

P.O. Brøndsted – The resolute agent in the acquisition of plaster casts for the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen

by Jan Zahle

The Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen flourished in the years from 1808 to 1839 when Prince Christian Frederik (King Christian VIII 1839-1848) was *præsæs* (president). After decades of frugality he settled its economy favourably and had the constitution revised; also, he took a keen interest in the appointment of professors and in the awarding of medals, scholarships and travel grants. He also took care of the Academy's *apparatus*, the collections of books, prints, art-works and plaster casts. In 1810, he successfully obtained money from King Frederik VI to acquire the late Professor Nicolai Abildgaard's valuable library. The truly remarkable series of acquisitions of casts from 1810 onwards were often instigated and occasionally even paid for by him (fig. 1.)¹

Christian Frederik was sincerely interested in the fine arts and was a great collector of antiquities, medals and ancient coins. His journey with his wife Caroline Amalie in 1818 and their Grand Tour from May 1819 to September 1822 through Germany to Italy and back through Switzerland, France and England were true cultural and educational pilgrimages for they gave keen attention to museums, artists' studios, art academies, monuments and important archaeological sites. His high position opened all doors – also those of relevance to the Academy and for cast collecting. In Stuttgart, he visited the studio of the sculptor

Johann Heinrich von Dannecker on the 1st of October 1818 and saw the collection of casts, which he had gathered for King Wilhelm I. Friedrich Karl of Württemberg with regard to a public art museum (cf. below). In December 1819, he paid a visit to the Academy of Fine Arts in Venice, where he noted amongst other things the arrangement of two rooms with plaster casts. Both visits were recorded meticulously in his diaries.² In Rome and in Naples, Christian Frederik benefited from the association with Bertel Thorvaldsen and with two others of his subjects: the internationally acknowledged art-historian Carl Friedrich von Rumohr from Holstein³ and the archaeologist and numismatist Peter Oluf Brøndsted. Both were from that time in close contact with Christian Frederik, and one of his ways to show his appreciation was to have them elected honorary members of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1826.

Brøndsted first came in touch with Christian Frederik in 1813, and their relationship developed into what may be termed a respectful friendship because of their shared interests and a mutual understanding of character. Already on the 11th of January 1819, Christian Frederik suggested that Brøndsted should be elected an honorary member of the Academy,⁴ and undoubtedly the prince sympathized with Brøndsted's strong wish to reside in Rome as Agent of the Royal

1. I owe many thanks to Susanne Løber and Emma Salling for their help and for useful information, and to Jakob Vaagholt for his working out of figures 1 and 12.

2. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 109-112, 160-163.

3. Kjærboe 2003.

4. RA (The Danish National Archives/Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen), 1626 (archive no. 1626: The Royal Academy for the Fine Arts/Det Kongelige akademi for de skønne kunster, 1814-1968), 1.1-18: Dagbog 1815-1821, the 11th of January 1819.



Fig. 1. The north part of the Antique or Figure Hall of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in the 1820s. Montage of paintings by K. Andreassen Baade 1827/28 (left) and H.D.C. Martens 1821 (right). Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, Inv. M. 01589, and Thomas Le Claire Kunsthandel, Hamburg. Montage: Jakob Vaagholt.

Danish Court to the Holy See, a position that was granted in 1818. On his way to Rome, Brøndsted met the princely couple in Altona, where he received letters and instructions.⁵

In Germany

Brøndsted proceeded southwards to Weimar, where he visited Goethe, to Nuremberg, to Stuttgart, where he visited von Dannecker, and to Munich. On the 5th of January 1819 he reported in detail and very frankly to Christian Frederik on his mission for the Academy. The Crown Prince, Ludwig of Bavaria, had received Christian Frederik's request for casts of the sculptures from the temple of Aphaia on Aegina positively, "a happy triumph" – albeit with certain reservations that only disclosed his "jealousy of these sculptures". "But this good man cannot delude Thorwaldsen and me" – beyond doubt we shall get this noble work of art to Denmark and "not even the smallest fragment ... shall be missing in the Danish specimen of the plaster copies".⁶ Brøndsted also described in some detail the "Antique and Plaster Cast Hall" ("Salon") in Munich and the recent acquisition of casts of the Parthenon marbles ("robbed" by Lord Elgin) and of the splendid Phigaleian frieze "that our group excavated in 1812." These art works ought also to be in our Academy and "If only the requested sum for acquisition and transport were available and if I live and have my own work furthered I should gladly go to England on my own account."

The eagerness of Brøndsted in these matters is hardly surprising. Unexpected, however, is his enthu-

siasm for the 12 figures of the apostles of the Sebaldus monument by the German sculptor Peter Vischer from c. 1510 in the Sebaldus Church in Nuremberg.⁷ He praises them both to the Prince and in private letters: "I have arranged plaster casts of at least the twelve apostles of the Sebaldus tomb to be sent to me in Copenhagen. They are frankly the most splendid bronze statuettes I know, outside the ancient Greek sculpture. How astonishing that such pieces of art came into being in Nuremberg in the beginning of the 16th Century."⁸

Apparently they aroused interest in Copenhagen, since they were borrowed by the Academy and were displayed in its annual exhibition in 1820. The catalogue reveals that Brøndsted also acquired Peter Vischer's self-portrait from the monument.⁹ In 1834, the same 13 figures are listed in an inventory of the Academy, and perhaps they are the Brøndsted ones. In a letter to his friend, the Danish theologian Jens Møller from Nuremberg in 1818 he states: "Should I die in Italy, please present these plaster casts on my behalf to our Academy of Fine Arts."¹⁰ Very likely he presented them himself. Nothing, though, is known about the fate of his casts, and nothing in the archives of the Academy discloses the provenance of the casts listed in 1834 (fig. 2).¹¹

Rare casts of high renaissance and baroque sculptures are documented in Copenhagen before this time, but Brøndsted's figures appear to be the first medieval/early renaissance ones. Both he and the Academy were completely in line with the period's interest in the religious art of Central and North Europe of that period. Brøndsted may have seen them first during his

5. KB (The Royal Library/Det kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen), NKS (New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling), 4648 (4648 4°: Breve til P. O. Brøndsted, hans børn og sønnesønner o. a.), letter to Holger and Maria Aagaard, Hamburg the 17th of November 1818: "Derfra tog Prindsen mig med til sit Logis hvor han meddelte mig adskillige Breve og Kommissioner til Bayern og Italien."
6. RA, 202 (archive no. 202: Kongehuset, Christian 8., konge), 121-163 (1794-1848, udat., Breve fra forskellige), letter of the 5th of January 1819.

7. Osten & Vey 1969, 22.

8. KB, NKS, 4648, letter to Holger and Marie Aagaard, Stuttgart the 24th of December 1818. Quoted in more detail, Andersen 2005, 71

9. RA, 1626, 1.3-4: Kopibog 1813-1832, letter to Brøndsted's friend J. Møller, the 30th of Marts 1820; Fortegnelse 1820, no. 50.

10. Letter of the 15th of November 1818, Brøndsted 1926, 130.

11. Two are preserved, Kjerrman 2004, 390 inv. KG81 (KG: Kunstakademiet Gipsafstøbning), KG535.



Fig. 2. The remaining two figures from the Sebaldus monument, acquired by Brøndsted, in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. KG81 and KG535. Height 0,37 m and 0,58 m.

visit to Weimar because Goethe since 1813 owned two of the apostles and Vischer's self-portrait.¹² Brøndsted's enthusiasm and his prompt acquisition of the casts, however, reveal his ever inquisitive and pioneering mind. From 1823, the figures are known to have been added to several collections of classical casts.¹³

12. Schuchardt 1848-1849, 337 no. 129-130; Jericke 1958, 83-84. See for the visit to Goethe, Brøndsted 1850, 86 and the letter to Aagaard, see note 8, Andersen 2005, 70-71.

13. Baker 1981, 1.

14. Lange 1886, 40-45 no. 269, 274-285

15. Oppermann 1930, 30-35; Thorvaldsen was accused of having copied them, cf. Hauch 1871, 241.

16. Badstübner-Gröger 1990, 239, 245 and *passim*.

17. RA, 302 (archive no. 302: archive no. 302: The Department of

In his catalogue of the Royal Academy's collection of post-antique casts from 1886 the art-historian Julius Lange discussed the Sebaldus figures in some detail.¹⁴ He noted that Thorvaldsen studied and sketched the apostles and that their influence can be traced in the artist's apostles in the Cathedral in Copenhagen, modelled from 1821 to 1824 and installed 1839.¹⁵ Lange believed that Thorvaldsen saw the art works in Nuremberg in 1819 on his way to Denmark. However, he did not visit Nuremberg, and it is therefore highly likely, that he studied Brøndsted's casts in the Academy. Be that as it may, the apostles were already famous at that time. In 1821/1822, the German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel applied Vischer's apostles to the chancel rail in the Berliner cathedral in the Lustgarten, and he had many followers.¹⁶

In Rome and Naples

In several official and private letters during his residency in Rome 1819-1823, Brøndsted comments on the Aeginetan sculptures. In 1816 Thorvaldsen had restored them. In the beginning of 1819 moulds were produced under the supervision of Johann Martin von Wagner, the agent of the Bavarian Crown Prince Ludwig, and in December the same year the casts were ready.¹⁷ In 1823 they and many art works for both King Frederik VI and the Prince were packed in more than 30 cases to be sent with a ship in April.¹⁸ However, anxiety because of a crisis between France and Spain may have postponed the dispatch and exactly when the Aeginetans arrived in Copenhagen is not known for sure. Two consignments arrived in 1825 and 1828, respectively, but with different contents. Only in 1828 (and onwards) were the Aeginetan sculptures (testify-

Foreign Affairs 1770-1848), 2307 (parcel no. 2307: Reports from the royal agent in Rome, Professor Brøndsted, and from the Danish consul Luigi Chiaveri 1819-32), Report 9 the 4th of September 1819; RA, 202, 121-163, letter to Christian Frederik, the 6th of December 1819.

18. RA, 302, 2307, Report 49 the 8th of February 1823; RA, 202, 121-163, letter to Christian Frederik, datable because of concordance with Report 49.

ing to the genius both of the Greeks and of Thorvaldsen) displayed in the Academy exhibition as appears from the catalogue and other written and pictorial sources as well.¹⁹

During Christian Frederik's stay in Italy from November 1819 to June 1821 he and Brøndsted met frequently. In January, February and October 1820 in Naples the Prince visited the *Real Museo Borbonico* in *Palazzo dei Regi Studii* several times, either alone or together with Brøndsted, and they both documented the visits in their diaries. The museum had been founded only a few years earlier, in 1816, and included both the Farnese Collection with many Roman (often restored) copies of Greek sculpture and the rich and unique finds in bronze and marble from Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Christian Frederik used the handbook by Giovambattista Finati, *Il Regal Museo Borbonico I, delle Statue I*, Napoli 1817, and worked systematically through the collection, number by number.²⁰ For the present purpose the following entry is of interest (with the present inventory numbers;²¹ the items printed in italics below were to turn up in the Academy's collection of casts): "2 février [1820] je visitais les bronzes aux Studii accompagné de l'agent de notre cour à Rome, Brøndsted, qui designa avec moi quelques bronzes, dont les plâtres pourraient être un ornement de notre académie, savoir l'Hercule enfant avec les serpents [MN ?], *le Mercure* [MN 5625], les deux Faunes [MN 5624 and 5628] et la tête de Cheval [MN 115391]. Le plâtre est déjà tiré de l'Apollon trouvé à Pompéi [MN 5629], et il ne serait pas difficile de se procurer, je crois."

The two entries by Brøndsted are known from Dorph's edition from 1850, but have since been lost.²² It is possible that they are excerpts from letters. The first is not precisely dated, but undoubtedly sums up

the new and fresh experiences. Dorph wrongly dated the other to August 11, 1819 (when Brøndsted was in Rome and the Alban Hills²³). The correct date is October 11, 1820, to judge from Christian Frederik's diary.

In the first entry Brøndsted states "the collection of bronzes in the sculpture hall is without equal and of the highest importance both for our understanding of the virtuosity of the ancient artists and as a reminder that the Greek artists by far preferred this material: most of the marbles that are preserved are only copies." Three bronze statues are mentioned, the "jolly and laughing Faun resting on his sack of wine" (MN 5628), the "gracious, gently smiling and thoughtful Hermes" (MN 5625), and the "slender and beautiful Mercury" (MN ?)

The second entry "With Prince Christian in the Studii" has the character of a review of selected statues and busts, some of which were noted in the first entry and by the Prince: The Faun (MN 5624?), Apollo (MN 5629), the drunken Faun (MN 5628), the two *roe-deer* (MN 4886, 4888), "*Venus Victrix* from Capua ... mon dieu, what a marvelous statue" (MN 6017), Herakles Farnese (MN 6001), "*Aristides*" (MN 6018), Homer (MN 6023), Antinous (MN 6030), "the small, painted female Statue from a fairly late period in the old, almost Aeginetan style" (*Diana from Pompeii*, MN 6008), the small statue of Isis (MN 976), "Minerva gradiens in a very old style, though from a much later time" (MN 6007).

The visit in the Studii was apparently very successful, but did not immediately result in orders of casts. However, in 1828 the seated Hermes came to Copenhagen from Paris, and in 1833 the Venus Victrix, Aischines ("*Aristides*"), and a relief (MN 6688) came by ship from Naples and Leghorn (Livorno). The Diana from Pompeii arrived in 1838 together with 41 other items, mainly small figures and ornamented

19. Fortegnelse 1828, 16 nos. 188-189; KB, Add. 1183 4^o: C.W. Eckersberg's diaries, the 18th of February 1829; Zahle 2004, 103, 119, 204.

20. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 210, 275 the 15th of January and passim, with Brøndsted the 2nd and 3rd of February and the 11th of October 1820.

21. Napoli 1989, 105, 107, 111, 127, 135, 135, 147, 155, 157

22. Brøndsted 1850, 101-02 and 108.

23. RA, 302, 2307, Report 9, the 4th of September 1819.

utensils in bronze.²⁴ In 1866, the number had risen to 69 and included also one of the roe-deer. The statues in question were highly desirable for many cast collections and might well have been acquired without the princely visit. The visit, however, testifies to the keenness and determination of both the president of the Academy and his highly qualified advisor.

Paris – London

Brøndsted spent the years 1824 to 1832 in Paris and London – except for a short visit to Denmark in 1827. Very conveniently he could comply with wishes of Christian Frederik and the Academy for casts from these metropolises. In 1827, 1828 and 1833 he traded successfully with the *L'atelier de moulage du Musée du Louvre* that was directed by François-Henri Jacquet 1818-1846. The factory had been founded in 1794 and comprised valuable forms taken from the contents of Musée Napoleon, now mostly returned to Italy or otherwise dispersed, and from the Borghese collection, purchased in 1808.²⁵ Also important in 1818 was the acquisition of valuable forms and casts of two metopes and parts of the Parthenon frieze accomplished 1786-1792 by Louis Fauvel in Athens for the late count Choiseul-Gouffier, who was by then French ambassador to the Porte.

The arrival in Europe of Greek originals of the 5th century BC – from Aegina, Phigaleia²⁶ and Athens – definitely established that the ‘canonical’ statues in Florence, Rome and Naples were only copies of the Roman Period. Brøndsted’s notes in Naples agree with this view, which is all the more understandable because of his experiences in Greece in 1810-1813 and, as we shall see, of his pioneer work on the sculptures of the Parthenon. Also Christian Frederik was fully

aware of this aesthetic revolution, as it appears from his diary from his abovementioned visit to von Danecker, October 1818: “Dans un appartement voisin les meilleurs statues du Musée Napoléon en plâtre étoient placées, savoir la Venus de Médicis, l’Apollon du Belvédère, l’Hermaphrodite, l’Hercule avec l’enfant Bacchus sur ses bras, le Torse, Laocoon et plusieurs autres. Le célèbre sculpteur prisait le Torse audessus de tous les autres comme l’imitation la plus naturelle de la chair humaine. Il disait que Canova étoit du même sentiment, et celui-ci reconnaissait le Torse et les statues apportées par le lord Elgin en Angleterre pour les seuls restes d’une haute antiquité vraiment grecque et du tems de plus beau de l’art tandis que les autres statues tant vantées, même l’Apollon du Belvédère doivent en comparaison être considérées comme des copies romaines d’une antiquité grecque perdue. ... Danecker attendait les plâtres de la collection du lord Elgin qu’il croyait déjà arrivés à Francfort,²⁷ et moyennant cette grande et belle acquisition la collection du Roi de Wurtemberg pourra être considérée de la première valeur dès qu’une salle de statue propre à cela sera arrangée.” And Christian Frederik acted accordingly. In 1819 he procured from London and presented to the Academy the torso of Poseidon, Ilissos, Dionysos, the horse head of Selene, and south metope 27 from the Parthenon (fig. 1); in 1825 he also gave the ‘Weber-Laborde’ head from the Parthenon (fig. 7), as well as a fragment of the frieze in 1836.

In 1827 Brøndsted had realized the Academy’s wish to procure the famous Greek original, the Venus from Milo (Louvre, Ma 399) as well as both hands of the Silenus with the Infant Bacchus (Ma 922) and both legs of the so-called Germanicus (Ma 1207).²⁸ The arrival was noted in the journal *Kjøbenhavnsposten*,²⁹ and the Venus was reviewed by the art-historian and

24. RA, 1626, 1.1-25: Dagbog 1838-1840, the 2nd of October 1838 and the 22nd of December 1838; RA, 1626, 7.1-179: Bilag til regnskaberne 1837-1838, invoice from the 7th of May 1838. Bilag 42 procured by the sculptor F.C. Krohn.

25. Rionnet 1996, 6, 341; Rionnet 1999.

26. Brøndsted 1861.

27. See below.

28. Cf. RA, 202, 121-163, letter from Brøndsted to Christian Frederik, the 15th of October 1827 and RA, 1626, 1.2-13: Journalsager 1827-1828, letter from Brøndsted to the Academy with invoice, the 24th of October 1827.

29. No. 100, the 14th of December 1827, 404.

professor at the Royal Academy Niels Lauritz Høyen. In 1828 Brøndsted organized one of the largest acquisitions ever of plaster casts for the Academy.³⁰

In a letter to Christian Frederik of October 19, 1827 Brøndsted forwarded a catalogue³¹ of casts available from Jacquet and suggested the purchase of the statue of Diana from Gabii (Ma 529) and the bust of Venus from Arles (Ma 439). Later, on the 23rd of March 1828, he stated that the expected arrival from Rome of the sculptor H.E. Freund, (professor 1829-1840) would be a fine occasion to realize the planned purchases. Promptly – already on the 13th of April – the Academy forwarded a specified list of casts to buy. Characteristically for transactions when the president was involved the letter starts: “The Academy has through its High President received Your Honour’s kind offer of ...”³² No doubt about the keenness of Christian Frederik!

The Academy specified 16 statues, four busts and all the available reliefs from the Parthenon besides four small copies of statues and a selection of legs, arms, feet and hands. Brøndsted and Freund, in fact, acted fairly independently and omitted 12 of the desired pieces while adding several others. In an informative and expert letter to Christian Frederik Brøndsted argues in detail for their choices.³³ In the scheme (fig. 3), the whole transaction is summed up for the sake of convenience. Note the authoritative reason for omitting nos. 17-20 and the categorical refusal of no. 15, “La Génie du Repos éternel” for being displeasing (fig. 4).³⁴ The addition of the reliefs from the “Lanterne de Demosthène” (the Monument of Lysicrates) is hardly surprising because they are originals of the 4th century BC, and because Brøndsted had lived in the very building – at that time still part of a Capuchin monastery – for three months altogether.³⁵

In June this account was accepted with praise and

his wish to acquire certain other pieces was complied with.³⁶ In 1833, therefore, a third consignment arrived from Jacquet comprising 31, mainly architectural ornaments and one of the reliefs that Brøndsted had opted for.³⁷ In the end of the same year, the Academy acknowledged the reception from Brøndsted of a small copy of the Venus from Milo “by David”.³⁸

It is noticeable that in 1828 many Roman copies too were both asked for and acquired despite the preference for casts of Greek originals. Of course, the ‘paradigm shift’ shall not be taken too literally and throughout the 19th Century both Greek originals and Roman copies were to co-exist in the public museums all over the world. In the 19th Century few such originals were known – and fewer still available in plaster casts. From the contemporary *Akademisches Kunstmuseum* in Bonn the subject is touched upon in 1819 by its ‘founding fathers’, the two professors A.W. von Schlegel and F.G. Welcker, the same year as the museum was established; “In der ersten Hinsicht sind die Elginschen Sculpturen vom Parthenon und die in Phigalia ausgegrabenen Basreliefs sehr wichtig, weil sie unbezweifelt aus der Zeit und der Schule des Phidias herrühren ...

Von München dürfte erst in der Folge etwas zu erwarten seyn, wenn die Sammlung seiner Königl. Hoheit des Kronprinzen aufgestellt und zum Theyl abgeformt seyn wird; besonders die äusserst wichtigen, noch in Italien befindlichen Aeginetischen Statuen.

Unser Erachtens dürften die Stücke in einer Sammlung von Gypsabgüssen nicht fehlen, welche wegen ihrer Eleganz und vollständigen Erhaltung den ausgebreitetsten Ruhm geniessen, z.B. der Vatikanische Apoll, der Laokoon, die Mediceische und Capitolinische Venus usw. Für den Zweck der Belehrung aber möchte das übrige aus Stücken bestehen, worauf die

30. Høyen 1828, 45; Høyen 1871, 43.

31. Preserved in RA, 202 together with the letter.

32. RA, 1626, 1.3-4; Kopibog 1813-1832.

33. RA, 202, 121-163, letter of the 27th of May 1828.

34. Clarac 1826-1853, 332, pl. 300; LIMC VI, 705 no. 21 pl. 417; Cuzin 2000, 421 Cat. 225.

35. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 354-355.

36. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 9th of June 1828.

37. RA, 1626, 1.2-16: journalsager 1832-1833, letter to Thiele, Paris the 24th of April 1833; RA, 1626, 7.1-269: Akademiets kassebog 1813-1851, kasseregnskab no. 58 of the 2nd of July 1833.

38. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog, the 4th of November 1833. *David* is probably the sculptor Pierre-Jean David d’Angers.

<i>Required by the Academy - acquired</i>	Remarks	KA Reg. 1834	Louvre mould, Museum
1 Le Silene et le jeune Bacchus	-	Aa46	R289; Louvre, Ma 922
2 Le Gladiateur borghèse	Mould worn, already in KA		R210; Louvre, Ma 527
3 L'Achille borghèse	-	Aa56	R154; Louvre, Ma 866
4 L'Apolline	Mould worn, already in KA		R144; Uffizi 229
5 L'Adonis	-	Aa38	R124; Vatican 560
6 Le Faune en repos du Capitole	-	Aa47	R284; Capitole 739
7 Le petit Faune borghèse	-	Aa48	R281; Louvre, Ma 594
8 Le Discobole	Another copy of Vatican statue already in KA, the Mattei copy preferable		R187; Louvre, Ma 89
9 Jason, dit Cincinnatus	Too restored		R227; Louvre, Ma 83
10 Un fils de Niobe [Ilieneus]	-	Aa59	R261; Munich 270
11 Un Athlete [Boxer]	-	Aa63	R163; ?ex Arolsen
12 Le groupe des Lutteurs	-	Aa65	R239; Uffizi 216
13 Faune, portent un chevreuil	Mediocre, no mould		R-; Prado 29-E
14 Apollon Sauroctone de 5 pieds [Borghese]	Mediocre copy, the one in the Vatican preferable		R151; Louvre, Ma 441
15 La Genie de Repos éternel	Displeasing, expensive		R209; Louvre, Ma 435
16 La Venus accroupie		Aa34	R139; Louvre, Ma 53
17-20 Copies de Statues antiques [reduced] Venus from Milo	Inadequate for study, only decorative	Acq. in 1833 Aa27	R300; Louvre, Ma 399
21 Venus d'Arles [bust]	-	Ab22	R298; Louvre, Ma 439
22 Ariadne de Capitole [bust]	-		R-; Capitole 734
23 Mercure grec [bust]	-	?	R622?
24 Amour grec avec la tête [bust]	-		R696; Vatican 769
25 Jambes, Bras, Pieds & Mains	-		
26-48 Basreliefs du Parthenon	-	Ac01-03	R444 f. passim; Athens / London / Louvre
<i>Addenda</i>			
Le Mercure Assis	Splendid, most useful	Aa26	R245; Napoli 5625
14 Basreliefs – lanterne de Demosthene	Interesting	Ac06-19	R477; Athens
'Esculape' assis	Splendid	Aa73	R157; Munich 202
J. Henning "[4] cadre des copies des Basreliefs du Parthenon et du temple de Phigalie"	Excellent, cheap	-	R-; Göttingen 1990, nr. A 1560
Le basrelief de la Bacchante	Fine	Ac37	R331; Louvre, Ma 4658
Le basrelief de Jupiter, Junon et Thetis	Fine	Ac49	R364; Louvre, Ma 486
Le basrelief de Latone, Diane et Apollon	Fine	Ac57	R358; Louvre, Ma 683
Deux fragmens d'un autel triangulaire	-	Ac67a-b	R788; Louvre, Ma 672
Deux petite torses de femme (fragmens), ex Choiseul Gouffier	Beautiful	?	R?
<i>Wishes</i>			
Relief with Euripides, seated	Excellent work		R195; Louvre, Ma 343
Four or five minor Basreliefs Vase funéraire de Marathon	Remarkable with regard to execution and antiquarian interest	Acq. in 1833 Ac76	R818; Louvre, Ma 789

Fig. 3. Scheme of options and acquisitions of Brøndsted and Freund in Paris on behalf of the Academy, 1828.

Gunst der blossen Kunstliebhaber nicht eben vorzugsweise sich richtet.“³⁹

There are clearly three levels of quality: the Greek originals, the most famous of the Roman copies and the many pieces that are important for education but not really favoured by connoisseurs. The Bonner museum was partly a university study collection, partly a public museum, whereas the Academy collection was aimed primarily at artists and connoisseurs. The criteria of collecting may therefore have differed somewhat. The contents of the collections, however, were not that different. Between 1820 and 1827 four large consignments were furnished by Jacquet to Bonn, and the catalogue by Welcker in 1827, aimed at the general public, included many of the same pieces as in Copenhagen: all the Fauvel Parthenon casts, the Lysicrates frieze, and almost all of the Roman copies: le Siléne et le jeune Bacchus, l’Achille Borghése, l’Adonis, le Faune en repos du Capitol, le petit Faune Borghese, La Niobe fils, le groupe des Lutteurs, Venus d’Arles (bust), the 4 cadres contenant la copie des bas-reliefs d’Athenes et Phigalie, and the reliefs with Latone, Diane et Apollon and with Jupiter, Junon et Thétis.⁴⁰ However, both the Genie de Repos éternel and the small copies despised by Brøndsted and Freund were also purchased.

Ehrhardt has made the interesting observation that when it came to write for the public about the Greek originals like the Parthenon reliefs, Welcker had very little to say:⁴¹ two lines on the two Metopes and 24 on the 23 frieze slabs in contrast to 53 lines on the two above-mentioned reliefs with the Olympian gods. Apparently no scholarly, analytic discourse had yet evolved to be communicated to the public. Still, much could be explained about the history of the Parthenon and in general about the pictorial program. More

specifically Welcker could have explained that the figures on the plaster casts were in a better state than the originals. At some unknown time before 1818, when the Louvre acquired the Fauvel moulds, many details, heads, arms, legs, parts of drapery had been restored, a very interesting feature and characteristic of the 18th century.⁴² The Parthenon originals, however, were never touched – an important indication of the new esteem of originals. It is surprising that Brøndsted in his letter and elsewhere passes this by unnoticed.

In December 1826 Brøndsted had moulds and plaster casts produced of two marble heads in the Danish Royal Collection (inv. nos. ABb13-14), and in February 1827 he presented copies to the Academy and discussed them in some detail.⁴³ At that time he believed one of the heads to be female and could therefore only establish that “these fragments have belonged either to a frieze or a metope of an Athenian temple with a representation of the myth of the amazonomachia.” In the above-mentioned letter of May 27, 1828 to Christian Frederik he attributes them to the 8th metope showing a centaumachie (one of the 15 ones in the British Museum) on the south side of Parthenon. The same attribution recurs in his authoritative book on the Parthenon from 1830.⁴⁴ In this respect he was misled by the Carrey drawings from 1674 and apparently never tried to see if the heads fitted on the metopes. The keeper of antiquities at the British Museum Edward Hawkins and the sculptor Richard Westmacott did so in April 1831 and realized that the two heads (casts presented by Brøndsted in 1828) fitted on the 4th metope.⁴⁵ Brøndsted procured a cast of this metope for the Academy in 1832.⁴⁶

Brøndsted’s opinion of the relative value of marble originals and plaster casts appears from his letter to Christian Frederik from Paris of July 1830: “If the

39. Ehrhardt 1982, 25

40. Welcker 1827, pp. 104, 186 statues, busts and reliefs.

41. Ehrhardt 1982, 53, cf. also 61-62.

42. Beschi 1984, 320; Bauer & Geominy 2000, 167-173.

43. RA, 1626, 1.2-13: Journalsager 1827-1828, letter of the 24th of February 1827. See the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

44. Brøndsted 1826-1830a, II, 171ff., 200-202. Cf. the article by Martin Kreeb in this publication.

45. Jenkins 1992, 81. See the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

46. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 4th of June 1832, p. 339; RA, 1626, 7.1-269: Akademiets kassebog 1813-1851, kasseregnskab 1832, bilag 63, the 23rd of September 1832.



Fig. 4. Génie du Repos éternel, Louvre Ma 435.

government would transfer the two fragments to the Academy of Fine Arts, and the Academy then would dispose of them in favour of The British Museum in London, then, I believe, I can procure for the Academy as a remuneration a complete collection of all casts of

47. "Dersom Regjæringen vilde afstaae vort Academie for de skjønne Konster hine tvende Fragmenter, og Academiet saa disponere over dem i Faveur af det Britiske Museum i London, saa troer jeg nok der at kunne udvirke som Godtgjøreelse for Academiet at man spenderede for samme en complet Samling af alle Gibsafstøbninger af de Atheniensiske Marmorværker (en valeur af omtrent 500 sterl.), hvilken for vort Academie vilde være en stor Vinding, en sand Konstskat, som det maaskee ellers vil blive vanskeligt at erholde ...", RA, 202, 121-163, the 14th of July 1830.

the Athenian masterpieces (of a value of c. 500 £). This would constitute a great advantage for our Academy, a true art-treasure that otherwise hardly could be obtained."⁴⁷ The episode, however, is documented also in the archives of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum: "16th April 1831 Permission was given to Mr. Hawkins to communicate with the Director of the Royal Museum at Copenhagen on the subject of two heads belonging to the Metope ..., which, it was believed, might be had in Exchange for a set of the casts of the Metopes."⁴⁸ It appears that Brøndsted valued the Copenhagen marble originals much higher than the British did!

The prince's answer is not known and nothing happened, nor did a proposal in 1819 to exchange the Parthenon south metope no. 10, just acquired by the Louvre, for casts of the Elgin and other marbles lead to anything.⁴⁹

In 1833, the Academy asked Brøndsted for casts of Greek originals and in June 1833, 100 rigsbankdaler was paid for 44 Greek ornaments from the British Museum.⁵⁰ In 1835 Brøndsted was requested to buy for 200 rigsbankdaler Greek ornaments at his own choice.⁵¹ In a letter from Brøndsted to Christian Frederik of June 28, 1836 one gets an interesting insight in Brøndsted's thoroughness and his possible share in the establishment of an official plaster cast workshop in the British Museum – the third of its type after Paris in 1794 and Berlin 1818:⁵² Brøndsted had made a careful selection of terracotta reliefs from – amongst others – the Townley collection, but he argues to postpone the making of moulds until the autumn or the next year when the British Museum has established its own cast workshop, "for this purpose and especially to profit from the know-how and

48. Jenkins 1992, 81. See the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

49. Jenkins 1990, 103.

50. RA, 202, 121-163, letter from Christian Frederik, the 12th of June 1833; RA, 1626, 7.1-269: Akademiets kassebog 1813-1851, kasseregnskab 1833, no. 61.

51. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 29th of November 1835.

52. RA, 202, 121-163, letter the 28th of June 1836.

arrangement in the Louvre in Paris the director of British Museum's antique department and coin collection, Mr. Hawkins, traveled with me to Paris".⁵³ Hitherto one had to contract with a private former and one had a certain responsibility for the delicate objects to be copied. A museum workshop will have the responsibility and prices will be reduced to perhaps one third! – In fact, the British Museum established a cast service in 1836.⁵⁴ However, there is no evidence concerning the ornaments and terracottas requested by the Academy, and the order appears for unknown reasons never to have been fulfilled. The situation explains why N.L. Høyen's offer during a stay in London in 1835 to obtain "the missing Elgin marbles and other architectural works of art" came to nothing.⁵⁵ Brøndsted was more successful with the acquisition of casts in plaster and sulphur of Greek coins for the "Copy-Room" of The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, of which he was director from 1832. Only four days before the letter to Christian Frederik he could report the near completion of many casts, and, in fact, that year (1836) he was able to enlarge the study collection with 4,544 casts. When he died in 1842, it comprised c. 10,000 casts of coins mainly from the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁵⁶

Embellishment of the Coin Cabinet

In 1838, Brøndsted was concerned with casts on his own initiative. He wanted to embellish The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Rosenborg Castle that had been established in 1781 in three rooms, the Greek, the Roman and the Danish room. They were equipped with cabinets by Johannes Wiedewelt, professor at the Academy, and decorated with golden lions in plaster made by Domenico Maria Gianelli, cast-

maker at the Academy (fig. 5), and with egyptianizing sphinxes and portrait medallions of the Danish kings by a pupil of Wiedewelt, the sculptor C.F. Kindgren. In the 1830s, two more rooms were added, to house i.a. the study collection. In 1835 regular opening hours for the public were established and a guidebook prepared.⁵⁷ Brøndsted explained his plans to his chief, Count C.O. von Haxthausen, in August 1838: "The other matter ... is about a *more dignified and beautiful decoration* of the main room of the Cabinet. In fact, the ornament (from the time of Wiedewelt, about 50 years ago) of a lot of small *lion figures* on the large cabinets, and above them on the wall flat medallions, are just as shabby and embarrassing as the cabinets, designed by Abildgaard[!], are beautiful and most appropriate. This is clear to everybody and I have always, from the first day I entered the Coin Cabinet as a civil servant, wished to replace this dull lion-repetition with *bronzed plaster casts of beautiful ancient busts*. With the help of professor Freund I made a first effort of this last week on one of the cabinets in the Danish room. I placed three splendid ancient busts, and because the effect is extremely beautiful I should hereby most respectfully propose to accomplish it throughout and later, on the forthcoming auction, to sell the foolish animals that so far have disfigured the handsome room. To realize this, in fact, *seven big and sixteen smaller bronzed plaster casts* are needed. After having gone through all ancient busts in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts ... together with Professor Freund and made my selection and made an estimate together with the cast-maker [of the Academy, F.] Pierri, I am certain that *the entire beautiful decoration of all the cabinets in the Coin Cabinet can be accomplished at the cost of 185-190 Rigsbankdaler*, an amount smaller than what will be at hand as a part of

53. Loc.cit. "just for denne Hensigt, især for at benytte de Erfaringer og Indretninger man har i le Louvre i Paris rejste Forstanderen for det Brit: Museums Antique Gallerie og Myntcabinet hr Hawkins med mig til Paris.". The primary purpose of the journey, though, was to attend the Durand sale, see the article by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen in this publication.

54. Jenkins 1990, 104; Jenkins 1992, 36.

55. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 1st of July 1835; RA, 1626, 1.2-17: journalsager 1833-1835, letter the 15th of June 1835.

56. Brøndsted 1980; Mørkholm 1981, 142; See the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.

57. Horsnæs forthcoming; Märcher forthcoming.



Fig. 5. One of Johannes Wiedewelt's cabinets from c. 1783 with bronzed plaster lions by Domenico Gianelli. Photo by Sophus Bengtsson, c. 1940, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals.

the auction income. But before I write to the Art Academy and ask for permission to have casts made of the selected busts, I shall herewith beg for the timely acceptance from the director, the more so because I, of course, wish to accomplish the planned change of decoration *before* the frequent visits in the cabinet due to the auction in September ...”⁵⁸

The permission was granted, the Academy was formally approached with a list of the desired busts only two days after,⁵⁹ and on the 27th of August, the Academy answered favourably. In May 1839 the following announcement was inserted in the *Berlingske Tidende*: “*The Royal Coin and Medal Cabinet* That recently has been furnished with an enlarged exhibition of coins and the rooms of which have been embellished with bronzed plaster casts of Ancient busts, will open again to the public Saturday, 25 May at noon, ...

Brøndsted, Director”⁶⁰

We have several means to reconstruct the group of busts in question, though not completely – cf. the scheme (fig. 6):

1) Brøndsted and Freund selected 23 *busts* from the Antique in the Academy (fig. 7).

2) Later the same month was added a bust of Thorvaldsen by H.W. Bissen, no. 16.⁶¹

58. RA, 216 (archive no. 216: Det Kgl. Mønt- og Medaillekabinet 1718-1849), Indkomne breve, 1840, p. 60, the 5th of August 1838: “Den anden Sag ..., angaaer en ædelere og skjønnere Decoration af Cabinetets Hovedlocale. At nemlig den Forsiring (som tilblev i Wiedewelt’s Tid, for omtrent 50 Aar siden) af en Mængde smaa Løvefigurer paa de store Armoires, og paa Muren bag ved flat placerede Medaillons over samme, er ligesaa mesquin og flau, som Myntskabene selv, til hvilke Abildgaard gav Tegningen, ere smukke og meget passende, indseer Enhver, og jeg har stedse, fra den første Time jeg indtraadte i Cabinetet som dets Embedsmand, ønsket at kunne remplace denne kjædsommelige Løverepetition med bronzerede Afstøbninger i Gibs af skjønne antike Buser. Ved Professor Freund’s Hjelp forsøgte jeg dette i forrige Uge for det Første med eet af den danske Sals Armoires, paa hvilket jeg placerede tre herlige antike Buser, og da Virkningen er overordentlig skjøn saa bør jeg herved allerærbødigst foreslaae, at udføre det Hele paa denne Maade og siden, paa vor forestaaende Auction at sælge de ufornuftige Dyr, som hidtil vansirede det smukke Locale. Men til Udførelse heraf behøves syv store og sexten mindre bronzerede Gibsafstøbninger.

3) In the Inventory of the Coin Cabinet of 1840 28 *busts* are mentioned: five in the Roman room, 15 in the Danish room, three in the Greek room and five in the copy room.⁶²

4) Photographs of the three rooms in the old exhibition of the Coin Collection in the Prinsens Palais (1867-1932) show 15 *busts*. Five of these are not preserved. The plan of the exhibition makes the size of the cabinets along the invisible walls known. There were presumably altogether at least 21 *busts*, but 23 are also possible:

Fig. 8. The 1st room (Greek and Roman coins) with eight *busts*, nos. 1-8. For the sake of symmetry one more *bust* can be assumed to the right on the cabinet along the long wall and one or three more on the cabinet along the 4th wall.

Fig. 9. The 2nd room (foreign medals and medieval coins) with four *busts*, nos. 9-12, and one assumed *bust* on the cabinet along the 4th wall.

Fig. 10. The 3rd room with Danish coins and medals and with three *busts*, nos. 13-15, and, for the sake of symmetry, three *busts* assumed on the cabinet along the 4th wall.

5) Photograph from the Coin Collection in the new (present) premises (1938) show only 1 *bust*, no. 17 (neither seen on the other photographs nor preserved).

Efter at have gennemseet i disse dage med Professor Freund alle antike Buser som det Kongelige Akademie for de skjønne Konster ejer, og derefter gjort mit Udvalg og mit Overslag med Afstøberen hr Pierri, er jeg kommen til vished om, at den hele skjønne Decoration af alle Myntcabinetets Armoires vil kunne udføres med en udgift af 185 til 190 Rigsbankdaler, hvortil meer end tilstrækkelig Ressource synes snart at ville blive forhaanden ved en Deel af Auctionsbeløbet. Men inden jeg corresponderer med Konstacademiet om Tilladelse til at foranstalte Afstøbninger af de udvalgte Buser, bør jeg herved udbede mig Chefens Tilladelse til i denne Henseende at foranstalte det Fornødne; og jeg attraaer Chefens betimelige Indvilgelse saa meget mere som jeg naturligvis, maa ønske, at kunne udføre den tilsigtede Decorationsforandring inden de hyppige Besøg i Cabinetets Locale, hvilke Auctionen i September vil foranledige ...”

59. The 9th of August 1838 – not preserved.

60. Märcher forthcoming.

61. RA, 1626, 1.1-25: Dagbog 1838-1840, the 19th of September 1838.

62. RA, 216, Indkomne Breve, 1837-1841, 169-171.

Room	No.	KAS	1834	MODEL	IDENTIFICATION	MUSEUM	FRITEKST
1	1	Dep427	Ab14	KAS274	Bust. From the statue "Pallas or Minerva from Velletri"	Paris, Louvre Ma 115	Lange 1866, no. 96; LIMC II, 1984, 1078-1080, no. 36.
1	2	Dep432	Ab16	KAS2181	Bust. From the statue "Apollo Belvedere"	Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere	Lange 1866, no. -; Helbig I, 1963, no. 226; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 8.
1	3	Dep424	Ab08	-	Face-mask from the bust "Jupiter Oticoli"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala Rotonda	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 77 bust; Helbig I no. 33.
1	4	-	-	-	Bust. From the statue "Diana from Versailles"	Paris, Louvre Ma 589	Lange 1866, no. 92 statue; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 30.
1	5	Dep428	Ab30	-	Bust. of "Commedia"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala Rotonda	Lange 1866, no. 373; Helbig I, 1963, no. 60.
1	6	Dep423	Ab32	KAS1540	Bust. From the statue "Hercules Farnese"	Napoli, Museo Archeologico 6001	Lange 1866, no. 144; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 46.
1	7	Dep433	Ab11	KG130	Face-mask "Juno Ludovisi", Antonia Minor?	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano	Lange 1866, no. 82; Helbig III, 1969, no. 2341; Kjerrman et al. (eds.) 2004, 375.
1	8	Dep422	Ab43	KAS1513	Bust. From the statue "Antinous Braschi"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala Rotonda	Lange 1866, no. 382; Helbig I, 1963 no. 34.
2	9	Dep480	Aa39	KAS257	Bust. From the statue/torso "Eros Centocelle"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino	Lange 1866, no. 117 statue; Helbig I, 1963, no. 116.
2	10	-	Ab76	-	Head of young man, Hermes?, looking down towards his left	Wiltshire, Bowood House?	Lange 1866, no. -; Simm 1981, no. 884 Taf. 13c.; ; Bauer & Geominy 2000, 123 Abb. 80.
2	11	-	Ab81	-	Bust. Young man with short beard, from the group "The blinding of Polyphemus"	Berlin 1329. Destroyed 1943	Lange 1866, no. 161; Conticello, Andraea and Bol 1974, 65 cat. 1, 2.1 pl. 49-51; Bauer and Geominy 2000, 155-158, Cat. 37.
2	12	-	Aa69	-	Head. From the statue "Capitoline Antinous"	Rome, Musei Capitolini	Lange 1866, no. -; Helbig II, 1966, no. 1424; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 74.
3	13	Dep417	1809: 85	-	Bust. "Ariadne", "Leukothea", Dionysos.	Rome, Musei Capitolini 734	Lange 1866, no. 128; Helbig II, 1966, no. 1430.
3	14	-	Ab22	KG1130	Bust. From the statue "Venus from Arles"	Paris, Louvre Ma 127	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 105; Kjerrman et al. (eds.) 2004, 338.
3	15	Dep429	1809: 76	KAS34	Bust. From the statue "Apollo Musageles"	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala delle Muse	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 84; Helbig I, 1963, no. 82.
?	16	-	Nb3-4	KS 312-13	Portrait (herm) of Thorvaldsen by H.W. Bissen 1831.	KA KS 312 (marble), KS 313 (plaster)	Charlottenborg Udstilling 1833 no. 223; Rostруп II, 1945 no. 57.
?	17	-	-	-	Bust. Hermes with winged petasus by H.E. Freund(?)	-	Oppermann 1916, 61-63
-	18	Dep418	? Ab59	KAS289	Bust. Portrait of Domitilla? wife of Vespasianus	Rome, Musei Capitolini	Lange 1866, no. -; Helbig II, 1966 no. 1286.
-	19	Dep419	-	-	Bust. Homer	?	Lange 1866, no. -; Close to Napoli 6023.
-	20	Dep420	Ab49	-	Bust. Portrait of Socrates	?	Painting by Nickelsen 1841, Zahle 2004, cat. 28; Lange 1866, no. 193.
-	21	Dep421	Ab34	KAS1512	Bust. Niobe from the statue of Niobe with her youngest daughter	Firenze, Uffizi 294	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 151; Haskell & Penny 1981, no. 66.
-	22	Dep425	Ab54	-	Bust. Roma with Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf on the sides of the helmet	Paris, Louvre Ma 547	Clarac 170 pl. 1100; Lange 1866 no. 101.
-	23	Dep426	Ab18	KAS281	Head. Hermes with wingless petasus	Wiltshire, Bowood House	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 123; Bauer & Geominy 2000, 124 Abb. 81.
-	24	Dep430	1793: 77; Ab51	-	Bust. Portrait of a man with short beard, "Diogenes"	?	Lange 1866, no. -; Cf. Boehringer 1979, 113 no. 63 "Philosoph", ex Ferrari; Fittschen 1990, A 609, A 611, pl. 43; recent variant of A 1445 "Diogenes", ibid. pl. 42.
-	25	Dep431	Ab33	KAS64	Bust of Hercules	London, British Museum 1732	Painting by Richardt c. 1839; Zahle 2004, cat. 27; Lange 1866, no. 147; LIMC IV 1988, 749 no. 364, pl. 469.

Fig. 6. List of the busts, partly seen on the photographs, figs. 8-10. Nos.1-16 are preserved in the Royal Cast Collection, the whereabouts of nos. 17-25 are not known.



Fig. 7. A studio, "Malerstuen", in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, room F in the plan (fig. 14), with plaster busts and a cupboard with minor objects, amongst other things anatomical casts. J.F. Richardt (c. 1839). The 'Weber-Laborde' head is no. 4 from the left on the lower shelf. The Thorvaldsen Museum, Inv. B 284.

It is flanked by Gianelli's lions which were not sold and which again from 1938 decorate Wiedewelt's cabinets in the Coin Collection. None of the other busts appear on other photographs; consequently by that time they had been relegated to a depot.

6) In 1988, 19 busts were transferred to The Royal Cast Collection (fig. 11). Nine of these are not documented in the photographs.⁶³

The busts were painted to imitate bronze. A fine bronze-like lustre is well-preserved on the Eros Centocelle (no. 9 in the scheme). On the rest, however, the lustre is to a high degree covered by dark paint that cannot but derive from repairs.

Altogether 25 busts are thus documented; see the scheme (fig. 6). Most of them appear in the inventory of the Academy from 1834, some are depicted in contemporary paintings (fig. 7), and 11 of the collection's busts that were copied are preserved today. The discrepancy between the 28 busts in the inventory of the coin cabinet in 1840 and the only 23 ordered in 1838 cannot but mean that Brøndsted ordered them subsequently. In fact, we know he asked for one extra, no. 2), above. Both nos. 16-17 are post-antique and this may have been the case also with the last three.

The group of the ancient busts is interesting in many respects, not least because it enables us to identify

63. Zahle 1993, 98-99.



Fig. 8. Room 1 in the exhibition in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medal c. 1930.

eight busts in the Academy collection. But more important in the present context is the fact that we can perceive what Brøndsted and Freund judged would embellish the Coin Cabinet in the eyes of the general public. Except one or two, all of the busts are antique and belong to the category of 'ideal sculpture' of gods, semi-gods and athletes besides a few portraits of famous Greeks (nos. 19-20) or idealized portraits (nos. 7, 8 and 18). One piece (no. 24) is an 18th century work. No portraits of Roman emperors were selected although there were some in the Academy's collection. Noticeable is also the absence of the much admired Greek originals: heads from the Parthenon, the 'Weber-Laborde' head or the two male ones in the Royal Collection from a metope. In fact, the choice of deco-

orative busts by Brøndsted and Freund conformed wholly to the third 'Bonner' category of antique sculpture (see above), i.e. pieces that are important for education and have public appeal.

Brøndsted's achievement

Brøndsted appears appreciative throughout of the value of plaster casts for documentation, study and the experience of art and for their educational value. Whether working on his own initiative or at the request of others, he appears highly qualified in both artistic and technical matters. However, when it comes to an appraisal of his formative influence on the Academy's



Fig. 9. Room 2 in the exhibition in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medal c. 1930.

collection of casts there is some uncertainty. Brøndsted was definitely not alone on the scene.

Without doubt, Christian Frederik was very competent and deeply involved – and he was a passionate collector. He owned a list of the casts of the Elgin marbles executed in 1817 by the sculptor Richard Westmacott and undoubtedly their acquisition in 1819 was due to him. It is presently not known, however, whether he got them as a gift from King George IV, who at that time presented them to the courts of Prussia, Tuscany,

Naples and to Pope Pius VII; or whether he bought them as did the courts at St. Petersburg, Bavaria and Wurttemberg (see above).⁶⁴ As King of Hanover, George IV, likewise most generously provided casts of both the Parthenon sculptures and slabs of the Phigaleia frieze to his own University of Göttingen in 1830.⁶⁵ Other institutions like the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn had great difficulties in getting hold of such precious pieces.⁶⁶

Brøndsted collaborated throughout with his friend,

64. Jenkins 1990, 102.

65. Fittschen 1990, 12, 57 no. A 151-152, 155, 157-158, 159(?), 163-164, 177; 71 no. A 240-241.

66. Ehrhardt 1982, 25, 41, 45, 46, 65, 106, 118, 119, 132, 133.



Fig. 10. Room 3 in the exhibition in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medal c. 1930.

the sculptor Hermann Ernst Freund: in Rome in the early 1820s, in Paris in 1828 and again in Copenhagen in 1838. In letters written on his way to Rome in 1817-1818 Freund described the marvelous gallery with the Mengs' cast collection in Dresden, and in the Uffizi in Florence he forgot time and place in admiration of the Venus Medici, the Apollino, the Wrestlers, the Faun and the "Arrotino" (a Scythian whetting his knife).⁶⁷ His passion for ancient sculpture is described at some length by the author Carsten Hauch, who in 1826-1827

67. Oppermann 1916, 37.

lived in the same Roman house (Thorvaldsen's) as he did. Together and accompanied by Johann Martin von Wagner, they visited many museums and he noted their insights and preferences:⁶⁸ "Twice a week I visited the Vatican. It surprised me to learn that the masterpieces, which for long have been reckoned as the very best – like Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoon-group – are now no longer of the first category, and that art-works had been discovered that even surpassed them with regard to purity and noble style. I had a striking instance

68. Hauch 1871, 213-, 220-, 253, 256-258.

69. Hauch 1871, 220.

70. Hauch 1871, 221-222.



Fig. 11. A selection of the busts chosen by Brøndsted and Freund for The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals and now preserved in the Royal Cast Collection, nos. 20, 13, 18, 22, 21, 24 in the list fig. 6.

of it when I saw the so-called Lord Elgin's marbles (though in plaster casts) and the remnants of the bas-reliefs from the Parthenon."⁶⁹ "When I saw for the first time the colossal torsos that are called Lord Elgin's marbles both Freund and Wagner accompanied me. Wagner looked at them untiringly and especially expressed his admiration for one of these art-works, the body of which is somewhat turned to one side. 'From an anatomical point of view one or two objections could be made,' he said, 'but the genius with which it has been made and the life and the play of muscles that has been created, hardly find a parallel in any art-work we know of,'..."⁷⁰

Freund's opinion is not reported by Hauch, but from

his oeuvre the profound impact of the Parthenon frieze is clearly recognized, especially from his "Ragnarok" frieze for the Christiansborg Castle (1841).⁷¹ As portrayed by Hauch he was more 'traditional' and more absorbed by the wide range of art expressions in the Roman museums. His passion for the finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum in Museo Borbonico in Naples is well known from the arrangement of his residence as a "Little Italy" in Pompeian style.⁷²

Immediately after Freund's return to Denmark in 1828 the Antique or Figure Hall of the Academy was completely renovated and further rooms facing the Kongens Nytorv were taken in (figs. 12-14). In the southern room casts of the Greek originals were

71. Monrad 1986.

72. See Gelfer-Jørgensen 2004, ch. III; the article by Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen in this publication.



Fig. 12. The south part of the Antique or Figure Hall of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in the mid 1830s. Montage of paintings by an unknown painter (1830s) and P.H. Gemzøe (1835). Private collections in Switzerland and Denmark. Montage: Jakob Vaagholt.

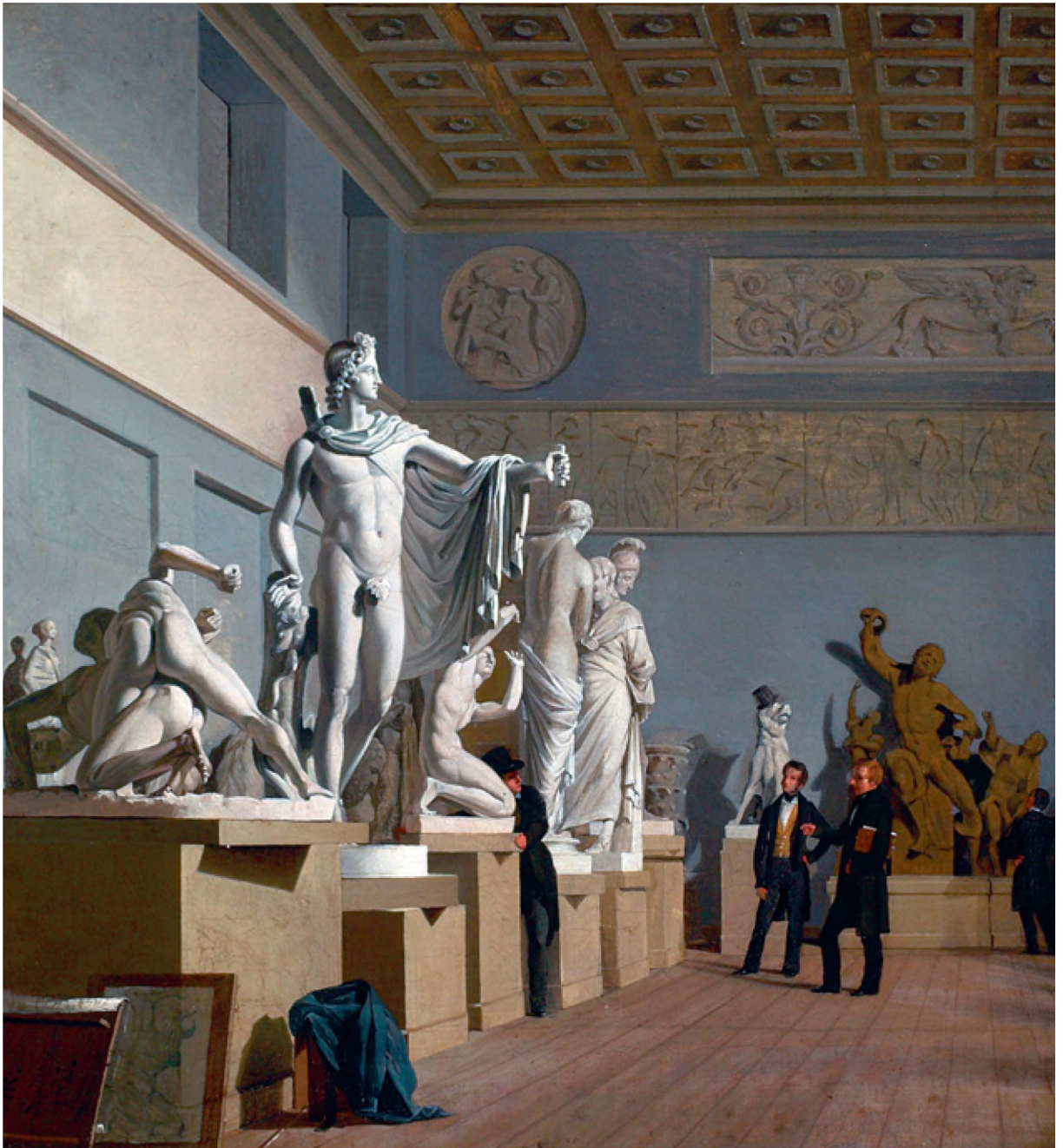


Fig. 13. The northwest part of the Antique or Figure Hall of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 1837.
P.H. Rasmussen (1837). Private Collection, Denmark.

placed: the Aegina and Parthenon sculptures and the Venus from Milo together with a few other new acquisitions. The Antique Hall was devoted to 'the grand tradition' that had developed since the early 16th century, with casts of famous statues in Italian public and private collections. The statues (of varying sizes) were placed in two freestanding rows and – together with busts – all along the four walls; reliefs were only put on the end walls (Greek, Roman, Thorvaldsen). In the northern room, the 'modern' art was placed: works by Thorvaldsen. The concept ingeniously combines an overall (but not detailed) stylistic development with a separation of Greek originals and Roman copies and is, in fact, very advanced for the time. A glance at the exhibition in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn makes this clear: here the statues were placed in five rows as counterparts according to motive, style or size. The governing principle was aesthetic and intrinsic rather than chronological.⁷³ The professors of the Academy were responsible for the new exhibition in Copenhagen, and we have no written sources telling about their deliberations. Whether Brøndsted contributed is not known, and from mid 1827 to 1832 he was not in Denmark. In 1835 Freund acquired casts from Berlin, and the same year he took charge of the Academy's casts, hitherto watched over by the secretary.⁷⁴

Brøndsted had a keen interest in the fine arts and he belonged to the international scholarly elite. Personally, as a scholar and an agent he used and encouraged the uses of plaster casts. Beyond doubt he was a stim-

ulating and most experienced partner in the building up of the Academy's cast collection. He appears representative for the very beginning of archaeology and art history as well-defined professions. In his occupation with Greek originals (the Parthenon) he was *avant garde*, but in his selection of casts for the Coin Cabinet he was traditional, perhaps due to a desire to please the public. In fact, as noted by Ian Jenkins, the Parthenon sculptures only became widely admired in the 1860s,⁷⁵ without, however, rendering the bulk of the statues of 'the grand tradition' superfluous. Their co-existence in great national plaster cast collections of the second half of the 19th century was yet to come.

Finally, one may speculate about how Brøndsted would have acted if he had become director of the cast collection. Judging from his efforts as director of the Royal Coin Cabinet he would certainly have built up a much larger collection for study and also for the education of the public. Already three years after his appointment in the cabinet it was re-organized, and its scholarly *apparatus* greatly enlarged.⁷⁶ The exhibition was improved and a catalogue for the public was produced. Certainly Brøndsted would have published a catalogue as F.G. Welcker did in Bonn in 1827 with a 2nd edition in 1841 and a supplement in 1844,⁷⁷ but after his death in 1842 it was left to the young Julius Lange to publish the casts after the antique in the Royal Academy, 1866. In the meantime, Ludwig Müller had published a catalogue of the newly installed collection of casts after the antique in the Thorvaldsen Museum in 1850.⁷⁸

73. Ehrhardt 1982, 47-52 with plan Abb. 2-3.

74. RA, 1626, 1.1-22: Dagbog 1828-1835, the 25th of January 1835 and the 10th of August 1835.

75. Jenkins 1992, 37-38.

76. Cf. above and the articles by Nadia Haupt and Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.

77. Welcker 1827; Ehrhardt 1982, 47-56.

78. Lange 1866, Müller 1850.

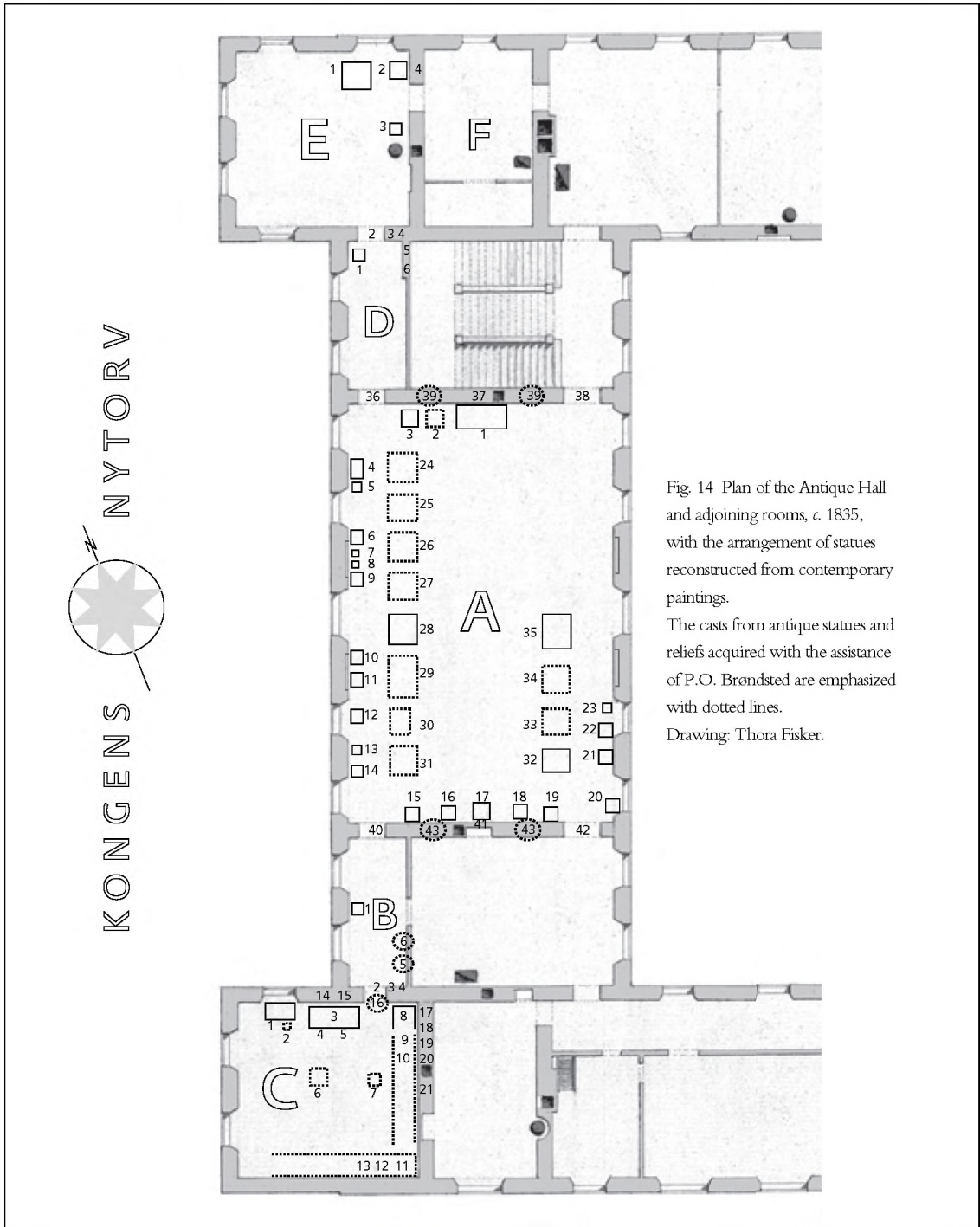


Fig. 14 Plan of the Antique Hall and adjoining rooms, c. 1835, with the arrangement of statues reconstructed from contemporary paintings.

The casts from antique statues and reliefs acquired with the assistance of P.O. Brøndsted are emphasized with dotted lines.

Drawing: Thora Fisker.

A ANTIQUE HALL		B SOUTH CORRIDOR	
A 1	The Laocoon group	B 1	Calyx crater
A 2	Mastiff or Molossus dog		South wall
A 3	Barberini Candelabrum	B 2	Hector's Death by H.W. Bissen
A 4	Venus Callipygus	B 3	Relief with a Hore?
A 05	Head of Hercules Farnese	B 4	The Giustiniani Stele
A 06	Head of Marcus Aurelius' horse		East wall
A 07	Unidentified head or bust	B 5	Several figures from the Sebaldus monument, Nuremberg?
A 08	Unidentified head or bust	B 6	Slabs of the Lysicrates monument frieze?
A 09	Ceres Mattei		
A 10	Venus Medici	C SOUTH ROOM	
A 11	Head of Antinous Braschi	C 1	Unidentified statue
A 12	Statue, Capitoline Venus?	C 2	Bust of Venus from Arles
A 13a	Head of Melpomene	C 3	Ilissos from the west pediment of Parthenon
A 13b	Jupiter Otricoli	C 4	Head of Pollux
A 14	Capitoline Isis	C 5	Unidentified bust
A 15	Venus Callipygus	C 6	Venus from Milo
A 16	Candelabrum, Louvre	C 7	Crouching Venus, Louvre
A 17	Bust of Frederik V by J.-F. Saly	C 8	Poseidon from the west pediment of Parthenon
A 18	Candelabrum, Vatican	C 9-13	Warriors from the pediments of the temple of Aphaia in Aegina
A 19	Bacchante		North wall
A 20	Artemis, restored as Ceres by Thorvaldsen	C 14a	Parthenon, metope south 27
A 21	Juno Ludovisi	C 14b	Combat, the 'Albani Relief'
A 22	Capitoline Antinous	C 15	Female head from grave stele
A 23	Head of Antinous as Bacchus	C 16	Apollo, Artemis and Leto at a sacrifice with Victoria
A 24	Ares Borghese		East wall
A 25	Aeschines	C 17	Grave relief from Thespieae
A 26	Venus from Capua	C 18-20	Unidentified reliefs
A 27a	Psyche by G. Cali	C 21	Apollo, Artemis and Leto towards column with statuette of goddess
A 27b	Iloneus		
A 28	Apollo Belvedere	D NORTH CORRIDOR	
A 29	The Wrestlers	D 1	Portrait of Cicero by Thorvaldsen
A 30	Adonis Centocelle		North wall
A 31	Silenus with the Infant Bacchus	D 2	The Apostles Peter and Johannes healing a Lame by Thorvaldsen
A 32	Germanicus	D 3	The Genius of Death by Thorvaldsen
A 33	Capitoline Marble Faun	D 4	The Disciples at Emmaus by Thorvaldsen
A 34	Seated Mercury		East wall
A 35	Perseus by Canova	D 5	Count Lambertenghi and two children mourning by Thorvaldsen
	North Wall	D 6	Three singing angels by Thorvaldsen
A 36	Tondo with Hercules and Hebe by Thorvaldsen		
A 37	Part of frieze of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina	E NORTH ROOM	
A 38	Tondo with Hygiea and Aesculapius by Thorvaldsen	E 1	Amor Triumphans by Thorvaldsen
A 39	Parthenon, west frieze X 18-19, XII 22-23; north XLVI-XLVII 128-136; east VI-VII 41-56	E 2	Portrait of I.C. Dahl by Thorvaldsen
	South Wall	E 3	Venus with the Apple by Thorvaldsen
A 40	Tondo with Minerva and Prometheus by Thorvaldsen	E 4	Unidentified relief
A 41	SS Apostoli Eagle in Wreath		
A 42	Tondo with Jupiter and Nemesis by Thorvaldsen		
A 43	Parthenon, west frieze II-IX 2-9,11-17		

Fig. 14.