

The social sciences

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Introduction

¹ This chapter was discussed with Carl Henrik Koch, Ditlev Tamm and Ellen Andersen, whom I thank for their helpful comments.

A lot has happened in the sciences since 1742. In the social sciences, and presumably for most other branches of knowledge as well, the trend has been specialization, professionalization, and increasing methodological precision and formalization. In 1742, while there could scarcely be said to have existed anything which could be termed ‘social science’, there have naturally always been thoughtful men who have written about how society functions, and how society ideally ought to be managed.

There have always been various kinds of legal specialists, and in the 1770s, the first professorships were established in Denmark for which economics was named in the description of their subject. But this was economics in a very broad sense, close to the original meaning of ‘economy’ (from *oikos* ‘household’ and *nomos*, ‘law, rule’). In 1769, for example, *Det Kongelige Danske Landhusholdningsselskab* (the Royal Danish Agricultural Household Society) was established, an organization which has been publishing *Tidsskrift for Landøkonomi* (Journal of agricultural economics) since 1814. This journal considered the topic of national economy in a broad sense, including useful plants and natural history. There was no distinction between economics (*økonomi*), ecology (*økologi*) and domestic economy (*økonoma*), aside from the fact that the latter is a feminine noun.

The university had offered courses in law since its founding, and in 1849, a degree programme in social science (Det Statsvidenskabelige Studium) was established at the University of Copenhagen, with economics as the primary subject of study. For the first many years, this was not a particularly prestigious degree programme. It was the university’s shortest, and was considered a programme for landed proprietors, because many of its applicants were the sons of landed gentry who were to have the easiest possible academic education before returning home to take over the estate. The programme included courses in all of the social sciences, including mandatory courses in law until 1970.

In the second half of the 19th century, important steps towards the specialization and professionalization of the subject were taken. The field of modern

economics emerged. The Danish Economic Society was formed in 1872, and the first issue of the academic journal *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift* (Journal of economics) was published in 1873. Economics was now established as an independent branch of knowledge.

This history of professionalization and specialization is reflected in the development of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. In 1795, the Academy’s members were divided into four classes: one for history, one for mathematics, one for physics and one for speculative philosophy. And the next 150 years, the question of which sciences were deserving of representation in the Academy would be a recurrent topic of discussion. In 1876, in connection with the election of new members, it was discussed whether this division should be interpreted narrowly, “so that it is impossible to propose a jurist, a theologian, a linguist, a political theorist unless he is masked as a historian, philosopher, mathematician, or physicist”; it would be “synonymous with a reaction which overruled the liberal by-laws of 1869 and 1839 to restore the limitations of 1796”.

In 1901, the “entitlement to be considered as a subject belonging to the Academy” was discussed for statistics, and in 1902, a statement was agreed on in connection with a proposal to elect Marcus Rubin to the Academy:

As there has been doubt as to whether national economy numbered among the subjects represented in the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, the philosophical-history class recommends that the Academy approve that political economists be eligible for admission as such as members of the Academy.

If we consider the social sciences researchers who have been elected to the Academy, there appears to have been a general trend of many elections in the first century – a period in which the concept of ‘science’ was interpreted quite literally. However, professionalization and specialization led to an increasingly narrow definition of what constituted real science, and this had negative consequences for the social sciences. Very probably, they were considered to be too practical and

political to be proper sciences. And in all likelihood, it was not without a certain degree of justification that the social sciences of this period were not considered serious science. From the 1830s to the 1970s, virtually no social scientists were elected. However, the social sciences group has grown rapidly since the 1970s, with economists and jurists as the most strongly represented subjects. Most recently, the new sciences of political science, sociology and the business school subjects have also begun to find representation in the Academy.

The number of jurists has been declining over the past few decades. This may have something to do with the increasing specialization and internationalization of the sciences. Specialization within the study of law has presumably meant that fewer and fewer jurists work on fundamental legal methodology. What is more, many people today will also tend to think that real research must be written in English and published in international journals, which means that most Danish legal scholarship does not really look like 'research'; the field of legal studies is still primarily concerned with the interpretation of Danish law written in Danish.

The social sciences in the Academy prior to 1940

For the first hundred years of the Academy's history, its circle of members was broadly defined, and its presidents were prominent politicians who were close to the king. Many of them are remembered as politicians, but not as scientists or scholars, such as A.P. Bernstorff, who was president of the Academy from 1788 to 1797, Ernst M. Schimmelmann, president from 1797 to 1831, and Prince Christian Frederik, later King Christian VIII, who was president from 1838 to 1848. Anders Sandøe Ørsted, who was president from 1848 to 1860, can be understood as a transitional figure to the modern period; he was at one and the same time a statesman, including prime minister, and one of the country's most renowned jurists. All subsequent presidents have been eminent scientists and scholars.

For this reason, it can be difficult to classify a number of these early members, who were first and foremost prominent citizens, in relation to modern subject groups. If they are to be considered scientists at all, they should probably be classified as social scientists. However, in this context we will only consider members who can be numbered among the fathers of the modern subject groups.



FIGURE 1. Anders Sandøe Ørsted was president in the period 1848-1860. He was perhaps the best-known Danish jurist of all time, an exceptional statesman (prime minister 1853-1854, among other offices), and on the whole one of the most prominent figures of the Danish Golden Age. Painting by Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg, 1821. The National History Museum of Denmark at Frederiksborg Castle. Photo: Kit Weiss.

Jurisprudence

The subject of law has held a strong position since the Academy's beginnings (see also p. 96). The first law degree program was introduced at the University of Copenhagen in 1736, and the subject's professors were among the first members of the Academy. There were thus three jurists among the 20 first members. In 1739, Christian Ludwig Scheidt was recruited from a law professorship in Göttingen to assume a professorship in civil and Danish-Norwegian law, and at the same time tutor Crown Prince Frederik (V). Henrik Stampe, who was an expert in natural law and the work of Montesquieu, became a professor of philosophy in 1741 and professor of law in 1753, and as public prosecutor (the chief legal advisor to the state), he formulated about 1000 declarations which were published after his death and which are considered one of the central works of the Danish legal literature; in the 1780s, he also found the time to serve as prime minister. Peder Kofod Ancher became a professor of law at

the University of Copenhagen in 1741, in 1748 he became dean of the faculty of law, and he served several terms as rector of the University of Copenhagen; in 1769-1776, he wrote *En dansk Lov-Historie* (A history of Danish law) in two volumes, the most significant legal work of the 1700s. There were others among the first members who were also intensely engaged with the study of law, although they cannot be called jurists in the modern sense, such as Henrik Hielmstjerne, who served as chief justice of the Supreme Court.

In 1810, Anders Sandøe Ørsted, who is considered one of the major figures of the Danish Golden Age and the leading jurist of the 19th century, was elected to the Academy. He headed the Danish government from 1853 to 1854 and was one of the leading moral philosophers of his day.

FIGURE 2. Two of the country's most prominent jurists, Carl Goos and Johannes Nellemann, portrayed in the middle of P. S. Krøyer's major painting *A Meeting of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters*, 1897 (detail of painting at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, see p. 44).



In the course of the first twenty years after 1810, jurists from the University of Copenhagen and the University of Kiel were regularly elected to the Academy. After this period, jurists were elected more rarely: only one was elected between 1829 and 1882. Three were elected in the following three years: Carl Goos, Johannes Nellemann, and Vilhjálmur Finsen, and emphasis was placed on the fact that the latter two were historians of law. Another jurist would not be elected until 1940.

Of the new Academy members elected in the 1880s, Carl Goos was perhaps the most important. He had become a professor of jurisprudence and criminal law at the University of Copenhagen in 1862, and criminal law was his area of particular expertise. At the same time, he also served as a member of the lower chamber of Parliament (Folketinget) for the party Højre (the Right) from 1880 to 1884, and was a member of the upper chamber, to which he had been nominated by the Crown, from 1885 to his death. He was minister for ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction from 1891 to 1894, and minister of justice in the last Højre government before the reform of the Danish political system in the period 1900-1901. From 1859 to 1875, Johannes Nellemann served as professor of jurisprudence at the University of Copenhagen, where he worked on the history of law in addition to procedural law. From 1875 to 1896, he was minister of justice under Prime Minister J. B. S. Estrup, and as such was responsible for the provisional finance acts which were a main part of the political debate in Denmark in the late 19th century. After stepping down as minister, he became director of the national bank and knight of the Order of the Elephant. The third jurist elected to the Academy in those years was the legal historian Vilhjálmur Finsen, the last jurist to be elected until 1940.

This sketch of events shows quite clearly that while the subject of law held a strong position from the inception of the Academy until the last third of the 19th century, it went into decline until after the Second World War.

Economics and related subjects

Whereas jurisprudence had an established position throughout the first century of the Academy's existence, the same cannot be said of the economic subjects, including what we today would call sociology and political science. Until the 1870s at least, the field of 'economics' covered the social sciences in a broad sense. It is no accident that when the modern degree

programme in economics was established at the University of Copenhagen in 1849, it was called 'social science', and economists who graduate from the MSc econ. programme at the University of Copenhagen today are still awarded the degree *candidatus politices* (cand.polit.).

In any case, the Academy cannot be blamed for the weak representation of these subjects among its members – at least not before the 1870s. Unlike law, the social sciences were not firmly established branches of science. And the pioneers who might be considered worthy of mention were in fact elected to the Academy.

Erik Pontoppidan, court chaplain, bishop of Bergen and vice-chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, was among the Academy's founders and first members. In addition to being a well-known Pietist theologian and cultural figure he also edited *Danmarks og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin* (The economic magazine of Denmark and Norway), which was published in the years 1757-1764. In the middle of the age of absolutism, this publication attempted to encourage serious public debate. In a decree of 1755, Count Adam Gottlob Moltke, the country's de facto political leader, encouraged all citizens regardless of rank to submit political papers, which would subsequently be published at no cost to their author. All points of view were welcome as long as they aimed to promote the public good. As editor of this impressive publication, Pontoppidan had an influence on its content, for example by soliciting contributions on particular issues and offering prizes for the best ones. In addition to the journal of economics, Pontoppidan published a wide variety of works in theology, history, and social science, including the first volume of *Den Danske Atlas* (The Danish atlas), 1763-1764.

The first economics professorships were established around 1750, and in the Scandinavian countries, these positions tended to combine economics and botany. Agriculture was the principle industry, and Carl von Linné (Linnaeus) was the leading scientist in Northern Europe. At the same time, both botany and zoology found themselves in an 'economic' phase, in the sense that all science at the time was justified with reference to economic benefit – an instrumental conception of the value of knowledge which actually sounds quite contemporary. In Ragnar Spärck's overview of the history of zoology in Denmark, the chapter on the 1700s is quite simply entitled 'the economic period'. The subject of Linnaeus' inaugural lecture in 1741 in Uppsala was the utility of scientific expeditions in the fatherland; how it was possible to find medical

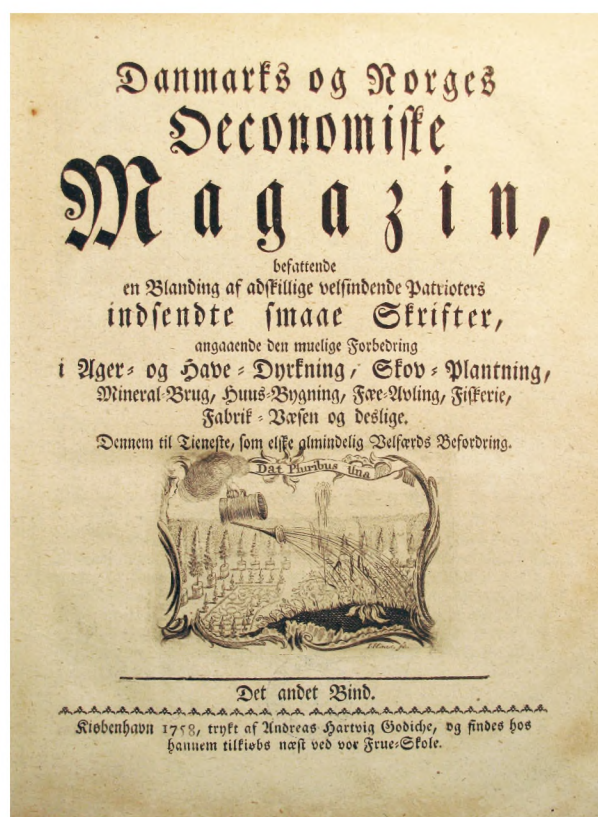


FIGURE 3. *Danmarks og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin* (The economic magazine of Denmark and Norway), title page, vol. 2. The magazine, which was published in the period 1757-1764, was edited by Erik Pontoppidan. This journal had an unusually high standard of quality for the period.

plants, commercially useful plants, useful minerals, and so on. Spärck states explicitly that "the significance of the natural sciences, and not least of natural history, for the national economy, is highly compatible with the prevailing mercantilism which seeks to develop the natural resources and commerce of the country in every aspect". These useful sciences were often referred to as the "economic" sciences.

However, this trend was not exactly greeted with enthusiasm by the traditional professors. When the University of Copenhagen attempted to appoint the renowned German botanist Georg Christian Oeder to a professorship in 1752-1753, the results were disastrous. The university's professors placed a higher emphasis on the art of Latin disputation than on scientific knowledge and skill, and for this reason, Oeder was thoroughly savaged at his public defence. His strength was medicine, not Latin, and he himself found that kind of opposition anachronistic. The university's rector, who was himself a professor of Latin rhetoric, found that barbaric errors in Latin syntax and grammar were far from insignificant, and he found Oeder most unqualified as a theoretical teacher on these grounds. And so Oeder became neither a professor at the University of Copenhagen or a member of the Academy, although he went on to become one of the period's most important figures in botanical-economic research. At the request of the King, he was appointed

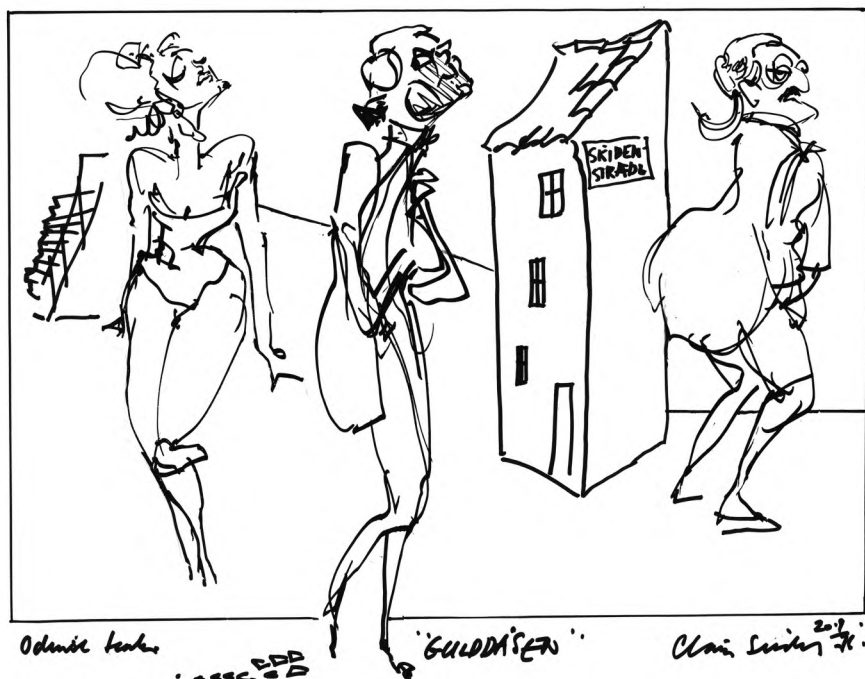


FIGURE 4. Oluf Christian Olufsen (1763-1827) was a professor of political economy at the University of Copenhagen 1815-1827, but had become a member of the Academy the year before his appointment, in 1814. He is perhaps best known today for his comedy *Gulddaasen* (The box of gold), which premiered in 1793 and is still being performed. The drawing by Claus Seidel of Odense Theatre's 1996 performance of the play is from the newspaper *BT*.

professor at the royal botanical garden at Amalienborg Castle, where he was responsible for the publication of *Flora Danica*, among other accomplishments. During the reign of Struensee, he was one of Struensee's closest employees; he directed the census of 1769 and played a major role in the establishment of the Royal Veterinary School.

However, none of this meant that the Academy kept its distance from the 'economic' trend in the natural sciences. A few years after the zoologist and mineralogist Morten Thrane Brünnich in 1765 became an associate professor of natural history and economics at the university, he became a member of the Academy - before he was made professor in 1770. Although he was a good teacher, his work at the university would never live up to expectations, because he was constantly interrupting his work to take on other public positions.

The other prominent representative of this trend, Johan Christian Fabricius, became a member of the Academy. He became a professor at the royal Danish natural economy collection at Charlottenborg Castle in 1768, and was elected to the Academy a few years later. He was one of Linnaeus' most accomplished students, and his analyses of insects are considered epoch-making. Using Linnaeus' botany as a model, he

attempted to develop a classification system for insect species based on their mouthparts. He is sometimes called 'the Linnaeus of entomology'. In the field of economics, his work was probably less significant, although he did produce some important textbooks. He also published a series of shorter works, for example arguments in favor of granting property rights and freedom to peasants. Although the Charlottenborg natural economy collection was merged with the university in 1770, the university's professors were still not enthusiastic about the new sciences, and Fabricius complained about the financial situation. In 1776, he moved to the University of Kiel, but was not given good working conditions here either.

In the Scandinavian countries, the combination of economics and natural history continued into the 19th century. When Norway's Royal Frederick University was established in Christiania (now Oslo) in 1812, a professorship in 'botany and sciences of political economy' was established, but the chosen candidate died during an expedition on the Congo river in 1816 before he managed to take up the position. The last major Scandinavian name in association with this school, who was perhaps also its most famous, was the Swedish scientist Carl Adolph Agardh. He was a professor of economics and botany at Lund University from 1812 to 1836, after which he became bishop of Karlstad. He was also an active politician. He has been an object of fascination for all these reasons, but these kinds of combined professorships had already gone out of fashion when he was appointed to the position.

With the election of Brünnich and Fabricius, the Academy appears to have expressed an earlier and considerably greater goodwill towards the new sciences than the University of Copenhagen and the old professors.

In the period which followed, professorships in the subject were more explicitly focussed on agriculture, and the field was often termed 'agricultural economics'. The most important of the two professors of this subject was Oluf Christian Olufsen, who was a professor of political economy at the University of Copenhagen from 1815 to 1827. He took a Master's degree in law in 1783 and a Master's degree in surveying in 1784, after which he turned to literature. His best-known work is the comedy *Gulddaasen* (the box of gold), which premiered at the Royal Danish Theatre in 1793 and is still being performed (most recently at Odense Theater in 1996). After extensive travels abroad, he returned home in 1796 as a "complete economist", and began teaching at an agricultural school in Næsgård

(Det Classenske Fideicommis' Agerdyrkningsinstitut), after which he became a professor at the University of Copenhagen in 1815. He had become a member of the Academy the year before. The best-known of his publications on economics is his *Oekonomiske Annaler*, (Annals of economics), published between 1797 and 1810, and *Nye Oekonomiske Annaler* (New annals of economics), published from 1812 to 1820. It appears that the Academy was exceptionally quick to accept this new subject as well.

In the period from 1814 to 1941, only two economics members were elected, Christian Georg Nathan David and Marcus Rubin. The Academy can hardly be blamed for this development, at least with respect to the period up to the 1870s.

C. N. David was the most important Danish economist of the first two-thirds of the 19th century. An application for a professorship in political economy at the University of Copenhagen in 1826 was rejected on the grounds that he was Jewish, but he allowed himself to be baptized in 1830 and was appointed professor the same year. He championed liberalistic ideas and participated in literary debates, for example as an ac-

complished theatre critic. He participated energetically in debates on elections and the Assembly of Estates of the Realm, and in 1834, he founded the weekly magazine *Fædrelandet* (*The fatherland*). This was too much for King Frederik VI, and even though David was acquitted of violating the law governing freedom of the press by the Supreme Court, he was suspended from his professorship in 1834 and dismissed in 1836; however he was granted full retirement benefit. In 1839, the weekly magazine *Fædrelandet* was transformed into the prominent newspaper of the same name. For the rest of his life, David was an administrator and politician; he reformed the Danish penal system, was the director of Det statistiske bureau (the statistical bureau), later Statistics Denmark, from 1854 to 1873, and served on the board of directors of the Central Bank of Denmark from 1859 to 1874. In 1849, he was elected to Parliament in Copenhagen, and alternated between holding seats in the upper and lower chambers of Parliament at various periods until 1870. In his political career, he was a supporter of the preservation of the united monarchy. After the fall of the united monarchy in 1864, he became minister of finance for a time. He was elected to the Academy in 1833, in his more rebellious youth as a newly appointed young professor; another case in which the Academy was ahead of its time.

However, this would also be the last time for almost 150 years that the Academy would support breakthroughs in the social sciences. In the period between 1833 and 1941, only one representative for the social sciences was elected: Marcus Rubin in 1902. From the vantage point of economics, there were many other more obvious candidates from the 1870s: the professors William Scharling (professor 1869-1911), Vigand Falbe-Hansen (professor 1877-1902), Harald Westergaard (professor 1886-1924) and Lauritz V. Birck (professor 1911-1933, rector of University of Copenhagen 1930-1931). All of these men were highly regarded economists. If the Academy had been willing to open its doors to the emergence of sociology, Claudius Wilkens (professor of philosophy 1897-1918) would have been a candidate for membership.

Although Marcus Rubin was doubtless a person of equal significance and stature as the aforementioned



FIGURE 5. C. N. David was appointed professor in 1830, but was suspended just four years later for making liberal political statements. Later, however, he became a pillar of society – director of Statistics Denmark and of the Central Bank, as well as minister of finance. Undated photo by Mayer and Pierson. The Royal Library.

professors, his work was not devoted to science, although he did publish a number of scientific works in his youth. In 1883 at the age of 29, he became the director of Staden Københavns Statistiske Kontor (The City of Copenhagen's statistical office), and in this capacity he published such works as *Tabellarisk Fremstilling af Kjøbenhavns Fattigvæsens Historie i Tidsrummet 1816-1878* (Tabular presentation of the history of poor relief in Copenhagen in the period 1816-1878) and *Oversigt over Fattigvæsenets tidligere Historie* (1879) (Overview of the early history of poor relief). He carried out a number of social statistics studies in collaboration with Harald Westergaard, who was an internationally respected expert in the field; these works 'combined' Westergaard's mathematical-statistical talent with Rubin's practical skill. Rubin also published a series of historical papers, for example in the journal *Historisk Tidsskrift*. In 1896, he became head of Statistics Denmark, despite certain reservations about appointing an "unconverted Jew" who was known for his "radical views" expressed in talks and articles, especially in the newspaper *Politiken*. However, these prejudices, which were unfortunately typical of the time, did not prevent him from becoming head of the inland revenue and customs services in 1902, from 1905 with the title director general of the inland revenue service. In 1913, he became director of the Central Bank of Denmark. In all of these organizations, he implemented administrative reforms and improvements of lasting value. He was the chair of the Danish Economic Society from 1900 to 1916. Although Rubin was without a doubt one of the major figures of his time, it seems dubious that the Academy preferred him as a scientist over contemporary economics professors. We can get a sense of the reasons for this choice from Kristian Erslev's obituary of Rubin in the Academy's annual report:

In this list of members, not only his office is named; it adds: Historian. This was done in order to clarify that he had been given a seat in this academy as a historian, which does not include the sciences which were his primary subjects, economics and statistics, and it is also as a historian that I will attempt to characterize him.

If we consider the legal and economics subjects under the same heading, the Academy appears to have displayed an impressive openness to new tendencies and subjects in the first century of its history. This openness ended in the 1830s; three of the just four jurists and economists who had been elected between 1833 and 1940 are characterized as historians: two legal his-

torians (Nellemann and Finsen) and a historian of economics (Rubin). Only Goos' election in 1882 might be characterized as an exception

The social sciences after 1940

In the years 1940-1941, jurists and economists were again elected to the Academy. But this was not a sign of renewal. In 1940, professor of jurisprudence Poul Johannes Jørgensen was elected; he was a 66-year-old legal historian at the time who had been a professor since 1907. In 1941, the economist Axel Nielsen, D Sc and professor of political science, was elected. He was also absolutely a man of a past era. It is telling that both of their obituaries were held by history professors: Erik Arup for Poul Johannes Jørgensen, and Knud Fabricius for Axel Nielsen.

Electing Axel Nielsen in 1941 was an obvious mistake. He had become a professor in 1911 as a young economic historian, in competition with a number of strong candidates who still have a place in the history of science: Jens Warming (naively religious, but responsible for groundbreaking work on macroeconomics and resource economics), Edvard Philip Mackeprang (international pioneer in econometrics) and Knud Asbjørn Wieth-Knudsen (later a controversial professor in Trondheim and a recognized composer). However, the assessment committee could not agree on one of these distinctive candidates in 1911, and selected the young, less controversial economic historian Axel Nielsen as a compromise. Nielsen held his professorship from 1911 to 1951 and taught economic history, bank policy and sociology without leaving a lasting impression on any of these subjects. As a professor of economics, he was a member of numerous committees, but by the time he became a member of the Academy in 1941, his perspective on economics had gone out of date. John Maynard Keynes' *General Theory of Money, Interest and Employment* from 1936 had caused a paradigm shift in macroeconomics which influenced younger Danish economists, especially at the newly established Aarhus University, but Axel Nielsen never understood that. When Kjeld Phillip, one of the leading figures of the younger generation, told Axel Nielsen in 1943 that he had been appointed professor in Aarhus, he is reported to have remarked, "I think it is a shame that you are abandoning science; I considered you talented."

The most prominent name in Aarhus was Jørgen Pedersen, whose pioneering work *Pengeteori og Pengepolitik* (Monetary theory and monetary policy), published

in 1944, was influenced by Keynes. It was reviewed by Axel Nielsen, who made such remarks as:

In the preface, the author remarks that he publishes his book with some reservations, as he is not entirely finished with the subject and may later revise his understanding of some important points. Having read the book, one understands his reservations very well.

The subsequent debate between Axel Nielsen and Jørgen Pedersen demonstrates clearly that Axel Nielsen was a man of the past.

So it was not the men of the new era who were admitted to the Academy. And this tendency was not remedied until the mid-1970s. The only member from the social sciences to be elected between 1941 and 1974 was the legal historian Stig Iuul in 1954. There is no reason to criticize the election of Stig Iuul; beyond a doubt, he was an important legal historian, and he made a considerable contribution to the Academy, for example as a member of the board of directors of the Carlsberg Foundation from 1955 to 1967 and as the chair of the board from 1963. But in no way did he represent a break with the more than century-old tradition that jurists and economist could only be admitted if they worked on the history of these subjects.

A new course was signalled in 1974, when the jurist Alf Ross, the economist Poul Nørregaard Rasmussen and the political scientist Erling Bjøl were elected at a meeting on April 5th. This triple election clearly represented a change of policy on the part of the Academy. This change can be attributed to the development of the national research advisory system and the research councils (which were established in 1968); Nørregaard Rasmussen chaired the joint research board (*Forskningens Fællesudvalg*) from 1965 to 1972, which must have brought him considerable prestige in scientific circles. In any case, from a purely scientific perspective it would have been considerably more natural to have elected both Alf Ross and Nørregaard Rasmussen many years earlier.

The change of course in 1974 meant that jurists and economists would subsequently be elected on the basis of their contribution to their own subjects. Over the following decades, jurisprudence and economics became established as larger groups in the Academy (cf. Table 1). It is no accident that both groups continued to grow. The majority of the members elected in the 1970s and the early 1980s came from the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Copenhagen, and the faculty's professors met regularly.

TABLE 1. Social sciences members of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters by subject:

Year	Subject				
	Jurisprudence	Economics ¹	Sociology ²	Political science	Business school subjects
1954-55	1	0	0	0	0
1964-65	1	0	0	0	0
1974-75	1	2	0	1	0
1984-85	3	8	0	0	0
1994-95	8	9	0	0	0
2004-05	6	9	0	0	0
2014-15	4	10	0	2	2

Note 1: Economics includes economists who specialize in economic history and demographics.

Note 2: Sociology does not include the sociology of culture and religion, which are discussed in the chapter on the humanities subjects.

Poul Nørregaard Rasmussen was the dean of the University of Copenhagen's faculty of law and social science from 1963 to 1965, and was probably the architect of the developments which led to this increase. Of the other two members elected at the same time, Erling Bjøl moved abroad after a few years, and became a foreign member in 1984. The case of Alf Ross is an exception in the history of the Academy: he refused membership outright. He communicated his refusal in a let-

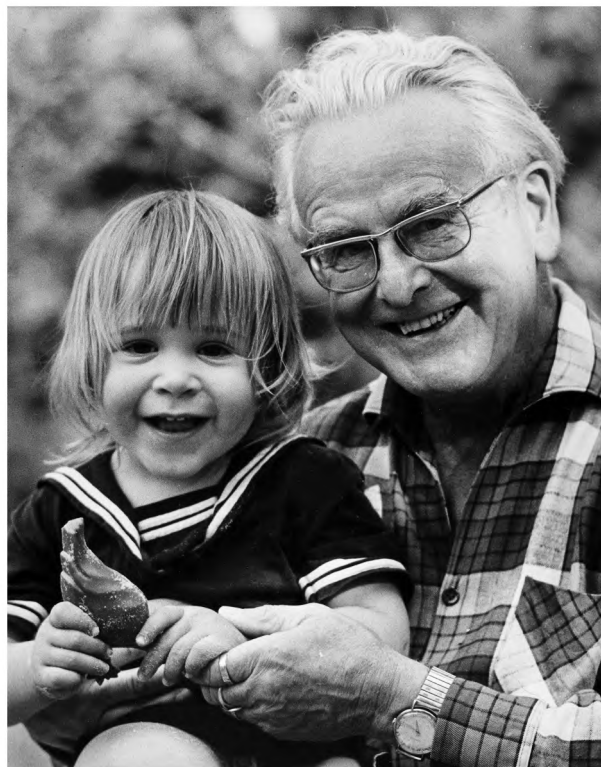


FIGURE 6. Alf Ross, who had been elected to the Academy in 1974 along with Erling Bjøl and Poul Nørregaard Rasmussen, who was 74 years old at the time and had been retired since 1969, and therefore turned down the offer. The photo was taken around the time of their election. The Royal Library.

ter to the secretary of the Academy which concludes: “If the offer had been made to me as a philosopher a quarter-century ago, I might have reacted differently.” This reaction does not seem unreasonable. Ross was 74 years old when elected, and had been retired since 1969. He had earned a higher doctorate in philosophy from Uppsala in 1929 and a higher doctorate in law from the University of Copenhagen in 1933. His major work *Om ret og retfærdighed* (On rights and justice) had been published in 1953.

Jurisprudence

With the elections in the second half of the 1970s, the principle that jurists could only join the Academy if they were historians of law was finally abandoned. Bernhard Gomard is a specialist in the law of contract and torts, corporate law and civil procedure. Knud Waaben was one of the last century’s most prominent experts on criminal law. Thøger Nielsen was a specialist in tax law, and made a groundbreaking contribution to the establishment of tax law as a scholarly discipline, in addition to work on legal history. Finally, Bent Christensen was a specialist in administrative law. However, there was still room for legal history. Ole Fenger of Aarhus University was a specialist in medieval law, and was almost as much historian as jurist, and Ditlev Tamm of the University of Copenhagen defended a higher doctoral dissertation on Anders Sandøe Ørsted and the 1945 legal purge of Nazi collaborators.

Younger talents joined the Academy as well. Henrik Zahle was an expert in jurisprudence and legal method, and Ellen Margrethe Basse is a specialist in the relatively new field of environmental law. In the period 1995-2017, the only new jurist elected was Mikael Rask Madsen. As shown in Table 1, the number of law members peaked in the mid 1990s.

The reasons for this development are worth closer consideration. And a number of explanations suggest themselves: On the one hand, the Danish legal scholarship has traditionally been practically oriented and written in Danish; on the other hand, the development of the scholarly milieu at law faculties has been marked by political and personal differences.

In recent decades, Danish and international scholarship and science have become increasingly international, and publishing articles in international journals has become an increasingly important parameter of success. In many subjects, the gulf between the universities’ theoretical research and the practical chal-

lenges facing the surrounding society has become ever wider. Danish jurisprudence has been a latecomer to this development. The Danish journals *Juristen* (The jurist) and *Ugeskrift for retsvæsen* (The weekly journal of the legal system) are still the preferred publication channels of Danish jurists, in addition to monographs in Danish. For this reason, quite a lot of legal scholarship appears to be so atheoretical and local that it hardly justifies admission to a society whose objective is the advancement of basic research and interdisciplinary understanding.

At the same time, at least in Copenhagen, the scholarly community has been marked by conflict since 1968, which is clearly evident in the Academy’s obituaries of deceased members, for example in Henrik Zahle’s obituary of Bent Christensen:

Conflicts in the fields of administrative law and constitutional law created enmity between colleagues who got on well in other respects, or who were at least able to work together. None of the parties involved succeeded in turning the conflict into a constructive exchange of ideas.

And finally:

Bent Christensen succeeded in liberating himself from the academic controversies of the university and resuming his scholarly work. And as a result – and here I am referring exclusively to the academic result – he became the most respected expert on administrative law of his time ... This is not a position which was achieved without effort. I believe the process can best be described by the word I so often heard him use in other contexts: and that word is ‘arduous’ – but he succeeded.

Ditlev Tamm’s obituary of Henrik Zahle describes the situation in similar terms:

Although tempting, it would lead us too far afield if I were to describe the ideological and more personal conflicts among jurists which made the University of Copenhagen’s law faculty an exceptionally unpleasant and uninspiring workplace in the years during which Henrik Zahle and I were attempting to educate ourselves as legal scholars. Practically everyone who experienced it suffered. A few were destroyed, others left, still others toughed it out and suffered greater or lesser degree of spiritual damage.

But the crisis may be finally over. Mikael Rask Madsen has worked at numerous universities abroad, and he

works on globalization and Europeanization from the perspective of the sociology of law. In 2016, the Carlsberg Foundation Research Prize was awarded to the young jurist Morten Broberg, whose field is international development law and development policy. Mikael Rask Madsen is the director of a basic research centre, and Morten Broberg is a member of the interdisciplinary development research group at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Copenhagen. So it appears that jurisprudence is on the way to closing that problematic chapter in its history.

Economics

With the election of Poul Nørregaard Rasmussen in 1974, the Academy admitted an economist who was not elected as a historian for the first time since 1833. Much had happened in the intervening 141 years. Economics had developed from subjective discursive analyses of society's problems into a specialized science which employed mathematical and statistical methods. Although these precise methods had been gradually developing since the 1870s, they were only gradually accepted by mainstream economics.

A very early debate on the use of mathematics in economics took place in the first volume of *National-økonomisk Tidsskrift* (Journal of economics) from 1873. The young mathematicians Julius Petersen and Frederik Bing emphasized the indispensability of mathematics in economics: "Economics is the study of quantities, and therefore naturally belongs under mathematics." As mathematicians, they were extremely critical of the prevailing form of economics practiced at the time. Their conviction was

that the explanation for the poor progress made by economics must be found in the failure to follow a strict scientific method, to which the fact that economics must as a rule be written in a manner which ordinary cultivated people can understand has contributed considerably.

This point of view was met by sharp criticism from the established economists, and Bing and Petersen have only received positive attention in more recent times. Moreover, Julius Petersen became a professor of mathematics at the University of Copenhagen in 1887 a few years after his election to the Academy.

Statistics also began to gain ground in economics, and there were Danish pioneers here as well. Edvard Philip Mackeprang defended his higher doctoral dissertation *Pristeorier* (Theories of price) in 1906, which

was the first attempt to quantify economic relationships (specifically the estimation of demand curves) using mathematical-statistical methods. But Mackeprang's work was not well-received, either by established economists or by the Academy. Econometrics did not become an established economics discipline until the 1930s and 1940s, and in Denmark was not accepted before the 1960s in any serious sense.

It is somewhat remarkable that whereas the Academy's humanist class did not begin accepting jurists and economists until the mid-1970s, Anders Hald, professor of theoretical statistics at the University of Copenhagen's faculty of law and social science, had been admitted to the natural sciences class as early as 1961. Hald had founded his faculty's first modern scientific department, *the Department of Statistics*, in 1953; previously, professors in the subject had lacked permanent facilities at the university.

These developments attest to the fundamental transformation of the subject of economics which took place in the 1950s and 1960s. Mathematical and statistical methods became an unavoidable dimension of the subject, and in the wake of Keynes' *General Theory* of 1936, macroeconomics, with its focus on aggregate demand and the possibility of inadequate aggregate demand and unemployment, became the foundation for economic theory and economic policy. At the same time, the research environment was institutionalized in a department with a combination of professors and junior colleagues, as opposed to home based professors. The Department of Economics at the University of Copenhagen was established in 1958 on the initiative of Nørregaard Rasmussen, who became its first head; a position he held until 1970.

Without a doubt, Nørregaard Rasmussen fully deserved to become the first member of the Academy from the university's faculty of law and political science. The subject of his major work, the higher doctoral dissertation *Studies in Intersectoral Relations* (1956), was input-output models. These models describe the stream of raw materials and semifinished goods between sectors in a linear structure. This makes it possible to calculate the demands placed on all sectors of the economy if the production of the finished product is increased. For example, if we decide to build a million kroner's worth of additional housing, what would this require of the cement industry, roofing manufacturers, the transportation sector, forestry, etc. The dissertation was in English and dense with mathematics - the breakthrough of internationally oriented modern economics in Denmark.



FIGURE 7. Poul Nørregaard Rasmussen was elected in 1974 at the same time as Alf Ross and Erling Bjøl, but Ross elected not to join, and Bjøl travelled abroad a few years later. Nørregaard Rasmussen then became the central figure in the development of a social sciences group in the Academy.

FIGURE 8. When Ellen Andersen, the first female member from the social sciences, was elected in 1984, there were only three female members of the humanities class (the phonetician Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, the art historian Else Kai Sass, and the dialectician



Inger Eskjær). Ellen Andersen was a professor of empirical economics at the University of Copenhagen 1973-1999, and her higher doctoral dissertation was the first version of the ADAM model, which is still used by the Ministry of Finance. In 1973, she became the first female member of the Social Sciences Research Council, and held many other honorary offices, but she stayed as far from the spotlight of the press as possible, and turned down a position as member of the board of economic advisors several times. In the 1990s, she was chair of the Academy's budget commission and member of the presidium.

Nørregaard Rasmussen was educated in Aarhus, which was a new university at that time and much less conservative than Axel Nielsen's Copenhagen. PNR (as he was called) had also spent a year at the University of Oslo, where the Institute of Economics under Ragnar Frisch was perhaps the world's leading economics department; Frisch received the Nobel Prize in 1969. Nørregaard Rasmussen also spent three years in Geneva at the Economic Commission for Europe under the direction of Gunnar Myrdal, who received the Nobel Prize in 1974. In Denmark, Nørregaard Rasmussen was to great extent responsible for introducing the new theories into university economics courses. As head of the Department of Economics until 1970, he also shaped the development of the department's academic environment and personnel policy.

Although it is obvious that Nørregaard Rasmussen's membership of the Academy was deserved in

full, it came probably ten or fifteen years too late. Hector Estrup expresses this very precisely in his obituary:

Poul Nørregaard Rasmussen's scientific career until about 1970 was brilliant, in relation to his position as an economic theorist nationally and internationally, as a source of inspiration for his younger colleagues, and not least as the person responsible for the establishment of a modern department of economics at the University of Copenhagen.

"Until about 1970" is accurate; in his later years, he was burdened by failing health, the death of his wife and a corporate scandal involving Nordisk Fjer, a company whose board he sat on, which was a major blow to Nørregaard Rasmussen, an extremely principled man. And it was not until 1974 that he became a member of the Academy. Nonetheless, he was still vigorous enough to make a contribution to the Academy. His influence on the development of the social sciences group is clearly evident.

The year after his election, the prominent Aarhus University professor Jørgen Gelting became a member. As a young teaching assistant, he had taught Nørregaard Rasmussen. In addition to Gelting, the most eminent of the jurists PNR had got to know in the faculty dining room, Bernhard Gomard and Knud Waaben, became members. The same went for the economists: Hector Estrup, the department's most philosophically oriented economist, also a graduate of Aarhus University, and Sven Danø, who was hired by Nørregaard Rasmussen at his newly created department as the first researcher who was not a professor. He became a professor here in 1966. Ellen Andersen, whom Nørregaard Rasmussen had supervised, and who became the first female professor of economics in Denmark in 1975, was also elected to the Academy, and later replaced Nørregaard Rasmussen as a kind of informal leader of the economics group.

Roughly speaking, Danish economics research of the past 50 years can be divided into five main groups: macroeconomic economics, macroeconometrics, microeconomics, theoretical econometrics and mathematical microtheory. But the boundaries between fields are blurred, and many researchers have a foot in more than one camp.

Jørgen Gelting and Nørregaard Rasmussen were both generalist *macro economists* of the Keynesian school; in other words, they were concerned with macroeconomic correlations, such as the dependence of demand on total income, and the effects of changes in eco-



FIGURE 9. Six of the economists who have been elected to the Academy since 1990 have participated in public debate as members of the board of economic advisors, in addition to their contributions to basic research. Pictured here are the economic advisors and members of the Academy Peter Birch Sørensen, Nina Smith, and Niels Kærgård in a 1998 sketch by Morten Ingemann in the newspaper *Børsen* after a clash with the ministers Marianne Jelved, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, and Mogens Lykketoft.

conomic policy on employment and inflation. This also applies to Niels Thygesen, who however was less Keynesian in his approach. Nonetheless, it was increasingly considered to be a defect that the macrotheory lack a microeconomic foundation. It seemed obvious that it should be possible to base hypotheses about fluctuations at the macroeconomic level on hypotheses about the individual actions of individual agents, so that fluctuations in national consumption could be predicted by theories about the actions of individual consumers. In the 1970s, there was considerable discussion about the microfoundation of the macrotheory. This modern macrotheory also led to the construction of special empirical macromodels which are based on assumptions about individual agents – typically that they are rational and motivated by the desire to maximize utility and profit. An example of a model of this kind is the Danish DREAM model (Dynamic Rational Economic Agent Model), which is used by the Ministry of Finance to calculate medium and long-term plans. Torben Magnus Andersen and Peter Birch

Sørensen are typical representatives of this form of modern macroeconomics.

There was an alternative type of model, the *macro-econometric*, which had come before these “applied general equilibrium models”. These models were pure macromodels; in other words, they were used to estimate the correlations between macrovariables (for example, between total consumption and the national income). The first coherent Danish model of this type, ADAM (Annual Danish Aggregated Model), which is still used by the Ministry of Finance today (with ongoing adjustments and improvements) for short-term economic forecasts, was presented in Ellen Andersen’s higher doctoral dissertation in 1975. Niels Kærgård’s higher doctoral dissertation from 1991 is an analogous model for Danish economic development since the 1870s.

Whereas econometrics was founded on time series from the national income account from the very beginning, as in the work of Ellen Andersen and Niels Kærgård, when civil registry data became accessible, it also

became possible to estimate the behavior of individual agents – for example, how their choice of working hours depends on their wages and tax burden. *Micro-econometric* analyses of this kind, particular of the labor market, were already being performed in Aarhus in around 1980, where the country's first "grundforskningscenter" (basic research center) in economics was founded in 1993-1997. Peder Jørgen Pedersen and Nina Smith have been key figures in this milieu, along with Dale Mortensen; the only recipient of the Nobel Prize in Economics to have been affiliated with a Danish university. However, he died just a year after his election to the Academy.

Theoretical econometrics and mathematical microeconomics have had a more difficult time in the Academy because they fall between the two classes. To the humanists, these subjects look like mathematics, and to the natural sciences class, they appear to be a form of applied mathematics rather than true basic research. We have internationally respected names in mathematical microtheory here in Denmark like Karl Vind and Birgit Grodal, who many economists consider the most important figures in Danish economics research in the second half of the 20th century. But they have never had seats in the Academy. Nonetheless, this school's formal analyses of the extent to which purely mathematical axioms regarding the behavior of agents – for example, that they are rational, predictive, and egotistical – can be used to build economic models is the foundation for much of modern macrotheory.

Mathematical econometrics, which focusses on the mathematical models used by applied econometrics, has fared better. Since the 1980s, much progress has been made in removing a priori ad hoc assumptions from economic models. Whereas earlier econometricians – with the first Nobel Prize recipient Ragner Frisch as their foremost representative – believed that "facts that speak for themselves, talk in a very naive language", the catchphrase is now, in the words of the title of an article by Søren Johansen and Katarina Juselius, "allowing the data to speak freely". This approach represents a break with much of economic theory. Both Søren Johansen and Katarina Juselius are members of the Academy; but it is symptomatic of the status of their field that although they have co-authored many of their best-known works, Søren Johansen is a member of the natural sciences class, while Katarina Juselius is a member of the humanities.

All of the economists in the Academy have made solid contributions to fundamental economic theory: none of the members elected in recent times could be

described as inappropriate choices. But nonetheless, there are good economists who are not members of the Academy and who might have been elected just as well. So who are the economists who have been chosen? In addition to solid research, a voice in public debate is absolutely no disadvantage: The six economists who have been elected as domestic members since 1990 have all been chairmen of the Danish Board of Economic Advisors, half of whom have been first chairman. It is also clear that although all researchers are eligible for election as members of their own subject, an economist whose work lies at the intersection of economics and history has better chances of election than an economist at the intersection of economics and mathematics: the former can attract the votes of historians, while the latter cannot attract the votes of mathematicians, who belong to the other class.

Political science, sociology and anthropology

With the exception of Erling Bjøl's short period of activity, political science is an entirely new phenomenon in the Academy. Ole Wæver was elected in 2007. He represented the Copenhagen School of security studies, which introduced the concept of securitization to the theory of international relations. Once an issue is framed as a question of national security, or securitized, normal rules are suspended, and it is possible to disregard considerations which normally limit the scope of action, such as economic conditions, property rights and international conventions. The question of what can be securitized, how, and by whom is central to understanding some of the key problems of the political decision-making process. In recent years, two young political scientists were also elected, Jørgen Møller of Aarhus University and Rebecca Adler-Nissen of the University of Copenhagen.

Unlike political science, sociology has never achieved a solid footing in the Academy. The economist Axel Nielsen, who was elected as a historian, taught sociology to university economics students in the interwar period. The Academy's membership includes, however, a number of sociologists of culture and religion, but these subjects are treated in the chapter on the humanities class.

The business school subjects

The business school in Copenhagen (CBS) was established as a private institution by the association for the

education of young businessmen (Foreningen til Unge Handelsmænds Uddannelse) in 1917, and acquired its first professors in 1937. It was not incorporated into the Danish public educational system until 1965. The schools' mercantile degree programmes were regarded with great scepticism by the country's classical universities.

For example, in 1936, the economist Frederik Zeuthen, who was a professor at the University of Copenhagen (and one of the scientists who probably should have been elected to the Academy in the 1930s) reviewed the work of Max Kjær-Hansen, one of the first two professors at CBS. Here are some representative excerpts from his review of Kjær Hansen's dissertation *Reklame og Videnskab* (Advertising and science), which had been written for a competition for a professorship:

On the contrary, the intention is to highlight the danger associated with allowing advertising's methods and advertising's more liberal conception of truth to encroach on the realm of science ... The concept of science has been distorted – a false bill of goods was used in connection with Max Kjær Hansen's appointment as professor at an institution of learning which has government authorization to call itself scientific.

According to Zeuthen, it is illegitimate to give the impression that “personal advantage and social benefit essentially go hand in hand”, as Max Kjær Hansen does. This is a “commercial ideology” which “naturally has no place at an academic institution of learning, where all political beliefs must have equal value”.

Since then, the business schools have established themselves as universities of equal standing, with a very broad spectrum of subjects ranging from highly formalized mathematical economic theory to behavioral science and philosophy of management analyses which border on the humanities. In 2003, Per Øhrgaard left the professorship in German philology he had held at the University of Copenhagen since 1980 to take up a professorship at the Department of Business and Politics at CBS. It is also worth noting that two of the economists mentioned above, Peder J. Pedersen and Nina Smith, were both professors at the Aarhus School of Business for a number of years before they came to Aarhus University, just as Hector Estrup and Peter Birch Sørensen were professors at CBS before their appointments at the University of Copenhagen.

In 2012, David Lando was the first member elected from the classical business school subjects. He is a pro-

fessor of finance, and his main areas of research are credit risk management and financial instruments. His work is highly mathematical, so he is a member of the natural sciences class in the Academy. In 2015, he was joined by Majken Schultz, who is a professor of management, communication, and organizational theory. She has focussed on corporate organizational culture and branding in particular, and in this connection has been involved in a long-term research collaboration with Carlsberg. The most recently elected member for the business school subjects is Lasse Heje Pedersen, whose field is financial markets and institutions.

Economic history

Beyond a doubt, the most prominent Scandinavian economic historian of all time was the Swedish scholar Eli Heckscher. He established a tradition which established economic history as an independent subject with its own university departments in Sweden. This is not the case in Denmark; here we have economists and historians. While they may meet in an interdisciplinary collaboration, the two subjects remain distinct, as the debate on Gunnar Viby Mogensen's 1987 book *Økonomi og historie* (Economics and history) revealed. For a very short period from 1967 to 1972, a Department of Economic History existed at the University of Copenhagen which had been established by the historian Kristof Glamann and the economist Svend Aage Hansen. The department was transferred to the Faculty of Humanities in 1972, after which it developed into a more traditional history department; in 1992, it was finally merged with the Department of History.

Economic history thus never became an independent subject in Denmark. While economists and historians can work on the same topics and work together, it is almost always obvious that the economists have a background in economic theory and statistics, not in source criticism, while the opposite is true for historians. In Table 1 above, Svend Aage Hansen and Hans Christian Johansen are categorized as economists, and historians are excluded altogether.

Clearly, the two groups have learned much from one another. New results often emerge when a subject is considered from an entirely different perspective. Svend Aage Hansens' 1965 demographic-statistical analyses of fertility and marriage among the aristocracy in the period 1475-1720 in his higher doctoral dissertation *Adelsvældets grundlag* (The foundation of aristocratic government) taught historians something. But the historians may also have taught us social sci-

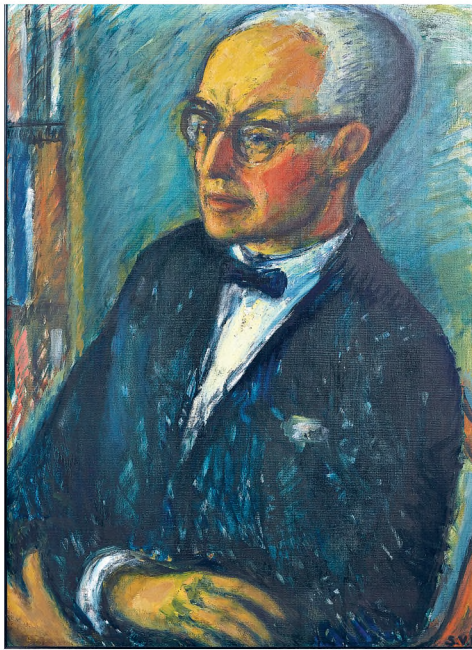


FIGURE 10. The social sciences members have been very visible in the work of the Academy; three members of this group have served as chairpersons of the board of the Carlsberg Foundation. Stig Iuul served as chair 1963-1969. Portrait by Sigurd Lønholdt, 1968, boardroom, the Carlsberg Foundation.



FIGURE 11. Kristof Glamann was chair of the board of directors of the Carlsberg Foundation 1976-1992. Portrait by Preben Hornung, 1981, boardroom, the Carlsberg Foundation.



FIGURE 12. Poul Christian Matthiessen was chair of the Carlsberg Foundation's board of directors 1993-2002. Portrait by Jørgen Boberg, 1994, boardroom, the Carlsberg Foundation.

entists to adopt a more critical stance in relation to our data and to realize that time series and statistics do not reveal everything.

As both Svend Aage Hansen and Hans Christian Johansen worked with demography, it is natural to mention the full-time demographer Poul Christian Matthiessen in connection with them. His 1970 higher doctoral dissertation, *Some Aspects of the Demographic Transition in Denmark*, traces the transition from a high-fertility, high-mortality society to a society with low fertility and low mortality, and it demonstrates how the population increase occurred because mortality fell before fertility. This tendency is still apparent in a number of developing countries which have not yet achieved low fertility.

In addition to the economists named here, many of the economists in the Academy have worked on economic history, as touched on earlier. Marcus Rubin and Axel Nielsen were elected to the Academy specifically as historians, and both Peder J. Pedersen and Niels Kærgård have published works of economic history.

Many of the Academy's historians could certainly be classified as economic historians, for example Erik Arup and Niels Steensgaard, but they are considered under the subject of history in the humanities chapter

of this book. However, it makes sense to discuss Kristof Glamann here. The subject of his 1958 higher doctoral dissertation was Dutch-Asian trade in the period 1620-1740, he was the chief editor of *Scandinavian Economic History Review* from 1961 to 1970, and he became honorary president of *Association Internationale d'Histoire Economique* in 1974. In the years around 1970, he was the head of the Department of Economic History together with Svend Aage Hansen. Although the two men worked closely together, there was no doubt that Hansen was an economist and Glamann a historian. As Glamann stated at Svend Aage Hansen's higher doctoral defence in 1965, where he acted as an external examiner, "Where neither the size of the population, the organization of production nor its extent and value are known, as a historian, one must prefer a vaguer but in relation to our knowledge more accurately descriptive formulation." Glamann also played a central role in the Academy, for example as chair of the Carlsberg Foundation from 1976 to 1993.

Summary

By way of conclusion, some brief comments on some of the chapter's major points may be in order. First,

until recently the social sciences group has historically been very small: in the entire period from the 1830s to the 1970s, it was virtually non-existent – and completely intentionally so as a part of the Academy. Even today, the social sciences group including law comprises only about 20 members, out of a humanities class of about 100 members.

But the social sciences members have been very visible in the work of the Academy; Stig Iuul, Kristof Glamann and Poul Christian Matthiessen all served as chairs of the Carlsberg Foundation, in 1963-1969, 1976-1993 and 1993-2002 respectively. Hector Estrup was treasurer from 1991 to 2001, and Ellen Andersen was chair of the budget commission from 1995 to 2000; Niels Kærgård was chair of the Academy's research policy committee from 2006 to 2008 and chair of the humanities class from 2008 to 2013; and Kirsten Hastrup (who must be considered a social sciences researcher, although she is included in the chapter on the humanities in this book) served as class chair from 2007 to 2008 and as president from 2008 to 2017.

When one considers the elected members and compares them with the history of their subjects, it is evident that some members have been admitted who should not have been, and that others who should have been admitted were not.

But after all, this is difficult. Is the goal to make sure that all subjects are broadly represented, or are there subjects with a weaker foundation in basic research which should be excluded? Internationally, sociology is a large and well-respected subject, but it has historically been weak in Denmark and has never been represented in the Academy. Is that a mistake? While it was certainly unreasonable to exclude the economists from the Academy until 1974, it may not have been so unreasonable to do so until the year 1900, even though the economics degree programme at the University of Copenhagen was established in 1849.

Particularly in the humanities class perhaps, there has been a tendency to postpone electing people until it was certain that they had an established position. As a result, in several cases members have first been admitted after their creative period was over. But if people are elected earlier, the result may be an academy of promising talents who never realize their promise. History raises many difficult questions, but the answers are unfortunately less clear. You can run into trouble no matter what you do.

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