank Jørgensen photocopies of this important series are kept at The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, The National Museum of Denmark. Unless otherwise indicated all references to letters are from this series.

“... Cabinettet ... som vist nok er meget skjønt og anseeligt, men maaskee endnu ikke tilstrækkeligen benyttet til almindeligere Udbredelse af mange vigtige og frugtbare historiske Indsigter...”, Brøndsted to the King, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1832.

2. Cf. the articles by Jan Zahle and Christian Gottlieb in this publication.





Fig. 1: Portrait medallion of Peter Oluf Brøndsted by David d'Angers, Paris 1831, one-sided, diameter 14,5 cm, cast in bronze, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, inv. KP 1842. Acquired 1935 from a Russian émigré in Paris. The artist, David d'Angers is known for his great productivity, creating all sorts of sculpture including 477 medallions. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. no.8)

King that Brøndsted should be the keeper (with 600 rigsbankdaler (rbd.) a year), while Devegge and Thomsen should be assistant-keepers (each with 500 rbd. a year). In this connection it is worth the while to mention that Brøndsted also kept his normal salary as a university professor, while Devegge had a job as a li-

brarian besides. Thomsen, who still was taking care of his family business, had no salary in his job as a secretary to the Commission of Antiquities, but now he got his first job with a salary paid by public money. The king, Frederik VI accordingly issued a Royal resolution, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 1832.

The scene was set for a great project for the modernisation and development of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals. In this paper the part played by Brøndsted in particular will be discussed, while Michael Märcher will deal with other aspects from the same period in a forthcoming study.<sup>3</sup> The following aspects of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals will especially be discussed:

1. *The establishing of a separate cabinet of sulphur casts of Greek coins from great European collections*
2. *The development of the Classic collection by way of acquisitions of Greek coins*
3. *The ways and means of financing the new acquisitions*
4. *The opening of the Cabinet to the public and the development of the exhibition of Danish Royal gold medals*
5. *The development of the personal and scientific resources of the Cabinet*
6. *The general administration of the Cabinet*
7. *Brøndsted as seen by Thomsen*

1. *The establishing of a separate cabinet of sulphur casts of Greek coins from great European collections*

Thanks to his international experience, especially at the coin cabinets of London and Paris, Brøndsted was well acquainted with the new technique of making coin copies by means of sulphur paste. A prerequisite was, however, that impressions should be available. The impressions could be used several times, but gradually they lost the precision of the imprint, so that in time the quality of the sulphur copies would suffer.

3. Märcher forthcoming.

4. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1837. "... det fuldstændigste og mindst bekostelige Repertorium for den hele videnskab om de antikke folkefærds numismatiske forraad og dermed forbundne historiske monumenter ..."; it was expressed in another way two years later in a letter by Brøndsted to Hauch's successor, O.C. Haxthausen the 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1839..."Copiekameret bliver det samme efter den af Chefen approberede Plan bør og kan vorde, nemlig det fuldstændigste og tillige ubekosteligste Re-

Brøndsted more than once expressed his personal views about the importance of sulphur copies as such, ... "they form the most complete and less costly repertory for the knowledge of the numismatic materials of antiquity, and the historical monuments connected to them ..."<sup>4</sup> As a Keeper of the Cabinet Brøndsted travelled to procure sulphur casts. It appears from the documents available that he covered his travel expenses himself. This is never mentioned explicitly, but we may suppose it to be the case. The Cabinet, of course, covered other costs. This meant usually that the King had to approve both the travel itself and the consequent acquisitions.

During nearly ten years in office, Brøndsted made no less than three trips to procure casts from Paris and London, in 1832-33, 1836 and 1839-40. He set out on his first trip in 1832, just two months after having been appointed, reporting to Hauch from London before Christmas.<sup>5</sup> It appears that he, at least in London, personally selected a considerable number of the coins he wished to have copied, while in Paris in 1833 he simply acquired the complete set of available copies. The Paris acquisition amounted to 3,414 sulphur copies; it was the complete holdings of a widow of a former employee, who used to keep the first imprint for himself. Brøndsted bought the copies at the price of 400 francs, the widow first asking for 700 francs, while the normal price would amount to 1,024 francs. It was the 'best sound business practice' Brøndsted ever made.<sup>6</sup> Evidently Brøndsted had the capacities of a merchant, which he would have many occasions to use in his career at the Coin Cabinet.

Back home Brøndsted realized - or perhaps only at that time did he communicate his knowledge to Hauch - that copies of sulphur are in need of their own cabi-

pertorium, som kan haves, for Videnskabens Materiale gennem alle de Fag, til hvis Studium Numismatiken kan afgive Bidrag..."

5. Brøndsted to Hauch, London the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1832, see Brøndsted 1980. 89 seq.

6. "det bedste Kjøbmandskab jeg nogen Sinde har gjort". Brøndsted to Hauch, London the 17<sup>th</sup> December of 1832, see Brøndsted 1980. 89 seq.

7. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1833.





Fig. 2: Selection of sulphur copies of Italic coins from Cales and Capua. The provenance is written in Latin at the bottom of the tickets. The origin of the copies is London, the British Museum, the Paris collection (now the National Library) and the Vienna collection (now Kunstgeschichtliches Museum). At least the London and Paris specimens were acquired through the good offices of P.O. Brøndsted.



nets, as they cannot – for obvious reasons of conservation – be kept together with coins of silver.<sup>7</sup>

The acquisition of copies from the British Museum on Brøndsted's second journey in 1836 was to the amount of 4,544 Greek coins – from Etruria to Lesbos. He suggested that Asiatic and African copies had better to wait until the British Museum had acquired and incorporated the important Thomas Burgon collection. Brøndsted had an agreement with John Doubleday, the Museum's technical expert in making casts that he should have a 25% discount off the normal price that is that each copy should cost 3 d instead of the normal price 4 d. He was very proud of having gained permission to get copies from the Collection of the Bank of England (in which the collection of H.P. Borrel, Smyrna, was incorporated), but for various reasons he wanted to defer the preparations for copying in this collection.<sup>8</sup>

In 1837 the collection of sulphur copies amounted to more than 10,000 pieces (fig. 2), they were held in special cabinets, of which three were already in use, while the fourth was in preparation.<sup>9</sup> The cabinets still exist, they grew to a total of five, but their state of preservation is, unfortunately, not very good.<sup>10</sup>

The early 17<sup>th</sup> century castle of Rosenborg has only a limited number of rooms, but Brøndsted succeeded at intervals to add one or two new rooms to the cabinet, one of them in connection with the first great acquisition of sulphur casts.

Before setting out for his third and final journey as a Keeper in late 1839, Brøndsted mentioned that he needed another 5,000 sulphur copies from London. From the papers now available it is not quite clear how many were actually made. In 1841 the Cabinet still was lacking c. 2,000 which had been ordered and already paid for,<sup>11</sup> but in 1845 the total number of copies of Greek coins from the British Museum amounted to

10,020 in addition to the several thousand acquired elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>

It is quite possible that Brøndsted contemplated shortening this third journey, because the old king, Frederik VI passed away, rather unexpectedly, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 1839, only some weeks after Brøndsted had left the capital. His successor, Christian VIII, was Prince Christian Frederik, who had personal numismatic interests. Perhaps Brøndsted was eager to pay his respect to the new king, but he also had to consider the fact that he had taken with him to London Ludvig Læssøe, a copy-writer and technical assistant of the Cabinet, in order that he could learn to make impressions and copies of coins and medals. Læssøe learnt his job, and one year after the return to Copenhagen he got a Royal appointment as a copy-writer and producer of casts from coins and medals at the Cabinet. The salary was 300 rbd. (half of the Director's salary) with permission to earn 125 rbd extra a year.<sup>13</sup> Now, Brøndsted had a technical expert in casts at his side, actually a pupil of Doubleday in London.

## *2. The development of the Classic collection by way of acquisitions of Greek coins*

At the same time as Brøndsted developed the collection of casts, he also acquired substantial numbers of Greek coins. To judge from the lists of coins, submitted to Hauch and his successor O.C. Haxthausen, Brøndsted tried to get all-round acquisitions for the Greek section of the Cabinet. Most of the coins acquired from abroad were bought from Charles-Louis Rollin, Paris, a most important dealer in those days, with whom Brøndsted probably was well acquainted from previous stays in Paris. Brøndsted had excellent relations with Rollin, he used to get a discount of 33% from the prices of Mionnet<sup>14</sup>, and in the end he even got considerable amounts of coins for approval and/or

8. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1836

9. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1837

10. One of the best-preserved cabinets is illustrated in Gelfer-Jørgensen 1988, 240, fig. 222.

11. Brøndsted to Haxthausen, the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1841. Receipt for advance payment by Doubleday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1840.

12. Manuscript source indicated in Brøndsted 1980, 94, ref. 19.

13. Resolution by Christian VIII, the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1841.

14. Mionnet 1806-13; Mionnet 1819-37. The six volumes with nine supplements were acquired by Brøndsted from Rollin while in Paris 1836, the price being 700 frcs., see report from Brøndsted to Hauch, the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1836.





Fig. 3: Portrait by L. Dupré, 1833, dedicated by Dupré to his friend (*à son ami*); lithograph by Lemercier. The portrait was made during Brøndsted's first visit to Paris after having been appointed as Keeper of the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals 1832 (Mikala Brøndsted, cat.no. 10)

selection. Brøndsted on his part was also attentive to Rollin. When the latter indicated that he wanted to have the two important folios of the Cabinet, the 'de-

scription' of Danish coins and medals with coppers from 1791 and the Latin Greek and Roman catalogue from 1816, Brøndsted elicited Royal permission to present them as a gift to Rollin.<sup>15</sup> The business relationship continued after Brøndsted's death, while the practice of dealers sending coins for approval/selection appears to have continued for generations.

During his stay in Paris 1833 (fig. 3) Brøndsted bought from Rollin 16 Attic tetradrachms,<sup>16</sup> but next time he was able to buy more. In 1836 Brøndsted bought at Paris from the Durand auction<sup>17</sup> 121 Greek silver and bronze coins representing 104 Greek poleis and princes,<sup>18</sup> to which should be added 122 Greek coins from Rollin. But he refrained from buying in London because the prices at this market were too high.<sup>19</sup> Brøndsted also made use of his presence at the Durand auction to perform important commissions for the British Museum, being permitted to use £ 3,000 for buying Greek vases.<sup>20</sup> Although, as already mentioned, he did not want to buy at the expensive London market, he nonetheless made a small purchase there, six 'very good' Greek coins from the art dealer Castellar.<sup>21</sup>

Copenhagen, too, offered possibilities for the enlargement of the Greek collection. When the famous coin collection of bishop Münter<sup>22</sup> was sold – the Latin auction catalogues being prepared by C.J. Thomsen and O. Devegge – King Frederik VI permitted 600 rbd. to be used from the resources of the cabinet to buy antique coins at the first auction in 1836.<sup>23</sup> In the event 155 coins were bought, at a total price of some 590 rbd.<sup>24</sup> In the following year the second part of the collection, containing the Roman coins, was put up, and Brøndsted

15. Brøndsted with Thomsen and Devegge to Hauch, the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1837.

16. Brøndsted 1980, 94, ref. 7. The Attic tetradrachms, which were from the last centuries B.C., can still be identified in the trays of the Cabinet, *SNG Cop.fasc.* 14, 1944, 128-30, 141, 145, 152, 176, 183, 220, 224, 230, 232, 237, 254, 260f.

17. Cf. the articles by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen and Ian Jenkins in this publication.

18. 4,915 francs. Detailed invoice, the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1836.

19. Cf. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1836; Brøndsted 1980, 91.

20. Brøndsted 1980, 91 seq.; B.B. Rasmussen and I. Jenkins in this book.

21. This acquisition is mentioned in a report from Brøndsted to Hauch, the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1836.

22. Münterianum 1836-39.

23. Royal resolution, the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1836.

24. Invoice submitted by C.J. Thomsen, the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 1836.

asked for permission to buy to the amount of 350-400 rbd.<sup>25</sup> His acquisitions at the third auction, in 1839, were rather moderate, to the amount of 235 rbd.<sup>26</sup>

Another important collector was living in Copenhagen, Christian Tuxen Falbe, a former naval officer, who had succeeded Brøndsted as an assistant in cataloguing the numismatic collection of Christian Frederik.<sup>27</sup> In due time he was to be the director of the 'archaeological cabinet' of Christian VIII. Now Falbe offered his collection to the coin cabinet, writing directly to Hauch, mentioning that it contained (no fewer than!) 1,800 Greek, 2,100 Roman and 300 Byzantine coins, as well as some Cufic and other Oriental coins. A third of the whole were in gold or silver, including 110 coins of gold.<sup>28</sup>

From the letter it is not very clear what Falbe's intention was, but from later developments we see that he, no doubt, wanted to sell it. The staff of the cabinet wanted to buy 266 of his coins at a price of 8,357 frcs., insisting on the normal discount from Mionnet's price.<sup>29</sup> Somehow one feels a certain irritation from the staff, a few days later Brøndsted himself offers to present 84 antique Greek coins and coin copies as a gift to the Cabinet!<sup>30</sup> These must have been remnants of his Greek collection, the other part of which he had pawned to the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen many years earlier (or as Thorvaldsen maintained: sold!)<sup>31</sup> After some months the staff of the Cabinet reduced its interest in the Falbe collection to 139 coins, offering 75% of the Mionnet price, i.e. 2,715 frcs or 987 rbd., to be paid the following year. Frederik VI confirmed this transaction!<sup>32</sup>

25. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1837. Actually the invoice was to the amount of 287 rbd., but the Cabinet acquired several coins of a better quality; then it was the intention to sell the replaced coins at a planned auction, Brøndsted and Thomsen to Hauch, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 1838.

26. Brøndsted with Thomsen and Devegge to Haxthausen, the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1839

27. Lund 2000, 119-41; J.S. Jensen 2000, 50-53

28. Falbe to Hauch, the 29<sup>th</sup> of September 1836.

29. Brøndsted with Thomsen and Devegge to Hauch, the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1837.

30. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1837.

31. Mørkholm 1982, 7-26.

The question of the acquisition of the Falbe collection appeared again in one of the earliest years of Christian VIII. The collection was valued at 3,400 rbd., and it was to be examined by the staff of the Cabinet before any final decision. The Italic, Sicilian and North African coins, which would be of interest for the King's own collection, were destined for this collection. Following Falbe's own wish, casts of rare Punic coins from The Hague, London, Paris and Vienna should be included for the Coin Cabinet.<sup>33</sup>

When in 1839 Brøndsted was preparing his third trip to the great Western European capitals, he was permitted by Frederik VI to use 2,000 rbd. for the acquisition of coins and sulphur casts in London and Paris, and he obtained additional permission to use 4,000 frcs at Rollin to buy coins from the Greek collection of the Comte de Wiczay. Brøndsted had coins from this famous Hungarian collection to the amount of 21,000 francs at his hand from Rollin.<sup>34</sup> 4,000 frcs was quite an impressive amount, but we may suppose that a visit to the Cabinet at the castle of Rosenborg of the ageing King Frederik VI (fig. 4) and his Queen, Marie Sophie Frederike, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, a month before, was a reasonable success. The staff was called at very short notice to attend the 'most gracious inspection' of the Majesties.<sup>35</sup>

### 3. *The ways and means of financing the new acquisitions*

This part of the numismatic activities of Brøndsted at the Cabinet will illustrate his very developed sense of making money by selling (or other ways of disposing

32. Brøndsted with Thomsen and Devegge to Falbe, the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1837, copy in the archive; Royal resolution the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1837.

33. Royal resolution, the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1841. The coin collection of the King ("vor particuliere Samling") was transferred to The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals in 1851 after the death of the King in 1848.

34. Royal resolution, the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1839. Supplementary information, Brøndsted to Haxthausen, the 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1839. Cf. Wiczay 1814; Mørkholm 1982a, 11.

35. Brøndsted to Haxthausen, the 10<sup>th</sup> of September 1839, at 8 o'clock in the morning. The King and the Queen were expected to "tage Mynt- og Medaille Cabinettet i allernaadigst Øjesyn."





Fig. 4: Full length portrait of Frederik VI in an advanced age. Since the 1930'es and for at least half a century the portrait was on loan to The National Museum of Denmark, where it was placed in the room of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. It belongs, however, to The Museum of National History at the Castle of Frederiksborg, Hillerød. Photo: Lennart Larsen, 1975.

of) assets, which were considered unnecessary for the Cabinet. He focused his attention particularly on gold, which of course also was bound to produce the largest profit, at least when counted in current currency.

Some years before, in 1828-29 Russia and Persia had been at war. The result was a Persian defeat and Persia had to pay a big indemnity. This was paid mostly in gold, some of it in ingots stamped as coins. Subsequently Tsar Nicholas distributed sets of these coins to his friends, relatives, allies etc., and the Danish king, Frederik VI realized, probably to his surprise, that he had received three sets.<sup>36</sup> This gift, which had a considerable material value, was probably somewhat cumbersome, and the court rather quickly disposed of the sets in favour of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals. On his way through offices and corridors, C.J. Thomsen saw the sets, and he put the question, which probably was on everyone's lips, 'but why three sets of all of them?'<sup>37</sup>

No one in Copenhagen would probably object to disposing of them discreetly, and Brøndsted proposed to do so. The Cabinet should keep only one set selected from among the best specimens – which are in the permanent exhibition of the Collection to day. The income from the sales was estimated to be the amount of 1,087 plus 1,087 rbd., i.e. a total of 2,174 rbd., and the King soon agreed.<sup>38</sup> The second set was sold a few years later.

Brøndsted's next move was to have an auction of duplicates from among the Roman collection prepared. In principle it was a good idea, as the formation of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Roman collection in Copenhagen, being an amalgamation of the age old 'Kunstammer'

collection with some Roman collections acquired through the good efforts of George Zoëga,<sup>39</sup> had generated several duplicates. The first segregation from the Copenhagen collections forms the backbone of the Roman collection at the recently established University of Oslo, but Brøndsted may have seen more possibilities. He asked Hauch for permission to sell more duplicates,<sup>40</sup> but the preparatory work was more time consuming than Brøndsted had supposed, and it was only in the spring of 1838 the Latin (!) catalogue<sup>41</sup> could be sent to the printers. Just 200 copies of the catalogue were printed. We may suppose that C.J. Thomsen, who was a very experienced organizer of auctions, took care of most of the distribution, both national and international. The auction, which comprised some four thousand coins, took place at Rosenborg castle in a hall just outside the premises of the Coin Cabinet. It provided the cabinet with a net return of 1,600 rbd. (after deduction of cost (printing etc.) of 330 rbd.).<sup>42</sup> It was not exactly a fortune – no one mentioned the cost of the hours consumed in preparation, but Brøndsted pretended (or believed?) that it would be followed by a second auction.

Brøndsted made a further move to acquire funds. He realized that the Cabinet had a certain number of 'useless' modern gold medals, which ought to be exchanged for the corresponding strikes in silver. He consequently acquired an estimate of the value of a number of silver medals from Franz Streber, the keeper of the Bavarian cabinet in Munich, which came to c. 120 rbd. Hence, if the gold medals could be sold at a price of c. 1,200 rbd., the Cabinet would have a net

36. J.S. Jensen 1981.

37. C.J. Thomsen to J. Reichel, the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1831, "P. S. Die dem König als Present gesandte neue persische M: sind in meine Hande gewesen, aber warum 3 exemplar von alle. NB". J.S. Jensen 2002, 452.

38. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 24<sup>th</sup> of September 1833; Royal resolution to permit the sale of one set of Persian gold and silver coins, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1833.

39. J.S. Jensen 1980a; J.S. Jensen 1984.

40. Brøndsted, Thomsen and Devegge to Hauch, the 10<sup>th</sup> of Septem-

ber 1836; the King allows that part of the income from the auction of duplicates may cover the cost of acquiring Falbe's coins, the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1837.

41. Brøndsted 1838. The catalogue in the library of The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, which has 3,696 nos., is inscribed by Brøndsted the 26<sup>th</sup> of October 1838, and buyers as well as prices are indicated

42. Brøndsted and Thomsen to Haxthausen, the 24<sup>th</sup> of November 1838.



return of c. 1,080 rbd.<sup>43</sup> Brøndsted, of course, knew the cautious and economic disposition of the old king, who in an eloquent Royal resolution permitted the sale.<sup>44</sup> According to Georg Galster, 31 German gold medals were sold.<sup>45</sup> Apparently Brøndsted never left any details, but it is a tempting suspicion that Brøndsted actually took the toll from the old Royal collection of gold coins and medals (first inventory from 1681). That part of the collection is suspiciously empty in exactly the field of German popular medals in gold from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, of which a not inconsiderable amount was inventoried in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Recently I had the occasion to check this part of the collection. Closer research will probably reveal whether the gold medals disappeared on this or on another comparable occasion.

#### *4. The opening of the Cabinet to the public and the development of the exhibition of Danish Royal gold medals*

It was the goal of Brøndsted to open the Cabinet to the public, not only in the literal sense, some hours a week, but also by way of establishing an exhibition and producing a hand catalogue. The exhibition was planned to comprise c. 2,000 items, Greek, Roman and Oriental coins as well as Danish coins and medals. Brøndsted made a special point of the Danish Royal gold medals, which in many ways could be said to illustrate the history of the Oldenburg dynasty. But he discovered that medals, especially gold medals, were lacking

in the series, even if the dies after c. 1660 quite often still were (and are) available.<sup>46</sup>

First he tried (through the good offices of Hauch) to appeal to the Board of Finances hoping for some good will towards having additional gold medals made. But gold medals were expensive, and Brøndsted was promised only extra specimens in silver. Thereafter medals struck at Royal expenses would be given to the Cabinet, two specimens in silver of each medal.<sup>47</sup> As the reign of Frederik VI was very poorly represented the Board of Finances soon promised some of the more important gold medals, too - the Coronation medal, The Reformation jubilee and both marriages (probably the first marriage of the son of Christian Frederik, called Frederik (VII) and that of the brother of Christian Frederik, called Ferdinand; they were both married to daughters of Frederik VI). Other medals could be provided in silver, if the Cabinet submitted a list.<sup>48</sup> And half a year afterwards, the Cabinet actually received a number of medals in silver, so that both sides of the medals could be put on display.<sup>49</sup>

We need not doubt that Brøndsted made use of all his charm and all his direct or indirect contacts in social life in Copenhagen to attain his goal, and actually towards the end of the year 1836 the Board of Finances presented both a silver specimen and a gold specimen of the two medals, which were struck on occasion of the jubilee of the Danish church reformation of 1536.<sup>50</sup> Some months afterwards the same authority presented another gold medal, struck at the Mint of Copenhagen,

43. Brøndsted, Thomsen and Devegge to Haxthausen, the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1838.

44. Royal resolution, the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1839. The king agrees that it is not in accordance with good economy in general or to the purpose of the Cabinet to keep common modern suites of medals in gold, as long as specimens of the same medals in silver would suffice (... Det er ikke overensstemmende "hverken med Oeconomi i det Heele eller med Mynt Cabinetts Reglement og Hensigt i Særdeleshed at lade ganske almindelige moderne Medaille Suits henligge i Guld, meden Sølv-Exemplarer af deslige Skuepenge kunne være fuldkommen tilstrækkelige ...").

45. Thomsen 1939, 94, ref. 27.

46. J.S. Jensen 2005.

47. Undated list of medals, which the Cabinet ought to have in gold,

probably 1835 (Brøndsted's handwriting). Frederik IV, Reformation jubilee 1717; Christian VI (1730-46), five medals; Frederik V (1746-66), no medals lacking; Christian VII (1766-1808), seven medals; Frederik VI (1808-), 13 medals lacking, to the which should be added eleven medals of merit. The Board of Finances ('De deputerede for Finanserne') to Hauch, the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1835.

48. Board of Finances ('De deputerede for Finanserne') to Hauch, the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1835.

49. Board of Finances ('De deputerede for Finanserne') to Hauch, the 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1836.

50. Board of Finances ('De deputerede for Finanserne') to Hauch, the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1836.

a medal to which His Majesty more than twenty years earlier had 'brought the die home from Vienna.'<sup>51</sup>

Gradually, step-by-step, Brøndsted proceeded to acquire more gold medals for the permanent exhibition. When rumours had it that two rare gold medals were found in the personal belongings of the (by then) deceased King Frederik VI, Brøndsted succeeded in getting funds to buy them from the heirs. It was the family medal of Frederik III by Jeremias Hercules (Herclius) from the 1660's and the medal by Johan Bagge commemorating the construction of the first palace of Christiansborg 1740.<sup>52</sup>

Finally, Brøndsted succeeded in acquiring gold specimens in both sizes both of the Coronation medal as well as the medal commemorating the silver wedding of the Royal couple (1840).

The exhibition of gold medals today<sup>53</sup> is in some ways the successor of Brøndsted's exhibition, the principal difference being that Brøndsted wanted to show both sides, using silver specimens to illustrate the reverse.<sup>54</sup> The present day exhibition limits itself, however, only to specimens in gold.

The small hand catalogue (fig. 5), which Brøndsted and his colleagues published in the year of the opening of the Cabinet was an important help in propagating the riches of the Cabinet, and as far as the present writer knows it was the first hand catalogue published for a Danish museum.<sup>55</sup> It was intended by Brøndsted to be both 'instructing and pleasurable' to the public.<sup>56</sup> After a short introduction about the history of the Cabinet since Frederik III (c. 1655),<sup>57</sup> it describes in more detail the Roman coins and medallions exhibited in the Roman Cabinet.<sup>58</sup> Then follow descriptions of the

Danish coins and medals – the medals in particular are described – and foreign coins and medals both medieval and early modern. Finally, medals struck by the Dukes of Slesvig, Holstein and Lauenburg, which were parts of the Danish monarchy at that time.<sup>59</sup> The last fifteen pages of the Catalogue describe the Greek cabinet, but actually mostly the Spanish and Gallic coins.<sup>60</sup> At this time Brøndsted no doubt had planned to have built a special new cabinet with showcases for the main Greek collection, which then would be described in a planned continuation of the catalogue. Brøndsted had the cabinet built a few years later (*v.infra*), but did not live to see the next edition of the hand catalogue, which was published only in 1858.

The principles of Brøndsted's exhibition of the Royal gold medals survive today, after 175 years, even if the social and political landscape is very far away from the late and in some ways illuminated absolutism of Frederik VI and Christian VIII. From time to time my colleagues and I myself have been tempted to change the principles of the exhibition with medals lying in line on black velvet. However the furniture, with its showcases and inbuilt security, has prevented any alteration, and consequently Brøndsted's idea of a chronological exhibition of the Danish Royal gold medals still survives.

##### *5. The development of the personal and scientific resources of the Cabinet*

Brøndsted started with a staff of two assistant-keepers. But during his tenure he managed to develop the permanent staff considerably. Already in his first plans, written before he actually was employed (*v. supra*), he

51. Board of Finances ('De deputerede for Finanserne') to Hauch, the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1837, "et paa den herværende Mynt udpræget Exemplar i Guld af den Medaille, hvortil Hans Majestæt i sin Tid har medbragt Stemplet fra Wien." The dies were cut by J. Harnisch, Bergsøe 1893, no. 72.

52. Resolution by Christian VIII, the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1841, permitting the purchase of the two medals from the estate of the late King at a price of 392 rbd. ('from the interests of the regal foundation') ("af Regaliefondens Rente").

53. Rasmussen 1992, 8-26, showcases 1-6.

54. Thomsen to Reichel, the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1834, J.S. Jensen 2002, 463.

55. Brøndsted 1835a.

56. ... "en kort, summarisk Fortegnelse, som vil blive Publicum til baade Belæring og Fornøjelse"... Brøndsted to Hauch, the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1835.

57. Brøndsted 1835a, 4-12.

58. Brøndsted 1835a, 12-29.

59. Brøndsted 1835a, 29-76.

60. Brøndsted 1835a, 76-80.



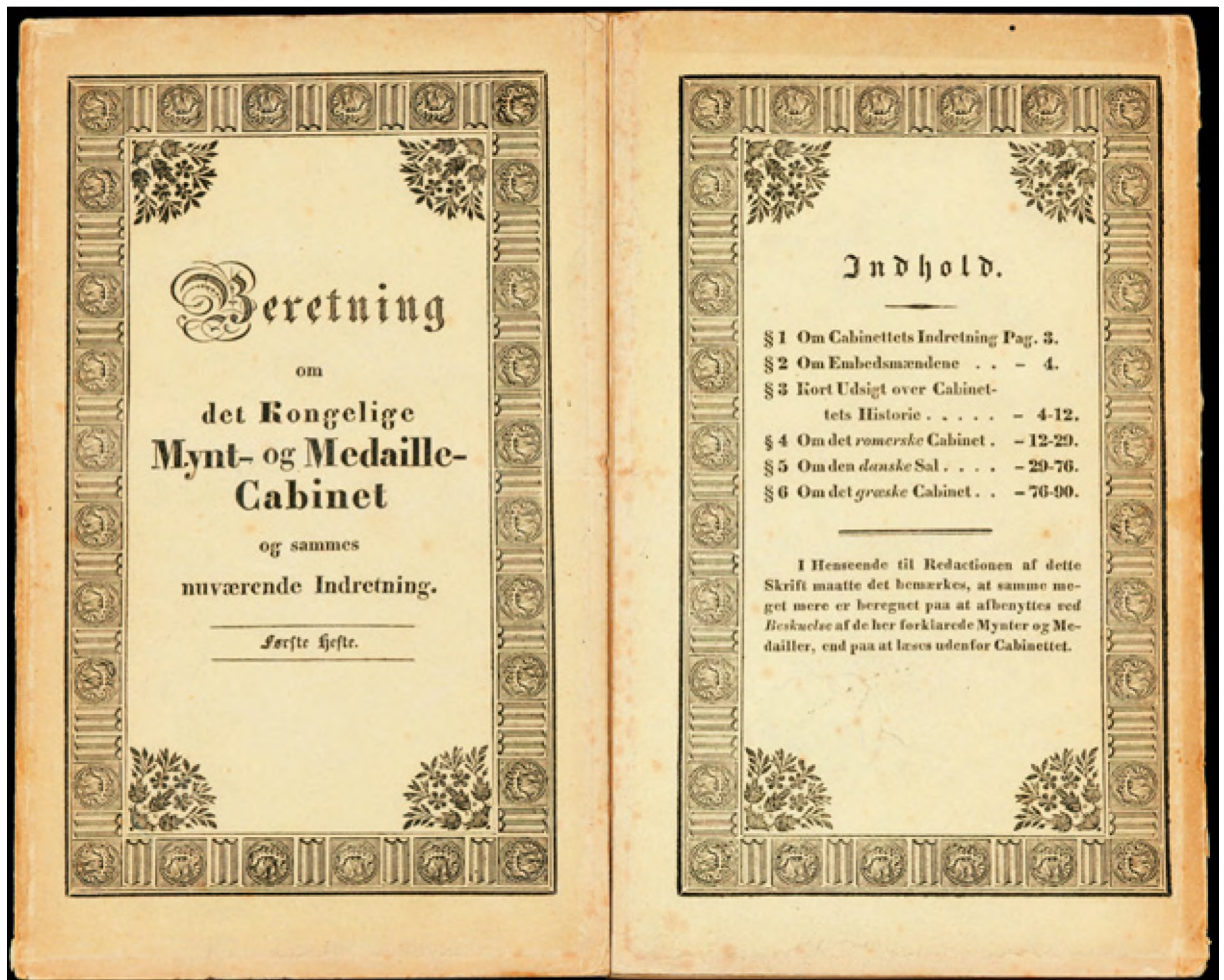


Fig. 5: Front and back of the hand catalogue of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, 1835. It was meant to be used during visits to the Cabinet rather than for studies at home. Presentation copy to Prince Christian Frederik.

mentioned the possibility of having a technical assistant, and actually he managed to create such a job for Ludvig Læssøe (1841),<sup>61</sup> who probably lived up to his expectations. Besides, in certain periods Læssøe was a very helpful purveyor of coins, both modern and old, to interested parties outside Copenhagen, representing

them at public auctions (e.g. the University Coin Cabinet of Christiania/Oslo)<sup>62</sup> or taking care of getting new Danish coins and medals (to J.J. Reichel in St. Petersburg).<sup>63</sup>

Jacob Christian Lindberg was a very gifted person, but also somewhat difficult.<sup>64</sup> Already some years before (1980'es).

61. Royal resolution, the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1841, cf. supra.

62. Letters from L. Læssøe to C.A. Holmboe, Archives of the University Coin Cabinet, Oslo (read during visits to Oslo in the

63. Letters from L. Læssøe to J.J. Reichel (Central Archive of the State Hermitage, St.Petersburg. The letters were only formally

fore Brøndsted was appointed as keeper, he had published a hoard of Cufic coins.<sup>65</sup> He catalogued most of the Cufic coins of the Cabinet in a manuscript, which is often used even today, and in 1835 Brøndsted was permitted to pay him a fee.<sup>66</sup> The Cufic coins from four hoards, found in the period 1835-40, were published by Lindberg in the *Annals of The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries*, to which was added a survey of the Buyid coinage, which Lindberg published in French in the *Mémoires of the Society*.<sup>67</sup> The young lic. theol. Carl Ludvig Müller was another promising Orientalist, who in 1841 was integrated in the work of the Cabinet, but without receiving any fee nor other payment; he was, one might say, a coadjutor assistant-keeper.<sup>68</sup> The appointment had probably been prepared by oral communications beforehand, the many qualities of the young Müller no doubt having been discovered by Brøndsted, Falbe and the King himself. But after Brøndsted's sudden death in 1842, Müller got a real appointment, and in the following decades he was to be one of the leading classical numismatists of Europe, finishing his career as a Keeper of The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals (as well as of The Collection of Antiques) from 1865 till his death 1891.

That Brøndsted made sure to acquire a gifted successor in the field of Greek numismatics is one of the factors, which count heavily in the positive judgment of Brøndsted's decade as a Keeper of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals.

Brøndsted also took great care in developing the library. He saw to it that both numismatic journals and important books were acquired, sometimes as gifts, sometimes as purchases. It is not possible to provide a detailed survey within the scope of this paper, but the importance attached to good numismatic literature by

both Brøndsted and his colleagues was often emphasized. The fact that the Collection possesses most (or nearly all!) the relevant numismatic literature from this period is evidence to this. Brøndsted's own original plans<sup>69</sup> of publishing a numismatic journal never materialized, however. It appeared that for the time being the publications of The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (founded 1825) sufficed for the purposes of the Cabinet.<sup>70</sup>

The collection of sulphur casts was, of course, an important element in the development of the scientific resources of the Cabinet (*v.supra*).

#### 6. *The general administration of the Cabinet*

No doubt, Brøndsted left most of the details of the administration of hoards to the experienced medievalist C.J. Thomsen, but the activity by Thomsen in registering the hoards in the Register of Finds (FP) was, of course, approved and endorsed by Brøndsted. He saw to it that two other registers were established, both in 1835, the register of Donations (GP) and the register of Exchanges (BP). Although both were extremely important, the register of Exchanges for all practical purposes has not been used for twenty or twenty five years, as modern Danish law bars such business. The last of the Registers, the Register of Purchases (KP) was established only in 1846, a few years after the death of Brøndsted.

In connection with acquisitions, Brøndsted also saw to it that regular announcements of donations were inserted in the semi-official newspaper, the "Berlingske Tidende". He forwarded the first announcement of this sort to Hauch in September 1835,<sup>71</sup> asking him for help in having it published free of charge. The announcement, which included 12 donations, was published a

registered after I saw them in the early years of this century).

64. Kromann & Jensen 1983, cf. Nadia Haupt in this book.

65. Lindberg, 1830; cf. the article by Nadia Haupt in this publication.

66. Royal resolution, the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1835.

67. Lindberg 1842-43; Lindberg 1840-44.

68. Application from Ludvig Müller, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1840;

Recommendation from Brøndsted, the 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1840; Royal resolution, the 10<sup>th</sup> of January 1841.

69. *Vide supra*, 249.

70. Cf. numismatic bibliography of C.J. Thomsen in Kromann & Jensen 1988, 110 seq.

71. See illustration in the article by Ivan Boserup in this publication.



few days afterwards.<sup>72</sup> This custom continued through most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup>

To conclude this part of the survey the acquisition of two minor objects should be mentioned. Both of them are preserved today, and one of them is in daily use. The first is a briefcase in leather, which could be locked by a key. One key was to be held by the general director (Haxthausen), the other by Brøndsted. In this way all confidential letters, coins and medals could be sent to and from Rosenborg castle, where the cabinet was, and the castle of Christiansborg, where Haxthausen probably had his office.<sup>74</sup>

The other acquisition was a pendulum clock, which the Copenhagen clockmaker Kühl sold for 25 rbd. to be used in the offices. He was paid 2 rbd. for the installation. The availability of a clock is one of the essentials of modern life in all its aspects, and it testifies to the organizing sense of Brøndsted that a clock was acquired. It is still an important element of the routine of the Cabinet today.<sup>75</sup>

### 7. *Brøndsted as seen by Thomsen*

To all appearances daily life and routine in the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals went smoothly during the ten years of Brøndsted's tenure (he died after an accident with his horse in June 1842).<sup>76</sup> Everything indicates this, both Thomsen's quiet observations in his letters to Reichel, his fellow numismatist and (later on) friend in St. Petersburg,<sup>77</sup> and also the fact that Brøndsted often had letters to Thomsen sent together with his more official letters to his superior, Hauch. Thomsen realized that Brøndsted had personal qualities, which he did not possess himself. Brøndsted was, as Thom-

sen observed at his death, 'just as much a courtier as a man of science'.<sup>78</sup> It was only to a very close friend that Thomsen admitted one of the weak sides in the character of Brøndsted, the fact that he has 'a quite unusual vanity'.<sup>79</sup>

In April 1865, only a month before his death, in May, Thomsen wrote about the life and activities of his late colleague and friend, Ole Devegge. It was meant to be an introduction to the final volume of the auction catalogue of Ole Devegge, although it was published only later.<sup>80</sup> In it Thomsen also described the activities of Brøndsted, and we may look upon his text as some sort of summary to the above. Thomsen mentions that Prince Christian (Christian VIII) took an interest in Brøndsted, who was renowned abroad and who was a connoisseur and collector of antique coins, although he did not know much about the Nordic ones. The arrangement after the death of Ramus he says was done in a way, which was the best one for the cabinet and 'all of us'. During Hauch's too-economical leadership, Thomsen could hardly (or only with difficulty) accomplish what Brøndsted actually managed to do, thanks to his special energy and influence. The Cabinet got more room, it was made accessible to the public, a great collection of copies was established, an excellent reference library was obtained, a register of Donations was initiated, duplicates and other redundancies were deployed. In short Brøndsted achieved so much that 'we' later on only had to continue and extend what he started.

Brøndsted was benevolent to his colleagues and was prepared to support reasonable proposals. Thus, he admitted that he never had had anything to do with Ori-

72. The announcement is quoted in Märcher forthcoming.

73. Brøndsted to Hauch, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 1835; "Berlingske Tidende", no.234/1835; J.S. Jensen 1982.

74. Brøndsted to Haxthausen, the 29<sup>th</sup> of May and the 13<sup>th</sup> of June, 1838, explaining the use of the briefcase and the keys.

75. Invoices from Kühl, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1839 and the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January 1840.

76. Cf. details in the article by Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen in this publication.

77. Cf. C.J. Thomsen to Reichel, the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1835, J.S. Jensen 2002, 469.

78. C.J. Thomsen to his friend the Swedish state antiquarian, B.E. Hildebrand, the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1842, as quoted by J. Jensen, 1992, 202 seq.

79. C.J. Thomsen to B.E. Hildebrand, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1840, as quoted by J. Jensen 1992, 400, ref. 136.

80. Thomsen 1939, especially 94 seq.

ental numismatics, but he was willing, if his colleagues had a proposal, saying 'no field should be a stepchild in the Cabinet.'

It was a pleasure to work in the Cabinet, and Brøndsted, who concentrated his official business in the Cabinet, used to say that some of the most agreeable hours, he had had in Copenhagen, were spent in the Cabinet. He had both interest in and a sense of beautiful and suit-

able arrangements, and he added new cabinets to the old ones. The new ones had the same external appearance, but their interiors were much more convenient.

It seems proper to let this eulogy by C.J. Thomsen, Brøndsted's colleague and later successor, sum up the chapter about Brøndsted and The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals.



# The funeral stele of P.O. Brøndsted at the Copenhagen Assistens' Cemetery

by Karin Kryger

The funeral monument of Peter Oluf Brøndsted was erected in 1859, 17 years after his death, in the Assistens' Cemetery, in which many of the leading figures of Copenhagen of the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century were buried, at a grave bought in 1818, when Brøndsted's wife Frederikke Koës died the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1818 in childbed. In 1802, the author August Hennings made an ironic note in his diary: "Yesterday I visited the cemetery for the poor, where everyone rich of spirit and money is interred".<sup>1</sup> An extension of the cemetery was carried out in 1805, and Brøndsted's grave is to be found here in section F nr. 2, near many graves of his contemporaries, among them the physicist H.C. Ørsted, the linguist Rasmus Rask, and Brøndsted's successor as keeper of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals Christian Jürgensen Thomsen.

## Brøndsted's monument

The tomb has a spectacular position on a corner at the crossing of two paths. A fence of iron latticework surrounds the grave, made by the Copenhagen foundry Ludvigsen & Hermann. The original latticework has disappeared, but in 2000, the fence around the grave was re-established by means of a latticework from an equivalent grave.<sup>2</sup>

The monument is a fine rectangular stele of fair, al-

most white marble (fig. 1). On the top is seen in haut-relief a powerful portrait of the deceased in profile. The head is carved almost free from the background. Brøndsted is shown as a Roman clad in a mantle. Beneath the portrait runs a decorative frieze with a meander above a palmette band, and below is a relief showing a wine jug with lilies. The monument has no plinth. The inscription on the stele runs: "Peter Oluf Brøndsted/ født den 17<sup>de</sup> November 1780/ død den 26<sup>de</sup> Juni 1842." and "ΟΠΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΚΥΠΙΟΥ ΕΚΕΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ" i.e. 2 Corinthians 3:17: "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom".

The monument was made by the sculptor H.W. Bissen who was commissioned by Brøndsted's daughters Augusta Marie Hall and Frederikke Treschow. It was placed in the cemetery around New Year 1859-60 according to correspondence between Augusta Maria Hall and H.W. Bissen and Bissen's own notes.<sup>3</sup> It seems that the architect M.G. Bindesbøll designed the stele.

## Brøndsted's plans for a monument for his wife

Brøndsted planned a monument for his wife, Frederikke, née Köes, Brøndsted, to be executed by his friend Bertel Thorvaldsen, but the plan was not realised. In 1819, when Thorvaldsen visited Copen-

1. "Ich besuchte den Armen Kirchhof vor dem Nordenthor, wo sich alle reiche an Geist und Geld begraben lassen." Bobé 1934, 67.
2. Invoice dated 13<sup>th</sup> of December 2000 in the Office of the Assistens' Cemetery.
3. KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen),

NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 3341 4<sup>o</sup>: Breve til og fra H.V. Bissen, letters from Augusta Hall (Brøndsted's daughter), the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1859 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1860; KB, NKS 2047 2<sup>o</sup>: H.V. Bissens Efterladte Papirer IVd, Privatøkonomi, Regnskabsbøger. See also Rostrup 1945, II, 131f.





Fig. 1. Brøndsted's funeral stele at Assistens Cemetery, Copenhagen. Photo Karin Kryger 2006.



hagen, Brøndsted and Thorvaldsen corresponded on the subject. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1819 Brøndsted wrote to Thorvaldsen: “Do not forget to visit with my sister-in-law the consecrated spot at the Assistens Cemetery, a spot where my thoughts always rest with sighs and missing and yearning. You do know that you promised me a memorial for the blessed one, and you had to see the place yourself where it will stand under the beautiful trees. Go with God! and do write your dear friend *Brøndsted*.”<sup>4</sup> The day before, Brøndsted wrote a similar letter to his sister in law, Marie Aagaard, telling her that Thorvaldsen had promised to erect “to the blessed a noble memorial”.<sup>5</sup> On Christmas day of the same year he thanks Thorvaldsen for keeping his promise of visiting the grave and in an unfinished letter to Marie Aagaard dated the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 1819 Brøndsted says that Thorvaldsen in a short time would start his work with the monument.<sup>6</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1823 Brøndsted writes Marie Aagaard telling her that Thorvaldsen has promised to carve a bust of him but: “we agreed, on only one condition: that he was not carving my bust in marble before finishing the small monument he promised me for the consecrated spot of earth in Assistens cemetery.”<sup>7</sup> The promised monument for Brøndsted’s wife seems never to have been made. At least no original monument by Thorvaldsen was erected on the “consecrated spot”. But there is a tiny

4. “Glem ikke med min Svigerinde at besøge det indviiede Sted paa Assistenzkirkegaarden ved hvilket min Tanke allerideligst dvæler med Suk og Savn og Forlængsel. Du veed at Du har lovet mig en Mindesteen over den Velsignede; og Du maatte selv see Stedet hvor den skal staae under de smukke Træer. Rejs nu med Gud! og skriv til Din trofaste Ven *Brøndsted*.” Thorvaldsen’s Museum, Thorvaldsen’s archive, Brøndsted to Thorvaldsen, the 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1819. I am grateful to Ernst Jonas Bencard, Thorvaldsen’s Museum, for finding this and other relevant letters in Thorvaldsen’s archive for me. The correspondence of the memorial between Thorvaldsen and Brøndsted is mentioned and cited in Andersen 2005, 78

5. Sass 1963-1965, II, 87.

6. Thorvaldsens Museum, Thorvaldsen’s Archive; Sass 1963, II, 88.

7. “Ikkun om én Betingelse ere vi blevne enige om: at han ei maa udføre min Buste i Marmor inden det lille Monument han har lovet mig til den inviede Jordplet paa Assitenskirkegaarden er ganske færdig”, Sass 1963-1965, II, 87.



Fig. 2. M.G. Bindesbøll. Sketch for a funeral stele for P.O. Brøndsted ca. 1856. Art Library of Denmark, Collection of Architectural drawings.

possibility that Thorvaldsen actually did make a relief for Brøndsted, a relief, which the architect Bindesbøll perhaps intended to use for the monument of Brøndsted, for which he made sketches many years later. In the end, a small monument for Brøndsted's wife Frederikke actually was erected, but it was not an original work by Thorvaldsen. Old photographs of Brøndsted's grave show a small tablet for Frederikke Brøndsted - born Koës - with Thorvaldsen's very popular relief *Night carrying her children Sleep and Death* in biscuit leaning towards Brøndsted's stele.

### M.G. Bindesbøll's sketches for Brøndsted's monument

The architect M.G. Bindesbøll worked many years later on a project for Brøndsted's monument. One of his drawings shows the design of the stele with a portrait (fig. 2), and two sketches show a relief with small cupids or genii in a boat (fig. 3-4). It even appears that Bindesbøll had some influence on the appearance of the finished stele, and one of the drawings dated 1856 might show a certain disappointment, as he has written, "Brundsted has landed at Bissen" (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> Now, Bindesbøll was an architect and art-craft artist, he was *not* a sculptor. Thorvaldsen did actually make small reliefs with cupids in a boat and also Cupid and Psyche in a boat. Do the drawings of Bindesbøll from 1856 showing small cupids reflect a plan of a monument with a relief by Thorvaldsen? In an undated letter to H.W. Bissen, Bindesbøll argues that the "antique fragments" of Brøndsted, which were placed at Bissen's atelier, should be moved to Thorvaldsen's Museum.<sup>9</sup> Has this idea of Bindesbøll regarding Brøndsted's "antique fragments" anything to do with the plans of erecting a monument for Brøndsted? Was it a relief of Thorvaldsen or rather an antique relief, which Bindesbøll at first considered placing on Brøndsted's funeral stele?<sup>10</sup>

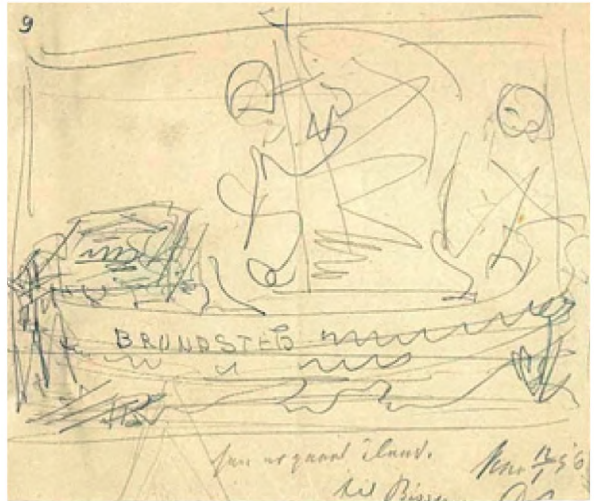


Fig. 3. M.G. Bindesbøll. Sketch of a relief showing cupids in a boat. Signed and dated 1856. Art Library of Denmark, Collection of Architectural drawings.



Fig. 4. M.G. Bindesbøll. Sketch of a relief showing cupids in a boat. Art Library of Denmark, Collection of Architectural drawings.

One of Bindesbøll's sketches shows a rectangular stele with a portrait on the upper part and is in fact rather similar to Bissen's stele. In spite of Bindesbøll's perhaps slightly frustrated note on the drawing, he seems to have designed the form and perhaps the decorations of the stele.

The two other sketches for Brøndsted's monument

8. "Brundsted han er gaaet i Land til Bissen".

9. KB, NKS 3341 4<sup>o</sup>: Breve til og fra H.V. Bissen.

10. This "antique fragment" of Brøndsted from Bissen's atelier has

not been identified. Bindesbøll died the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1856 (note by editor).



show cupids on a boat. As Bindsbøll himself was not a sculptor, the sketches may show a relief, which Brøndsted's daughters wanted to have placed on the monument, which he was designing. But which relief is in question? It does not seem to be a relief of Thorvaldsen, as none of Thorvaldsen's reliefs looks quite as the reliefs on Bindsbøll's sketches. In the search to identify the motif of Bindsbøll's drawings a monument in Holmen's Cemetery at Copenhagen might be helpful. It was erected for the numismatist and keeper of Christian VIII's private collections, Captain in the navy Christian Tuxen Falbe and his daughter J. Trepka, both of whom died in 1849. This monument has reliefs by the sculptor G. C. Freund, a nephew of the well-known Danish sculptor H.E. Freund.<sup>11</sup> In the top are two portraits of father and daughter and below a relief of a boat with cupids (fig. 5). G.C. Freund's relief takes its inspiration from the Roman funeral monument of Naevolia Tyche's in *Via dei Sepolcri, Pompeii* dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>12</sup> The question is: did Thorvaldsen make a relief for Brøndsted with the same motive? Did Brøndsted own an antique relief similar to Naevolia Tyche's? Or was Freund's relief with the boat and the cupids originally meant for Brøndsted's monument? As the family preferred the portrait of Bissen, might he have used the relief for Falbe's monument instead? Does Bindsbøll's remark on Brøndsted having landed at Bissen refer to the fact that the sisters had chosen a stele with a portrait by Bissen and not a stele with a relief of Freund? Perhaps it has nothing to do with his own frustration, in not having the commission? The latter solution might be likely, as Bindsbøll's sketch with the portrait stele, as mentioned above, is very like the one, which was actually carved,<sup>13</sup> and thus there seems no reason for Bindsbøll to regret the choice by Brøndsted's daughters.



Fig. 5. C.G. Freund. Cupids in a boat. Relief on the monument of Christian Falbe, Holmens Cemetery Copenhagen. Photo, the author 2006.

There is, however, no correspondence left between Bindsbøll and the Brøndsted sisters, which can illuminate Bindsbøll's role in the monument.

### The monument

The monument is first mentioned in Bissen's papers in a letter from Augusta Maria Hall dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1858. It is completed on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December, as Augusta Maria Hall writes Bissen about the deed to the grave, which she has to receive from her brother George before the monument can be placed. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February she has been told that the monument has been erected, and she asks Bissen what she and her sister owe him for "the wonderful bust from your artistic hand". In Bissen's papers there is an undated entry noting that the price is 180 rigsdaler and that he had received 132 rigsdaler. The 20<sup>th</sup> of March Mrs. Hall writes Bissen from her and her husband's house, the

11. I am grateful to curator John Lund, the National Museum of Denmark. During the excursion of the Brøndsted's seminar to the Assistants' Cemetery, where I showed copies of the drawings, he reminded me of the relief on Falbe's monument. The monument is ascribed to G.C. Freund in Werner 1912, 31.

12. Curator Jan Stubbe Østergaard, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek has

identified G.C. Freund's inspiration, for which I am much obliged.

13. Bentsen 1942, 205-06. Bentsen is not aware of H.W. Bissen's role in the monument. Rostrup 1945 does not know or ignores Bindsbøll's drawings for Brøndsted's stele.

Ny Bakkegaard, that he will receive the money as soon as she is able to go to town. The sum was apparently the balance of 48 rigsdaler.<sup>14</sup>

### The portrait

The portrait on Brøndsted's funeral stele seems to have been based partly on a painted portrait by C.A. Jensen, partly on a portrait medallion by the French sculptor David d'Angers (1788-1856). Augusta Marie Hall asks Bissen in a letter dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of June 1858 if he will return the "small" portrait of her father by C.A. Jensen, if he does not need it any more. As the painting is called "small", it must be either a painting from 1837, where Brøndsted is seen partly in profile or one from 1839, where he is seen en face.<sup>15</sup> Both measure approximately 27 x 20,5 cm. The latter, which was in the ownership of Frederikke Treschow, the younger daughter of Brøndsted, is known in several replicas and it is known that Augusta Maria liked it very much, as she chose it as the source of the portrait in Brøndsted's posthumous publication *Travels in Greece*.<sup>16</sup> In 1831, David d'Angers made a very powerful relief-medallion of Brøndsted, which Bissen probably also had at his disposal when carving the portrait of Brøndsted.<sup>17</sup> At least Bissen's portrait shows dependence on David's portrait, even though Bissen's portrait shows Brøndsted at a more mature age. One copy which is still in the ownership of the family might be the one Bissen used for his portrait.<sup>18</sup> Another is in the National Museum of Denmark, bought in 1935 in Paris

from a Russian refugee.<sup>19</sup> David's portrait of Brøndsted is more detailed than that by Bissen, and David's handling of the hair seems more natural, where Bissen's portrait seems somewhat abstract, which might be intentional, as Bissen portrayed a dead man, regarded as a hero by his daughters, but David portrayed a living man at his best age. Bissen was inspired in his composition and the set-up of the portrait by his teacher, H.E. Freund's portrait of Friederikke Bruun in the cemetery of the Copenhagen St Petri Church. The fleshy portrait of Brøndsted is like that of Friederikke Bruun, in very high relief, standing almost free from the background, and the mantle, which gives the composition gravity downwards, does have close reference to the portrait of Friederikke Brun.<sup>20</sup> The portrait on the monument, alas, is not so sharp in its contours, as 150 years of rain and pollutions has watered down Brøndsted's face (fig. 1). Older photos show clearer forms than we today can recognise (fig. 6). Bissen made two replicas of the portrait in marble, now probably in the ownership of descendants in Norway and Sweden,<sup>21</sup> and at least one copy in plaster, which formerly was in the ownership of the University of Copenhagen.<sup>22</sup> Present whereabouts unknown.

### The ornaments

The stele has fine classical decorations of a Greek key and palmettos dividing the upper part with the portrait from the lower part with the inscription. Beneath the inscription is a Greek wine jug, a *œnochoe*, with three

14. KB, NKS, 3341 4<sup>o</sup>: Breve til og fra H.V. Bissen, letters from A.M. Hall; KB, NKS; 2047 2<sup>o</sup>: H.V. Bissens efterladte papirer, IIIa: Vedr. Forsendelser og materialer and IVd: Privatøkonomi, Regnskabsbøger. "deilige Büste fra Deres kunstneriske Haand".

15. Schultz 1932, cat. no. 306, 328ff.; cf. M. Brøndsted, cat. 11 seq., 20 and others.

16. King Christian VIII mentions in his diary, the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 1844: "Mrs. Hall showed to me a portrait of Brøndsted very like, painted by Jensen, which belongs to her sister F. Treschow. It is going to be engraved in copper and will ornate his lithography...". "Fru Hall viste mig i dag et meget lignend[e] Portrait af

Brøndsted, malet af Jensen, som tilhører hendes Søster F. Treschow, og som skal stikkes i Kobber og Pryde hans Littographie;..." Christian VIII 1943-1995, IV, 2, 463.

17. See the article by Mikala Brøndsted in this publication, no. 8.

18. Information provided by Jan Brøndsted.

19. The National Museum of Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Register of Purchases, 1842.

20. Rostrup 1945, I, 419.

21. Rostrup 1945, II, 131.

22. Bissen received 6 rigsdaler for the copy in plaster. KB, NKS, 2047 2<sup>o</sup>: H.V. Bissens efterladte papirer, IIIa: Vedr. Forsendelser og Materiale.





Fig. 6. P.O. Brøndsted's funeral stele. Photo, early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

lilies (fig. 1). The motive seems somehow unclassical in spite of the Greek wine jug. The jug might refer to Brøndsted's work as an archaeologist. But what do the lilies mean? The lilies are in Christianity a symbol of purity and innocence, virtues which normally are ascribed to women, especially the Virgin Mary. It may

seem very odd that a monument for a male is decorated with symbols, which have allusions to female virtues. The two sisters, however, perhaps also thought lovingly of their mother, when they raised the monument to their beloved father and hero.



# Summing up: Towards a reappraisal of P.O. Brøndsted

*by Ivan Boserup*

## I

I am convinced that I speak on behalf of all the participants of the Brøndsted Symposium when I start by congratulating the organizers for having taken such a brilliant initiative and to have planned it in all details so remarkably well. Peter Oluf Brøndsted is an important figure in 19<sup>th</sup> century scholarship. In Denmark, he embodies the shift, around 1820, from admiration and classicism to scholarship and historical criticism, having eloquently and with equal success taken part in both movements. However, it is not easy to come to grips with his singularly robust and self-conscious personality. He took himself for granted, and the object of his attention, though often changing (too often, according to both friends and critics, leaving work half-done), was always clear. The theme of this symposium, therefore, focusing on the international connections and roots of Brøndsted – *A Danish Classicist in his European Context* – was well chosen. As we have heard and seen during the symposium, Brøndsted was undoubtedly the most European of the Danish intellectuals of his time. Brøndsted travelled abroad for scholarly purposes, not because of ethnographic curiosity or in order to accumulate new inspiration (as for example the other great Danish traveller of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hans Christian Andersen). From his 25<sup>th</sup> year till he died aged 62, Brøndsted lived and worked half of the time in Rome, Paris, or London (but never set foot in Berlin, according to his friend and biographer J.P. Mynster). Brøndsted's remarkable ease at picking up languages allowed him to establish many contacts and many lasting friendships across Europe. Lively in company with others, he was never short of sharp opinions on a wide range of subjects, from classical art

and mythology to contemporary music and political issues, and he eagerly observed the organisation and progress of science and scholarship in the great capitals of pre- and early-industrial Europe. In scholarship, he sought to achieve the sublime, seeking his role models among the great names of classical antiquity no less than among the best scholars of his own time.

The program of the symposium was judiciously put together by the organizers. During the first session, Fani Maria Tsigakou and Ted Buttrey introduced the participants vividly and humorously into the material and mental reality that Brøndsted encountered in Athens in 1810, still a young and enthusiastic traveller rather than a self-conscious classical archaeologist. The wide range of approaches to the cultural heritage of Greece that were available to newcomers was made explicit through the contrasting of the focused surveys of captain Leake and the habits of antiquarians and treasure-hunters residing in Athens. Ida Haugsted followed up by giving a general presentation of the five companions of the “two youthful friends” Brøndsted and his brother-in-law Georg Koës, Haller von Hallerstein, Linck, Stackelberg, Cockerell, and Foster. The description of the small but selected and cosmopolite group, picked up in Paris and Rome, and welded together into a project-oriented team, formed a perfect introduction to Gorm Schou-Rode's presentation of Brøndsted's nearly complete set of *Travel Diaries*, kept in the Royal Library. A number of analyzed passages demonstrated the seriousness and professionalism of Brøndsted's reporting to himself of his topographical investigations in Greece – and the high standard of scholarship (textual reliability and extensive annotation) that characterizes the edition that is under

preparation under Schou-Rode's erudite hand. Given their importance as a source for the assessment of Brøndsted's scholarly development and stature, their publication, under the auspices of The Danish Society for Language and Literature (Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab), is eagerly awaited.

In the second session, four papers gave examples, from different quarters, of Brøndsted's amazing self-confidence and single-mindedness, and of his daring and highly unconventional ways. Thus, John Lund analyzed Brøndsted's report on his very first excavation (Karthæa, on the island of Keos, 1811), and showed how he had developed into a professional archaeologist overnight, so to speak. Jørgen Mejer's review of Brøndsted's posthumously published public lectures on his travels (1815-17), based on the *Diaries*, took up the important questions of the background, aims and impact of these highly original, border-crossing weekly Copenhagen events. Jørgen Steen Jensen demonstrated Brøndsted's remarkable self-confidence as director of and fundraiser for The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, an aspect of his personality displayed also by his beautiful and extraordinarily readable handwriting (fig. 1). Finally, Nadia Haupt, in her paper on Jacob Christian Lindberg and Brøndsted insisted on the latter's "directness" as a key aspect of his scholarly personality and reputation. Though often verbose, Brøndsted always expressed clear opinions. His scholarship was vast and solid, he was outspoken, and he was not accustomed to being overlooked, and so, in the perception of the highly intelligent and unconventional Jacob Lindberg, Brøndsted became a revered model of the unprejudiced, outspoken scholar.

The expectations raised by the first two sessions were not frustrated by the following. But it required the participants to make a mental turn-about. It was the other side of the coin, or the Nemesis of directness and self-confidence. Thus, Otto Schepeleern took up Brøndsted's outspokenness, unveiling him as a tolerated but

unsuccessful diplomat,<sup>1</sup> meddling and occasionally politicizing, and fundamentally unwilling to understand the narrow limits of free speech in an autocratic monarchy: a tragic hero, ahead of his time; intelligent, but not wise; idealistic, but without followers. Jakob Isager followed up on the specific issue of Brøndsted's untimely (if not scandalous) republican and "revolutionary" leanings, an issue that was looked upon with concern and severity by the kings and princes he served, and which taught Brøndsted to mind his tongue and pen. Tobias Fischer-Hansen, examining the scholarly outcome of Brøndsted's research on the topography and antiquities of the Northern coast of Sicily (1820), demonstrated that Brøndsted this time had embarked on a journey without the necessary preliminary preparation, and that he did not come to master the antiquities of Sicily as profoundly as he had mastered those of Greece ten years earlier. Finally, Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen shed new light on Brøndsted as a collector and dealer of antiquities. She focused on his failure to strike a deal on what he considered to be a fitting home (the British Museum) for his select antiquities, which he hoped would help him out of his personal financial crisis.

The fourth and last session of the symposium did not answer the great questions that confronted Brøndsted's contemporaries and still confront us today: was Brøndsted a brilliant genius or a tragic hero? It did better. It created a dynamic harmony out of the apparently conflicting trends of the previous two. This final session – and thus the symposium in general – demonstrated that many sources have not yet been examined adequately, thus pointing out the need for more research on the multiple activities of Brøndsted and the many unused sources available. Brøndsted was not a fanatic letter-writer, but his correspondence, very sparsely published, and difficult to overview, is evidently a very promising source of information and of nuances of interpretation, as demonstrated by Christ-

1. Otto Schepeleern delighted the participants of the symposium by lecturing dressed in the impressive uniform which Brøndsted would have worn as Court Agent.



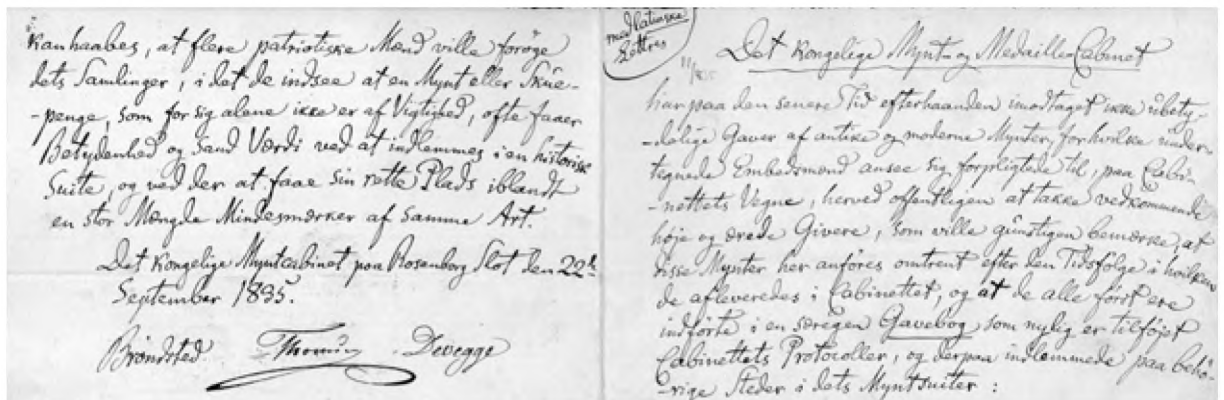


Fig. 1: Brøndsted's original manuscript to the introduction and conclusion of the first published report about the donations to The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, 1835. At the time it was unusual in Denmark to use Latin letters in hand-writing, nearly all people making use of a special Danish hand-writing, a variety of the German, 'Gothic' hand-writing. We may suppose that Brøndsted acquired his preference during his first travel to France. From the letterhead we see that Brøndsted also wanted Latin letters to be used in the print, the final word 'lettres' actually being French and not Danish ('med latinske Lettres'). the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, 11/1835.

ian Gottlieb (with important supplementary contributions by Jesper Brandt Andersen), while Jan Zahle, by combining a great variety of evidence scattered in various archives, showed Brøndsted to have been a visionary key contributor to the early development of the important collection of plaster casts of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. On her side, Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen set Brøndsted – inspired and inspiring – into the context of contemporary Danish classicism in decorative arts, while Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen, from a historian's point of view, gave vivid examples of the importance, for any assessment of Brøndsted's background and activities, of carefully scrutinizing the complex prosopography and the intertwined social networks of early 19<sup>th</sup> century Copenhagen.

Before trying to assess the long-term importance of the 2006 Brøndsted Symposium, I should like to add two further comments. The first concerns Brøndsted's papers in the Royal Library; the other, a topic that has been only casually touched upon during the symposium, is Brøndsted and the University of Copenhagen.

## II

The "papers" of Brøndsted in The Royal Library are spread over a number of individual archival units in

the so-called New Royal Collection. They include, partly intermingled, papers of both Koës and Brøndsted. While Brøndsted could sift the papers of Koës after the latter's untimely death in 1811, he had no opportunity to go through and organize his papers for posterity before his own fateful accident in 1842. Much remained for long time with the family, while substantial parts were bequeathed to the Royal Library during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Much has vanished. The manuscripts of Brøndsted's 1815-17 public lectures were for a time in the Royal Library, on loan after Dorph's edition was printed 1844, but their fate or whereabouts are today unknown. One seeks vainly, too, the manuscripts or drafts of the announced sequel to the first Parthenon-volume ("Voyages III"), considered at that time to be the fruit of Brøndsted's greatest stroke of genius. The *Diaries*, as mentioned, are being prepared for publication, and Brøndsted's letter-books have also, with time, found their way to the Royal Library. These sources, together with a quite vast collection of notes and excerpts of Koës and Brøndsted, mostly from the years in Paris, but with many later additions, have already been used by Danish archaeologists and epigraphists (e.g. J.L. Ussing), in their quest for observations and evidence that deserved to be brought to the attention of the scholarly world. However it may still

## Important years in the life of P.O. Brøndsted

Biographical sketch	1813	Returns to Copenhagen; appointed professor extraordinarius of philology
1780, 11.17 Born at the vicarage of Fruering near Skanderborg, Eastern Jutland	1813, 10.23	Marriage to Frederikke Koës
1785 The family moves to Horsens; Brøndsted attends “the learned school”, the headmaster is Oluf Worm	1814	Takes part in the establishment of the Danish Bible Society
1796 Studies theology at the University of Copenhagen	1815	Member of the commission, which revises the translation of the New Testament
1802 Graduates in theology ( <i>Attestats</i> ) at the University of Copenhagen	1815-1817	The University lectures, ‘Travels in Greece’. (“Reiser i Grækenland”, published by N.V. Dorph, Copenhagen, 1844)
1804 Earns the gold medal of the University in philology	1815	Brøndsted gets the decoration ‘Order of Dannebrog’, often called the ‘Knight’s Cross’. Consequently, for the rest of his life he often uses the title Chevalier together with his family name (in Danish, French and Italian and perhaps other languages as well).
1804 Trip to Göttingen	1818, 5.10	Frederikke dies after having given birth to their third child. The three children are left to the care of Frederikke’s sister Marie Aagaard and her husband Holger; they live at a small manor house, the Iselingen near Vordingborg, Southern Sealand
1806 Defends his thesis for a doctorate in philology, University of Copenhagen	1818	Appointed an agent of the Royal Danish Court to the Holy See
1806 Engaged to Frederikke Koës	1818	Sets out for Rome; visiting Goethe at Weimar on the way
1806 Sets out on the journey to Greece with his friend and brother-in-law, Georg Koës	1819	Arrival in Rome; receives Prince Christian Frederik (Christian VIII) and Princess Caroline Amalie when they arrive at Rome in December
1806 Stay in Weimar, also during the battle at nearby Jena		
1806-1809 Stay in Paris – prepares for the journey to Greece		
1809-1810 Stay in Rome - prepares for the journey to Greece		
1810 Brøndsted and Koës with a group of international fellow travellers arrive at Korfu in September		
1810-1813 Travels in Greece and Asia Minor		
1811 Georg Koës dies on Zante		
1811 Archaeological excavation on the island of Keos		
1812 Archaeological work on Aigina and at Philaleia		
1812 Meeting with Ali Pascha		



1820	Travels with Lord Guilford to the Ionian Islands, Malta and Sicily	1830	Second volume of "Voyages" published in a French and a German edition
1821	Stay in Naples with Christian Frederik; assists the Prince in the acquisition of a collection of antiquities, belonging to the former archbishop of Taranto	1831	London; engaged in work on Greek vases
1820-1823	Stay in Rome; working on the first volume of "Voyages"	1832	Return to Copenhagen; Appointed Keeper of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals at Rosenborg and professor ordinarius in philology and archaeology. Few months afterwards Brøndsted sets out again.
1824	Travels to London to prepare an English edition of "Voyages". It never materializes due to the bankruptcy of the publisher	1832-33	Travels to Paris and London to collect casts of Greek coins for the Coin Cabinet
1825	Stay in Paris	1836	Agent for the British Museum at the Paris auction of the collection of Greek vases belonging to Edmé Durand; collects casts of coins for the Coin Cabinet
1826	First volume of "Voyages", which is published both in a French and a German edition	1839	President of the Society for the Promotion of Danish Literature
1826-27	Studies the Parthenon sculptures in London; elected as a member of the The Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters	1839-40	Travels to Paris and London to collect casts of coins for the Coin Cabinet
1827	Visit in Denmark. In connection with a settlement of his diplomatic service, Brøndsted leaves this service, obtaining the title of a "Geheimelegationsraad"; this title is from then on often used in official letters	1842	Rector Magnificus of the University of Copenhagen
1828-30	London and Paris; studies the Parthenon sculptures for the second volume of "Voyages"	1842, 6.26	Brøndsted dies at the Frederik's Hospital, Copenhagen, after a few days before having fallen from his horse on a morning ride.

be possible to find material among the Koës and Brøndsted papers that throws new light on Brøndsted's complex personality, the stages of evolution of his plans, his engagement in many "marginal" activities, etc.

I shall give only one example. On two facing blank pages within a small notebook in Brøndsted's hand on "Phigalia" (Bassæ), which forms part of an alphabetically filed collection of excerpts and notes to himself (the major part of which, however, are in Koës' hand), one finds a plan for a series of 7 volumes of *Voyages dans la Grèce*. It seems to antedate the 8-volumes plan published by Brøndsted in December 1825. The two plans are summarized here, and compared with what Brøndsted actually published in *Voyages*:

Most significantly, the two volumes (5 & 6) of *Voyages* dedicated to the memory of Koës have disappeared from Brøndsted's plans by 1825. His decision, in 1826, to postpone to the 8<sup>th</sup> volume the Summary of the journey appearing as the introductory volume in earlier plans and as late as December 1825, as well as the insertion of a whole volume dedicated to his bronzes of Siris, are of the same kind as Brøndsted's decision (December 1825, at the latest) to drop the two Koës-volumes.

Thus, during the years following the display of the Elgin marbles in London (1826), Brøndsted definitively gave up the *Travels*-genre, more and more outdated and unsatisfactory for himself as an active scholar, and substituted for it the then-emerging *Exca-*

Phigalia-notebook	Promotional pamphlet of 1825	Published and ultimately planned as parts of <i>Voyages</i>
1. Summary of the journey	1. Summary of the journey	
2. Keos	2. Keos	1. Keos, 1826
		2. Parthenon 1, 1830
		<3. Parthenon 2>
	3. The Bronzes of Siris (Published separately in London 1836)	
3-4. Peloponnese, Phigalia, Delphi, Thessaly	4-6. Peloponnese, Phigalia, Delphi, Thessaly	
5-6. The life of Georg Koës. Greek and Turkish music in Koës's collections		
7. Ægina	7. Ægina	
	8. Current situation of Greece. Survey of all earlier travels in Greece	





Fig. 2: Stylograph executed by E. Fortling, 1841 or later, after C.A. Jensen's portrait from 1839. The stylography was a galvanoplastic way of making the task easier for the copperplate engraver. The procedure was invented in 1841. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. no. 16).

ventions-genre. When he died in 1842, *Voyages dans la Grèce* consisted of 2 monographic volumes, neither of which, really, fitted into the Travel/Voyage concept. Vol. 3 was expected to contain Brøndsted's ingenious interpretation of the Parthenon pediment sculptures, not exactly a travel report from Greece.

### III

By way of introduction to a brief comment on the relation of Brøndsted and the University of Copenhagen, I should like to mention another small document, filed under Photius in the just-mentioned Koës-Brøndsted *collectanea* in the Royal Library. It is also in Brøndsted's hand, and consists of a 28 pages review of a specimen of an edition of the lexicon of Photius, published in Copenhagen by Niels Schow in 1817. Schow was Professor of "archaeology" (in the old sense: art history and mythology) at the University of Copenhagen and at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts – and thus one of Brøndsted's teachers. Brøndsted's review, to my knowledge unpublished, is devastating, making fun even of Schow's bad Latin.

Brøndsted started at the university as an extremely gifted philologist, following the main trends of the time, that is, neo-classicism and the quest for the aesthetic depth and splendour of Greek art, and the morality of Greek philosophy and literature. In brief, Greek tragedy, and Plato. Although Mynster has diligently documented the occasions on which Brøndsted got lower marks at university exams than expected, the latter was considered to be very promising, and he was invited to join Professor Moldenhawer's visionary but ephemeral school for higher humanistic studies, the "Pædagogisk Seminarium." It aimed at forming school teachers (head-masters) with a solid classical background on top of their theological studies. Moldenhawer's Seminarium was inspired by his teacher Heyne, in Göttingen, and by Fr. A. Wolf's "philological seminars" in Halle and later in Berlin. Brøndsted now came into close contact with another of the alumni of the Copenhagen Seminar, Georg Koës, son of a rich Danish banker and recently returned after having studied with Wolf. Koës' dissertation was about the *Odyssey*, a sequel to the *Iliad*-analysis of his German teacher's famous *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795).

When Brøndsted and Koës departed for Paris in 1806, they had two projects: First, to make discoveries among the Greek manuscripts in the newly opened Bibliothèque Nationale ("Impériale" at that time). They were in quest of *anecdota*, in scholia (commentaries) and other late antique or mediaeval texts from



which long-lost information on classical splendour could be culled. This was a pure Wolfian project. Second, their aim was to prepare themselves adequately for a Greek journey, particularly by examining and making excerpts from the papers of the celebrated hellenist D'Ansse de Vilvoison (he had become foreign member of The Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters in 1779, had travelled extensively in Greece in 1785-87, and had deceased in 1805). The expectations in Copenhagen for the outcome of Brøndsted's travels were high, and when he returned from Greece, after six years, he was immediately appointed Professor of philology. After five years, however, he went abroad in order to work on the publication of the results of his travels, parts of which he had conveyed in Danish in his 1815-17 public lectures. Brøndsted subsequently took leave from his professorship and became a diplomat, the Agent of the Danish Royal Court to the Holy See.

When Brøndsted resettled in Copenhagen in 1832, two things had changed. On the one hand, he had himself developed and become more specialised as a "modern" archaeologist. On the other hand, another genius had emerged within Danish classical studies: J.N. Madvig. They were two very different personalities, socially and as scholars. For the cosmopolitan Brøndsted, the university was a useful institution insofar as it secured his income, for Madvig it was the key factor in the emergence of modern Denmark through much-needed reforms and the development of its school system. Madvig was a linguist, a grammarian, a textual critic, and he was unimpressed by Wolf's scholarship (his pupil Fr. Nutzhorn dismantled Wolf's Homer-analysis), and strongly opposed to any hollow "admiration" of ancient Greece. Initially in his academic career, following the contemporary trend, Madvig had like Brøndsted focused his attention on Greek culture and philosophy (Plato). The main achievement of his youth concerned the sources of the most Greek and most philosophical work of Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (1839). While Madvig early dominated the faculty of humanities at the University of Copenhagen, Brøndsted during his second tenure, 1832-42, became more and more marginalised. His ap-

proach to classical antiquity did not match the curricular system implemented by Madvig.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Madvig's pupils came to dominate not only the faculty of humanities, but also the posthumous academic view of Brøndsted. Often recounted is the slander about Brøndsted's coming late to examinations. His personal adoption of the title "cavaliere" has not helped to strengthen his renown in Copenhagen, although it was not usurped, and probably was useful in diplomatic contexts, or in order to get access to important private collections or to the arcane parts of public collections. Brøndsted's cosmopolitanism isolated him at home, and prevented him from having many followers. There was a "Madvigianism" in Danish humanities, but no similar group of dedicated followers of Brøndsted. The holistic approach towards ancient Greek culture, Winckelmann's approach, still vividly present in Wolf, was closely tied to the aesthetic values of the *ancient regime*, and the reaction against it under the leadership of Madvig was strong.

The centre of Brøndsted's academic life was not the University of Copenhagen, but the cultural and scholarly elites in Rome, Paris and London. What Brøndsted could do, in distant Copenhagen, was to introduce some of the brilliance and originality he had encountered in the capitals of Europe and their thriving scientific academies. His place in the history of classical studies, however, was defined by Madvig's silence, which amounted to a *damnatio memoriae*. J.L. Ussing, the earliest of Madvig's pupils to become his colleague, became Brøndsted's "successor," but his teaching of archaeology was a side-activity to philology (he edited Plautus, following Madvig's method), and he never himself conducted or participated in an excavation. When classical archaeology was established in Copenhagen as a study of its own, Brøndsted became a distant icon, taken for granted rather than understood in the totality of his unique career. The museological activities of Brøndsted in Denmark, as numismatist and as counsellor to the Academy of Fine Arts, was more rewarding, that is, his particular talents were more readily appreciated there than by the classical scholars who were his university colleagues.





Fig. 3: The bust by O. Evens was executed from a painting, 1888-89, nearly half a century after P.O. Brøndsted's death, and it testifies to the fact that Brøndsted was not forgotten. Like many other portraits and busts it entered the Danish Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, Hillerød. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. no. 22).

#### IV

Many of the papers of the present symposium have stressed Brøndsted's original approach, as a scholar and as an administrator of cultural heritage. By illuminating the cosmopolitan basis of Brøndsted's activities and scholarship, we see that much of what might seem to be a stroke of genius, or whimsical, or without any perspective in its immediate context, should perhaps be reinterpreted in this European light, and will turn out to be aligned with contemporary international standards. Thus, this symposium invites a renewed, broader, and historically more correct assessment of Brøndsted, a reassessment that includes further in-depth probings of Brøndsted's "European context". On the debit side, Brøndsted may turn out to have been less original (in the many senses of the word) than he is usually considered to be, but on the credit side, the gain will be a more coherent conceptualization of his life and of his manifold activities. The great rifts and choices of his life and scholarship will not thereby be reduced or repressed, but they will stand out all the more important and unavoidable.

In 1806, the title of *doctor philosophiae* was bestowed by the University of Copenhagen upon Petrus Olaus Brøndsted, then 25 years of age, who then set out on the journey which will always remain the pivotal point of his life. Exactly two centuries later, we must all thank the organizers of the present symposium as well as its many contributors, from Denmark and abroad, for having initiated the long-needed process of reassessment of P.O. Brøndsted.

# Catalogue of the portraits of P.O. Brøndsted

by Mikala Brøndsted

As is well known, the techniques of portraiture possible during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were those of painting, drawing, engraving, and some mechanical techniques. The epoch of photography started only a few years before P.O. Brøndsted's death in 1842, and it must be considered unlikely that any photographs of him ever existed.

Brøndsted was a cosmopolitan, associating with intellectuals and artists from various countries, a fact which is also reflected in the array of artists who portrayed him. The number of portraits is fairly considerable for his time.

The following survey includes those portraits mentioned in the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*,<sup>1</sup> supplemented by further investigations in a number of Danish museums and institutions: The Royal Library, the Danish National Gallery, The Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, the National Museum of Denmark (Departments: The Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities; The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals), the Museum of Copenhagen, and Copenhagen City Hall have been examined.<sup>2</sup>

1. DBL 1; DBL 3.

2. *The list* aims at being chronological. However some portraits are undated, in which cases their dates are based upon an estimate.

*Measurements* are noted: vertical x horizontal.

*Catalogue description* refers to the following works listed in the bibliography:

Cock-Clausen: no. in Cock-Clausen 2004.

Schultz: reg. no. in Schultz 1932.

S-number: cat. no. in Strunk 1865.

W-number: cat. no. in Westergaard 1930-1933.

*Location*: the repository and the number of originals is given.

Most of the portraits described below are reproduced in this publication.

## 1. A. Flint: Copperplate engraving (1806 or before) 8.5 x 7.5 cm. / diameter 6 cm.



This profile is the first known portrait of Brøndsted, made by the Danish engraver Andreas Flint. It was engraved probably as a 'token of remembrance' before the first long trip, which was begun in August 1806 when Brøndsted was 25 years old. His travelling companion, Georg Koës, was portrayed as well, also in profile. Flint produced a large number of portrait miniatures, using a technique referred to as Chrétien's manner (cf. next artist on the list).<sup>3</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: W 1745.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 4 original prints (one in

With regard to KB (The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), the Department of Maps, Prints and Photographs is implicit, unless another department is mentioned. All originals as well as photographic reproductions are included in the list. Size, stated as 2°, 4°, and 8°, refers to the archives. The Danish names of the institutions are, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Statens Museum for Kunst, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Nationalmuseet (Antiksamlingen; Den kgl. Mønt- og Medaillesamling), Københavns Bymuseum, Københavns Rådhus, all in Copenhagen; Det Nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg Slot, Hillerød.

3. Clementsen 1924, 1-17, 72; Weilbach, II, 320.



reddish brown) in the Agerholm collection. Also 1 photo in the same collection.

*The Museum of Copenhagen*: 1 original.

*The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*: 1 original.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Ida Haugsted.

### 2. G.-L. Chrétien: Copperplate engraving (1808)

9 x 8 cm. / diameter 6 cm.



A couple of years later, when Brøndsted resided in Paris doing preparatory studies for the expedition to Greece, he had a portrait engraved by Gilles-Louis Chrétien, musician, draughtsman, engraver, and also an inventor of a method of producing faster and easier portraits, the physionotrace.<sup>4</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: W 1746.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 1 original in the Agerholm collection. Also 1 photo in 8°.

*In family possession*: The original copperplate.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Gorm Schou-Rode.

4. The physionotrace apparatus, a mechanical wooden instrument with a viewfinder, enabled the artist to draw a profile portrait quickly. The drawing was then reduced to a smaller size and engraved in copper. (<http://users.telenet.be/thomasweynants/precursors.html>). The method is also explained in Clementsen 1921, v-ix.

Chrétien made another engraving in 1808, that of Holger Halling Aagaard, when Aagaard visited Brøndsted in Paris. Aagaard was the owner of Iselingen at Vordingborg, and he later became Brøndsted's brother-in-law.

5. AKL, XIX, 10.

### 3. Drawing (undated)

47 x 37 cm.



A large drawing on a faintly brownish background, similar to the engraving by Chrétien mentioned above, but reversed laterally. The artist could well be Chrétien. It is known that he made large portrait drawings in round frames, sometimes hand coloured, on white or darkish background.<sup>5</sup> This portrait is not mentioned in the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, and for that reason it is relatively unknown.<sup>6</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: Cock-Clausen No. 85.

LOCATION: *Copenhagen City Hall*.

*The Royal Library*: 1 photo in black and white in 4°.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Otto Schepelern.

6. This drawing, in an oval frame, was traced via a photo at KB. From the handwritten information given on the back of the photo: "Unknown male. Original drawing found, presumably at the City Hall ...". A later hand has identified the man as P.O. Brøndsted (with a question mark) and noted the comparison with the engraving of Chrétien. Considering the similarity with the engraving, as well as the information given in AKL (cf. note 5), there should be no reason to doubt the identity of the portrait, and I would say that the drawing could well have been made by Chrétien.

**4. H. H. Ploetz: Drawing (undated)**

52 x 37 cm.



A portrait of a young and handsome Brøndsted, drawn in black chalk by Hans Heinrich Ploetz, a miniature and portrait painter born in Holstein. After travels in Germany, Italy and Switzerland Ploetz settled down in Copenhagen. His works include a number of enamels and drawings. In addition, he was the inventor of an instrument used for mechanically outlining portrait profiles.<sup>7</sup> The Danish National Art Library has dated the drawing to about 1810.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: Original in 2°. Also 3 photos in 4°, and 1 photo in 8°.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Jacob Isager.

7. Weilbach, VI, 448.

8. Incidentally, the present writer came across this drawing recently in the Manuscript Department of KB, when going through a collection of Brøndsted-papers. Being a great-great-great grand

**5. C. A. Muhle (?): Drawing (undated)**

10 x 5.5 cm.



This anonymous pencil drawing was discovered by the author among Brøndsted's letters and papers in the Manuscript Department of the Royal Library.<sup>8</sup> It had been in family possession until 1966 when it was handed over to the library after the death of Johannes Brøndsted, P.O. Brøndsted's great-grandson and also a famous archaeologist. Text below the portrait: "etatsråd [titular Councillor of State] professor P.O. Brøndsted". The portrait has been glued on a cardboard, on which a later hand has added the name of Muhle with a question mark. Carl Adolph Muhle, a Danish book-keeper and stamp cutter, is described as an amateur,<sup>9</sup> and one might say that the present drawing could match this characterization. Nonetheless, Muhle had the opportunity to make several official medals, using models by, for instance, C.W. Eckersberg and Bertel Thorvaldsen.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*, Manuscript Department, New Royal Collection 4648 4°, V.

REPRODUCED: At the end of the catalogue, p. 290

daughter of P.O. Brøndsted, I found this 'new' portrait interesting. Since the drawing was not registered in the Department of Maps, Prints and Photographs, it is probably unknown.

9. Weilbach, V, 460.



### 6. C. A. Jensen: Painting (1819)

Christian Albrecht Jensen, a well-known Danish portrait painter, was a good friend of Brøndsted. They met in Rome, Jensen arriving in November 1818 two months before Brøndsted. This painting of Brøndsted from 1819 was to be the first of several by Jensen. In a letter from Rome to Prince Christian Frederik in 1819 Brøndsted mentions that Jensen has painted portraits of him, as well as of P.B. Scavenius, Carl Emil v. Scholten and Herman Schubart. None of these paintings are known today.<sup>10</sup>

LOCATION: Lost.<sup>11</sup>

### 7. C. A. Jensen: Painting (1827)

Oil on canvas, 64.5 x 51 cm.



This is no doubt the most well known of Jensen's Brøndsted paintings. It is held to be among the major works in Jensen's extensive production, and it has

been exhibited several times.<sup>12</sup> The portrait shows a man at his best age, distinct and noble. Jensen painted another portrait in 1827, that of Prince Christian Frederik, similar to the Brøndsted painting in size, colours, etc. They are in the possession of two different museums, the one of the Prince being at the Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle.<sup>13</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: Schultz No. 116.

LOCATION: *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*. Purchased in 1927.<sup>14</sup> Signed on top to the left: "Ætatis XXXXVI. Anno MDCCCXXXVII. Pinxit C. A. Jensen."

*In family possession*: A modern copy.<sup>15</sup>

REPRODUCED: In the article by Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen.

### 8. David d'Angers: Medallion relief (1831)

One-sided bronze relief, diameter 14.5 cm.



The French sculptor Pierre Jean David, called David d'Angers, made this portrait medallion when Brøndsted was in Paris. David is known for his great produc-

10. Schultz 1932, I, 36, II, 170 note 49: The letter to Prince Christian Frederik is dated the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1819. In KB, NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 1578 2°, I: Brøndsted's copybook. Another painting still preserved, among Jensen's production of small 'friends portraits' from Rome in 1819, is that of Nicolo Conradi Lunzi, Brøndsted's foster-son from Zante. The Bakkehus Museum in Copenhagen.

11. Also noted in DBL 1, IV, 301.

12. First exhibited at Charlottenborg, The Royal Academy of Fine Arts, in 1827. In one of the newspapers of Copenhagen, one could read that the exhibition included "a very lifelike portrait of our well-known travelling countryman, Professor Brøndsted." ("... og et meget lignende Portrait af vor bekjendte reisende Landsmand, Professor Brøndsted."). *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1827, page 118f.

13. Schultz 1932, I, 216-18.

14. It is known to have belonged to Oluf Hall, son of Brøndsted's daughter Marie Hall. Lund 1895, I, 55. It is also known to have belonged to Kaj Brøndsted, grandson of Brøndsted's son, Georg. Letter in The Ny Carlsberg Foundation, dated the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 1927. As the sons of Marie Hall had no heirs, it is reasonable to believe that the painting passed on to Peter Oluf Brøndsted II (a son of Brøndsted's son, Georg), before it was inherited by Peter Oluf's son, Kaj.

15. A modern copy was made for the family 100 years later, in 1927, when the original painting was purchased by the Ny Carlsberg Foundation and given to the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Investigations in both institutions have not revealed who painted the copy. The whereabouts of this copy are today unknown.

tion of statues and medallions. He designed most of his medallion portraits in profile, handling the hair unconventionally, thus adding to the liveliness of the character. Politically he was decidedly to the left, and thus shared Brøndsted's point of view.<sup>16</sup>

LOCATION: *In family possession*.<sup>17</sup>

*The National Museum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals*<sup>18</sup>. Purchased in 1935 from a Russian émigré in Paris.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen.

**9. A. Collas: Mechanical reproduction (undated)**

14.5 x 14.5 cm.



After David d'Angers' medallion relief mentioned above. The artist is Achille Collas, Frenchman and inventor of a machine used for making paper reproductions of relief works like medals and coins. The results were extremely sharp pictures close to those of photographs.<sup>19</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: S 469.<sup>20</sup>

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 3 originals in 2°.

*The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*: 1 original.

REPRODUCED: In the Preface.

16. AKL, XXIV, 451-55.

17. Possibly Brøndsted's own copy.

18. Register of Purchases, no. 1842.

19. AKL, XX, 278f.

20. This work, mentioned in Strunk 1865, is not included in its successor Westergaard 1930-1933 "as it has been made in a mechanical manner".

**10. Lemercier: Lithograph (1833)**

16 x 16 cm.



"Lith de Lemercier" appears below the portrait to the left. On the opposite side, the text "L. Dupré à son ami." According to the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*,<sup>21</sup> this lithograph was made after a drawing by L. Dupré. Whether a drawing exists is unknown. But Louis Dupré was a French painter, lithographer and illustrator – and obviously a friend of Brøndsted.<sup>22</sup> Dupré was among the illustrators of Brøndsted's *Voyages dans la Grèce*.

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: W 1747.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 1 original in 2°.

*The Danish National Gallery*: 1 original.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen.

21. DBL 3, III, 36.

22. In Brøndsted 1926 next to p.168 the portrait appears in an oval with the caption: "Maleri af La Dupré" (Painting by La Dupré). It might be a mistake since it is very similar to the lithograph, although it has been cut into an oval. Also, *La* should have been *L* (for *Louis*).



**11. C. A. Jensen: Painting (1837)**

Oil on canvas, 25.4 x 21 cm.



C.A. Jensen went to England for the first time in 1837, bringing introductory letters from Brøndsted, his benefactor who knew the right circles, to help him get established. This portrait shows a grand man, though somewhat elderly in comparison with the portrait of two years later. It was exhibited in London 1837 at the Royal Academy of Arts, and in October the same year, back in Denmark, it was exhibited in the Art Society in Copenhagen.<sup>23</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: Schultz No. 306.

LOCATION: *In family possession*.<sup>24</sup> Signed at left shoulder: "Jensen. 1837".

REPRODUCED: In the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen.

**12. C. A. Jensen: Painting (1839)**

Oil on canvas, 27.3 x 20.3 cm., 27.5 x 20.3 cm., 27 x 20.5 cm.



In 1838 Jensen was in England for the second time, and Brøndsted, his faithful supporter, commissioned several paintings of Brøndsted's scientific friends in London.<sup>25</sup> In return two of them, the architect and archaeologist Robert Cockerell and the sculptor Thomas Campbell, gave Jensen orders for portraits of Brøndsted, when Jensen went back to England on his third stay in 1839. Accordingly, Jensen painted three fairly similar portraits of Brøndsted that year.<sup>26</sup> In this portrait Brøndsted has become a mature man, distinguished, with grayish hair and a soft look in his eyes. We know that his daughters were very fond of the painting, and it was used several times in the following years as a model for other artists' works.<sup>27</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: Schultz No. 328-330.

LOCATION: *The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*. Donated in 1925-26. Original owner: Campbell. Signed at bottom to the right: "Jensen p. / Hafniæ 1839".

23. Schultz 1932, I, 332.

24. Brøndsted's son, Georg's line of succession.

25. The paintings of Cockerell, colonel William Martin Leake, the archaeologist William Richard Hamilton, and Campbell. They were all exhibited at the Charlottenborg exhibition in Copenhagen 1839. The last two paintings are listed among the missing works of C.A. Jensen in Schultz 1932. Schultz 1932, I, 75, 342; Fortegnelse 1839, 4.

26. One of them belonged to the youngest of Brøndsted's two daughters (Frederikke). The other two were purchased by Frederikke's youngest daughter (Frederikke Tuxen) from the descendants of Cockerell and Campbell, and later given as presents to the two museums mentioned under *Location*. Schultz 1932, I, 344-46, II, 128.

27. Cf. the article by Karin Kryger in this publication.

*In private possession*<sup>28</sup>: A replica. Signed at left shoulder: "Iensen p."

*The Danish National Gallery*: A replica. Donated in 1915. Original owner: Cockerell. Signed at bottom to the left: "Iensen p. 1839".

REPRODUCED: In the Introduction.

**13. N. C. Fausing: Cut silhouettes (undated)**

Ca. 10 x 5 cm.



Seven different cuts in black paper. They vary slightly in size, the height being between 9 and 11 cm. The silhouettes have been assigned to Niels Christian Fausing, vicar and silhouettist, also known as the Silhouettist from St. Pederstræde. In his young days and probably during his student years he made a living by cutting silhouettes, very elaborate and lifelike. He sold his cuts at a low price, so at a time when photography was not yet available, whole families were able to have themselves portrayed. Fausing's production also includes a great number of prominent persons around the late 1830's. Some of the silhouettes wear the cross of an order of chivalry, a typical feature in Fausing's

28. According to Schultz 1932, II, 128, it was exhibited at the Copenhagen City Hall in 1901, and at the Art Society in Copenhagen in 1922. The whereabouts of this painting are today unknown.

cuts.<sup>29</sup> This order is visible on 3 of the Brøndsted-silhouettes.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 5 different originals in 8°. Also 1 facsimile (different from the others) in 8°.

*The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*: 1 original different from those at The Royal Library.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Nadia Haupt.

**14. C. A. Jensen: Painting (1842)**

Oil on canvas, 69.6 x 54.9 cm.



A repetition of the 1827 painting. Jensen worked at the Royal Collection of Portraits at Frederiksborg Castle for several years, painting copies of his own works as well as of other painters' works. The portrait could be posthumous.

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: Schultz No. 117.

LOCATION: *The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*. Signed at left shoulder: "Iensen p."

REPRODUCED: In the article by Christian Gottlieb.

29. Duus 1998, 157-67.



**15. Bing & Ferslew: Lithograph (1842 or later)**

16 x 16 cm.

A variant of the above mentioned lithograph issued by Lith de Lemerrier 1833 (portrait no. 10), as the name below the portrait to the left has been replaced with "Bing & Ferslew lith. Etab." This lithographic establishment was founded by H.J. Bing and M.W. Ferslew in 1842, the year Brøndsted died.<sup>30</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: W 1747.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 2 originals in 2°, and 2 originals in 4°. Also 2 photos in 8°.

*The Museum of Copenhagen*: 1 original.

*The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*: 1 original.

**16. Edvard Fortling: Stylograph (undated)**

11.5 x 9.5 cm.



Edvard Fortling, a Danish lithographer, made this stylograph<sup>31</sup> after C.A. Jensen's painting from 1839. Very rare, exists in trial proof only, as it was never published.

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: W 1748.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 1 original in 4°. Also 1 photo in 8°.

*The Museum of Copenhagen*: 1 original.

*The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*: 1 original.

*The Danish National Gallery*: 1 original.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Ivan Boseup.

**17. Em. Barentzen & Co. Lith. Inst.: Lithograph (1844)**

9 x 9 cm.



After C.A. Jensen's painting from 1839. Emiliev Barentzen was a portrait painter and lithographer with a large production. In 1837 he founded his own lithographic establishment together with H.L. Dan-chell.<sup>32</sup> This lithograph, which has Brøndsted's signature in facsimile, was published in *P.O. Brøndsted's Reise i Grækenland i Aarene 1810-13*, edited by N.V. Dorph in 1844, two years after Brøndsted died.

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: W 1749.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 1 original in 4°, and 1 original in 8°. Also 1 copy in 2° produced mechanically, and 1 photo in 8°.

*The Museum of Copenhagen*: 1 original.

*The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*: 1 original.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Jørgen Mejer.

30. Levin 1927, I, 255.

31. Stylography was a reproduction technique invented in 1841 by P. Schøler, Danish lithographer and engraver. It was a galvanoplastic way of lightening the task of the copperplate en-

graver. Information from the records of the Department of Maps, Prints and Photographs at KB.

32. Weilbach, I, 458-59.

**18. Anders Hansen: Copperplate engraving (1844)**

9 x 9 cm.

After C.A. Jensen's painting from 1839. Very like the lithograph mentioned above, and published in *Magasin for Natur- og Menneskekundskab* in 1844<sup>33</sup> along with an article on Brøndsted's life. The name of the engraver appears in the magazine, on the page next to the portrait. Anders Hansen was an engraver, working primarily from models of other graphical works.<sup>34</sup>

CATALOG DESCRIPTION: W 1750.

LOCATION: *The Royal Library*: 2 originals in 4°.

*The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*: 1 original.

**19. C. A. Jensen: Painting (1845)**

This painting no longer exists. It was most likely lost, among many others, in the fire of Frederiksborg Castle in 1859. From the accounts of Frederiksborg we know that Jensen delivered a life-sized painting of Brøndsted in 1845. From preserved paintings we also know that Jensen at that time made a number of splendid life-sized portraits after small originals. It is reasonable to believe that the Brøndsted painting now lost was modelled after the small 1839-painting.<sup>35</sup>

LOCATION: Lost.

**20. H.V. Bissen: Relief on funeral stele (1859-60)**

Based on David d'Angers' medallion relief, and probably also inspired by one of Jensen's paintings.<sup>36</sup> Herman Wilhelm Bissen, the well-known sculptor with a large production of all sorts of sculpture,<sup>37</sup> created this portrait relief on Brøndsted's funeral stele to the order of his daughter Marie Hall.

LOCATION: The funeral monument in the *Assistens' Cemetery*, Copenhagen.

2 replicas in marble, probably *in family possession*.

Copy in plaster, formerly at the *University of Copenhagen*, now lost.<sup>38</sup>

*The Royal Library*: 3 photos in 4°.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Karin Kryger.

**21. Constantin Hansen: Painting (1877)**

Oil on canvas, 66 x 52.5 cm.

Copy after C.A. Jensen's painting from 1827.<sup>39</sup> Constantin Hansen,<sup>40</sup> born in Rome and son of the Danish portrait painter Hans Hansen, painted this copy to the order of Brøndsted's daughter, Marie Hall. She gave it

33. MNM, VI, 4, no. 10, 73.

34. Weilbach, III, 104.

35. Schultz 1932, I, 63, 346, II, 156 no. 533.

36. Cf. the article by Karin Kryger in this publication.

37. Weilbach, I, 269-71.

38. The National Museum of Denmark, Antiquarian-Topographical Archive.

39. In DBL 3, III, 36 the year of the Hansen copy is 1847, but according to Bjørneboe 1990, 53 the portrait was painted in 1877:

“Constantin Hansen var på det tidspunkt en gammel, træt mand. Men det har næppe været ham ukært at løse denne opgave til minde om en af sine samtidige, der ligesom han selv havde levet og åndet for den klassiske oldtid” (“Constantin Hansen was at that time a tired old man. However, it was hardly displeasing for him to do this painting in memory of one of his contemporaries for whom Classical Antiquity had been his whole life, as it was for himself”).

40. Weilbach, III, 119-21.



as a present to Horsens State School<sup>41</sup> where her father had had his schooling under Oluf Worm, the learned and devoted headmaster who inspired Brøndsted to the study of ancient Greece.

LOCATION: *Horsens Statsskole*. Unsigned.

In family possession: A copy (?).<sup>42</sup>

## 22. Otto Evens: Bust in plaster (1888-89)



Otto Evens, Danish sculptor<sup>43</sup>, made this bust from a painting nearly 50 years after the death of Brøndsted. It was offered to the museum at Frederiksborg Castle, which bought it from the sculptor in 1889.

LOCATION: *The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle*.

REPRODUCED: In the article by Ivan Boseup.

41. Clausen 1932, 94: ... til Erindring om "den mest udmærkede Discipel, som nogensinde er dimitteret fra Horsens Skole" (... in the memory of "the brightest pupil that was ever graduated from Horsens School").

42. A copy, unsigned and undated, is in the possession of the family. It belonged to Johannes Brøndsted until his death in 1965, and according to oral tradition Constantin Hansen painted it. The measurements of this painting are approximately the same as that of Horsens Statsskole.

43. Weilbach, II, 259-60.

44. Sass 1963, II, 87: Letter from Rome the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1823: "Jeg maa dog fortælle Dig en lille Ting, som maaske vil fornøje dig: Thorwaldsen vil endelig gjøre min Büste og minder mig daglig om at jeg snart maa sidde for ham til denne Hensigt; jeg raader ham vel til at han hellere skulle anvende sin Tid til noget bedre,

There might be portraits missing from this list. We do know that there were paintings that have been lost. However, the number of portraits known is quite considerable for this period, suggesting that Brøndsted was a person concerned with his image and his reputation.

To the list of known and lost portraits we might even add an *intended* but probably never executed marble bust by Bertel Thorvaldsen. Brøndsted tells about it in a letter to his sister-in-law, Marie Aagaard: "I must mention to you a little thing that might amuse you: Thorwaldsen insists on making my bust and reminds me daily that I have to sit for him for this purpose; I advise him well to spend his time on something better, but it does not help, on the other hand, I am proud that this excellent man loves me".<sup>44</sup> Brøndsted's extensive correspondence with the family, Prince Christian Frederik and other friends testifies to a close relationship with Thorvaldsen during their years in Rome. Brøndsted was a great admirer of Thorvaldsen who, in return, was probably grateful to Brøndsted because of his encouragement and support in many ways.

Even though Brøndsted had accepted Thorvaldsen's offer with pleasure, on the condition that Thorvaldsen would first model a small monument for his deceased wife<sup>45</sup>, there is no evidence that the bust nor the monument were ever executed.<sup>46</sup>

It is outside the scope of this paper to investigate further the relationship between Brøndsted and his portraitists. One of them, however, occurs several times on the list: C.A. Jensen. Accordingly, a brief

men det hjælper ikke, ogsaa vilde jeg ikke, oprigtig talt, at det skulde hjælpe, thi jeg er stolt af at denne udmærkede Mand elsker mig".

45. Cf. the article by Karin Kryger in this publication.

46. Sass 1963, II, 86-90, III, 112: Thorvaldsen's account books do not mention any bust of Brøndsted. Two unidentified busts at Thorvaldsen's Museum have been examined, but most likely none of them are Brøndsted. Also, no mentioning of the bust has been found in later letters from Brøndsted. It has been presumed that a loan from Thorvaldsen given to Brøndsted just before his departure from Rome on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1823 might be part of the explanation. Brøndsted was never able to pay back his debt to Thorvaldsen, a fact that in the long run had an influence on their relationship.

look at their relationship would be appropriate. Their friendship went back to their time in Rome, where Brøndsted, 12 years older than Jensen, became a kind of patron to the young painter. Brøndsted soon had a keen eye for Jensen's talent. Sigurd Schultz cites two letters to Prince Christian Frederik in which Brøndsted refers to his friend: "It seems to me that Jensen could make himself a copyist of considerable skill, but I also think that he ought to stay with copying." In another letter written in July 1819: "A rare talent to catch the similarity of nature, an important skill for the portrait painter, is what Jensen recently developed before his departure to Florence. The presence of many fellow countrymen here and their desire in that matter induced Jensen to paint many of us in small portraits quickly first-class ... Many of these sketches are strikingly lifelike".<sup>47</sup>

Together with Prince Christian Frederik, Brøndsted was said to be among the most faithful benefactors of Jensen. The portrait painter was constantly short of money, and we know that in Rome he became heavily indebted to Brøndsted.<sup>48</sup> When Brøndsted came to Rome in 1819 he brought with him a considerable fortune owing to the inheritance from his newly deceased wife, Frederikke. Two years later, however, most of it had been spent, and his financial situation had changed radically. Nevertheless, Brøndsted's willingness to help Jensen is evident from a letter written to Jensen, now in Florence, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August 1821:

"H<sup>m</sup> Jensen zu Florenz      Rom den 22 August 1821  
Lieber h<sup>t</sup> Jensen !

Es hat mir sehr leid gethan aus ihrem Brief vom 16 d. M. den ich gestern empfang, zu erfahren dass Sie sich in einer nicht angenehmen Lage durch Geldverlegenheit befinden.

Wiewohl ich für den Augenblick nichts weniger als mit Geld wohl versehen bin, muss ich dennoch das Meinige thun um Sie aus der üblen Lage einigermaassen heraus zu helfen, indem ich Ihnen sogleich den Werth von den verlangten 10 Louisd'ors<sup>49</sup> (zwey und vierzig Francesconi<sup>50</sup>) in Wechsel auf das Hauss Emanuele Fenzi & C<sup>o</sup><sup>51</sup> übersende. Ausser 10 Louisd'ors in Gold habe ich noch um diesen Wechsel bej Torlonia<sup>52</sup> zu haben *einen Scudo*<sup>53</sup> und *fünf Bajochi*<sup>54</sup> bezahlt damit auch die Commission hier liquidirt sey, ich bemerke dies damit Sie sich bej dem dortigen Banquier nicht das Allermindeste abwickeln lassen. Sie müssen ihre 42 Francesconi und 92 Centesimi<sup>55</sup> rein aus ohne den geringsten Abzug haben; und mir sind Sie somit 45 Scudi Romani und 5 Bajochi schuldig welche Sie mir einst, wenn ihre Finanzen sich bessern, rembourseren werden.

Den *Lascia passare*<sup>56</sup> sollen Sie vor 14 Tage haben. Ich habe heute nicht Zeit gefunden deshalb bejm Cardinal anzusprechen.

Ich werde nächstens versuchen Ihnen wenigstens, von S<sup>t</sup> Exc. Geh. R. v. Bülow<sup>57</sup> einiges Geld als Vorschuss zu verschaffen. ich habe die Ehre diesen vor-

47. Schultz 1932, I, 42-43: Letter the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1819: "Det synes mig, at Jensen kan bringe det til en høj Grad af Dygtighed i Copien, men jeg troer også, at han somhelst skulle blive ved denne". Letter the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1819: "Et sjældent Talent til at træffe Ligheden efter Naturen, en vigtig Egenskab hos Portrætmaleren, udviklede Jensen her paa den sidste tid før hans Afrejse til Florenz. Mange Landsmænds Nærværelse her og flere af disses Ønske i denne Henseende foranledigede Jensen til at male mange af os i smaa Hovedstykker hurtigen alla prima ... Mange af disse Maleriskizzer ere frappant lignende". In KB, NKS, 1578 2°, I.

48. Schultz 1932, I, 43: "dieses ewige leihen von Thorvaldsen und Brøndstedt" ("these unending loans from Thorvaldsen and Brøndstedt"), as Jensen puts it.

49. French gold coin first minted in 1640, weight c. 1820 was 6.42-6.44 grams.

50. Florentine silver coin from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, 32 grams and silver content 29,677 grams. In 1820 a francescone weighed c. 27.50 grams and the fineness was 917 ‰. The name *francescone* was used for all later Tuscan scudi,.

51. An important financial company in Florence.

52. Banker etc. in Rome.

53. Italian silver coin, comparable to the *thalers*, *dollars* etc., it's weight c. 1820 was c. 26.4 grams with a fineness of 917 ‰.

54. Small change in the Papal State from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, c. 1820 it was a copper coin.

55. The smallest modern Italian coin, 1% of a Lira, a copper coin.

56. Passport.

57. Lord Chamberlain Johan Bülow was a patron of the arts. DBL 3, III, 107f.



trefflichen Mann recht gut zu kennen, und Er wird sich wohl nicht weigern Ihnen, wenn ich ihn ordentlich darum bitte, diese Gefälligkeit zu erzeigen.

...

Ich freue mich sehr darauf Sie selbst und ihre neuen Arbeiten bei uns in Rom zu sehen. – Ihre Freunde sind alle, Gottlob! wohl – und jeder ist fleissig im seinigen. Thorwaldsens *Polotsky*<sup>58</sup> und das Model zu der *Christusstatue* für die Metropolitankirche<sup>59</sup> von Copenhagen sind über die Maasin herrlich. Freund arbeitet an seinem *Mercur* – ich bin mit der Redaction der ersten *Livraisons* meines Werks<sup>60</sup> über Griechenland beschäftigt.

...

Ganz ergebenst  
der Ihrige  
Brøndsted

Kön: dänischer Geschäftsträger<sup>61</sup> zu Rom<sup>62</sup>

Brøndsted himself got into lifelong financial troubles, being endlessly in debt to the Aagaard family at Iselingen, where Brøndsted's motherless children were brought up. Brandt Andersen puts the interrelation this way: Brøndsted's debt to the Aagaards, Jensen's debt to Brøndsted, and Brøndsted's enthusiasm over Jensen's paintings might well have contributed to the many orders for paintings that Brøndsted placed with Jensen, a number of them being presents to the Aagaards.<sup>63</sup> Jensen is known to have painted more than 600 portraits during his lifetime, among which were quite a few of Brøndsted, his relatives and his friends.

Had Brøndsted lived a few decades later, he would no doubt have left us a number of *photographic* portraits in addition to the list above. For that matter one could have wished that Brøndsted and his fellow excavators had had access to photographic techniques to illustrate their archaeological discoveries – but that is quite another story.



Fig. 10. Profile drawing of P.O. Brøndsted, anonymous and undated. It is supposed to have been drawn by C.A. Muhle, whose artistic creations appear to have been concentrated to the period 1824-29. The orthography of the inscription supports this date, perhaps c. 1830. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat.no. 5)

58. Probably a mistake for Potocki – a Polish aristocratic family of which Thorwaldsen made several busts and/or statues.

59. The Cathedral of Copenhagen.

60. Brøndsted 1826-1830.

61. This was not one of Brøndsted's official titles. Cf. the article by Otto Schepelein in this publication.

62. Copy in KB, NKS, 4648 4°, I.4.

63. Andersen 2005, 93.

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See under O.



## Index of Persons

- Aagaard, Georg (1811-57), 191  
Aagaard, Holger Halling (1785-1866), 39,  
131, 184 seq., 190, 204, 206, 211, 280, 290, 291  
Aagaard, Marie (née Koës) (1790-1858), 47, 131,  
190, 204, 206, 207, 211, 266, 288, 290 seq.  
Aberdeen, Lord, George Hamilton Gordon, 4<sup>th</sup>  
Earl of (1784-1860), 24 seq.  
Abildgaard, Nicolai (1743-1809), 204, 206 seq.,  
214  
Adler, Johan Gunder (1784-1852), 72, 77, 94,  
155  
Ali Pacha (or Pasha) of Tepelini (1744-1822), 19,  
21 seq., 50, 52, 117, 120 seq., 123, 140, 201  
Allardyce, (*floruit* c. 1820), 72  
Allason, Thomas (1796-1852), 57  
Andersen, Hans Christian (1805-75), 194, 203,  
272  
Annesley, Lord George, see Valentia, Viscount  
Arendt, Martin Friedrich (1773-1823), 238  
Arentzen, Kristian (1823-99), 40  
Auckland, Lord, George Eden, 2<sup>nd</sup> baron of, 1<sup>st</sup>  
Earl of (1784-1849), 25  
Augustenborg, Frederik Christian, Duke of  
(1765-1814), 186  
Augustenborg, Christian August (1798-1869) and  
Frederik (1800-65), Dukes of, 104  
  
Baade, Knud Andreassen (1808-79), 215  
Baden, Jacob (1735-1804), 184  
Baggesen, Jens Immanuel (1764-1826), 40, 186  
Bang, Peter Georg (1797-1861), 202  
Bankes, William John (1786-1855), 150 seq.  
Baring, Alexander, 1<sup>st</sup> baron Ashburton (1773-  
1848), 151  
  
Barrow, Sir John, 1<sup>st</sup> baronet (1764-1848), 25  
Barry, Charles (1795-1860), 57  
Barthélémy, Jean-Jacques (1716-95), 175  
Beaufort, Sir Francis (1774-1857), 25  
Behnes, William (1795-1864), 16  
Berge, Matthew (d.1819), 29  
Bernadotte, see Carl XIV Johan  
Bernstorff, Christian (1769-1835), 98  
Berwick, Fitz-James-Stuart, Duque de Alba de  
Tormes, 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of (1794-1835), 81 seq.  
Bindesbøll, Michael Gottlieb (1800-56), 211 seq.,  
264, 266-8  
Bing, Herman Jacob (1776-1844), 286  
Biscari, Ignazio V Paternò Castello, Prince of  
(1719-86), 86-8  
Biscari, Ignazio VII Paternò Castello, Prince of  
(1781-1844), 87-9  
Bissen, Herman Wilhelm (1798-1868), 79, 85,  
87, 92, 264, 267-9, 287  
Böckh, August (1785-1867), 79  
Böttiger, Carl August (1760-1835), 168  
Bonaparte, Lucien, Prince of Canino (1775-  
1840), 163  
Bonaparte, Napoleon, see also Napoleon I  
Borrel, Henry Perigal (1795-1851), 253  
Broughton, John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1869), 54  
Bruce, Thomas, see Elgin, Lord  
Brun, Friederikke (née Münter) (1765-1835)  
Bruun, Malthe Conrad (in France: Malte-Brun)  
(1775-1826), 186  
Brøndsted, Andreas Christian (1801-75), 244,  
247  
Brøndsted, Christian (1742-1823), 47  
Brøndsted (née Koës), Frederikke (1790-1818),

- 47, 53, 105, 184, 190, 203 seq., 206, 264, 267, 289, 291
- Brøndsted, Frederikke Koës, see Treschow
- Brøndsted, Georg (1813-78), 268, 282
- Brøndsted, Johannes (1890-1965), 201, 281, 288
- Brøndsted, Kaj (1873-1931), 282
- Brøndsted, Maria Augusta, see Hall
- Brøndsted (née Petersen), Mette Augusta (1758-1832), 47, 123
- Brøndsted, Peter Oluf (1780-1842), *passim*
- Brøndsted, Peter Oluf (II) (1843-1923), 282
- Buck, Adam (1759-1833), 163, 168
- Burgon, Thomas (1787-1858), 154, 165, 253
- Bülow, Johan (1751-1828), 289
- Byron, George Gordon, 6<sup>th</sup> Lord (1788-1824), 43, 54, 58, 82, 121, 181
- Bærentzen, Emilus Ditlev (1799-1868), 109, 286
- Campanari, Secondiane (1808-55), 152-4, 158, 163 seq.
- Campbell, Thomas (1790-1858), 284
- Canova, Antonio (1757-1822), 219
- Capodistrias, Count Ioannis (d. 1831), 124
- Caramanico, Princess of (*floruit* 1807), 40
- Carl XIV Johan (1774-1844), King of Sweden 1818, 98
- Caroline Amalie (1796-1881), born Duchess of Augustenborg, Queen of Denmark 1839-48, 135, 140, 214, 291
- Carrey, Jacques (1649-1726), 174, 178, 222
- Cassas, Louis François (1756-1827), 57
- Castellari, (*floruit* 1836), 254
- Chandler, Richard (1737-1810), 43, 45, 51, 114
- Charles X (1757-1836), King of France 1824-30, 60
- Chiaveri, Luigi (c.1780-1837), 100 seq., 105, 131, 217
- Choiseul-Gouffier, Marie Gabriel Auguste Laurent, Count of (1752-1817), 149, 219
- Chrétien, Gilles-Louis (1754-1811), 36, 99, 280
- Christian VIII, see below
- Christian Frederik (1786-1848), Prince of Denmark; King as Christian VIII 1839, 9, 11, 53, 77, 80 seq., 91, 94, 103 seq., 106, 124 seq., 127-42, 149, 153 seq., 157, 186, 195, 205 seq., 214, 216-20, 222 seq., 230, 247, 253, 255, 258, 260, 282, 288 seq., 291 seq.
- Clarke, Edward Daniel (1769-1822), 58
- Clausen, Henrik Nicolaj (1793-1877), 183
- Cockerell, Charles Robert (1788-1863), 25, 34, 44, 51, 60, 64, 95, 114 seq., 149 seq., 171, 173, 178, 272, 284 seq.
- Collas, Achille (1794-1859), 12, 283
- Combe, Taylor (1774-1826), 144
- Compton, Spencer Joshua Alwyn, 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Northampton (1790-1851), 169 seq.
- Consalvi, Ercole (1757-1824), 101, 103 seq., 134, 289
- Copeland, captain, Royal Navy, 29
- Creuzer, Georg Friedrich (1771-1858), 183
- Curtius, Ernst (1814-96), 15
- Dalgas, family, 98
- Danchell, H.L. (1802-71), 286
- Dannecker, Johann Heinrich von (1758-1841), 214, 216, 219
- David d'Angers, Pierre-Jean (1788-1856), 12, 220, 250, 269, 282, 287
- Dehli-Ianni, 22
- Devegge, Ole (1772-1847), 249 seq., 254 seq., 262
- Di Blasi Salvatore Maria (1719-1814), 94
- Dodwell, Edward (1767-1832), 55, 57 seq.
- Dorow, Wilhelm (1790-1846), 163
- Dorph, Niels Vinding (1783-1858), 35, 131, 141, 200, 218, 291
- Doubleday, John (1799-1856), 253
- Douglas, Frederick Sylvester North (1791-1819), 64
- Dreyer, Christopher Vilhelm (1738-1810), 40
- Du Moncel (or Dumoncel), Théodore (1821-84), 59
- Dupré, Louis (1789-1837), 60, 194, 254, 283
- Durand, Edmé-Antoine (1768-1835), 154, 156, 158, 162, 164, 166-9, 172, 192, 224, 254, 292
- Eastlake, Charles Lock (1793-1865), 57
- Eckersberg, Christoffer Wilhelm (1783-1853), 247



- Eden, George, see Auckland, Lord
- Elgin, Lord, Thomas Bruce, 7<sup>th</sup> earl of Elgin and 11<sup>th</sup> earl of Kincardine (1766-1841), 54, 56, 58, 107, 114, 169, 216, 219, 223 seq., 230, 232
- Elgin, Lady, Elisabeth, born Townsend (1790-1860), 54
- Ellis, Henry (1777-1869), 144, 151
- Engelbreth, Wolf Frederik (1771-1862), 187
- Erskine, Sir James, 74
- Evens, Otto (1826-95), 278, 288
- Falbe, Christian Tuxen (1791-1849), 247, 255, 268
- Falck, Anna Mathea, see Koës
- Falck, Caroline (1780-1856), 184
- Fanelli, F. (*floruit* late 17<sup>th</sup> century), 175
- Fausing, Niels Christian (1806-57), 246, 285
- Fauvel, Louis-Francois-Sébastien (1753-1838), 43 seq., 54, 57, 60, 75 seq., 219, 222
- Feoli, Vincenzo (c.1750, or more probably later – 1831), 163
- Ferdinand, (1792-1863), Prince of Denmark, 257
- Ferdinando III (Ferdinand), (1751-1825), King of Naples and Sicily 1759, of Two Sicilies 1816, 92, 104, 124, 135
- Ferslew, Martinus William (1801-52), 280
- Finati, Giovanni (1786-1829-(?)), 218
- Finlay, George (1799-1875), 19
- Flaxman, John (1755-1826), 162
- Flint, Andreas (1767-1824), 48 seq., 279
- Forbin, Louis Nicole Philippe Auguste, comte de (1777-1841), 60, 81, 88, 149
- Forshall, Josiah (1795-1863), 151, 156
- Fossati, Melchiade (*floruit* c. 1830), 163
- Foster, John (1786-1846), 44, 51, 64, 272
- Fortling, Edvard (1809-75), 276, 286
- Frederik VI (1768-1839), King of Denmark 1808, 106 seq., 133, 140, 186, 200 seq., 214, 217, 250, 253-7
- Frederik VII (1808-63), King of Denmark 1848, 257
- Freund, Georg Christian (1821-1900), 268
- Freund, Hermann Ernst (1786-1840), 206-8, 220 seq., 224, 226, 229, 231 seq., 268 seq.
- Gell, William (1777-1836), 28, 52, 57
- Gemmellaro, Carlo (1786-1866)
- Gemmellaro, Mario (1773-1839), 88-90
- Gemzøe, Peter Hermann (1811-79), 233
- George IV (1762-1830), King of England and Hannover from 1820, 79, 230
- Gerhard, Friedrich Wilhelm Eduard (1795-1867), 165
- Gerlach, Conrad Frederik (c.1769-1861), 240
- Gianelli, Domenico Maria (c.1724-1801), 224 seq.
- Giovannini (*floruit* c. 1820), 195
- Goethe, Johan Wolfgang von (1749-1832), 37, 48, 82, 89, 118, 181, 183, 187, 216, 291
- Gordon, George Hamilton, see Aberdeen, Earl of
- Grégoire, Henri (1750-1831), 40
- Gröger, Friedrich Carl (1766-1838), 102
- Gropius, Georg Christian (1776-1850), 51, 60, 75, 133
- Grove, Frits Nordahl (1822-85)
- Grundtvig, Nikolaj Frederik Severin (1783-1872), 118, 126, 183, 247
- Guildford, Lord, Frederick North, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of (1766-1827), 60, 64, 94, 135, 292
- Guillet, Georges de Saint George (1624-1705), 176
- Guilletière, see Guillet
- Hackert, Philip, (1737-1807), 84
- Hage, Johannes Dam (1800-37), 114, 212
- Hall, Augusta Marie Frederikke (née Brøndsted) (1816-91), 105, 141, 192, 209, 264, 268 seq., 282, 287
- Hall, Carl Christian (1812-88), 105, 192, 209
- Haller von Hallerstein, Carl Baron von (1774-1817), 42 seq., 50 seq., 59, 114-6, 272
- Hamilton, William Lord (1730-1803), 152, 166 seq., 169, 172
- Hamilton, Emma Lady (1765-1815), 172
- Hamilton, William John (1805-67), 32
- Hamilton, Sir William Richard (1777-1859), 25, 151, 154-6, 158, 164-5, 284
- Hammerich (née Aagaard), Anna Mathea (1820-1904), 192, 210

- Hammerich, Holger (1845-1915), 210  
 Hammerich, Martin Johannes (1811-81), 192, 210, 212  
 D'Hancarville, Pierre Francois Hugues (1729-1800), 166, 168  
 Hansen, Anders (1810-79), 287  
 Hansen, Christian Frederik (1756-1845), 94  
 Hansen, Constantin (1804-80), 203, 287  
 Hansen, Hans (1769-1828), 287  
 Harnisch, Johann Baptist (1778-1826), 258  
 Hartmann, Moritz (1657-95), 147  
 Hase, Karl Benedict (1780-1864), 40, 171  
 Hauch, Adam Wilhelm (1755-1838), 80, 240, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 262  
 Hauch, Carsten (1793-1872), 231 seq.  
 Haus, Joseph Joachim, Baron (1748-1833), 95  
 Hawkins, Edward (1780-1867), 148, 152, 156 seq., 165, 169 seq., 172, 222-4  
 Hawkins, John (1761-1841), 29, 158  
 Haxthausen, Ove Christian (1777-1842), 224, 251, 253, 255, 262  
 Hay, Robert (1799-1863), 25  
 Heger, Carl (1771-1836), 186 seq.  
 Heger, Christiane, see Oehlenschläger  
 Heger, Hans (1749-1819), 186  
 Heger, Kamma, see Rahbek, Kamma  
 Heiberg, Peter Andreas (1758-1841), 107, 186  
 Henning, John (1771-1851), 26  
 Hennings, August (1746-1826), 264  
 Hetsch, Gustav Friedrich (1788-1864), 208  
 Heyne, Christian Gottlob (1729-1812), 45, 276  
 Hilaire, Jean-Baptiste (1753-1822), 57  
 Hildebrand, Bror Emil (1806-84), 262  
 Hilker, Georg C. (1807-75), 209  
 Hittorf, Jakob Ignaz (1792-1867), 94  
 Hjort, Peder (1793-1871), 106  
 Hobhouse, John Cam (1786-1869), 59  
 Hohlenberg, Matthias Hagen (1797-1845), 183, 244  
 Holmboe, Christopher Andreas (1796-1882), 261  
 Hope, Thomas (1769-1831), 57, 162, 167 seq.  
 Hornemann, Emil (1809-70), 213  
 Houël, Jean Pierre Louis Laurent (1735-1813), 93  
 Hübsch, Christian (d.1814), 50  
 Hudgson, Francis (1781-1852), 43  
 Humboldt, Alexander (1769-1859), 50  
 Humboldt, Wilhelm (1767-1835), 50  
 Høyen, Niels Lauritz (1798-1870), 220, 224  
 Jacquet, F.-H., (*floruit* 1818-46), 219 seq., 222  
 Jensen, Christian Albrecht (1792-1870), 10, 109, 129, 157, 182, 203, 211 seq., 269, 282, 284-90  
 Kalkbrenner, Friedrich (1785-1849), 40  
 Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804), 91  
 Kephhalides, A.W. (*floruit* 1818), 83  
 Kierkegaard, Søren Aabye (1813-55), 184, 194 seq.  
 Kindgreen, Carl Frederik (-1781-1815), 224  
 Kinnard, William (1788-1839), 57  
 Kittendorf, Johan Adolph (1820-1902), 238  
 Kiærskou, Jacob (d.1810), 245  
 Klenze, Leo von (1784-1864), 95  
 Knight, Richard Payne (1751-1824), 170  
 Knuth, Frederik Marcus (1813-56), 191 seq.  
 Koch, Jørgen Hansen (1787-1860), 204, 206  
 Koës, Anna Mathea (née Falck) (1757-92), 47  
 Koës, Frederikke, see Brøndsted  
 Koës, Georg Ditlev Frederik (1731-1804), 47  
 Koës, Georg Heinrich Carl (1782-1811), 9, 11, 36, 3, 41-4, 46-52, 59, 108, 112, 203, 206, 272, 274-6, 279, 291  
 Koës, Marie, see Aagaard  
 Kopisch, August (1799-1853), 96  
 Krarup, Niels Bygom (1792-1842), 126  
 Krohn, Frederik Christopher (1806-83), 193, 219  
 Köhl, Henrik (1793-1866), 262  
 Kuhlau, Friederich Daniel Rudolph (1786-1832), 195  
 Landolina, Mario, 89  
 Landolina Nava, Saverio (1743-1814), 88  
 Lange, Julius (1838-96), 75, 217, 235  
 Leake, Elizabeth (née Wray Wilkins) (d. in or after 1860), 31  
 Leake, William Martin (1777-1860), 15-34, 57, 154, 165, 176, 272, 284  
 Lechevalier, Jean Baptiste (1752-1836), 45



- Lehmann, Annette Marie Bolette (née Puggaard) (1821-49), 213
- Lehmann, Orla (1810-70), 213
- Lemercier, Joseph (1803-87), 194, 254, 283, 286
- Lenormant, Charles (1802-59), 165
- Letronne, Jean Antoine (1787-1848), 171
- Linck, Jacob (1787-1841), 42, 50, 60, 64, 66 seq., 71, 272
- Lindberg, Jacob Christian (1797-1857), 183, 192, 238-48, 261, 273
- Liszt, Franz (1811-86), 123, 195
- Logotheti, Alexander (*floruit* c.1799-1810...), 50
- Logothetis, Spyridon, 54
- Long, Henry Lawes (1795-1868), 77, 82, 84 seq., 91, 155 seq.
- Ludwig I (1786-1868), Crown Prince, later King of Bavaria (1825-48), 50-2, 216 seq.
- Lund, Johan Ludvig Gebhard (1771-1867), 189, 247
- Lunzi, Maria (née Martens) (*floruit* c. 1811), 51, 133
- Lunzi, Nicolo (Nikolaos) Corrado (Conrad) (1798-1885), 52 seq., 187
- Lusieri, Fatal (*floruit* c. 1810), 75 seq.
- Lusieri, Giovanni Battista ('Don Tita'), (1751-1821), 58-60, 75
- Læssøe, Ludvig (1808-76), 253, 259, 261
- Madvig, Johan Nicolai (1804-86), 194, 278
- Makri, Mrs., Athens (*floruit initio xix sec.*), 54, 59
- Makri, Teresa (*vide supra*), 59
- Malte-Brun, see Bruun, Malthe-Conrad
- Marcellus, Jean-André-Charles Demartin du Tirac, comte de (1795-1861), 60
- Marie Sophie Frederike, Queen of Denmark (1767-1852), 255
- Marsden, John Howard (1803-91), 19, 30
- Martens, Hans Ditlev Christian (1795-1864), 215
- Martens, Maria, see Lunzi
- Metternich, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Count, later Prince (1773-1859), 123
- Meyer, Ernst (1797-1861), 96
- Michaelis, Adolf (1835-1910), 74, 180
- Millin, Aubin Louis (1759-1818), 40, 42, 168
- Millingen, James (1775-1845), 156, 168
- Mionnet, Théodore-Edmé (1770-1842), 253, 255
- Molbech, Christian (1783-1857), 187, 189
- Moldenhawer, Daniel Gotthilf (1753-1823), 35, 276
- Moltke, Helmuth von (1800-91), 98
- Moncel, Th. Du, see Du Moncel, Th.
- Monrad, Ditlev Gothard (1811-87), 191
- Montfaucon, Bernard de (1655-1741), 175
- Morosini, Francesco (1618-94), 56
- Mountnorris, Viscount Valentia, Lord George Annesley, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of (1770-1844), 25
- Moyes, J. (*floruit* c. 1831), 161
- Muhle, Carl Adolph (1786-1855), 212, 281
- Müller, Carl Ludvig (1809-92), 235, 261
- Müller, Friedrich, 140
- Müller, Karl Otfried (1797-1840), 171, 180
- Münter, Frederikke, see Bruun
- Münter, Frederik/Friedrich (1761-1830), 41, 78-80, 83, 88-90, 92, 94, 116, 208, 242, 248, 254
- Münter, Marie Elisabeth (née Krohn), 245
- Murray, John Samuel (1778?-1843), 26
- Mynster (née Münter), Fanny (Maria Frederica Franzisca) (1796-1871), 186, 190
- Mynster, Jacob Peter (1775-1854), 35, 118, 124 seq., 127, 137, 183 seq., 286 seq., 189, 193, 202, 272, 276
- Mynster, Ole Hieronymus (1772-1818), 186, 190
- Møhl, Nicolai Christian (1798-1830), 126
- Møller, Jens (1779-1833), 126, 131, 134, 150, 216
- Møller, Peter Ludvig (1814-65), 200
- Møller, Poul Martin (1794-1838), 184
- Møller, Rasmus (1763-1842), 184
- Napier, Sir Charles (1786-1860), 86
- Nash, John (1752-1835), 25
- Napoleon I, (1769-1821), Emperor of France 1804-14, 50, 118, 122 seq., 127, 204
- Nathanson, Mendel Levin (1780-1868), 212
- Nelson, Lord Horatio (1758-1805), 83, 92, 172
- Nibbi (Nibby), Antonio (1792-1839), 106

- Nicholas I (1779-1855) Czar of Russia 1825, 256
- Niebuhr, Barthold (1776-1831), 98, 103, 106
- Nointel, Charles Marie Ollier, Marquis de (1635-85), 174 seq.
- North, Lord Frederick, see Guildford
- Northampton, 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess of, see Compton, Spencer Joshua Alwyn
- Nutzhorn, Frederik (1834-66), 277
- Nyerup, Rasmus (1759-1829), 147
- Oehlenschläger, Adam (1779-1850), 13, 35, 37-9, 48, 181, 186 seq., 191, 201-3
- Oehlenschläger, Christiane (née Heger) (1782-1841), 186
- Oehlenschläger, Sophie, see Ørsted
- Ollier, see Nointel
- Othon, see Otto
- Otto (1815-67), Prince of Bavaria, King of Greece (1832-62), 57
- Owen, Robert (1771-1858), 193
- Ø, see after Z
- Paganini, Nicolò (1782-1840), 195
- Page, William (1794-1879), 55, 57
- Palin, Nils Gustav (1765-1842), 45
- Palmerston, Viscount, see Temple, Henry John
- Paludan-Müller, Frederik (1809-76), 107
- Pars, William (1742-82), 57, 176
- Percier, Charles (1764-1838), 208
- Petersen, Frederik Christian (1786-1859), 194 seq.
- Petersen, Mette Augusta, see Brøndsted
- Pierri, F. (*floruit Hafniae* 1836-41), 224, 226
- Pinko, Mr. (a dog!), 75
- Pius VII (1742-1823), Pope 1800, 50, 101, 135, 230
- Ploetz, Hans Heinrich (1747-1830), 119, 281
- Politi, Raffaello (1783-1870), 95 seq.
- Pomardi, Simone (1760-1830), 57
- Pontoppidan, Simon Christian (1793-1822), 94, 96
- Préaux (or Préault), Michel François, (-1796-1827-), 57
- Puggaard, Bolette (née Hage) (1798-1847), 208
- Puggaard, Hans (1788-1866), 208, 212 seq.
- Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine Chrysostôme (1755-1849), 176
- Raffaello Sanzio (1483-1520), 206, 211
- Rahbek (née Heger), Karen Margrethe (Kamma) (1775-1829), 53, 123, 184, 186-9, 195
- Rahbek, Knud Lyne (1760-1830), 184 seq., 187, 190
- Ramsden, Jesse (1735-1800), 29
- Ramus, Christian F. (1765-1832), 80, 240, 262
- Raoul-Rochette, Desiré (1789-1854), 171
- Rask, Rasmus (1787-1832), 264
- Rasmussen, Peter Hermann (1818-89), 234
- Reeve, R.G. (*floruit* 1811-37), 88
- Reichel, J.J. (1780-1856), 259, 261 seq.
- Rennell, James (1742-1830), 25
- Revett, Nicolas (1721-1804), 50, 60, 114 seq., 174 seq., 178
- Richardt, Joachim Ferdinand (1819-95), 228
- Richter, Adolphus (*floruit*, c.1824, London), 143 seq., 146, 159
- Riedesel, Joseph Hermann von, Baron Eisenbach-Altenburg (1740-85), 88, 90
- Riepenhausen, Franz (1786-1831) and Johann (1788-1860), 50
- Roed, Jørgen (1808-88), 203, 210
- Rogers, Samuel (1763-1855), 154, 156, 165
- Rollin, Charles-Louis (1777-1852), 253-5
- Rosenkrantz, Niels (1757-1824), 77, 80, 83 seq., 86, 90, 92, 100-4, 107, 125, 131, 134-7
- Rosenkrantz, Varvara (née Vjazunskaya) (1774-1849), 102
- Ross, Sir Patrick (1777-1849), 79
- Rothe, Tyge (1731-95), 204
- Rottman, Carl (1798-1850), 96
- Rumohr, Carl Friedrich von (1785-1843), 147, 214
- Ruthven, James 7<sup>th</sup> Lord (1777-1853), 59
- Sacy, Baron Silvestre de (1758-1838), 245,
- Scavenius, Peder Brønnum (1795-1868), 282



- Schimmelmann, Ernst (1747-1831), 101 seq., 105, 107
- Schinkel, Karl Friedrich (1781-1841), 217
- Schlegel, August Wilhelm von (1767-1845), 220
- Schlegel, Friedrich von (1772-1829), 41
- Scholten, Frederik Carl Emil von (1786-1873), 282
- Schow, Niels (1754-1830), 37, 276
- Schubart, Hermann (1756-1832), 50, 104, 282
- Sessini, Dr. (*floruit in Morea* c. 1805), 17
- Sestini, Domenico (1750-1832), 80, 89
- Seume, Johann Gottfried (1763-1810), 91
- Sibbern, Frederik Christian (1785-1872), 194
- Skovgaard, Peter Christian (1817-75), 203
- Smirke, Robert (1781-1867), 57
- Smyth, captain, Royal Navy, 29, 73
- Spon, Jacob/Jacques (1647-85), 174-6
- Stackelberg, Otto Magnus Baron von (1787-1837), 42-4, 46, 50 seq., 59, 115 seq., 272
- Stampe, Christine Baroness (née Dalgas) (1797-1868), 203
- Stanhope, Lady Hester Lucy (1776-1839), 43
- Stanhope, John Spencer (1749-1821), 57
- Steffens, Henrik (1773-1845), 186
- Streber, Franz Ignaz (1782-1841), 257
- Stuart, James (1713-88), 50, 60, 114 seq., 174 seq., 178
- Suleyman Bey (died c. 1809), 21
- Sundorph, Peter Jensenius (1782-1844), 240 seq., 249
- Swinburne, Henry (1743-1803), 85, 90
- Talleyrand, Charles Maurice de (1754-1838), 186
- Tegner, Isaac Wilhelm (1815-93), 238
- Teilman, Johan Christian (1783-1866), 42
- Temple, Henry John, 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865), 25
- Tham, Pehr (1737-1820), 238
- Thiele, Just Mathias (1795-1874), 42, 200, 220, 247
- Thomsen, Christian Jürgensen (1788-1865), 110, 191, 240, 242, 247, 249 seq., 254 seq., 257, 261-4
- Thorlacius, Børge (1775-1829), 37
- Thorvaldsen, Bertel (Alberto) (1770-1844), 42, 50 seq., 94, 98, 134, 139, 189, 193, 203, 206 seq., 214, 226, 255, 264, 266-8, 288
- ‘Tita, Don’, see Lusieri
- Torlonia, Giovanni, Duke of Bracciano (1754-1829), 100, 289
- Torremuzza, Gabriele Lancelotto Castelli di (1727-92), 94
- Townley, Charles (1737-1805), 169 seq., 223
- Trepka, Ida Louise Mathilde (née Falbe) (1822-49), 268
- Treschow, Frederikke Koës (née Brøndsted) (1818-97), 264, 269, 284
- Tuxen, Frederikke (née Treschow) (1856-1946), 284
- Ussing, Johan Louis (1820-1905), 116, 274, 277
- Vace, Robert, see Wace
- Valentia, Viscount, Lord George Annesley, see 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Mountnorris
- Vely Pasha, son of Ali Pasha (v.supra), 22
- Ventouras, Spyridon (*floruit* c.1810), 120
- Villoison, Jean Baptiste Gaspard Vicomte D’Ansse de (1753-1805), 40, 114, 277
- Visconti, Ennio Quirino (1751-1818), 168, 175
- Vogt, Frederik Siegfried (1777-1855), 104
- Wace, Robert (c.1100-after 1174), 11
- Wagner, Johann Martin von (1777-1858), 52, 217, 231 seq.
- Walker, William (1780-1868), 56
- ‘Walsingham’, 64, 71 seq.
- Weale, John (1791-1862), 26
- Wedgwood, Josiah (1730-95), 162, 167
- Welcker, Friedrich Gottlieb (1784-1868), 220, 222, 235
- West, Hans (1758-1811), 132
- Westmacott, Richard (1799-1872), 148, 222, 230
- Weyse, Christoph Ernst Friedrich (1774-1842), 40
- Wheler, George (1651-1724), 174-6
- Wiczay, Michael, Count of Loos and Hédervár (1756-1831), 255

- Wiedewelt, Johannes (1731-1802), 224-6  
Wilhelm I (1781-1864), King of Württemberg  
1816, 214, 219  
Wilkins, Elizabeth Wray, see Leake, Elizabeth  
Wilkins, William (1778-1839), 57  
Wilkinson (*floruit* c. 1811), 51  
Williams, Hugh William (1773-1829), 57  
Wilson, James, Malta (*floruit* c. 1820), 72-4  
Winckel, Theresa aus dem (*floruit* c. 1807), 40  
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim (1717-68), 95,  
168, 175, 277  
Winther, Christian (1796-1876), 184  
Winther, Hans Christian (1759-1808), 184  
Witte, Jean-Joseph-Antoine-Marie, baron de  
(1808-89), 165  
Wolf, Friedrich August (1759-1824), 36 seq., 40,  
112, 206, 276  
Worm, Oluf (1757-1830), 190, 288-291  
Zoëga, George (1755-1809), 42, 50, 100 seq.,  
103, 105, 107, 168, 257  
Ørsted, Anders Sandøe (1778-1860), 181, 186,  
193  
Ørsted, Hans Christian (1777-1851), 181, 186,  
194, 201, 264  
Ørsted (née Oehlenschläger), Sophie (1782-  
1818), 38, 186, 190, 194  
Aa, see A



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