

The humanities class

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About the class

1. The author of this chapter on the humanities wishes to thank a large number of representatives of the individual subjects covered here for reading and commenting on the descriptions of the individual subjects, which resulted in the correction of a number of errors. The author is naturally responsible for any remaining errors.

The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters has been an elitist institution since its establishment in 1742. In today's Denmark, where institutions of this kind are something of a rarity, this has provoked reverence, indignation and envy. The by-laws of the Academy somewhat vaguely state that it admits "as members researchers whose scientific and scholarly qualifications are found appropriate". Nonetheless, the Academy does not operate in a social and political vacuum. Whether a person is elected also depends on conditions such as personal connections, academic connections, university affiliation – for example, it appears to be easier to identify exceptional humanities researchers in the Copenhagen area than at the three other universities in Denmark – and personal qualities. Whether a field is represented in the circle of members depends on both university policy and research policy. Subjects which were previously represented on the scholarly and scientific spectrum of the Academy have faded out, and others have been introduced. Throughout its 275-year history, the Academy has remained a dynamic institution at all times.



As early as the late 1730s, a proposal was submitted to establish a coin and medal commission tasked with organizing and cataloguing the King's collection of coins and medals, and a commission was subsequently appointed to organize the work (read more on p. 17-19). At a meeting of the commission on November 13th 1742, the historian Hans Gram proposed that a *Collegium Antiquitatum* be established – in other words a society which would concern itself with Scandinavian history, particularly the history of the Danish nation. At the meeting, the proposal was amended. The new Academy was not only to concern itself with history, but with "all sciences and forms of knowledge in general, but to provide enlightenment on the antiquities and histories of the fatherland in particular". At a meeting the next week, a provision was added to the effect that the subjects represented in the Academy were also to include the botany and zoology of the Danish dual monarchy. In a royal decree from January 1743, which sanctioned the establishment of a royal academy, medicine, mathematics and physics were also named as fields with which the Academy was to concern itself.

The actual division of the Academy's members into classes was first decided in 1792, and the first by-laws of the Academy from 1796 state that members are to be divided into four classes: history, philosophy, mathematics, and physics. This structure was preserved until 1866, when the former two classes were merged into a historical-philosophical class and the latter two were merged into a natural historical-mathematical class. In the by-laws which came into effect on January 1st 1977, the historical-philosophical class was renamed the humanities class.

FIGURE 1. The Academy's ballot box. The clever construction of the box is mentioned for the first time in an inventory from 1796, which (among other things) also lists: "A pair of paper scissors. – A ballot box with ballot balls. – A desk bell. – Two chamber pots" (Lomholt 1950 p. 555). There are two openings in the box, one over the 'no' drawer and one over the 'yes' drawer. Unfortunately, the Academy stopped using the box many years ago.

Experience shows that it can be difficult for new research areas to gain representation in the Academy. This is in part due to the fact that most members are first and foremost interested in consolidating the position of their own research area, which influences proposals to admit new members. For example, film studies has never been represented in the Academy, and the extensive field of research known as media studies has had a difficult time establishing itself in the Academy. However, the history of the press has been represented for some years by Niels Thomsen, a professor of modern history who was elected in 1976. Today, only two members of the humanities class represent media studies: Professor Kirsten Drotner from the University of Southern Denmark, who was elected in 2005, and Professor Stig Hjarvard of the University of Copenhagen, elected in 2015. Semiotics, or the science of signs and symbols, which is a well-established field of research in the humanities, has only a single representative, Frederik Stjernfelt. Stjernfelt was elected in 2009, when he was a professor at Aarhus University. He subsequently moved to the University of Copenhagen and is currently affiliated with Aalborg University.

As a consequence of the lower priority assigned to smaller subjects with few graduates by the universities, such as India studies, Assyriology, Egyptology, and Persian and Near Eastern archaeology, it has proved impossible to replace members who represent these subjects, which means that several of them are no longer to be found in the range of subjects represented by the Academy. This is a regrettable development, which means that the large and medium-sized subjects become more richly represented, while the small subjects – especially the old *magister* degree subjects – may disappear completely, to the detriment of the exchange of ideas within the class and across the classes which has characterized the Academy since its establishment.

Here at the beginning of the 21st century, successive class chairs have occupied themselves with the issues of the number of female members, the disappearance of subjects and the difficulty of adding new subjects, without any apparent practical effect. However, some of the problems touched on here are outside the capacity of the Academy to solve, as they are contingent on conditions related to finances and university politics which are more or less completely politically determined by the government and the Danish Parliament. Thus it has become apparent that there is an increasing political will to micromanage research and univer-

sity policy, and that this management has been detrimental to small but essential subjects, several of which have already been closed, and of which others appear to be facing the same fate.

If we consider the current roster of actual humanities members, the subject and research areas which are represented can be divided into the following six very broadly defined subject groups:

- (1) History and archaeology
- (2) Linguistics and literary studies
- (3) Philosophy and psychology
- (4) The study of religion and theological subjects
- (5) Art history and musicology
- (6) Anthropology and ethnology.

This classification employs ‘theological subjects’ instead of theology, even though several of the theological members of the class describe their field as theology.

Like other branches of knowledge, theology is not directly named either in the current or former by-laws of the Academy. But as early as 1745 with the publication of the first volume of the Academy’s *Writings*, the full title of which is ‘Writings which have been presented and read aloud in the Academy of the Lovers of Learning and Knowledge in Copenhagen’ (*Skrifter, som udi det Kiøbenhavnske Selskab af Lærdoms og Videnskabers Elskere ere fremlagte og oplæste*), Hans Gram writes on behalf of the Academy:

It is so far from the purpose and object of the Academy to exclude either the medical or other equally useful sciences, that it quite to the contrary desires nothing more than the advantage of being able to convey as many good and beneficial essays as possible by learned physicians and experts on nature, as well as by mathematicians here in the city and all over the country, to posterity. In addition to which we will invite not only the aforementioned kinds of learned men, but all others as well who possess exceptional abilities in worthy arts and sciences, regardless of what kind of sciences they be (theology alone excepted, unless it be philological and interpretive of passages in the Holy Scriptures, or to the history of the Church), in the friendliest and politest manner.

As the parenthesis indicates indirectly, only certain categories of theologians can become members of the Academy: church historians or scholars of the philological subjects which are a prerequisite for the study of the Old and New Testaments, namely Semitic and

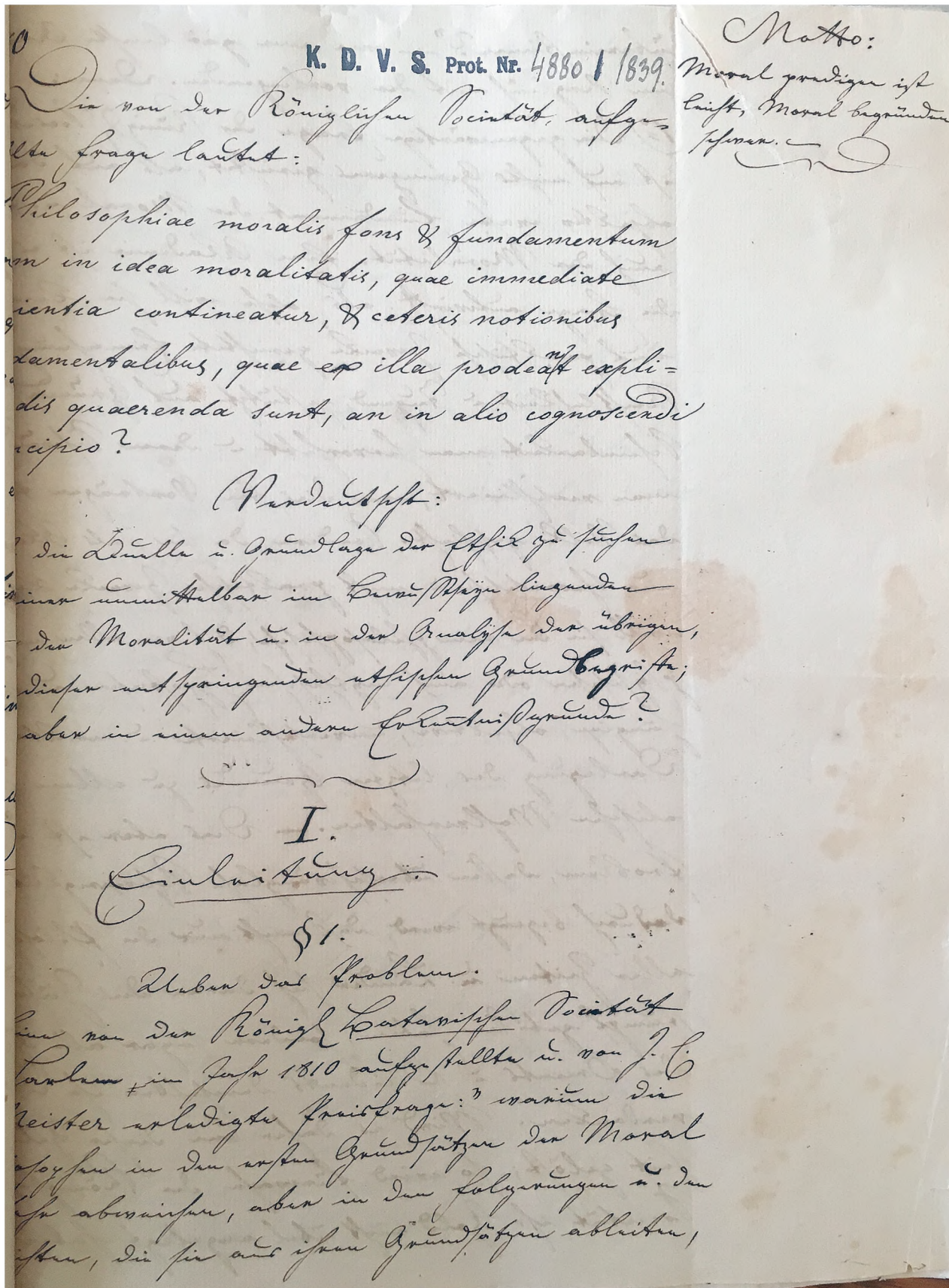


FIGURE 3. Cover page of Arthur Schopenhauer's prize treatise, submitted in 1839. The Academy's archive.

Greek philology. Dogmatists and exegetes will only be eligible for nomination as members if the primary focus of their work lies within ecclesiastical history or philology. The reason for this decision, which the

Academy has maintained, is never made explicit; but various justifications are possible. For example, one might refer to the traditional conception of science and scholarship as concerned with what humans are

able to comprehend with their natural faculties, that is to say reason and the senses, and not with what ostensibly rests on revelation and on belief. Nonetheless, this has not prevented a succession of prominent theologians from becoming members of the Academy. On the very day of the Academy's founding, one of the four participants was the pietistically-minded court chaplain and professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen, later bishop of Bergen Diocese, Erik (Ludvigsen) Pontoppidan, whose prolific writings included historical, topographical, and philological works, in addition to works of divinity and apologetics. On the same day, another theologian was nominated as a member, professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen Marcus Wøldike, who was an expert on Hebrew and ecclesiastical history. Later, the most famous theologian of the 19th century, Jakob Peter Mynster, became a member of the Academy's philosophy class, which at the time consisted of very few members. Mynster, who became the bishop of Zealand, published several philosophical – or rather psychological – works in the Academy's *Writings*. As a member of the philosophical class, he (together with the philosopher Frederik Christian Sibbern) was selected to assess the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer's submission to the Academy's philosophical essay contest for 1837, the topic of which was the source and justification of morality. The essay was rejected, which led Schopenhauer to vent his derision and wrath against the Academy when his treatise was published. Mynster was one of the major figures of the Danish Golden Age, and in a description of his treatises, the first historian of the Academy, Christian Molbech, provided a justification of sorts for his membership. He wrote that Mynster's treatises

belong to an author regarding which the future perhaps to an even higher degree than the present will acknowledge that he is among those whose spirit, manner of thought and language mark him as a Danish classic, giving them undeniably an internal value which is much higher than the numerical relationship.

Molbech only reveals the identity of this author in the index at the back of the book on the first 100 years of the Academy's history.

In this chapter, the description of the six subject groups into which the humanities have been divided is centered on some of the individuals who have represented or currently represent the individual subjects

in the Academy. Many other members, both earlier and more recent, could have been included if space permitted. The desire to illustrate continuity and developmental tendencies has also contributed to the choice of representative members.

THE SIX SUBJECT GROUP OF THE CLASS

History and archaeology

History

Whereas history primarily – but not exclusively – builds on written sources, in other words documents, letters, and accounts, unwritten sources are the material of archaeology. For this reason, classical and medieval archaeology are important auxiliary disciplines for history. But in relation to the time before written sources become available – which is referred to as prehistoric time – archaeology is the only science which gives us access to knowledge about the people of earlier times. Both subjects increasingly collaborate with various natural sciences, not least in connection with dating artefacts and understanding the influence of nature on society and culture.

The first historical member of the Academy was the force behind its establishment, Hans Gram, who had been appointed professor of Greek at the University of Copenhagen in 1714, and who in 1730 was also appointed historiographer royal, royal librarian and privy council archivist, or head of the privy council archive, which was the archive of the state administration. In 1889, the archive was merged with other state archives to become the Danish National Archives.

Gram was a polymath in the true sense of the word, perhaps never surpassed since. Not only was he extraordinarily well-read, he was also a practical man, even though he probably felt most at home among his books. While still a very young man, he wrote about mathematical topics, and later was the first Danish intellectual to lecture on ecclesiastical history. But first and foremost – and quickly – he made his name as a philologist with a series of publications. Later on, historical studies became his primary interest. Etymology, the science of the derivation and original meaning of words, was another major interest. For example, he wrote about the Anglo-Saxon influence on the Danish language.

As a historian, Gram was extremely critical. He distinguished sharply between historical documents, for

example public letters and decrees in particular, and historical accounts. He granted the former great weight, while he criticized the latter strongly as far more unreliable from a philological standpoint. His major contribution was a critical treatment of the sources of knowledge about Denmark in antiquity and the medieval period, and he planned the publication of a major Danish diplomatarium, a collection of medieval diplomas (public letters and documents with legal content). Gram never advanced past the planning stage. His successor in the office of privy council archivist, Jacob Langebek, who became a member in 1748, resumed work on the plan, but he too failed to realize it. The publication of the so-called *Diplomatarium Danicum* did not commence until 1938, and continues to this day.

As a writer, Gram lacked Ludvig Holberg's prolific pen and ability to compose comprehensive historical accounts; on the other hand, he had a much greater capacity for critical thinking. They disliked one another, and although Holberg became an honorary member of the Academy in 1745, he never attended the Academy, which may have been due to his antipathy towards Gram.

Because of Jacob Langebek's low social status – he did not hold a distinguished office – he did not become a member of the Academy at its inception despite having prominent benefactors. When the plans to establish a purely historical academy were dropped in favour of an academy for all of the sciences, in 1745 he established his own academy, which in 1746 was granted permission to call itself 'the Royal Danish academy for the improvement of the Scandinavian history and language' (*Det Kongelige Danske Selskab til den Nordiske Historie og Sprogs Forbedring*). When he succeeded Gram as privy council archivist in 1748, the path was cleared for his membership in the Academy.

While Langebek had been trained as a theologian, he concerned himself exclusively with the history of Denmark. He was engaged by Gram to work on the Danish diplomatarium project, and over many years, he copied a large number of the sources of Denmark's history, many of which are only preserved in the form of Langebek's copies. On the background of this large body of material, in 1772 he began publishing the most important sources of Danish medieval history. He succeeded in publishing three volumes before his death in 1775, four volumes were published shortly after his death, and an eighth volume which had been printed but not bound was destroyed in the Copenhagen Fire of 1785, and was first published in 1834. The work,

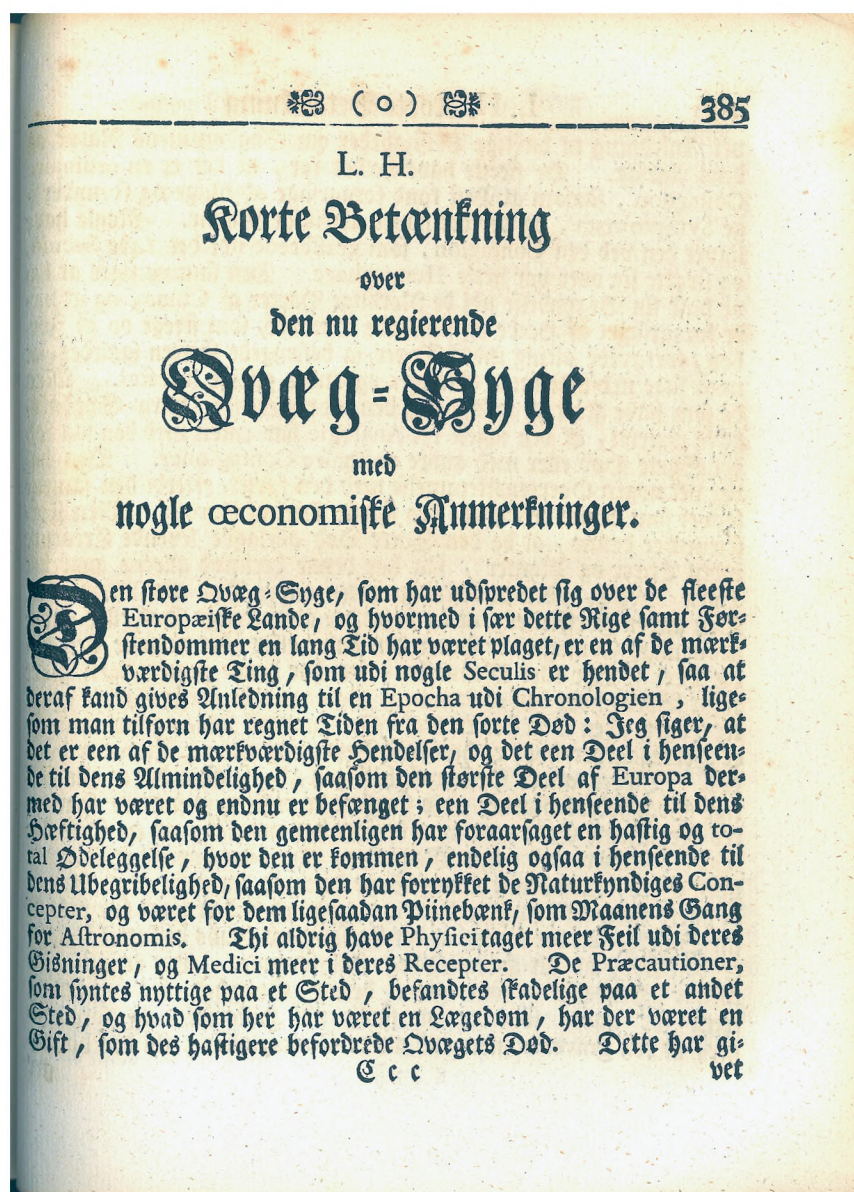


FIGURE 4. Cover page of one of Holberg's two contributions to the Academy's writings, "Korte Betænkning over den nu regierende Qvæg-Syge" (A short report on the current cattle plague), *Writings*, vol. 2, 1746, p. 385. In 1972, the Academy published a facsimile.

which is entitled *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* (Writers about the history of Denmark), is Langebek's most important contribution to the exploration of Denmark's history. Langbek has also played an important role in the history of Danish dictionaries (see p. 68).

When Peter Frederik Suhm, a friend of Gram's and Langebek's, became a member of the Academy in 1758, its membership then comprised the three greatest Danish historians of the 18th century. With his large body of work, which includes political, poetic and literary texts in addition to historical works, Suhm became the most productive of the three, although he was also the least critical. As a historian, his goal was to present an account of Denmark's history from an-

FIGURE 5. Portrait of the historian P. F. Suhm. Copperplate engraving by G. L. Lahde from 1798.



cient times, i.e. the time of Odin, up to the death of Christopher of Bavaria in 1448. He took an inordinately comprehensive approach to the work. A series of volumes - ten in all - published between 1769 and 1781 constitutes a kind of introduction to the work, after which the work itself, which was entitled *Historie af Danmark* (The history of Denmark) was published in fourteen volumes from 1782 to 1828. Only the first seven volumes were published by Suhm himself, who died in 1798. The work brought him renown in European historical circles.

Unlike Gram, Suhm took an uncritical approach to his sources, which he referred to widely and broadly in his enormous work. His intention appears to have been to include every possible and accessible source - and in those days historians only concerned themselves with written sources. A later historian described Suhm's history of Denmark as "an abundantly stocked historical larder". Suhm's uncritical sensibilities are not least evident in his tendency to see historical accounts in myths and legends. For example, he read the myths of Odin as evidence of the existence of no fewer than three princes of this name. Although Suhm refused public office throughout his life, preferring the

life of a wealthy independent scholar, he was appointed historiographer royal in 1787.

Langebek's collection of the sources of Denmark's history in the Middle Ages and Suhm's monumental work provided posterity with extensive material to analyze and exploit.

Many of the 19th century's historians became members of the Academy. The most important of them was Caspar Paludan-Müller, who was elected in 1843, even though he did not achieve a professorship until 1872, at the age of 67. He commenced his professorship with lectures on the history of the first Danish kings of the House of Oldenburg, which resulted in the publication of his major work, *De første Konger af den oldenburgske Slægt, Omrids og Tanker til Forstaaelse af Danmarks Historie i Overgangen fra Middelalderen til den nyere Tid* (1874) (The first kings of the House of Oldenburg, sketches and thoughts towards the understanding of Denmark's history in the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times). Regarding his relationship to Danish historical writing from Gram to his own time, he is said to have stated that "our entire history is in need of a radical critique, the first act of which must be the dissolution of the stock of tradition and a trial of its value". With Paludan-Müller, the critical approach to writing history made its definitive entrance on the scene of Danish historical research.

In his lectures for "Indledning af Historiens Studium" (An introduction to the study of history) from 1876 and repeated in 1878, Paludan-Müller distinguished between what he termed "monuments", a term referring to "everything which is outside man, independent of his inner sentiments, [and which] bears witness to the events of the past," and "legends", which are dependent on the impressionable mind of man. "The account of the past which can be traced back to objective memorials is what we call history." The truth value of legends must be decided by a comparison between the narrative of the legend and monuments, between the uncertain and the certain. Paludan-Müller also distinguished between historical research proper on the one hand, which concerns the monuments, including, for example, written accounts which are contemporaneous with the events of which monuments give evidence; and on the other hand the process of connecting the events which have been established - in other words, writing history. He understood the latter as more of an art than a science.

An analogous distinction was formulated by the historian who more than any other represents the shift towards the positivistic conception of history which

characterized Danish historical research in the early 20th century, Kristian Erslev. He was the most influential Danish historian of the 20th century. With Erslev, an objective approach to history was consolidated, and the discipline was professionalized. And with Erslev at the helm, the only true historical school to develop in the country emerged, a school which was characterized not by narrowness and insularity, but rather by openness. When he died in 1930, it was written that his death represented

the end of a fifty-year epoch in Danish historical research, which indisputably will come to bear his name. Never before has a Danish historian assumed such a dominant position in his field as Erslev did in this period, and this despite his position at the middle of a circle of fellow researchers of whom several were essentially his equals in intellect and learning.

Like Gram, Erslev combined great learning with practical abilities. He was a student of Caspar Paludan-Müller, became a professor of history at the age of 30 in 1883, and became a member of the Academy in 1888. He served as keeper of national antiquities from 1911 to 1926, and from 1913 to 1926, he was an effective, authoritative chair of the Carlsberg Foundation.

The breakthrough in the field which came to characterize Erslev's work was the realization of an objective form of historical research based on source criticism which excluded speculation and philosophico-historical reflections. When Paludan-Müller spoke of criticism, he was referring to criticism of the tradition. Erslev brought source criticism to its full development. The form of source criticism he employed was not simply a test of the reliability of historical sources, but rather a form of source criticism which was founded on the concept of the functional source: Whether or not a particular relic or a given account from the past is a source for a historical investigation depends on what question the historian wishes to answer.

Over the course of the 20th century, numerous prominent historians were members of the Academy, and as is the case in almost all humanities subjects, their careers were characterized by increasing specialization. Niels Thomsen was a professor of modern history at the University of Copenhagen, and he specialized in the history of the Danish press.

Niels Steensgaard was probably the most important historian of his generation. He was a professor of history at the University of Copenhagen from 1977 to 2002. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the his-

tory of trade had increasingly concerned itself with the discipline history of Danish trade. While national histories of trade were also the primary research focus internationally, gradually interest shifted to the development of international trade from about 1400 to 1650, the period in which Europe encountered exotic nations. The subject of Steensgaard's major work, his higher doctoral dissertation, was European trade with Asia in the first half of the 17th century. The work still plays a role in the international debate in the field.

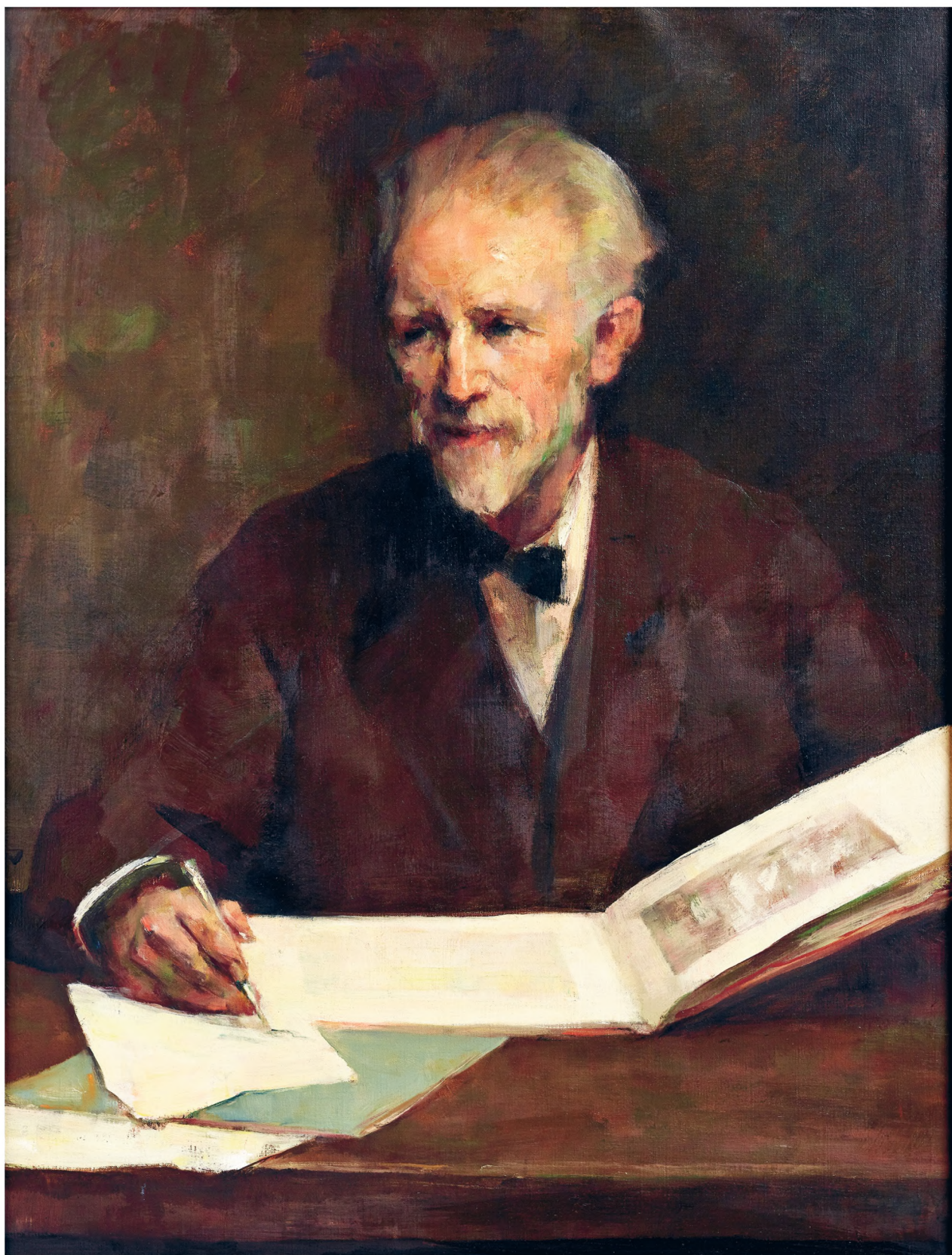
Another specialization, the history of antiquity, was represented in the Academy by Jens Erik Skydsgaard. This discipline had formerly been pursued within the framework of classical studies. In 1970, Skydsgaard was appointed to a new professorship in the history of antiquity at the Department of History at the University of Copenhagen. His primary research interest was the history of agriculture in antiquity, not least because he believed that agricultural history was the key to understanding the economy of the period. Skydsgaard's successor, both as a holder of the professorship and in the Academy, was Vincent Gabrielsen, whose primary interest is the history of Greece in classical antiquity with a particular focus on political, military and economic conditions, while Skydsgaard's primary interest was Roman history.

Whereas many of the earlier professors of history – including Erslev – were primarily interested in the Danish Middle Ages, the focus since appears to have shifted in the direction of modern history. Ole Feldbæk, who was a professor of history at the University of Copenhagen from 1981 to 2006 with special emphasis on economic history, focussed on Danish history in the 17th and 18th centuries, in particular the history of trade in the Florissant period. In the years around 1990, he devoted himself to directing a large, original research project on Danish identity through the ages, with the participation of historians and literary scholars; the project resulted in the monumental work *Dansk identitetshistorie* (The history of Danish identity) in five thick volumes (1991-1992). In this work, Danish identity from the Viking Age to contemporary times is explored in detail for the first time from an academic perspective.

Gunnar Lind became a professor of early modern history at the University of Copenhagen in 2002. His work covers a wide range of topics in Danish and European history in the period from 1500 to 1900, with a particular focus on military history.

The integration of social and cultural history which has characterized the most recent generations of his-

FIGURE 6. Portrait of the historian Kristian Erslev by Herman Vedel, 1930. Boardroom, the Carlsberg Foundation.



torians has been represented in the Academy's history group, for example by Anne Løkke, who became professor with special responsibilities (MSO) of Danish social and cultural history at the University of Copenhagen in 2008. She has since been joined in the Acad-

emy by two colleagues, Anette Warring and Charlotte Appel of Roskilde University.

In the second half of the 20th century, a number of younger historians challenged Erslev's distinction between historical research and historical writing, and

have reintroduced historical narrative into the field. Among these historians is Knud Jespersen, who became professor of history at Odense University (now the University of Southern Denmark) in 1996, where he had been employed since 1971. In 1995, he was appointed royal historian of the Danish system of orders. His 2007 book *Historien om danskerne 1500-2000* (The history of the Danes 1500-2000) was nominated historical book of the year in the year of its publication.

The history of science is a distinct branch of history, but because it often spans several disciplines, the assignment of the subject to a particular area appears to be contingent on personal conditions. Because of the position of the history of science at the intersection of at least two disciplines, it has often been difficult to ensure the representation of the field in the Academy's scholarly and scientific spectrum. For example, the major Danish investigation of the life and work of Nicolas Steno (Niels Stensen) and of the history of Danish medicine has never been represented in the Academy. Olaf Pedersen, who was Denmark's first professor of the history of the exact sciences at Aarhus University, became a member of the Academy's mathematics-natural sciences class. He was educated as a physicist and was an internationally recognized expert on the history of astronomy, including medieval Danish astronomy; in addition, he was also a trained Latinist. In 1992, on the occasion of the Academy's 250th anniversary, he published a work in English about the history of the Academy, *Lovers of Learning*. On the other hand, Helge Kragh, who succeeded him both as professor and as member of the Academy, and who is an expert on the history of modern physics in particular, in addition to the author of internationally oriented works on a broad variety of topics, was elected to the humanities class – with the full support of the historians.

Since the establishment of the Academy, the history group has maintained a strong position among its humanities members. Unlike many other humanities subjects, especially smaller ones, it appears that the academic standards of history programmes at the universities have been maintained, despite cutbacks and departmental mergers. This gives grounds for hope that the history group in the Academy will be able to maintain its traditional strength in the future as well.

Archaeology

In relation to history, archaeology has apparently always been more sparsely represented in the Academy,

but as modern Danish archaeology has its roots in the classical and Oriental subjects, in Scandinavian history, particularly Danish, and in art history, a number of Danish scholars and members of the Academy have engaged with archaeology – as an historical, philological, and art historical auxiliary subject. The delimitation of the extent and nature of the field of archaeology has also changed through the ages. At the end of the 18th century, the term was used in particular with reference to the study of Greek and Roman works of art, and had previously been used to refer to the study of Greek and Roman antiquities, or visible artefacts produced by the people of the past. In Denmark a classical archaeology, a Near Eastern archaeology and a Scandinavian archaeology have developed out of these different activities. As mentioned above, the objects of these forms of archaeological inquiry were originally visible artefacts from the past, and more systematic excavations only became commonplace in archaeological research in the course of the 19th century.

The first member of the Academy to be classified as an archaeologist was Friedrich Münter, who was professor of theology at the time of his election in 1798 and later became bishop. Münter's interest in archaeology had been awakened through his acquaintance with Carsten Niebuhr, who was the leader of the 'Arabian expedition' which took place from 1761 to 1767. In his account of the expedition, Niebuhr provided rather precise copies of the cuneiform inscriptions from Persepolis, the subject of Müller's treatise *Undersøgelse om de Persepolitanske Inscriptioner* (An investigation of the inscriptions from Persepolis). Münter also made his mark as a numismatist, and left behind a collection of about 10,000 coins when he died. He also collected classical and Egyptian antiquities, some of which he had bricked into the gate and courtyard of the bishopric in Copenhagen, where they can be seen to this day.

Shortly after Münter's election, Denmark's first true archaeologist Georg Zoëga became a member of the Academy. Zoëga, who had been living full-time in Rome since 1783, never participated in the Academy's meetings because he never came back to Denmark. In around 1780 he encountered Christian Gottlob Heyne, one of the leading classical philologists of the time and a professor in Göttingen, and this encouraged him to study classical art in Rome – he was on his way to Rome as the butler of a young nobleman on the Grand Tour. Although Zoëga's work as an archaeologist was primarily focussed on numismatics, not only did he study classical art, for example antique bas reliefs, he

also published a major work on the Egyptian obelisks in which he rejected the attempts of previous ages to interpret the hieroglyphics on the basis of speculative philosophical concepts.

In 1826, Peter Oluf Brøndsted, who later became professor of classical philology and archaeology, was elected to the Academy. Together with like-minded compatriots, in 1811 he embarked on an excavation project in Greece to unearth and measure antique ruins. As his successor in the Academy, Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae became a member in 1852. From 1855 to 1866, he lectured as a senior associate professor at the University of Copenhagen, on European prehistory among other subjects, and argued in favor of a collaboration between archaeology and the natural sciences. In 1866, he was appointed director of the National Museum of Denmark.

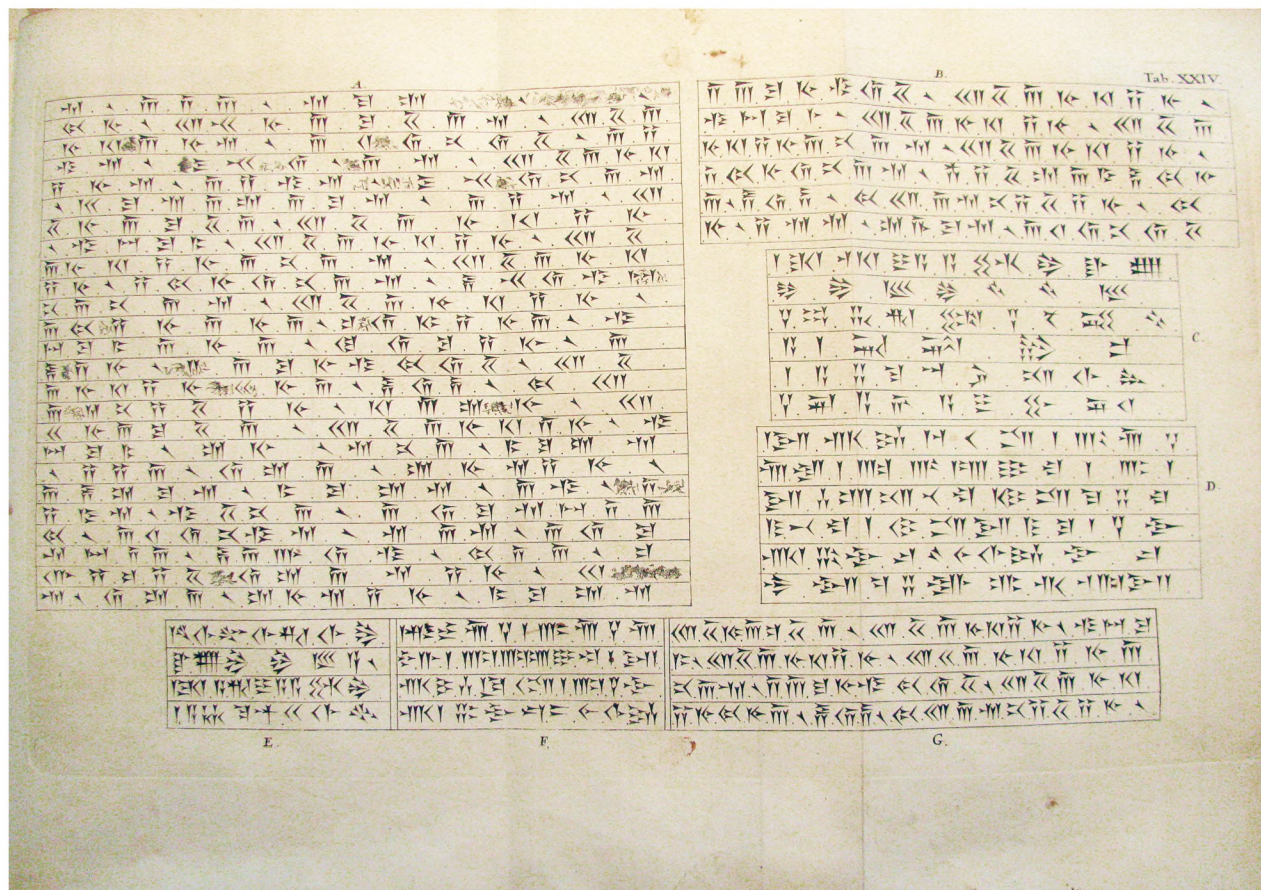
When Worsaae stepped down from this position in 1892, it was divided in two. One of the new positions involved the management of the museum for old Norse culture, the antiquities collection and the ethnographic collection. Worsaae's student Sophus Müller was hired for this position. In time, he became one of the leading names in Scandinavian archaeology, and was elected to the Academy in 1898. His 1897 book *Vor Oldtid* (Our prehistory) was the acknowledged hand-

book of the field until the end of the 1930s, and he gained great influence on the development of Danish archaeology, for example in relation to the exploration of the Danewirk fortification and the development of the local archaeology.

After Worsaae's retirement from the university in 1866, no more positions in Scandinavian archaeology at the University of Copenhagen were advertised, and archaeology was represented by professors of classical archaeology, several of whom were members of the Academy. Knud Friis Johansen (elected in 1928) was originally Master of Arts in classical philology and German, but was hired by the National Museum of Denmark immediately after his final exam in 1911, where he became one of the museum's best excavators. From 1926 to 1956, he served as professor of classical archaeology at the University of Copenhagen, where he also worked on topics in Scandinavian and Near Eastern archaeology in addition to work at the National Museum of Denmark. In several of his written works, he combined his extensive philological expertise with archaeology, as for example in the book *Iliaden and græsk Kunst* (The Iliad and Greek art) from 1934.

The subject of Scandinavian archaeology did not achieve a solid mooring at the University of Copen-

FIGURE 7. Carsten Niebuhr's transcription of cuneiform inscriptions, in *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, vol. 2, 1774, plate XXIV.



hagen until the appointment of Johannes Brøndsted as professor of Scandinavian archaeology in 1941. This development was also felt at the Academy, as Scandinavian archaeology soon became the dominant field within the archaeological subjects. Brøndsted had been elected to the Academy the year before his appointment as professor. Between 1938 and 1940, he published his major work, the fundamental three-volume work *Danmarks Oldtid* (Denmark's prehistory), which was intended not only for a general readership, but also served as a handbook for specialists in the field on account of its exhaustive appendix.

More recent archaeologists include P. V. Glob, Olaf Olsen, Jørgen Jensen, Peder Mortensen, Lise Hannestad and Rubina Raja, five of whom are or have been affiliated with Aarhus University.

When he joined the Academy in 1961, Peter Vilhelm Glob had just been appointed keeper of national antiquities and director of the National Museum of Denmark. From 1949 to 1960, he had served as professor of Scandinavian archaeology and European prehistory at Aarhus University. His research interests were extremely broad; not only had he performed digs in Denmark, he had also participated in archaeological expeditions to East and West Greenland and to a number of the Arab states of the Persian Gulf. He also made a major contribution to the development of the museum system in Denmark, both as professor and as keeper of national antiquities.

Olaf Olsen, who was professor of medieval archaeology at Aarhus University, succeeded Glob as keeper of national antiquities in 1981. At that time, he had been a member of the Academy since 1979. Olsen is remembered in particular for his participation in the excavation of the Viking ships in Roskilde Fjord and of a number of Viking forts, and for the development of refined excavation methods which he initiated. In connection with the publication of *Den Store Danske Encyklopædi* (The unabridged Danish encyclopedia) from 1994 to 2006, he chaired the eight-member academic council which reviewed all of the articles.

Jørgen Jensen, who took his degree in Scandinavian archaeology and European prehistory, and whose work had primarily focussed on the Bronze Age, became a member of the Academy in 1989. His major work is the four-volume *Danmarks Oldtid* (Denmark's prehistory), published between 2001 and 2004, which draws on the results of the archaeological investigations of Danish prehistory which had taken place since Brøndsted had published his magnum opus. Peder Mortensen, whose primary research interest has been

Near Eastern archaeology, served as the director of the Moesgaard museum of prehistory in Aarhus. He subsequently served as director of the Danish Institute in Damascus, the capital of Syria, from 1996 to 2001.

Rubina Raja is professor with special responsibilities (MSO) of classical archaeology and art at Aarhus University. Her research area is cultural encounters in the Middle East from the Hellenistic period to the early Middle Ages, including the influence of shifting power relationships on urban development. She and Lise Hannestad represent classical archaeology in the Academy. With her archaeological investigations of the regions around the Black Sea, Lise Hannestad has opened a new field within Danish archaeological research, and has most recently worked on the old trade route - known as the Silk Road - between the Orient and Europe.

As this overview demonstrates, the Academy has had - and still has - members representative of a broad spectrum of subjects within both history and archaeology. This spectrum also reflects the international trends which have influenced the development of the two subjects.

Linguistics and literary studies

Linguistics

As was the case at medieval universities, up until 1788, the Faculty of Philology was an educational institution which prepared students for the 'higher' faculties of law, medicine and theology. Even though the teachers and headmasters of the grammar schools were recruited by people with a philosophical baccalaureate or a PhD, the philology faculty did not have its own qualifying degree. This changed with the university charter of 1788, which introduced an exam for schoolteachers which covered the subjects Latin, Greek, Hebrew, theology, history, geography, philosophy, and mathematics. The first significant modification of this exam did not take place until 1848, when the old exam was replaced in part by 'the philological-historical teacher certification exam' (*Den philologisk-historiske Skoleembedseksamen*), which only included languages and history and which was intended to meet the schools' need for teachers, and in part by the more advanced PhD degree. Among language subjects, classical philology was particularly dominant, but Scandinavian philology was introduced as a new exam subject in 1848.

Before 1788, the teaching offered at the University



FIGURE 8. Johan Nicolai Madvig on the rostrum in the banqueting room at the University of Copenhagen. Portrait by Carl Bloch, 1880. The National History Museum of Denmark at Frederiksborg Castle. Photo: Lennart Larsen.

cannot be said to have been based on science and scholarship in the proper sense. This only became the case over the course of the 19th century, reinforced by inspiration from the university in Berlin in particular, which was founded in 1810, and where attempts were being made to realize Wilhelm Humboldt's concept of research-based university teaching.

Naturally enough, these developments influenced the Academy, which as the century progressed increasingly began recruiting its members from the University of Copenhagen, virtually the only higher academic institution in the kingdom. For example, although the

Academy already counted professors of Greek and Latin among its members in the 18th and early 19th centuries, classical philology did not attain the position in the Academy it still holds today until 1833, when Johan Nicolai Madvig was elected.

Although chairs in modern European languages were established as early as 1836, considerable time would pass before these subjects would be represented in the Academy. By contrast, Scandinavian and Oriental philology gained a representative in 1825 with the election of Rasmus Rask, perhaps Denmark's greatest linguist of all time. Today we would describe him as a representative of comparative linguistics.

When just a schoolboy, with the aid of a translation of Snorri Sturlason's *Heimskringla*, Rask began studying Old Icelandic, a language which he classified as identical with Old Norse shortly before his death. As a young student of theology – a degree which he never completed – in 1808, he planned to describe as many languages as possible, that is to say to compose grammars and perhaps dictionaries as well for a large number of languages in order to enable structural comparison. He thus performed both genetic and typological comparisons, two forms of comparison which were not differentiated according to the linguistics of the day. His old friend, the literary historian and philologist Niels Matthias Petersen, who became the first professor of the Scandinavian languages in 1845 and a member of the Academy in 1841, wrote in his biography of Rask that he had worked with 55 languages (including some African languages), and that “the love of the old North, which had awakened so early, was not extinguished until his [Rask's] death”.

In 1810, the Academy held a prize essay contest aimed at identifying the source (original language) from which the old Scandinavian languages were most likely to have emerged. After a few postponements of the deadline, Rask entered his submission in 1813, which was awarded the Academy's gold medal. Without the involvement of the Academy, the essay was published in 1818 under the title *Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse* (Inquiry into the origin of the old Norse or Icelandic language) (see also p. 72s.). Later, the Academy granted Rask 200 daler annually over three years to compile a Danish etymological lexicon. It was never completed.

In the course of his long journey abroad from 1818 to 1823, which took him first to Sweden, and then to Russia, India, and Ceylon, Rask collected a wealth of manuscripts which he transferred to the Royal Library on his return. On the basis of this collection, the Royal

Library has become a central institution for the study of Buddhist texts.

Since his youth, Rask had been a spokesman for an orthographic reform, because he believed that the pronunciation of the ‘cultivated’ man should be the foundation for orthographical practice. When he published his *Forsøg til en videnskabelig dansk Retskrivningslære* (Attempt at a scientific theory of Danish orthography) in 1826, he petitioned the Academy to permit him to print his future contributions to its publications in his orthography. This request was denied by a majority of the Academy’s members, and Rask published nothing in its *Writings* thereafter.

Although Rask published the great majority of his works in Danish, he achieved international recognition, not least because a considerable number of German linguists could read Danish, and he corresponded with most of them. In addition, several of his works were translated.

As mentioned above, in 1833 the 29-year-old classical philologist Nicolai Madvig became a member of the Academy. In 1829, he had been appointed professor of philology with a special emphasis on the Latin language and its literature, and is considered the most important Danish classical philologist. He was already internationally recognized at the time of his election to the Academy as one of the most eminent Cicero scholars of his day. His scholarship was internationally oriented. His 1839 edition of Cicero’s *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (On the ends of good and evil) was and is one of the major works of classical philology. In order to produce a text of higher quality than that found in contemporary editions, Madvig introduced an abundance of textual corrections, so-called conjectural corrections after a thorough and critical examination of different possible readings, and he presented a cogently argued evaluation of Cicero’s relationship to his sources. He became widely renowned for his critique of earlier and contemporary attempts, particularly by German scholars, to produce texts which were ideally intended to correspond to the form which classical texts had been given by the author’s hand. He also adopted an extremely critical stance towards speculative and romantic conceptions of antiquity, for example the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s famous conception of Greek art as an expression of “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur”, a characterization which was later repeated by the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Frederick Hegel, and which Madvig rejected.

Madvig was a central figure in academic circles and

the wider society until his death. He was a member of the constitutional assembly, and served as minister for ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction from 1849 to 1851. Particularly in the capacity of minister, he gained great influence on the changes in the Danish educational system which took place during his lifetime. Although he was a prominent Latinist, he encouraged the expansion of teaching in Danish at the expense of Latin, and believed that modern languages and the natural sciences should become school subjects. He understood the school as an institution whose purpose was to cultivate the minds and characters of its pupils and prepare them to participate in the life of society and of the mind, or as he wrote in 1832, to give them the ability to achieve “the participation in life and guidance on which is required here”. Neither did he defend the dominant role of Latin at the University; he wholeheartedly supported the abolition of the requirement that higher doctoral dissertations must be written and defended in Latin.

In addition to his many other activities, Madvig was also an active and prominent member of the Academy. From 1852 to 1867, he was the editor of the Academy’s publications. In 1865, he became chair of the historical class, and a year later, he became chair of the historical-philological class, which he remained until 1877. He was the president of the Academy from 1867 to 1886. With the establishment of the Carlsberg Foundation, he became member of its first board of directors in 1876 and was elected as its chair. He acted as a mediator when a conflict arose between father and son in connection with brewer J.C. Jacobsen’s will. According to the will, the brewery, and by extension the annex brewery which brewer Jacobsen had built for his son Carl and which he leased to his son, were to pass to the foundation after the death of the brewer. Carl Jacobsen would not relinquish the rights he believed himself to have in the annex brewery. Madvig resolved the conflict.

At the time of Madvig’s death, classical philology was in a stronger position in Denmark than ever before. But his brilliant abilities as a conjectural critic had also isolated the subject internationally. However, he had a stellar array of talented students, many of whom became members of the Academy, and who succeeded in situating the subject in an international context.

One of these students was the linguist Vilhelm Thomsen, whose abilities as a linguist were the equal of Rask’s, and who possessed the same strong observational abilities as Madvig, but with a much higher

degree of methodological awareness than either. He became a member of the Academy in 1876 the year after he had been named special senior associate professor in comparative philology. It was first in 1887 that he advanced from this position to a professorship in the subject.

Thomsen, who had begun studying Sanskrit, Italian and Spanish in addition to the classical languages while still a schoolboy, later went on to study the Romance and Slavic languages, among others. He became internationally known with his 1869 higher doctoral dissertation on the early linguistic contacts between Germanic and Finnish in which he was able to demonstrate that while few foreign words are absorbed by modern Finnish, a large number of loan words were incorporated in prehistoric times, especially from the Germanic languages. This was the first step in a career that would cement his status as the leading linguist of his time. His 1893 interpretation of the Orkhon inscriptions, which were found on sepulchral monuments in the Orkhon Valley in Mongolia, added to his renown in learned circles and laid the foundation for the genetic comparison of the Turkic languages, as Thomsen was able to demonstrate that the inscriptions were written in Old Turkic, and that they described phases in Turkish history and the struggle against China in a heroic manner. Turkish philology became the dominant interest of the rest of his life.

Thomsen was not primarily interested in purely philological issues. Rather, he was interested in the question of how the results arrived at by linguistics could be exploited in connection with historical and philological investigations of prehistoric contacts between peoples from different language families, for example the Finno-Ugric and the Indo-European.

Vilhelm Thomsen was president of the Academy from 1909 until his death in 1927, and was a member of the board of directors of the Carlsberg Foundation from 1902 to 1913. The year before his retirement from the board, he was honored with the Order of the Elephant in connection with his 70th birthday, an honor which has only been conferred on two researchers in modern times – Thomsen and Niels Bohr. Unlike Madvig, he did not found a school, but his research nonetheless had great influence on the development of a number of branches of linguistics.

In 1893, Otto Jespersen became the first professor of the English language and its literature at the University of Copenhagen. Since 1851, an associate professor who was a native speaker of English had taught the

subject. With his extremely comprehensive body of work and his international relationships, Jespersen contributed to making Copenhagen a center for international linguistics in the first half of the 20th century, together with Vilhelm Thomsen and others. Jespersen became a member of the Academy in 1899.

Jespersen's primary subject was originally French, with English and Latin as secondary subjects and a specialization in the works of Diderot, but on the background of extensive study, with time he became one of the world's most respected philologists of English. This was first and foremost due to his seven-volume monumental work *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, which was published between 1909 and 1949 and is still considered a major work in the field. His understanding of language was determined by the emphasis on development which, inspired by Darwin, was dominant around the transition from the 19th to the 20th century. Like Madvig before him, he rejected the idea that the complex classical languages such as Latin and Greek were more perfect than less complex modern languages, and that modern languages were no more than degenerate forms of the former – that French, for example, was a degenerate form of Latin and that English was a degenerate form of Anglo-Saxon and Norman. On the contrary, Jespersen believed, the modern languages were much clearer mediums of communication than the classical languages; they were able to communicate the same things, but the modern languages did so more efficiently.

Jespersen made his reputation as a phoneticist with the publication of the 600-page major work *Fonetik: en systematisk Fremstilling af Læren om Sproglyd* (Phonetics: a systematic presentation of the science of phonemes) which was published between 1897 and 1899. In 1912, he published a work on the phonetics of English. In connection with his works on phonetics and in order to make language acquisition easier, in the last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, he created an English and Danish phonetic alphabet which is still used in textbooks. Jespersen's scholarly studies always had a practical orientation as well. The phonetics he advocated was a classical phonetics based on a physiological description of the production of sounds, or on what is today called articulatory phonetics. While he was extremely sceptical of the kind of purely experimental phonetics which characterizes Danish linguistics today, his work on phonetics contributed to the high state of development of phonetics in modern Danish linguistics.

In his linguistic studies, Jespersen distinguished between sound (lyd) and what he called 'tyd' - significance or meaning. At the same time, he was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that these two aspects of language cannot be studied in isolation from one another, as the sounds of language function to separate meanings.

Jespersen's practical orientation was also expressed through his engagement in efforts to construct an international artificial language - a world language - which many people were attempting to find acceptance for at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The idea was to avoid the irregularities and idiosyncrasies which are found in all natural languages. He was fully aware that such languages could not live up to the demands placed on the national languages. For example, in a short pamphlet he wrote that an artificial language

can never be so rich, so poetically useful, so much a language of the heart, as the natural [languages].- No, but it is only intended as an auxiliary language in situations in which a medium for conveying information is needed, and the others are inadequate; there will be plenty of use for it in any case.

These are the words of a practically-oriented linguist.

When Jespersen died, Carl Adolf Bodelsen, one of his successors, described him thus:

His method of working was strictly inductive and empirical: he proceeded on the foundation of an enormous body of collected material, and his grammatical work consists, in addition to this collection, in analyzing, structuring and interpreting this material. He distrusted more speculative methods: facts were necessary before he would acknowledge a work of linguistics.

This description of Jespersen's method can be said to apply to Danish linguistics in general a good way into the 20th century. It focussed on the description of language as well as the publication and interpretation of texts, and was practically oriented. This changed with Louis Hjelmslev, who is considered the most important Danish linguist of the period around the middle of the century.

After serving as senior associate professor of comparative linguistics at Aarhus University from 1934 to 1937, Hjelmslev was appointed professor of the same subject at the University of Copenhagen in 1937. In 1946, he became a member of the Academy.

alp 'brave' (sublime), et *alyp* 'prenant'. Dans les consonnes, je figure par un ¹ des signes employés seulement en combinaison avec les voyelles vélaires (*a, o, u* et généralement *y*); j'emploie ² pour les consonnes qui ne servent qu'avec les voyelles palatales (*ä, ö, ü, i*); la voyelle *y* fluctue un peu entre les deux groupes, et il y a certaines consonnes pour lesquelles on y préfère les signes du second groupe, surtout *j* et *s*.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
↓	∩	>	∩	∩	∩	↓	∩	∩	∩		
<i>a, ä</i>	<i>y, i</i>	<i>o, u</i>	<i>ö, ü</i>	<i>q(k¹)</i>	<i>q</i> de- vant <i>y</i>	<i>q</i> après (devant <i>o, u</i>)	<i>γ(g¹)</i>	<i>k(k²)</i>	<i>k</i> après (devant <i>ö, ü</i>)		
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
€	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	
<i>g(g²)</i>	<i>t¹</i>	<i>t²</i>	<i>d¹</i>	<i>d²</i>	<i>p(-p)</i>	<i>b¹(p¹?)</i>	<i>b²(p²?)</i>	<i>η(ng)</i>	<i>n¹</i>	<i>n²</i>	
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩
<i>m</i>	<i>r¹</i>	<i>r²</i>	<i>l¹</i>	<i>l²</i>	<i>j¹</i>	<i>j²</i>	<i>-j(-j), ai</i>	<i>s¹</i>	<i>s²(s?)</i>	<i>z(-s)</i>	<i>š</i>
34	35	36	37	38							
∩	∩	∩	∩	∩							
<i>č</i>	<i>(i)č</i>	<i>nd(nt)</i>	<i>nč</i>	<i>ld(lt)</i>							

Je ne puis fournir ici de plus amples preuves de mon déchiffrement. La preuve proprement dite ne peut naturellement être fournie que par la langue résultant de la substitution des valeurs littérales trouvées, et cette langue est un véritable idiome turc, parfaitement harmonique, de très près apparenté à l'ouïgour, avec lequel il n'est pourtant pas tout à fait identique; à certains égards notre idiome semble être plus primitif, et de plus il possède l'avantage d'une phonographie beaucoup

With Hjelmslev, Copenhagen became an international center for theoretical linguistics. In 1928, he had already published *Principes de grammaire générale* (Principles of general grammar), in which he attempted to set out the general laws which govern the structures of languages. Inspired by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, he distinguished between diachronic linguistics, the object of which is the development of languages and their mutual influence on one another, and synchronic linguistics, which considers a language as a system in which the character of the individual elements is determined by their reciprocal relations and their mutual interdependency. In Saussure's view, only

FIGURE 9. The Orkhon inscriptions, pictured in the *Annual Report* for 1893, p. 298.

$$\begin{array}{c} \langle +a-b-c \rangle \\ \langle -a+b-c \rangle \\ \hline \langle +a+b-c \rangle = \langle +a+b-c \rangle^+ \end{array}$$

When a paradigm has more than two assertions, there are always alternative ways of making up the equal sum, not counting sums of identical paradigms, e. g.

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \langle +a+b-c \rangle & \langle +a+b-c \rangle & \langle +a+b-c \rangle & \langle +a-b-c \rangle \\ \langle +a-b+c \rangle & \langle -a-b+c \rangle & \langle -a+b+c \rangle & \langle -a+b+c \rangle \\ \hline \langle +a+b+c \rangle^+ = \langle +a+b+c \rangle^+ = \langle +a+b+c \rangle^+ = \langle +a+b+c \rangle^+ \end{array}$$

Sums, as we shall see, are needed for various purposes, especially for making inventories. An inventory is, in fact, the sum of all relevant paradigms.¹

24. By a *category* is understood a collection of correspondents. Symbol: $\{\}$.

Instead of making a sum of two or more corresponding paradigms, we shall find it convenient, for some purposes, to regard the corresponding paradigms as members of a further class (cf. No. 21), which, as a collection of correspondents, we shall call a *category*. Thus our German case-paradigms, of which, under No. 23, we made a sum, can also be treated as making a category; we then have, so far,

$$\{ \langle +a+d-n-g \rangle + \langle +a-d-n-g \rangle + \langle -a+d-n-g \rangle \}$$

It will be seen that, as there are four plusses and/or minusses in each of the member paradigms, the full category has sixteen members, ranging from $\langle +a+d+n+g \rangle$ to $\langle -a-d-n-g \rangle$, which, of course, are not necessarily all asserted. We shall make it a rule always to operate with full categories, although they take up rather a lot of space, because only in this way can the investigator be sure that no possibility has been overlooked. The technique is, then, immediately upon the registration of any paradigm, to write out a complete category, in which those member paradigms which have not been registered are provisionally negated; whenever, in the course of further work, one of them is registered, its

¹ An inventory of projected units is a simple sum; in an inventory of intrinsic units the negatives are left out of account; cf. Part II.

FIGURE 10.
L. Hjelmslev and
H.J. Uldal: *Outline
of Glossematics*, 1957,
p. 59.

the latter form of linguistics, which must ultimately be founded on a structuralist understanding of science, could be considered a truly theoretical and modern science of linguistics – a view which Hjelmslev shared.

Together with others, Hjelmslev founded the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen in 1931, which disseminated knowledge of their form of structuralism throughout the international linguistics community through its meetings and publications. The circle became an important means for Hjelmslev to publicize his ideas.

In 1943, he published his seminal work of linguistic theory, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, which lays the foundations for the development of an abstract framework for the description of language. Hjelmslev termed this theory of language glossematics.

The book constitutes a rejection of the prevailing conception of linguistics. With regard to classical linguistics, he writes that its primary content

linguistic history and the genetic comparison of languages [...] neither [had] as aim nor as result a knowledge of the nature of language, but rather a knowledge of historical and prehistorical social conditions and contacts among peoples, a knowledge obtained through language taken as a means. But this, too, is philology. It is true that in the inner technique of this kind of comparative linguistics we often seem to be studying language itself, but that is an illusion. We are really studying the *disiecta membra* of language, which do not permit us to grasp the totality that language is. We are studying the physical and physiological, psychological and logical, sociological and historical precipitations of language, not language itself.

Here Hjelmslev's conception of language as a system is clear, in addition to his requirement that the conception of language must be "immanent", in other words exclusive of all non-linguistic phenomena, and that language must be perceived as "a self-sufficient totality, a structure *sui generis*".

Just as Otto Jespersen had distinguished between *lyd* (sound) and *tyd* (meaning), Hjelmslev distinguished between what he termed the expression plane and the content plane, and claimed – which is still only a hypothesis – that just as it is possible to establish a formal system for describing the sound plane, i.e. formal phonetics, it is possible to establish a formal theory of the content plane.

As a reflection of the strong position which Danish linguistics achieved around the middle of the 20th century, and for which not least Hjelmslev should be credited, the linguistics of names (onomastics) and dialectology became established subjects which gained representation in the Academy. But first and foremost, the development of an experimental phonetics had a decisive influence on the development of Danish linguistics in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. This was particularly due to the first female member of the Academy, the linguist and experimental phonetician Eli Fischer-Jørgensen.

Fischer-Jørgensen was Hjelmslev's student, but not his disciple, and she was probably the person who had best understood the linguistic theories of Hjelmslev, who was not as easily understandable as he was prolific

– theories of which she was consistently critical. With regard to glossematics, she wrote that it “has been discussed more than it has been applied”.

Internationally, glossematics and the linguists who met in the Copenhagen Circle were often referred to as the Copenhagen School, even though they did not constitute a school as such. A more formalized structuralist school, the Prague School, formed in the same period in Prague around the linguist Roman Jakobson. Eli Fischer-Jørgensen looked to this school for her inspiration, as it was Jakobson who inspired her to embark on the study of phonetics and experimental phonetics in particular, a field in which she became a central figure internationally over the course of her long life. And among Danish linguists who had worked on phonetics, she stood on the shoulders not of Hjelmslev, but of Otto Jespersen, whose scepticism about more speculative theoretical approaches she shared. As an experimental phonetician, she unified the theoretical with the empirical.

In association with Hjelmslev’s professorship in comparative linguistics, an associate professorship in phonetics was created in 1943 which was filled by Eli Fischer-Jørgensen. She was appointed special professor of phonetics in 1966, and was elected to the Academy two years later.

As a phonetician, she worked on speech sound systems, as well as the articulation of speech sounds, their acoustic and auditive properties and their functions in language. This led her to experiments aimed at exploring the possibility of producing the human voice by mechanical means. She was also interested in such specialized topics as the association of vowels with colors (an example of synesthesia). But although she is often described as a phonetician – and a prominent one – Fischer-Jørgensen was rather a general linguist: in addition to phonetics, her research interests included such topics as dialect geography, language history, the psychology of language, the history of linguistics, and comparative linguistics. Generally speaking, she strove to contextualize the results she achieved within the broader context of linguistic theory. Through her work, she came to exercise a much stronger influence on the development of Danish linguistics in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st than Hjelmslev. Her students have all been marked by her undogmatic and critical conception of knowledge, and several have since become members of the Academy.

In 1978, Jørgen Rischel was appointed professor of linguistics at the University of Copenhagen. Three



FIGURE 11. Apparatus for synthesizing speech sounds at the Phonetics Laboratory, demonstrated by Eli Fischer-Jørgensen in 1981.

years later, he was granted the professorship in phonetics which had been established after the retirement of Fischer-Jørgensen. The subject of Rischel’s 1974 higher doctoral dissertation was the relationship between sounds in the Greenlandic language, after which he had focussed both on dialect relationships and orthographical relationships in Greenlandic, in addition to a wide range of topics within Scandinavian philology, general linguistics and experimental phonetics. He has also made significant contributions to the exploration of an endangered language, the Mlabri language of northern Thailand, which testifies to the uncommon breadth of his research interests. Rischel retired in 1998.

Hans Basbøll was professor of Scandinavian languages with special emphasis on Danish and newer fields of study within linguistics at the University of Southern Denmark from 1975 to 2012. He has an MA in Danish and phonetics, and had Eli Fischer-Jørgensen as a teacher in the latter subject. While his first works were influenced by glossematics and generative grammar, he has since liberated himself from these more speculative theories. He held a position as a temporary lecturer at the Department of Phonetics at the University of Copenhagen, which was headed by Fischer-Jørgensen.

Basbøll is known for his work on the Danish *stød*, a virtually unique feature of the Danish language, which however does not occur in all Danish dialects. For example, *stød* is what distinguishes the pronunciation of

the words ‘man’ and ‘mand’. Danish linguists have been studying the Danish *stød* since the 18th century, a tradition to which both Fischer-Jørgensen and Basbøll have made significant contributions, and in which Basbøll is today considered the central Danish researcher. His major work, *The Phonology of Danish*, was published in 2005. Whereas phonetics, including experimental phonetics, explores the physiological production of speech sounds and how they are experienced, phonology seeks to establish the function of speech sounds and to determine the laws governing their pronunciation in order to develop a theoretical framework for their exploration.

Since 1996, Frans Gregersen has been professor of Danish at the University of Copenhagen. He has an MA in linguistics with a secondary subject in the psychology of language, and was director of the Danish National Research Foundation’s Center for Language Change in Real Time (LANCHART) from 2005 to 2015. Regarding his relationship to Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, he has said that she has been a significant source of inspiration since his student days. In his 1991 higher doctoral dissertation *Sociolingvistikkens (u)mulighed* (The (im)possibility of sociolinguistics), he explored debates within linguistics in great detail. He also defends the validity of sociolinguistics against the synchronic and immanent linguistics of Saussure (and Hjelmslev). Gregersen understands sociolinguistics as a science which not only explores differences in aspects of language such as pronunciation and word choice between different social environments, but also explores how social relationships and contrasts between social environments are expressed by language – or as expressed in his dissertation, sociolinguistics as he practices it “perceives what is social about language by perceiving the social in language”.

Peter Harder has been professor of English at the University of Copenhagen since 1998. In his own particular fashion, he has carried on the Danish tradition for general linguistics, and is today one of the leading figures in cognitive linguistics, the most recent trend in linguistics which understands language as an integrated aspect of the general functions of the human mind. He defended his dissertation *Functional Semantics* in 1996, and his most recent major contribution to linguistics is *Meaning and Mind in Society* (2010), in which he seeks to forge a new alliance between cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics which remains anchored in grammar.

Among Scandinavian philologists of the 20th century, Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen stands out as one of

the most prominent, thanks to his enormous range. He was professor of Scandinavian languages from 1926 to 1952, and was elected to the Academy in 1929. He had a long academic career which lasted from 1908 to 1976, and had already achieved such prominence in his field by 1911 that he co-founded the Society for Danish Language and Literature. His most important work is the monumental *Gammeldansk Grammatik* (Grammar of old Danish) in eight volumes (1928-1974), but he also published works on literary subjects, for example *Poul Møller Studier* (Poul Møller studies) from 1940.

Among philologists in Copenhagen in the second half of the 20th century, Søren Egerod deserves special mention. He became the first and thus far only professor of Chinese at the University of Copenhagen in 1958. He was an internationally recognized sinologist and an expert in a number of South Asian languages. He became a member of the Academy in 1971, and was awarded the honorary residence at Carlsberg in 1988, where he lived until his death. As a university student, he studied in Copenhagen, Paris, Stockholm, and Uppsala, and spent two years in China, where he focussed on the Chinese dialect which became the subject of his higher doctoral dissertation in 1956, the Lungtu dialect. He explored and wrote about a large number of Chinese and Thai dialects, and his publications also include works on Chinese religion and philosophy, in addition to translations of Chinese and Thai literature to Danish and English. He has published a number of collections of poetry in Danish and also translated the works of various Chinese poets to Danish.

Literary studies

Scholars who specialize in a particular linguistic discipline, for example a classical language or a modern language, concern themselves increasingly with the literature, history and society of the language in question, in addition to their mastery of the philological dimension. For example, many classical philologists specialize in the philosophy which was written in Latin or Greek in antiquity or the Middle Ages, and specialists in modern languages are generally experts in the literature written in these languages.

Although this development is evident in the humanities, and although specialization is increasingly a condition for the humanities disciplines, there are still many researchers whose work spans the entire range of their subjects. One of them is Morten Nøjgaard, former professor of Romance languages and literature

at the University of Southern Denmark, who has written on Baudelaire, textual analysis, and French adverbs, among other topics.

Rasmus Nyerup and Knud Lyne Rahbek initiated the exploration of Danish history from the perspective of literary history. While the former was a professor of literary history – the first of the kind – the latter was a professor of aesthetics, also the first of the kind in Denmark. They were both members of the Academy from 1823 and 1820 respectively. Although it was not among their duties, they both studied Danish literature, and from 1800 to 1808, they jointly published the first true Danish literary history, *Bidrag til den danske Digtekunsts Historie* (Contribution to the history of Danish poetry) in four volumes. They also co-authored *Udsigt over den danske Digtekunst under Kong Frederik den Femte* (1819) (Overview of Danish poetry during the reign of King Frederik the Fifth) and *Bidrag til en Udsigt over dansk Digtekunst under Kong Christian den Syvende* (1828) (Contribution to an overview of Danish poetry during the reign of King Christian the Seventh). Nyerup's contributions to this six-volume work are worthy of mention; Rahbek's were less substantial.

In 1845 Rasmus Rask's old friend Niels Matthias Petersen was appointed to a newly-established professorship in Scandinavian languages. He had been elected to the Academy in 1841. It was Rask who had inspired him to study linguistics, which he considered a means of delving into the history of the North, particularly the history of Iceland at the time of the sagas. Niels Matthias Petersen had already produced ground-breaking works on the history of the Danish language, Danish history in ancient times, Icelandic language and literature, and on Norse mythology, when he began collecting information about Danish literary history in 1850, including Danish literature in Latin and the history of science in Denmark. This work resulted in the five-volume work *Bidrag til den danske Litteraturs Historie* (Contribution to the history of Danish literature), which was published between 1853 and 1861, and which in many ways is an erudite and original magnum opus, as no previous studies existed for him to build upon. In relation to Danish literature in Latin and the history of science and scholarship in Denmark, the work is still worth consulting, and later Danish historians of literature have benefited from his efforts in relation to the period before 1800.

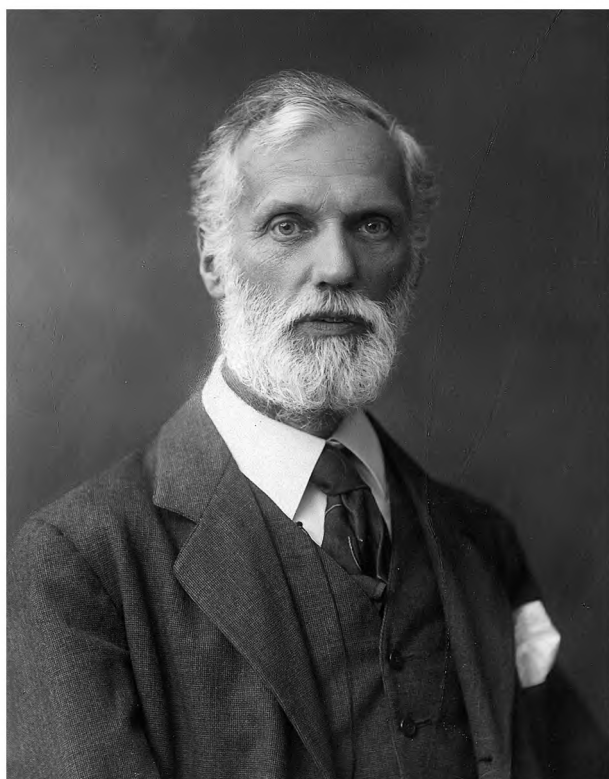
In 1895, a temporary senior associate professorship in general literary history was established at the University of Copenhagen. The position went to the 30-year-old Master of Laws Valdemar Vedel, who had

earned his higher doctorate in 1890 with a dissertation entitled *Studier over Guldalderen i dansk Digtning* (Studies of the Golden Age in Danish poetry). In his dissertation, Romanticism under Frederik VI is constructed as a cultural Golden Age. Vedel characterized this epoch in terms of the psychological characteristics common to the artists of the age – the rebellion against the culture of the 18th century and against the conception of nature as bound by unbreakable laws. Instead, they cultivated wonders of nature, the miraculous in nature. According to Vedel, this rebellion resulted in a longing for the infinite, and like Hegel, the dominant philosopher of the age, the poets of the time found the infinite in the finite, which is to say in reality. Vedel and others later termed this conception of an epoch as a cultural-psychological conception. Over the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th, Vedel published a series of works which characterized different epochs in cultural-psychological terms on the basis of their poetry and literature. Several of these works were intended to reveal the preconditions for Northern European culture in France, Italy, and Spain. Thus for Vedel, literature and poetry provided access to a sympathetic insight into past phases of culture and faded epochs. In 1911 – sixteen years after Vedel had been appointed senior associate professor – his position was converted to a professorship. He was elected to the Academy in 1913.

The literary researcher Vilhelm Andersen had a different agenda than Vedel. Instead of considering Danish literature against the background of world literature, as Vedel did, Andersen saw Danish literature as development through time of what he called the Danish spirit. To describe the history of Danish literature was, in the words of the title of one of Andersen's essays, "To write the history of the Danish spirit". According to Andersen, this description was to build on "a perception of the Danish spirit as a living whole". In his description of the national literature, Andersen aimed to counter the radicalism George Brandes stood for, with its program of radical departure and rebellion, instead finding continuity and cohesion.

Andersen became professor of Danish literature in 1908, and ten years later, the professorship was renamed a professorship in Scandinavian literature. He became a member of the Academy in 1923. Two years previously, publication of his major work began, volumes 2-4 (1921-1934) of his and Carl S. Petersen's monumental *Illustreret dansk Litteraturhistorie* (Illustrated history of Danish literature), in which Andersen, writing in a clear and simple manner without difficult foreign

FIGURE 12. The literary historian Valdemar Vedel. Photo by Julie Laurberg and [Franciska] Gad. The Academy's archive.



words, mapped out the Danish literary and intellectual history of the period from 1700 to 1900.

In 1930, Paul Viktor Rubow succeeded Vilhelm Andersen as professor of Scandinavian literature, and succeeded Valdemar Vedel in 1933. Rubow was elected to the Academy in 1942. With his 1921 higher doctoral dissertation *Dansk litterær Kritik i det nittende Aarhundrede indtil 1870* (Danish literary criticism in the 19th century until 1870), he established his reputation as a historian of criticism and with his books on Georg Brandes – among them *Georg Brandes' Briller* (Georg Brandes' glasses) from 1933 – he initiated the scholarly investigation of Brandes' work. He demonstrated Brandes' debt to 19th century French literary research and literary criticism, an influence of which Rubow himself was an exponent. Turning to the study of genre, his book *H.C. Andersens Eventyr* (The fairy tales of H.C. Andersen) was a milestone in Andersen studies. His demonstration that the Icelandic sagas are ahistorical novels rather than accounts of the lives and deeds of the first Norsemen on Iceland, and that Danish folk songs are not the poetry of the people, but rather late courtly ballads, are results which have stood the test of time in literary studies, despite – or perhaps precisely because of – the controversy they provoked among his contemporaries. Today he is remembered for his many engaging essays, with their stylistic elegance and extremely subjective style. With his rejection of the focus on the nation in writing on literature,

he stands as Vilhelm Andersen's diametrical opposite in the first half of the 20th century.

Frederik Julius Billeskov Jansen was appointed senior associate professor of literary history in 1941, a position which was converted to a professorship in 1946. Billeskov Jansen made his debut as a Holberg scholar with his 1938 higher doctoral dissertation *Holberg som Epigrammatiker og Essayist* (Holberg as an essayist and epigrammatist), and was subsequently responsible for annotated editions of Holberg's letters, moral thoughts and autobiographical letters, a project he concluded with a twelve-volume edition of Holberg's selected writings. At the same time, he also worked on his magnum opus *Danmarks Digtekunst* (The poetry of Denmark), and the first three volumes of what was to have been a four-volume work were published between 1944 and 1958. The last volume was never published. Unlike Vilhelm Andersen's version of literary history, which had a more biographical slant, Billeskov Jansen's book treats Danish literature in the context of the history of its individual genres. In the early 1950s, he also published a selection of the writings of Søren Kierkegaard which was widely read at the time, and he edited the four-volume anthology *Den danske lyric* (Danish lyric poetry), which was published between 1961 and 1966. He became a member of the Academy in 1957.

Like both Vilhelm Andersen and Billeskov Jansen, former senior associate professor at the University of Copenhagen Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen covers the entire spectrum of Danish literature, however with a particular focus on the non-theological works of Grundtvig – his poetry, literary criticism, and poetics. Within this large area of Grundtvig's enormous body of work, Lundgreen-Nielsen is a major figure in Grundtvig studies, both in Denmark and internationally.

Classical philology is still strongly represented among the members of the Academy. The legacy of Madvig has not been betrayed. But although all of these members are masters of philology in the classical sense, their work has almost exclusively focussed on literary and historical topics within their subjects. Minna Skafté Jensen, former professor of classical languages and classical culture at the University of Southern Denmark, is particularly recognized as an authority on Homer, and a major focus of her work has been the exploration of the relationship between the Homeric poems and oral traditions in classical Greece. She has also studied the Scandinavian neo-Latin literature of the Renaissance and later periods.

Mogens Herman Hansen, a former associate professor of classical philology, launched his academic career with numerous works on the political and social conditions of classical Greece. In the 1990s, he collaborated with Danish and international fellow scholars on a major survey of ancient Greek city-states outside classical Greece which explored their political systems, their mutual trade relationships and their relations with the city-states of the homeland. Since the conclusion of this project, he has focussed on politology in particular.

Sten Ebbensen's first position was at the University of Copenhagen in 1972, and since 2011, he has served as professor of medieval philosophy with a focus on the Aristotelian tradition. He has published works on many aspects of the philosophy of the Middle Ages, particularly on the medieval tradition of philosophical grammar and logic. He has been responsible for the publication of numerous previously unpublished works by Danish medieval philosophers in particular. Since 1966, he has played a role in the publication of *Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi*. Today he is a central figure in medieval philosophy studies internationally, and many students from all over the world have worked with him in Copenhagen.

Although Troels Engberg-Pedersen took his degree in classical philology, he has been a professor of New Testament exegesis at the University of Copenhagen since 2001, after having served as associate professor of the same subject since 1989. Earlier in his career, he wrote his higher doctoral dissertation on Aristotle and Stoic moral philosophy. He has since published a detailed examination of Paul's relationship to Stoicism and most recently a study on the influence of cosmology on the Pauline theology of the spirit, or pneumatology.

Birger Munk Olsen's work is located at the intersection of classical philology and Romance languages. He became professor of Romance languages and literature at the University of Copenhagen in 1974, and from 1983 he was affiliated first with the Department of Medieval Philosophy and later with the Department of Greek and Latin. He served as president of the Academy from 1996 to 2004. Olsen is a specialist in French and Latin medieval literature, and is the foremost international authority on the Latin tradition in the medieval period and the early Renaissance.

Like history, linguistics and the study of literature are central subjects in the humanities, which has been – and continues to be – reflected in the membership of

the Academy. All three subject areas have participated in the internationalization which, for better or worse, characterised humanistic scholarship throughout the 20th century, not least on the initiative of the representatives of these disciplines in the Academy.

Philosophy and psychology

Philosophy

Until the end of the 19th century, philosophy and psychology were closely linked, because the philosophical 'doctrine of the soul' was traditionally one of the central questions of philosophy, and because professors of philosophy at the European and American universities lectured on and published books on psychology. An analogous development took place in Denmark, where the last psychology textbook by a philosopher was published in the 1940s, the final edition of which was published in the early 1950s. Students who intended to specialize in psychology had to earn a PhD in philosophy with a specialization in psychology until 1918, when the magister program in psychology was established. The Master's degree in psychology which is offered by the universities in Copenhagen and Aarhus today originated in a psychological-pedagogical program established in 1944.

In the second half of the 19th century, a new field emerged in Germany: experimental psychology. In 1879, on the initiative of the philosopher and psychologist Wilhelm Wundt, an institute for experimental psychology was established at Leipzig University. This was the beginning of psychology's differentiation from philosophy.

The first philosopher became a member of the Academy as early as 1747- Jens Kraft, who was appointed professor of philosophy and mathematics at the academy for young noblemen (*Ridderakademiet*) in Sorø the same year. Kraft was the most prominent mathematician and physicist in Denmark at the time.

While he was a proponent of the Leibniz-Wolffian philosophy, unlike either Leibniz or Wolff, Kraft subscribed to Newtonian physics rather than the Cartesian. For use as a teaching aid at the academy, Kraft published a five-volume series of textbooks between 1751 and 1752, a major work on logic and five shorter works on ontology, or the study of a being just as a being, a cosmology, a psychology, and a natural theology, which explores what can be understood about the divine through the natural abilities of man without reference to divine revelation. Unlike Wolff, who divided

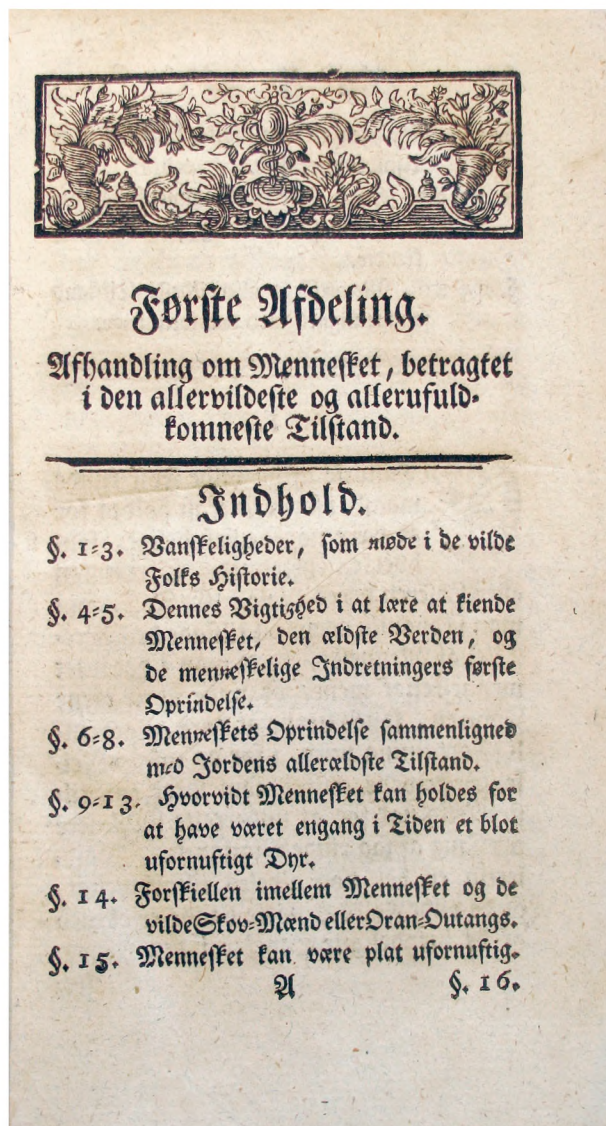


FIGURE 13. Table of contents of the first section of Jens Kraft's book on savage peoples, *Kort Fortælning af de Vilde Folks fornemteste Indretninger, Skikke og Meninger* (Brief account of the principal institutions, customs and ideas of the savage peoples), 1760.

psychology into empirical psychology and rational psychology, Kraft operated with empirical psychology alone, attempting to account for what it is possible for us to know on the basis of our experience of the human soul or consciousness. Kraft is best remembered for the book *Kort Fortælning af de Vilde Folks fornemteste Indretninger, Skikke og Meninger, til Oplysning af det menneskelige Oprindelse og Fremgang i Almindelighed* (Brief account of the principal institutions, customs and ideas of the savage peoples, to inform about the general origins and development of humanity) from 1760, on the basis of which he is considered one of the first true ethnologists. In this work, he attempted to explain “man by man himself”, by explaining “human development”

without assuming either divine intervention or intercultural influence.

The 19th century was the great age of Danish philosophy, and Frederik Christian Sibbern, the leading philosopher of the first half of the century, was a professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen who was elected to the Academy in 1816. Sibbern was a child of Romanticism, and is remembered today for his *magnus opus* on the aesthetics of Danish Romanticism, the three-volume work *Om Poesie og Kunst i Almindelighed, med Hensyn til alle Arter deraf, dog især Digte-, Maler-, Billedhugger- og Skuespillerkonst; eller: Foredrag over almindelig Æsthetik og Poetik* (On poetry and art in general, with reference to all three branches thereof, though poetry, painting, sculpture and acting in particular; or; a discourse on general aesthetics and poetics), published between 1834 and 1869. In addition, his two epistolary novels, *Efterladte Breve af Gabrielis* (Surviving letters of Gabrielis) (1826) and *Udaf Gabrielis's Breve til og fra Hjemmet* (Selections from Gabrieli's letters to and from home) (1850) are among the major literary works of the Danish Golden Age.

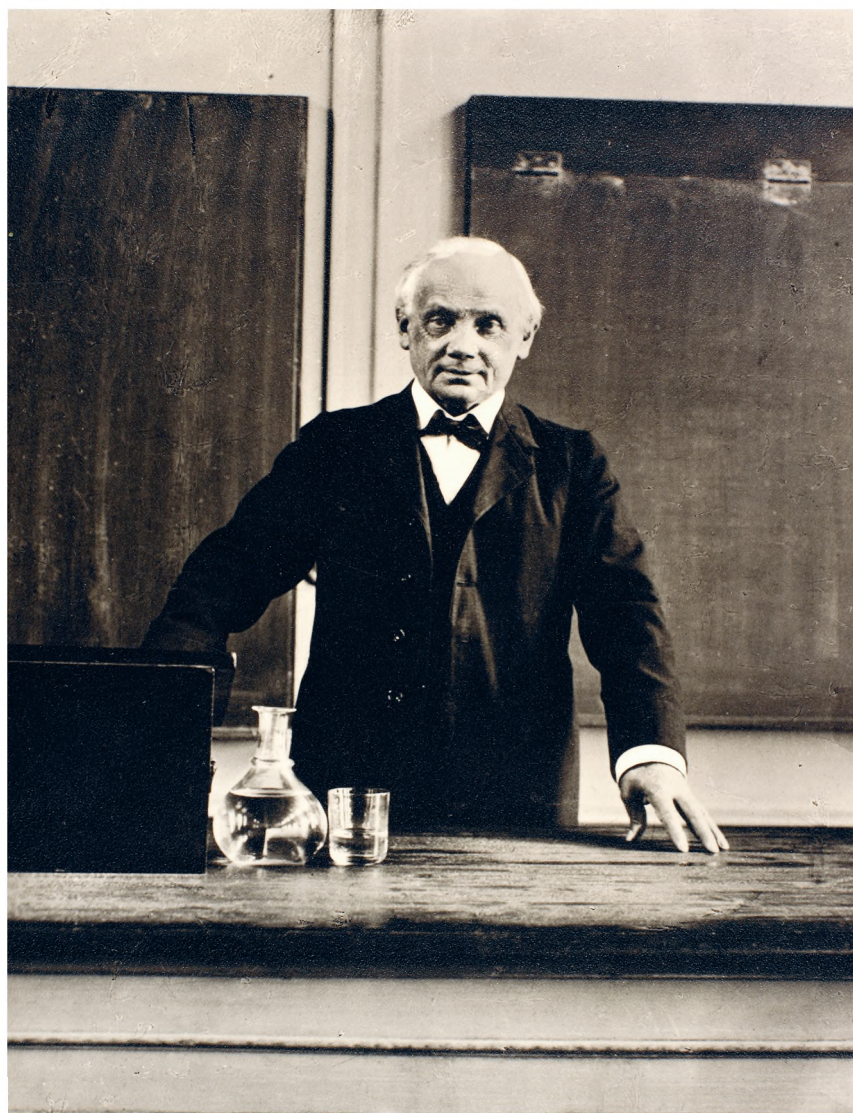
Sibbern wrote about all of the branches of philosophy, both in textbook form and in a long series of monographs. One of his major works is *Menneskets aandelige Natur og Væsen* (The spiritual nature and essence of man) published in two volumes in 1819 and 1828 respectively, in which particularly the treatment of human emotional life has had lasting value. His systematic treatment of the problem of the psychophysical, the question of the relationship between consciousness and the body, represents a valuable contribution to one of the classical problems of philosophy. His conception of this relationship was set out in his 1849 book *Om Forholdet mellem Sjæl og Legeme, saavel i Almindelighed som i phrenologisk, pathognomonisk, physiognomisk og etisk Henseende i Særdeleshed* (On the relationship between soul and body, generally and in regard to phrenological, pathognomonical, physiognomonical and ethical considerations in particular), but it is hardly read any more.

One of Sibbern's students, Harold Høffding, a professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, was elected to the Academy in 1884. His scholarly interests were almost as broad as Sibbern's, and like Sibbern, who had been a central figure in the Danish Golden Age, he became a central figure in Danish cultural life around the turn of the century. Four of his many works are particularly worthy of mention here. *Psykologi i Omrids paa Grundlag af Erfaring* (A general outline of psychology based on experience) from 1882

was printed in numerous revised editions and is a classic of modern psychology. *Etik. En Fremstilling af de etiske Principper og deres Anvendelse paa de vigtigste Livsforhold* (Ethics. A presentation of the principles of ethics and their application to the most important life situations), published in 1887, gave him the status of the nation's moral adviser, whose counsel was sought by many. The two-volume *Den Nyere Filosofis Historie* (*History of Modern Philosophy*), published in Danish in 1894-1895 and in English in 1900, gave the great natural scientists a role in the history of philosophy for the first time. This distinguished series of publications concluded with his *Religionsfilosofi* (1901), published in English in 1906 as *Philosophy of Religion*. Høffding's works were translated to a variety of European languages - there is even a Japanese translation of one of them - which made him one of the best known and most eminent philosophers of his time. However, his thought was very much the product of his time, and so it died with him. After Høffding's death, philosophy was not represented in the Academy for many years, as Høffding had not taken the initiative to propose candidates for membership from among his younger students who had been appointed professors of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen in the 1920s.

Not until 1948 was Frithiof Brandt elected to the Academy. He had been appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen in 1922, the year after he defended his higher doctoral dissertation in the history of philosophy, the subject of which was Thomas Hobbes' mechanical conception of nature. This work was published in English some years later, and has remained a seminal work in Hobbes studies. In 1929, he published the book *Den unge Søren Kierkegaard* (The young Søren Kierkegaard), which generated considerable discussion, as Brandt argued that one of the members of the café coterie described by Henrik Hertz in the 1839 novel *Stemninger and Tilstande* (Moods and states) was Søren Kierkegaard. In the 1930s, Brandt produced a comprehensive and extremely well-written psychology textbook in two volumes for use in the mandatory introductory university course *examen philosophicum*. Although many aspects of the work are outdated, it is still worth reading.

David Favrholt (1931-2012), who like both Sibbern and Høffding was one of the very few modern philosophers with a broad approach to the field, was elected to the Academy in 1976. Modern philosophy has become extremely specialized, a development which has been additionally reinforced by the condition that a large proportion of university research is



now financed by external grants for projects. Although Favrholt also worked on the history of science, he preferred to be considered a philosopher rather than a historian of science, particularly in connection with the development of quantum mechanics.

In 1964, Favrholt defended his dissertation on the philosophy of Ludvig Wittgenstein, and in 1966, he was appointed professor of philosophy at Odense University (now the University of Southern Denmark). His major work was *Filosofisk Codex - Om begrundelsen af den menneskelige erkendelse* (Philosophical Codex - on the foundations of human knowledge), which was published in 1999 and remained on Danish newspaper bestseller lists for several weeks in a row. Since his youth, Favrholt had been interested in and inspired by the thought of Niels Bohr, on whom he wrote several books. In the same year as *Filosofisk Codex*, Volume Ten of the *Collected Works* of Niels Bohr was published, edited by Favrholt and prefaced with a long introduction which he had discussed with Aage Bohr in

FIGURE 14. The philosopher Harald Høffding at the lectern in an auditorium in the main building of the University of Copenhagen. Photo 1900-1919. The Royal Library.

particular. Aage Bohr originally thought that Favrholdt had exaggerated his father's interest in epistemological and philosophical problems in relation to quantum mechanics, but in the course of their discussion, he was forced to admit that Favrholdt was right in his interpretation of what later would be called Bohrian philosophy.

The last of the few philosophers who have been or are members of the Academy to be mentioned here is Dan Zahavi, who received the Academy's silver medal in 2000, and two years later was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen. Through his works on phenomenology, in particular the Husserlian version, and on the philosophy of consciousness, he has earned considerable international recognition, and is today a major international figure in the fields of the philosophy of consciousness and phenomenology. No other philosophy since Høffding has had his work translated to as many languages as Dan Zahavi.

Psychology

If we disregard the philosophers, the first psychologist employed at a university in Denmark who was also a member of the Academy, was Alfred Lehmann, whose work lay the foundations for the subsequent development of the field of psychology in Denmark. Although Lehmann was an engineer by education, early on he became interested in the empirical aesthetics which was developed in Germany and England at the end of the 19th century. In 1884 he defended the dissertation *Farvernes elementære Æstetik* (The elementary aesthetics of the colors), and the year after his defence he began studying with Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig.

As a psychologist, Wundt was a psychophysicist who studied the experimental correlation between changes in physical stimuli to the human organism and changes in states of consciousness, which also became Lehmann's primary interest. His intention was to transfer the experimental method of the natural sciences to psychology, which had previously been based on self-observation (introspection). When Lehmann returned to Copenhagen in 1886, he established a psychophysics laboratory in three cramped, damp rooms in the cellar of the Metropolitan School as a private institution devoted to experimental psychology. In 1890, he was appointed temporary senior associate professor in experimental psychology, a temporary position which was exchanged for a special professorship in the same subject twenty years later. In 1919, the po-

sition was converted to a full professorship. The University of Copenhagen had overtaken the lab in 1892.

Throughout these developments, Lehmann had enjoyed the support of the university's professors of philosophy, a support which also resulted in his election to the Academy in 1902. Without a doubt, his membership had great significance for his career.

Many of Lehmann's experiments were aimed at determining the physical expressions of psychological states such as fright, excitement, and pain – in other words, how emotional states express themselves corporeally. But he also had other interests. He wrote a major work entitled *Overtro og Trolldom fra de første Tider til vore Dage* (Superstition and witchcraft from the earliest times to the present day), which was published in three volumes between 1893 and 1896, and which has been reprinted several times. His goal was to explain as many phenomena from the realm of superstition as possible in terms of the experimentally determined laws of the workings of consciousness.

Lehmann was also interested in the practical applications of psychophysics, and by his death in 1921, three branches of applied psychology had become established in Denmark – educational psychology, occupational psychology and military psychology. This was particularly owing to Rasmus Hans Pedersen, the lab's research assistant from 1913, combined with the liberation of psychology from philosophy and its establishment as an independent, albeit young and incomplete science.

Lehmann's professorship in experimental psychology passed to Edgar Rubin in 1922, who was not elected to the Academy until 1949. Rubin hesitated to accept his election on the grounds that he felt that membership would have had a positive influence in his younger years, but that it had come almost too late. However, he allowed himself to be persuaded to join the Academy. Rubin received his PhD in philosophy with a specialization in psychology in 1910. The year after, he left for a two-year stay in Germany to study with one of the most prominent psychologists of the time, Georg Elias Müller in Göttingen. Here Rubin was assigned to study perceptual figures, which became the topic of the higher doctoral dissertation he defended in 1915. Before he was appointed professor, he had served as associate professor of philosophy for a couple of years, and it is characteristic of several of his works that his psychological analyses also attempted to address epistemological questions.

In his dissertation, Rubin situated his own approach in relation to the school of modern psychology

known as Gestalt psychology. It claims that the phenomena of consciousness are almost always perceptual wholes which are the result of our psyche's active – and unconscious – organization of the stream of impressions which our senses receive from the world and the body. As he was extremely critical of lofty theorization, he was as little a disciple of Gestalt psychology as of other psychological theories. For example, he rejected psychoanalysis as pure speculation which lacked sufficient empirical support.

As a psychologist, Rubin worked with psychic patterns or configurations, like the Gestalt psychologists. Unlike the 'philosophical' psychology which could be traced back to the English empiricists, he did not consider these perceptual configurations as constructions formed of unmediated sensory impressions, but rather as perceptual wholes. His analyses of such perceptual wholes did not involve their dissolution into elements, but rather explored what he termed 'sides' of their perception. In long series of experiments, for example on perceived movement and speed, he normally involved a large number of subjects.

Rubin was convinced of the importance of experimental psychology in relation to establishing a psychology based on experience, but he was also convinced of the limitations of the experimental scientific method. Perception is not only what can be proven experimentally; perception also draws on the experiences which subjects report, in other words on accounts of the individual's own inner life. For Rubin, psychology was not exclusively an experimental science. As early as 1924, he had obtained permission to call the institute *The Psychological Laboratory* instead of the Psychophysical Laboratory.

After Rubin's death, Franz From succeeded him in the professorship in 1954. From had received his PhD in psychology in 1939 and was hired as a temporary lecturer in the subject the same year. As amanuensis and later as professor, he continued in Rubin's footsteps. However, a short book entitled *Drøm og Neurose* (Dream and neurosis) from 1944 demonstrated that From was less dismissive of depth psychology than Rubin had been – although he cannot be characterized as an adherent. Rather disrespectfully, he wrote that "a person's dreams often seem to conform to the dream theory he subscribes to". Later, From revealed that Rubin had believed that he was wasting his time in writing the book.

From's major work is his original higher doctoral dissertation from 1953, *Om oplevelsen af andres adfærd. Et bidrag til den menneskelige adfærdens fænomenologi*



FIGURE 15. 'Rubin's vase'. Rubin's famous illustration from his higher doctoral dissertation *Synsoplevelde Figurer* (Perceptual figures) (1915), from the original tissue paper figure, abt. 1913 (reproduction of Norup's 2006 lithograph).

(On the perception of other people's behavior. A contribution to the phenomenology of human behavior), of which two editions were published, a rare occurrence for a dissertation. One of the main arguments of the book is that we do not immediately apprehend other people's movements as movements, in the sense of changes in the location of other organisms or their limbs in space. On the contrary, we apprehend them as actions, which means that perception involves the processing of visual stimuli. For example, we immediately apprehend the sight of a person sticking his hand in his pocket to find his keys or his toothpicks, in other words, we perceive goal-oriented behavior – not just a change in the spatial position of the hand and the arm. The correctness of the thesis is demonstrated by a long series of experiments involving many subjects. With this book, From foreshadowed later investigations of what has been called social understanding.

From was an excellent prose stylist, and for many years was employed by the Danish daily *Ekstrabladet*, where he published numerous pieces on psychological topics. His broad approach to psychology also led him to become involved in many legal cases; for example, he was a witness in the 1965 trial against the publisher of the English author John Cleland's 1749 novel *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (popularly known as *Fanny Hill*), in which he testified on behalf of the defendant. He also participated in the work of the Greenland Commission. He was elected to the Academy in 1974.

The student revolution of around 1970 was hard on university psychology departments in Denmark. Much of the traditional research work which stemmed

from Rubin was abandoned for a longer period. Within the last few decades, this development appears to have been reversed, which not least is due to the influence of two current members of the Academy, Rolf Kuschel and Claus Bundesen.

Since 1969, Kuschel has been employed at the University of Copenhagen, and became professor of social psychology in 1995 after defending his two-volume higher doctoral dissertation in 1988, the subject of which was blood feuds on the island of Bellona in the Solomon Islands, where he spent numerous long research stays. He has also investigated a form of sign language which had emerged spontaneously on the neighboring island of Rennell. This research gained international importance, and led to an increased interest worldwide in the study of isolated sign languages. In 1981, he and a colleague co-published *Dictionary of the Language of Rennell and Bellona, Part 2: English to Rennellese and Bellonese*. Over a nine-year period, he was involved in a project to establish a postgraduate program at doctoral level at Tribhuvan University in Nepal. In addition to research on cultural psychology, he has also studied topics in social psychology. For example, he has co-published books including *Fordomme og stereotyper* (Prejudice and stereotypes) (2007) and *Ondskabens psykologi* (The psychology of evil) (2014), in addition to a textbook on social psychology (2016). Despite his retirement he has, like many other humanists, remained still professionally active.

In 1986, Claus Bundesen was awarded the higher doctorate for a collection of psychological monographs which in many ways carried on the tradition of Rubin and From. For example, the topic of some of Bundesen's early monographs was perceived movement. In 1995, he was appointed professor of cognitive psychology at the University of Copenhagen, the branch of psychology which is concerned with how individuals learn and process information. He has focussed in particular on the study of attention in connection with sensory impressions, in other words visual attention. These studies are linked with studies of the process of selecting relevant sensory impressions which takes place in the brain. He has also developed a mathematical model for visual attention which links psychology and brain research in an original and purely mathematical way. The exploration of attention which takes place in connection with the model has great practical significance - both in the attempt to help people with brain damage which causes disturbances in brain mechanism of attention, as well as in connection with the development of robots.

Although neither philosophy or psychology has had many representatives in the Academy in the course of its history, this overview serves to demonstrate that the Academy has numbered leading researchers in these subjects among its members, both nationally and internationally.

In addition to some theological subjects, the following three groups of subjects include a number of disciplines which are relatively new, both at the university and within the framework of the Academy.

The study of religion and theological subjects

The study of religion

A chair in the history of religion was established at the University of Copenhagen in 1912, and its first occupier was the renowned Vilhelm Grønbech who became a leading, but also controversial figure in Danish intellectual life in the interwar years and towards his death in 1948. He had been appointed senior associate professor before the chair was established, and he became a member of the Academy in 1918.

In 1897, Grønbech had earned his teacher certification with Danish as his primary subject and English as a secondary subject, but had also studied with the Danish linguists of the time, both while qualifying as a teacher and in subsequent years, including Vilhelm Thomsen, the most prominent of these. Through his studies, he acquired a deep knowledge of Turkish philology. Grønbech earned his higher doctorate in 1902, just a few years after his teacher certification. The subject of his dissertation was Turkish phonology from a historical perspective, after which he became interested in the study of the history of religion - as he found the study of the mentality and culture of the people who speak a language more interesting than the purely linguistic dimension. Throughout his career, his studies of religious phenomena were always founded on a thorough philological analysis of the texts on which such phenomena depend. He combined this approach with the supposition that a person's religion determines his or her perception of reality and thoughts. As his colleague Paul V. Rubow, professor of literary studies, later so aptly wrote: "Where the narrow understanding of philology finds only words, there he found spirit." Both were opponents of pedantry.

Grønbech's first university position was a senior associate professorship in English from 1908 to 1911.

While teaching courses in the subject, he worked on his first major work *Vor Folkeæt i Oldtiden* (*The Culture of the Teutons*), which was published in four volumes from 1909 to 1912. The work rests on the conviction that the scholar of the history of religion must suspend his own subjectivity and his own conception of reality in order to fully inhabit the perception of reality and approach to life of other, perhaps alien, individuals. In this work, his aim was thus to apprehend the ancient Norsemen and Teutons from the inside out. In the preface to his second major work *Mystikere i Europa og Indien* (*Mystics in Europe and India*), which was published in four volumes from 1925 to 1934, he wrote:

A scholarly understanding of spiritual phenomena must necessarily rest on a holistic approach...It is the scholar's duty to identify with the culture or person he wishes to describe to the extent that the alien thoughts emerge from his own grasp of the whole. And it is the reader's task to repeat this process in order to achieve a personal, and ideally deeper, apprehension.

The intuitive holistic apprehension and subsequent holistic description which Grønbech demanded of the scholar of religion led researchers from many other fields to criticize him for his failure as a humanities researcher to reflect critically on his own preconceptions, which might not be universal. Rubow's description of Grønbech should be understood in this context.

A little book from 1915 entitled *Primitiv Religion* (*Primitive religion*), which came between the two major works, is perhaps Grønbech's most groundbreaking contribution. In this work he described – so to speak from the inside – what his time termed 'primitive' conceptions of existence as they are expressed in religion, and he clarified the distinction between nature religions, whose believers live in and with nature, and urban religions, which view nature as something alien and objectified.

Grønbech's last major work was *Hellas*, which was published in four volumes from 1942 to 1945, and unlike several of his other books, it was admired by a number of classical philologists, who found in it a source of inspiration, including Povl Johannes Jensen, Johnny Christensen, and Karsten Friis Johansen. In the second half of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, Grønbech published a series of books on Christianity which would play a role in the cultural debates of the time, and after the Second World War, he and the theologian Hal Koch published the journal *Frø Ord* (*Free words*) (1946-1948), which would inspire a circle

of poets and writers who would become known as the Heretica Circle to publish the journal *Heretica*.

When Grønbech retired in 1943, his professorship passed to one of his students, who did not exactly succeed in filling the shoes of his predecessor, and when he retired in 1965, a majority at the faculty decided that the position was to be filled by a 'real' Grønbechian. As a result, the most qualified applicant, Arild Hvidtfeldt, was passed over. To make amends, a professorship in the sociology of religion was established in 1970 which went to Hvidtfeldt. The subject was since expanded to include Amerindian languages and cultures. Hvidtfeldt himself had earned his higher doctoral degree in 1958 on the basis of a dissertation on the religion of the Aztecs. His studies, which included Aztec language and culture, had primarily taken place at Berlin's university during the Second World War, where he was stationed as Berlin correspondent for the Danish Social Democratic press in order to deflect the occupying power's suspicions that he was participating in the Danish resistance.

In his dissertation, Hvidtfeldt also explored the relationship between cult and myth on the background of the material on the religious rites and religious myths of the Aztecs he had collected. Where Grønbech had asserted that the cult was a dramatization of the contents of myths, and that myths therefore must



FIGURE 16. Historian of religion Vilhelm Grønbech. Photo by Julie Laurberg and [Franciska] Gad. The Academy's archive.

have preceded them in time, Hvidtfeldt argued convincingly that the cult precedes the myth. His dissertation is also concerned with the transition between nature religion and urban religion, two types of religion which he considered to be essentially different. He was able to demonstrate that a transition of this kind had taken place in the Aztec religion, both within cult and myth. He was elected to the Society in 1975 and retired from his professorship in 1985.

Torben Monberg was elected to the Academy in the same year as Hvidtfeldt. Monberg, originally a historian of religion like Hvidtfeldt, had switched his focus to cultural anthropology, and had explored the cultural anthropology of the islands Bellona, Rennell and Tikopia in the Solomon Islands in the South Pacific, where he had spent twelve research stays. The results of this research are the subject of all of his academic works.

Monberg earned his PhD in the history of religion in 1957, and was professor of cultural sociology at the University of Copenhagen from 1969 to 1975. These years were marked by the student rebellion, which had devastating effects on the field, and Monberg himself was criticized by the student activists on account of his privileged family background. When he stepped down from the professorship, he became head curator and director of the National Museum of Denmark's ethnographical collection, a position he held until 1980, after which he became an independent researcher.

After Hvidtfeldt retired, the professorship remained unfilled for 25 years, until Margit Warburg was appointed in 2010. She had taken her PhD in the sociology of religion in 1979, and in 2007 had earned her higher doctorate with the dissertation *Citizens of the World. A History and Sociology of the Baha'is from a Globalisation Perspective* (2006). The monotheistic Baha'i religion was founded in Persia in the 19th century, and has since spread around the entire world. In Denmark, there were approximately 375 Baha'is in 2013. On the basis of material on the Baha'is both in Denmark and abroad, including material collected in Haifa, the religion's spiritual and administrative center, Warburg's dissertation explores topics such as globalization and religion, religion and economics, the demography of religion, religious minorities, conversion, and religious organization. Throughout her research career, Warburg has been interested in issues in the sociology of religion which arise in connection with the attempt to understand the significance of religion in modern society.

Theological subjects

When the Academy was established in 1742, there were two theologians among its founders, who were included not on the basis of their theological qualifications - which, as previously explained, were excluded - but on the strength of their expertise in church history (read more on p. 97-99).

One of the most prominent theological members of the 19th century was Jacob Peter Mynster, who was a member of the national university board of directors (*Universitetsdirektionen*) at the time of his election and who later became bishop of Zealand. He became one of the leading figures of the Danish Golden Age. He was a proponent of a theology of mediation which aimed to fuse bourgeois culture and Christianity. He was a member of the Academy's philosophy class, and published two monographs in the Academy's *Writings*, on the concept of faith and human sexual life respectively.

His successor as bishop, Hans Lassen Martensen, was the leading systematic theologian of the day, and developed a speculative theology on a philosophical foundation, in accordance with the fashion of the time. Like Mynster, his theology was a theology of mediation. He sought compromise in his theological thought, which as a consequence was not always entirely transparent. This made him the target of attack by Kierkegaard, who made him the object of his ridicule. "With Martensen," Kierkegaard wrote in his journal, "I would never open a discussion without the presence of a notary public, simply in order to get something firmly established."

Martensen was, perhaps more justifiably than his predecessor, a member of the philosophy class. The year before his election in 1841, he had published a brief and quite elegantly formulated textbook on moral philosophy which was translated to Swedish, Dutch, German, and Hungarian, and which is the only extant systematic moral philosophy inspired by Hegel. The master himself never developed a moral philosophy.

Around the middle of the 20th century, although the center of gravity for theology lay in Aarhus, none of the distinguished members of the Faculty of Theology in Aarhus of that time were elected to the Academy. At the end of the 1980s, three theological professors at Aarhus University were elected to the Academy: Christian Thodberg, who was elected on the strength of his expertise on Byzantine music, the church historian Jacob Balling, and the Old Testament specialist

Benedikt Otzen, the latter in his capacity as a scholar of Semitic philology.

Hal Koch was a professor of Scandinavian ecclesiastical history at the University of Copenhagen from 1936 to his death in 1963. During and after the German occupation of Denmark, he became an important public voice in defence of democracy.

In 1932, he defended his higher doctoral dissertation on the church father Origen, a Platonist and one of the founders of Christian dogmatics, in which he demonstrated the extent of the influence Platonism exercised on Christianity through Origen. Later, he became one of the editors of the major work *Den danske Kirkes Historie* (The history of the Danish church), which was published in eight volumes from 1950 to 1966, while simultaneously serving as the principal of the folk high school Krogerup and performing his duties as professor.

Immediately before the German occupation in April 1940, Koch had become fascinated by the ideas of Grundtvig, and in the fall of 1940, he gave an extremely well-attended series of lectures on the poet-theologian. In 1943, he published his much-read book on Grundtvig, which was based on the lectures.

After his appointment as professor, Koch was occupied by his teaching and his academic writing career. He edited numerous works, and was an extremely sought-after popular lecturer, especially during and after the Second World War, and was known to give several lectures in the course of a single day. His duties as principal of Krogerup were also demanding. When he was elected in 1958, his working life – all too short – was coming to an end, and he did not manage to make his mark on the Academy.

In 1981, the ecclesiastical historian and Luther scholar Leif Grane became a member of the Academy. Inspired by Hal Koch, he began his studies of Luther as a young man, and in 1962, he defended his higher doctoral dissertation on Luther's 95 theses from 1517, which became the background for the reformation of the Church which rolled over Northern Europe from about 1520, against Luther's original intentions. Grane's work made him a well-known figure in international Reformation studies. His last major contribution to Luther studies, an investigation of Luther's relationship to humanism, was published in 1994. Grane's conception of Christianity was influenced by Grundtvig, which is evident in his considerable body of work on ecclesiastical history.

Søren Giversen, a professor of theology (New Testament) at Aarhus University from 1975 to 1998, was

an internationally recognized scholar of Gnosticism in the early Church as well as of Manicheism. He was one of the first scholars who was permitted to read the Gnostic manuscripts which were discovered in 1945 at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt, and which were written in Coptic. Several of these texts are older than the four canonical gospels of the New Testament. Giversen was the chair of the international committee responsible for the publication of the manuscripts. He later published several of the Gnostic gospels from the find in Danish translation, including the so-called *Thomas Evangelium* (*The Gospel of Thomas*) (1959). It includes a number of the sayings of Jesus which are also found in The New Testament, but differs in that it contains no prophecies of Jesus' coming fate. These prophecies are believed to have been added in a lost source for the gospels of Matthew and Luke. Giversen also published a collection of Manichean-Coptic papyruses which are held in Dublin. In 1987, he published a Danish translation of the autobiography of Mani, the founder of the religion, which was discovered in Cologne around 1969, and which he described as "one of the most important finds of texts from antiquity in the 20th century".

Giversen was an extremely productive scholar, and far into his retirement, he continued to teach students and give popular lectures on the most ancient forms of Christianity to large audiences. He became a member of the Academy in 1991.

Martin Schwarz Lausten was a professor of theology with a special emphasis on Danish ecclesiastical history at the University of Copenhagen from 1996 to 2008. In 1977, he earned his higher doctorate with a dissertation entitled *Religion og Politik. Studier i Christian III's Forhold til Det Tyske Rige i Tiden 1544 til 1559* (Religion and Politics. Studies in Christian III's relationship to the German Empire in the period 1544-1559). He has since published major biographies of the Reformation figure Peder Palladius (1987), Philipp Melancthon (2010), and Niels Hemmingsen (2013), in addition to monographs on ecclesiastical history on topics including the Reformation in Denmark (1987). In addition to these major works, Schwarz Lausten also published a seven-volume work on the history of the Jews in Denmark from the Middle Ages to the present, with a particular emphasis on the relationship to the Danish Church. Several of his books have been translated to English, German, Italian and Greenlandic.

Jesper Høgenhaven has been a professor of Old Testament exegesis at the University of Copenhagen since 2007. He earned his higher doctorate in 1988

FIGURE 17. The cover page of Søren Giversen's Danish translation of the Gnostic *Gospel of Thomas*, 1959.



with a dissertation on the relationship between God and the Jewish people as represented in the Book of Isaiah in the Old Testament. He is particularly known for his studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were discovered in the 1940s and 1950s in the Qumran region of Jordan near the Dead Sea, which were later seized by Israel after the Six-Day War and moved to Jerusalem in 1967. These texts shed new light on early Judaism and the earliest Christianity.

Art history and musicology

Art history

Julius Lange was the first scholar to receive the PhD in art history at the University of Copenhagen. The faculty had adopted the curriculum and exam regulations for the program in 1865 on the initiative of Lange himself. Earlier that year, he had submitted a request to take a PhD in art history, in response to which the faculty created the program. He took his PhD in 1866, and in 1870 was appointed as special senior associate professor at the university, succeeding the art historian Niels Lauritz Høyen. Lange became a member of the

Academy in 1877.

He came of age at a time when most art and literary criticism was based on a speculative aesthetics inspired by Hegel, and was a fierce opponent of this kind of aesthetics throughout his life. Instead, he believed, the assessment of art should be based on immediate visual contact with the work, whether a painting or a sculpture. Nonetheless, in two famous lectures on the value of art which he held in 1874 and published in full in 1876, he sought to define the artistic value of a work of art as “the value which, through the image (the depiction of the subject), the subject reveals itself to have had for the creator of the image, and which it gains for us through the image”. According to Lange’s definition, if the emotional experience the artist had when looking upon an object is communicated to the viewer through the artist’s depiction of that object, the image can be said to have artistic value. He was well aware that this definition was vulnerable to criticism on the grounds that the assessment of the work of art becomes a subjective and individual affair according to his definition. For this reason, he attempted to argue that the aesthetic value of which he spoke was an objective value in his lectures.

Throughout his life, Lange worked on a major study of “the human figure in the history of art”, the title of his posthumously published magnum opus (*Menneskefiguren i kunstens historie*). He himself only managed to publish the first volume – in addition to a large number of larger and smaller works – which was published in 1892 in the Academy’s publication series under the title *Billedkunstens Fremstilling af Menneskeskikkelsen i dens ældste Periode indtil Højdepunktet af den græske Kunst* (The representation of the human figure in the visual arts from the most ancient times until the zenith of Greek art). In this work, he formulated what he called “the law of frontality”, which states that figures are always represented as seen from their most important side – in other words as if viewed from the front – in early art. This accounts for the ‘stiffness’ characteristic of Egyptian and older Greek art. His demonstration of this principle was well-received and provoked lively discussion among the art historians of his day. Lange’s law appears to apply as long as sculptures were carved out of a stone block, in other words, as long as the sculptor worked his way inward from the outside of the block, but not to sculptures which were copies of clay figures, which are built up from the inside.

Although Lange had been a close friend of Georg Brandes since his youth, he did not share his friend’s individualistic tendencies and his desire for a complete



FIGURE 18. P. S. Krøyer: *Evening party in the ceremonial hall of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 1888. Julius Lange is fourth from the left. The portrait brings together a number of the most prominent artists and art connoisseurs of the age, whom Carl Jacobsen knew. Carlsberg Museum.

break with the Danish culture of the past. Lange was a more harmonious personality than Brandes, and preferred peaceful development in art and culture.

Christian Elling earned his PhD in art history in 1929, and had published a series of articles and books on the subject while still a student. As the years passed, he became one of the most productive and versatile art historians in Denmark. His bibliography includes 555 titles, 50 of them books.

In 1932, he became a special senior associate professor at the University of Copenhagen. Seven years later, his position was converted to a full professorship in art history, a position from which he retired in 1967. The year after his first appointment, he defended his dissertation *Holmens bygningshistorie 1680-1770* (The architectural history of the Royal Dockyards) (1932) for the higher doctorate in philosophy. In 1935, an art history laboratory was established on Elling's initiative. The term 'laboratory' was used until the 1960s, when it was renamed a university department. He was elected to the Academy in 1948.

The core of Elling's large and varied body of work consists of works on architectural history on both domestic and foreign buildings, including works on the history of garden design, a subject which he was one of the first Danish scholars to explore. But he also published a variety of articles and books on Danish painting in the 18th century, as well as a few topics in the history of sculpture. For example, he published a book on the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (*Thorvaldsen*, 1994). His broad authorship includes more specialized subject such as theatre history, and he wrote a two-volume work on Shakespeare, *Shakespeare. Indsyn i hans Verden og dens Poesi* (Insight into his world and its poetry), volume 1: *Landskaber* (Landscapes) (1959) and volume 2: *Dyrekredsen* (The zodiac) (1974).

Elling gradually came to consider himself more and more as an artist, which was reflected in his choice of topics. He was an excellent photographer, and published a couple books of photography, in addition to writing the libretto for an opera which was commissioned but never performed.

Although Elling's primary interests were his writing and his research, he was an inspiring teacher, even though he was frequently forced to cancel his classes because of ill health or his frequent research travel abroad. He was widely travelled, both in his field and in a literal sense. He was respected by his students, but could hardly be said to have been popular, as he was reluctant to allow the most advanced students to register for the final exam. His successor Else Kai Sass rectified this situation with a firm hand.

Sass was appointed professor of art history in Copenhagen in 1967. Previously, she had served as the first professor of art history at Aarhus University, a position she had held since 1954. She was elected to the Academy in 1975. Among her many monographs and articles, the monumental *Thorvaldsens Portrætbuster* vol. 1-3 (The portrait busts of Thorvaldsen, vol. 1-3) is considered her magnum opus, and is one of the central works in Thorvaldsen studies.

In 1977, Erik Fischer, who had been head curator of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art at The National Gallery of Denmark since 1964, was elected to the Academy. He earned his PhD in art history from the University of Copenhagen in 1948, and became a curator of the collection the same year. In 1991, he was awarded an honorary doctoral degree by the University of Copenhagen.

Fischer was an outstanding art history communicator, both in speech and in writing. He was not an admirer of large art historical and aesthetic conceptual constructions, but always insisted that the most important instrument of the art historian is the trained eye. The central figure in his research was Melchior Lorck, a painter, printmaker and draughtsman from Holstein. From 1555 to about 1559, Lorck lived in Constantinople, where he produced a large number of drawings of buildings and people which later became the basis for 128 engravings. Lorck was also court painter at the Danish court for a short time.

Fischer's many professional duties in connection with the museum and as a part-time lecturer in art history prevented him from finding the time to write the major work on Lorck he had planned until the last years of his retirement, when he wrote the five-volume work in English, *Melchior Lorck*, together with two younger art historians, the first four volumes of which were published in 2009.

Øystein Hjort earned his PhD in art history in 1969, and was professor of the same subject at the University of Copenhagen from 1995 to 2005, where he had been employed as a temporary lecturer in 1971 and

later as assistant professor (1973). In 1993, he defended the higher doctoral dissertation *Ecclesia Christi, Ecclesia Virens. Mosaikkerne i San Clemente i Rom* (Ecclesia Christi, Ecclesia Virens. The mosaics of San Clemente in Rome) (preliminary edition 1990). His intention was to publish the dissertation in English, which unfortunately never happened. His treatment of these mosaics is characterized by great technical insight, as well as insight into the history of ideas and the history of the church, and his work enabled him to contribute to the restoration of the mosaics. While Hjort specialized in ancient Christian and Byzantine art, he also studied and wrote about modern art, film and photography. Although he was only professor for a short time, he was an extremely knowledgeable and insightful teacher who influenced generations of students throughout his many years at the university. He became a member of the Academy in 1995.

After the turn of the millennium, Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen was elected to the Academy. Gelfer-Jørgensen holds a PhD and had been senior librarian at the library of the industrial design museum Kunstindustrimuseet (now Designmuseum Danmark) and deputy director of the museum since 1984. She earned her PhD in 1986 with the dissertation *Medieval Islamic Symbolism*. She has taught at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and has been employed at the University of Copenhagen, first as temporary lecturer and later as associate professor. Her research centers on handicrafts and industrial design, with a special focus on their iconographic aspects, on the history of design, and on Jewish art as well as Islamic art. She is the author of a number of works on Danish furniture-making and design, on Danish-Jewish art and on Danish Japonism.

Musicology

Although courses in music have been offered at the University of Copenhagen since the university's establishment, courses in the history of music were first offered (by an independent scholar) at the end of the 19th century. And although a programme in the history of music was established in 1915, a senior associate professorship (converted to a full professorship in 1926) was not established until 1923. A teacher certification exam in music had been introduced the year before.

The first musicologist to be elected to the Academy was Knud Jeppesen, in 1943. He had taken his PhD in the history of music in 1918, and had taken his higher doctorate in Vienna in 1922 with a dissertation on

Palestrina. In 1946, he became the first professor of music at Aarhus University. His studies of Palestrina made him the foremost authority of the time on the composer. He was the organist at Holmens Church from 1932 to 1947, and composed numerous pieces of music, including songs and motets. He also wrote the score of the opera *Rosaura eller Kærlighed besejrer alt* (Rosaura or love conquers all) which was performed at the Royal Danish Theatre in 1950.

Jens Peter Larsen earned his PhD in 1928 and was employed as a teaching assistant the same year. In 1939, he became an associate professor, having earned his higher doctorate with the dissertation *Die Haydn-Überlieferung* (The Haydn tradition) which established his reputation in international Haydn studies. In the dissertation, he discussed the reliability of the transmission of the Haydn tradition, which came to influence the edition of Haydn's work published by the international Haydn society starting in 1949, which he co-published.

From 1945 until his retirement in 1970, he served as a professor of musicology at the University of Copenhagen, and became a member of the Academy in 1960. During this time, he became interested in other composers, including Händel, which resulted in the works *Händel's Messiah* (1957) and *Händel Studies* (1972).

In 1962, his colleague Nils Schiørring was elected to the Academy. He earned his PhD in musicology in 1933 and his higher doctorate in 1950 with the dissertation *Det 16. og 17. Aarhundredes Verdslige danske Visesang* (The Danish secular ballad of the 16th and 17th centuries), after which he became a professor of the same subject in 1954. He had previously co-published *Gamle danske Viser* vol. 1-5 (Old Danish ballads, vol. 1-5) (1941-1942). He became a music consultant for the national Danish folk memory collection in 1953. In his later years, he published the three-volume work *Musikkens Historie i Danmark* (The history of music in Denmark) (1977-1978). Few people knew more about music in Denmark than he did.

Henrik Glahn earned his PhD in musicology in 1945, and became a senior associate professor nine years later after earning his higher doctorate in 1954 with the dissertation *Melodistudier til den lutherske salmesangs historie fra 1524 til ca. 1600* (Studies of melody in the history of the Lutheran psalm from 1524 to around 1600). In 1966, he was appointed professor of musicology at the University of Copenhagen as a recognized specialist in the music of the Renaissance. From 1954, he was affiliated with the national musical history collection, where he served as director from 1955 to 1980.

In 1941, he qualified as an organist while continuing to perform his academic work, and began performing as an organist in 1947, from 1959 for Holmens Church. Glahn became a member of the Academy in 1972, and he played a number of roles here as well. He was class chair and vice president from 1977 to 1983, member of the board of the Carlsberg Foundation for a period, and member of the board of the Glyptotek museum.

Søren Sørensen (elected 1977) earned his higher doctorate in 1958 with a dissertation on Diderich Buxtehude, who remained the primary focus of his research and publications. From 1947 to 1958, he was the organist at Holmens Church. He became a professor of musicology at Aarhus University in 1958, and served as the university's rector for a time.

In 1986, Jan Maegaard was elected to the Society. Immediately after his upper secondary school leaving examination, he had begun studying piano, contrabass, composition, and music theory at the music conservatory, where he took the music teacher's qualifying exam in 1953. He then concentrated on the PhD programme in music at the University of Copenhagen, where he earned his PhD in 1957. He became affiliated with the university in 1959, became associate professor in 1961, and finally served as professor of musicology from 1971 until his retirement in 1996.



FIGURE 19. Music historian Henrik Glahn. Portrait photo in the Academy's archive.

With his 1972 higher doctoral dissertation, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg*, vol. 1-3, Maegaard earned his place in international Schönberg studies. Although his scholarly work almost always focussed on Schönberg, he also wrote on other topics, such as romantic harmonics and concepts of musical history before 1600.

Maegaard worked as a composer in parallel with his university career, and as he became older, he concentrated increasingly on his art. In his later years, he began to consider his own rebellion against the musical tradition in the 1950s as too radical. "As long as people sing," he is cited as having said, "and as long as that is called music, it is naive to believe that it is possible to take melody out of music".

John Bergsagel is of Norwegian extraction, born in Canada and educated there, as well as in the United States and England, where he taught in Oxford and Manchester before becoming an associate professor of musicology at the University of Copenhagen in 1970. From 1981 until his retirement in 1998, he was a professor here. His work focussed on the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in particular on the publication of the earliest Danish musical sources, English church music of the 16th century, and the music of the Danish Renaissance. He also worked on later music, first and foremost English music in the 20th century, for example Vaughan Williams and Frederick Delius, as well as Norwegian music, for example Grieg.

Maegaard's successor in the professorship, Heinrich Wilhelm Schwab, had held a professorship in Kiel since 1982, and while serving as visiting professor in Copenhagen in 1977-1978 had substituted for Maegaard. Schwab, who retired in 2008, worked on a wide range of topics in the music of the Renaissance and onward - including folk music - but has made a particular contribution to illuminating the role of the 'foreigners' - in other words the Germans - in Danish music, with a special emphasis on Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen.

As this survey has shown, musicology was particularly strongly represented in the Academy towards the end of the 20th century. However, the subject is currently represented by just two retired professors. This is in part a result of the drastic reductions in the number of academic staff to which humanities faculties were subjected in the 1980s. The student revolution in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which was supported by several of the subject's younger teachers, was another negative

influence on the subject, just as the conflict between proponents of classical music and proponents of modern rhythmic music has also been detrimental. As a consequence of all of these developments, the recruitment pool has shrunk considerably over time.

Anthropology and European ethnology

Anthropology

Both internationally and in Denmark, the designations 'anthropology' and 'ethnology' have been used more or less interchangeably. But whereas 'anthropology' in today's Denmark is used to refer to the study of all aspects of social life and culture all over the world, 'ethnology' has come to refer to the study of the living conditions and conceptual universes of different groups of people, often from the perspective of European or Danish cultural history. The discipline was formerly known as 'material folk culture'. The two subjects also traditionally belong to different branches of knowledge: anthropology belongs to the social sciences, while ethnology belongs to the humanities. One side of ethnology - what has traditionally been called folklore - once existed as an independent subject in the humanities at the University of Copenhagen. However, the subject and the department to which it belonged were closed down as a result of conflicts within the group of affiliated researchers about the direction in which the subject should develop and what methods should be employed.

On the basis of the given descriptions of anthropology and ethnology respectively, it is difficult to draw an absolute border between their objects of inquiry. Rather, the fact that the two distinct subjects exist is a product of the independent traditions which have shaped them.

Anthropology in Denmark arose out the research and collection which took place in connection with the ethnographic collection of the National Museum of Denmark. This affiliation with the National Museum of Denmark was responsible for the establishment of the subject in 1945 at the University of Copenhagen under the name ethnology, in accordance with Central European precedent. Kaj Birket-Smith, head of the museum's ethnographic collection at the time, contacted the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Copenhagen during the Second World War to propose the establishment of a PhD program in the subject. The background for this was an acknowledge-

ment of the fact that the many local history museums which were shooting up would have difficulty engaging appropriate specialists otherwise. However, the faculty rejected the proposal, on the grounds of Vilhelm Grønbech's criticism of it in particular. Grønbech objected that it was more important to engage with what people think about while eating than to investigate what they are eating. An appeal to the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences was more successful, not least because Birket-Smith himself was a graduate, with a degree in cultural geography. The subject was subsequently established under this faculty in 1945, and Birket-Smith was engaged as a part-time lecturer.

In 1917, he had earned his PhD in geography with a specialization in ethnography, and later earned his higher doctorate with a dissertation on the Caribou Inuit in 1929. In 1912 while still a young student, he had participated in a zoological expedition to Greenland. Several ethnological research expeditions to Greenland, Arctic North America, and Alaska followed in the interwar period, and he published numerous scientific works on the Inuit. In 1929, he became a curator at the National Museum of Denmark, and from 1946 until his retirement in 1963, he served as head curator and head of the ethnographic collection. He was elected to the Academy in 1951.

Under his successor Johannes Nicolaisen, a department for ethnology and anthropology was established at the University of Copenhagen in 1965. The subject and the department were transferred to the Faculty of the Social Sciences in 1973, and in 1988, the department changed its name to Department of Anthropology.

When Birket-Smith retired, the associate professorship was converted to a professorship, and Johannes Nicolaisen was appointed to it in 1964. He was elected to the Academy in 1971. In 1950, he had become the first recipient of a PhD in the subject in Denmark, and had participated in fieldwork among nomads in Algeria while still a student. He continued these field studies throughout the 1950s and the early 1960s. On some of these research expeditions, he lived alone for longer periods of time with the Tuareg, a Berber people who lived as camel nomads and traded across the Sahara, and he learned their language. His higher doctoral dissertation *Ecology and culture of the pastoral Tuareg*, which he defended in 1963, was based on this extensive fieldwork. Later, he did fieldwork in Southeast Asia.

For Nicolaisen, fieldwork, including the acquisition of local languages, was a fundamental element of

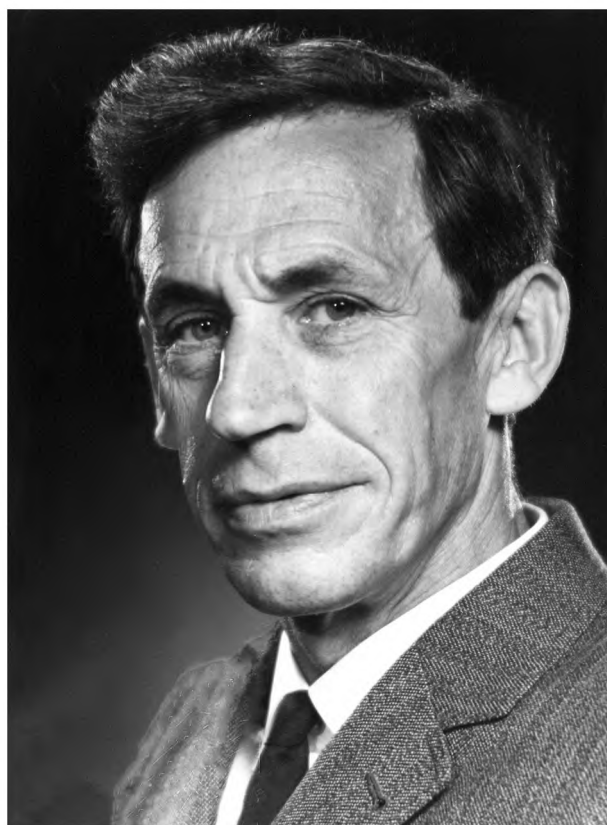


FIGURE 20. The anthropologist Johannes Nicolaisen. Portrait photo in the Academy's archive.

anthropology, which he considered to be a fundamental subject in the humanities and social sciences. The theories which were to explain observations in the field were to be tested and developed in connection with fieldwork. He rejected purely theoretical discussion.

Nicolaisen was a professor of anthropology in a very difficult period. From the 1960s until the mid-1980s, the department and the curriculum were dominated by the university Marxism of the students and some of the junior researchers, which made this period a fallow parenthesis in the history of the subject. Many of the young appeared to feel that they had been called to become the stormtroopers of the revolution. As a result of this unrest, after Nicolaisen retired, the professorship remained unfilled until Kirsten Hastrup was appointed to it in 1990.

Kirsten Hastrup earned her PhD in anthropology from the University of Copenhagen in 1973 and took her DPhil at Oxford University in 1980. She has done fieldwork in India, Iceland, Colombia and Greenland. She served as an assistant professor and then as an associate professor from 1976 to 1990, and became a research professor at Aarhus University in 1985. In 1990, she was appointed professor of anthropology at the University of Copenhagen. The same year, she earned her higher doctorate with the dissertation *Nature and*

Policy in Iceland 1400-1800. In this and in other books, she has studied the development of Icelandic society and has attempted to explain the connections between climactic changes and the historical and social development of the country from the Middle Ages to the present day. She later became interested in the same question in relationship to Greenland. As one result of her many years of investigation of the connection between the social history of Greenland and changes in the climate of Greenland, in 2010 she published *Vinterens Hjerte - Knud Rasmussen og hans tid* (Winter's heart - Knud Rasmussen and his time), as well as the later work *Thule på tidens rand* (Thule at the edge of time) in 2015. Her contribution to the international anthropological literature on the relationship between nature and society, which is based on fieldwork in Thule, is found in a variety of other books and articles. For example, over the years her book *Viljen til Viden. En humanistisk grundbog* (The will to knowledge. A humanistic primer) from 1999 has continued to contribute to discussions within epistemology and theory of knowledge. She has also been interested in more specialized anthropological disciplines, such as theatre or performance anthropology. In 2009-2014, she headed a major international project called *Waterworlds* which was funded by the ERC. The project explored the social consequences of climate change and its influence on changes in the water balance in at-risk areas, for example in connection with increasing desertification and recurrent flooding, in addition to the melting ice in the Arctic. The project explores the relationship between nature and society through the prism of water, which makes comparison on a global scale possible.

Although she has had a busy academic career, she has also served on several research councils and foundation boards of directors. She was president of Academy from 2008 to 2016.

Ethnology

In Denmark, the subject of European ethnology emerged out of earlier investigations of the Danish rural culture of the past and its building practices, and out of an interest in the folk culture of earlier times, which resulted in the establishment of a number of local museums. The first professor of the subject was Axel Steensberg, who took his Master's degree in history with geology and geography as subsidiary subjects in 1937. Combining degree programmes from two faculties required special permission from the ministry at the time.

He had begun working on the measurement of prehistoric fields and investigations of prehistoric agricultural practices as a student. He became affiliated with the National Museum of Denmark in 1936, in 1939 he became a curator at the 3rd department (Danish Folk Museum), and in 1946 he became head curator and head of the department. In 1943, he defended his higher doctoral dissertation, *Ancient harvesting implements. A study in archaeology and human geography*, in which he - as in his later works - combined history, archaeology and cultural geography. He subsequently published a series of work on the villages of Zealand and Jutland. Between 1940 and 1952, Steensberg also published works on the building practices and furniture of early Danish rural culture. Several editions of these books were published. In 1944, he launched a large study of building practices in the countryside which continued until 1960. He was also one of the driving forces behind the establishment of the historical-archaeological experimental center in Lejre in 1964, later called 'Lejre, land of legend'.

In 1954, the same year as his election to the Academy, he had become an associate professor of cultural history at the University of Copenhagen, and in the period from 1959 to 1970, he was the first person to hold the newly established professorship in material folk culture. The year after his appointment, the Department of European Ethnology was established; the subject is located at the SAXO Institute at the University of Copenhagen today. Steensberg continued his academic work even after he reached retirement age.

In 1971, Steensberg was succeeded by Bjarne Stocklund. In 1949, when he was just 21, he had been given a position at the National Museum of Denmark, where he remained until his appointment as professor. In 1955, he earned his Master's degree in history and Danish, and he became a member of the Academy in 1991.

Stocklund's main research interest was the rural buildings of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and the archipelagos around Scotland. His investigation of the island of Læsø in particular was a main focus. His Læsø studies resulted in the work *Economy, Work, and Social Roles. Continuity and Change in the Danish Island Community of Læsø, ca. 1200-1900* (1986). He had previously published the book *Bondegård og byggeskik før 1850* (Farms and building practices before 1850) (1969). After he discovered in the 1990s that historians were interested in the fishing industry in Denmark, in 2000 he published *Bondefiskere og strandsiddere. Studier over de store sæsonfiskerier 1350-1600* (Farmer-fishermen and beach-dwellers. Studies on the large seasonal fisheries 1350-1600).

Looking forward

The prospects for the humanities subjects, and thus for the Academy's recruitment pool for its humanities class, appear dim. Many positions are left unfilled on account of budget cutbacks, and subjects are being closed or are in danger of being closed. The academic breadth which formerly characterized the Danish universities has shrunk significantly, which will naturally affect the Academy as well. The hiring freeze and the elimination of positions which numerous subjects suffered in the 1980s has had regrettable effects. The range of subjects represented within the Academy has also narrowed. But the Academy will survive. It has survived periods of decline before.

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