

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.

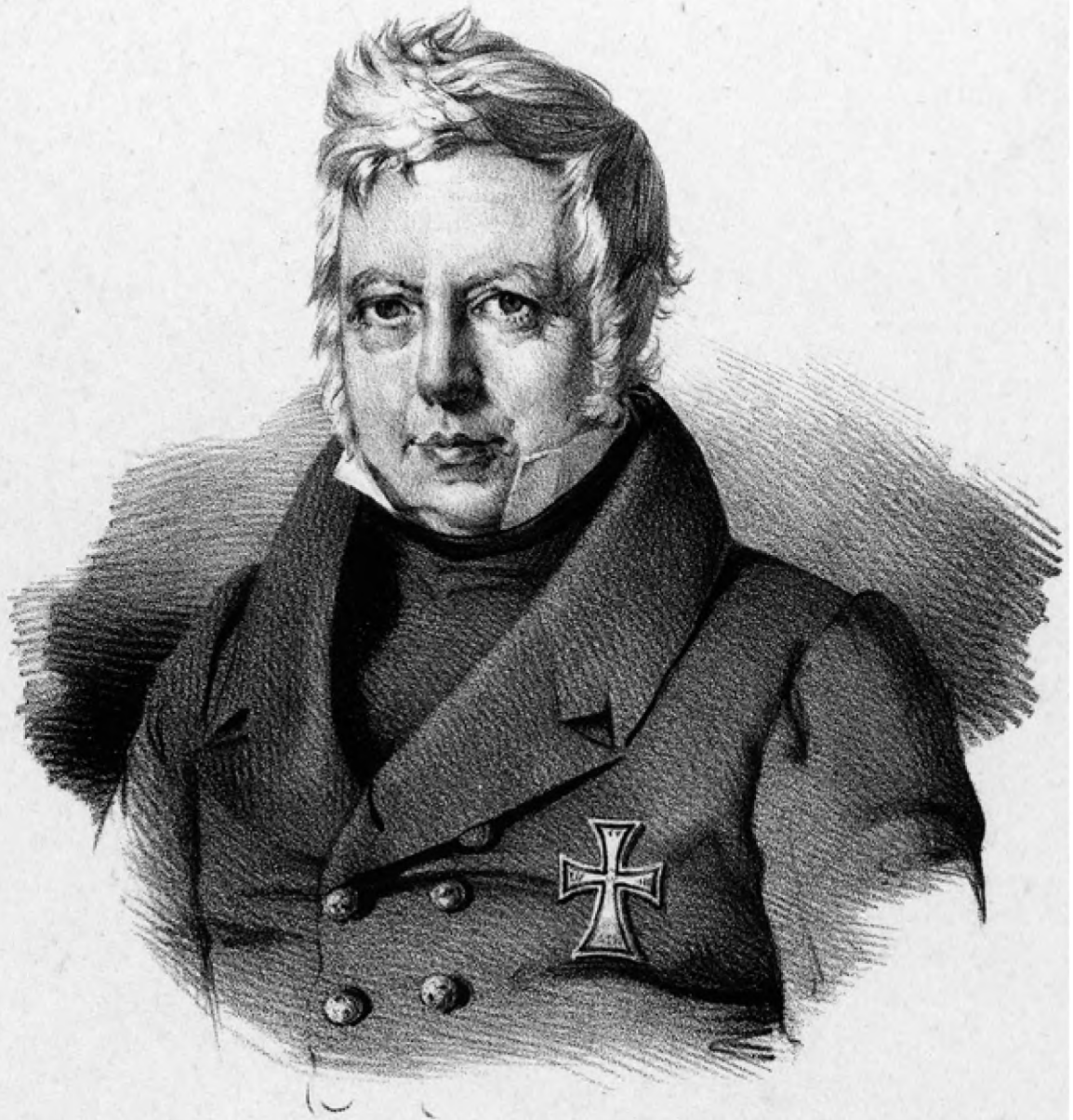
When Brøndsted in 1813 returned to Denmark after almost three years of travels in Greece, he had been away for more than 7 years. He left Denmark in 1806 and spent years in Paris and Italy to do research and to prepare his travels together with his friend and colleague Georg Koës. On his return Brøndsted 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*,¹ and in 1806 *Opusculorum philosophici et philologici argumenti Specimen primum, Diss. inaug.*² 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 contributed³ 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*.⁴

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".⁵ 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^o 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.”⁶

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.⁷

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.⁸ 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 ...”⁹

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?¹⁰ 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.”¹¹

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 1st 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 section¹² on Brøndsted in *The History of the University of Copenhagen*, the 44 lectures printed in *Reise i Grækenland*¹³ covers only 17 of the 25 lectures outlined in the Program.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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*¹⁶, 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.”¹⁷

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”.¹⁸ 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"¹⁹ 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)²⁰, 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.²¹

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".²² "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”.²³ 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”.²⁴

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”.²⁵

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”.²⁶ 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 lectures²⁷ we may select the two chapters on his stay in Athens, chapters 15-16.²⁸ 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”.²⁹

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 ...”.³⁰ 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).³¹

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.³² 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”.³³

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.”³⁴

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.³⁵ 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 24th of December 1815 to the 28th of April 1816 and again from the 15th of December to the 18th 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.”³⁶ 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.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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.