

P.O. Brøndsted's relations to the Danish literary, artistic, national and political revival

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Introduction: Brøndsted and the so-called Golden Age of Denmark

Peter Oluf Brøndsted (fig. 1) and his works were important in the cultural life of the so-called *Danish Golden Age*. Contemporary writers actually sometimes used this expression, although the honest and decent scientist Hans Christian Ørsted in the heyday of the era didn't like it at all. He wrote to Adam Oehlenschläger about "... the foolish conceit by which many writers would make our time a *Golden Age*".¹ But Brøndsted was a dedicated and most learned lover of Greek Antiquity and the Greece of his days. He had a knowledge of – and a feeling for – Greece, and as he communicated both scholarship and sentiments successfully to his contemporaries we may be allowed to call his contribution to the *Zeitgeist* a golden one. He played his part in the construction of a Danish Philhellenism, the development of classical scholarship, and even of the decorative arts in Denmark. His books were well printed and often beautifully illustrated, quite apart from their scholarly contributions. Only these high standards could satisfy his taste for the perfect. Brøndsted is a person worth knowing.

When I saw the list of participants of the symposium

and the titles of the papers I decided that some modest glimpse of the *parish pump* of Copenhagen with its rural dependencies in the first half of the 19th Century might be a subject of some interest in the present context, especially to non-Danish speakers since much of the material concerning Brøndsted, in spite of the efforts of Ejnar Dyggve, Otto Mørkholm, Ida Haugsted and Jacob Isager among others, is still available only in Danish.²

This essay is centered around the period after Brøndsted's return to Denmark in 1813 from his travels in Greece, and the period after his second return in 1832 until his death in 1842.³ My intention is to relate very briefly some incidents of Brøndsted's life in Copenhagen and to write about some of his very many friends and relations in Denmark. Of course his personality and personal preferences cannot be omitted from a narrative like this.

The famous European connections of Brøndsted are well known: Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, George Gordon Lord Byron, and Brøndsted's fellow travellers in Greece (as well as the other classical philologists and archaeologists of his time). In his own copy of the first volume of *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland* (1826), now in the Royal Library of

1. Nørregård-Nielsen 1994, 29.

2. Dyggve 1943, 139-149; Mørkholm 1981, 138-148; Haugsted 1996, 11-45; Brøndsted 1999.

3. The article in general is based upon the biographies in DBL 1 and DBL 3. And upon Brøndsted 1844b; Brøndsted 1850; Brøndsted 1926; Troels-Lund 1920-1922, I; Andersen 2005.



Fig. 1. Portrait of P.O. Brøndsted, oil on canvas, signed by C.A. Jensen, 1827. (Mikala Brøndsted, cat. No. 7).

Copenhagen, he carefully noted the opinions of some of his learned critics – Goethe and the classical philologists August Böckh and Georg Friedrich Creuzer.⁴

Brøndsted's Copenhagen

Brøndsted knew almost everybody of any importance in Danish cultural and political life in the first half of the 19th Century, including Royalty. Making acquaintances was never a difficult task for Brøndsted who possessed a well-developed social intelligence.

But there is more to it than that. Brøndsted's Copenhagen was a small town and the University likewise a small one. All those with an academic education or with roots in the group of wealthy merchants or landed gentry knew each other, or were related. You would as a rule have to be at least superficially friendly even to someone with whom you absolutely disagreed, but you could also have literary feuds as a part of the social game.

A small example from 1828-29 concerning scholarship and theological controversy must suffice. The learned theologian, Semitic scholar and numismatist Jacob Christian Lindberg was a strong and definitely a quarrelsome adherent to a *schismatic* part of the Danish Church, centered around the charismatic figure of Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig. Both were opposed to rationalism, deism, the beginnings of liberal theology and in general to the official order of the Danish Church. Brøndsted's friend, the theologian and, from 1834, bishop of Sealand Jacob Peter Mynster, found both Grundtvig, his cousin by adoption, and the rude Lindberg absolutely abhorrent as did most of the bishops and professors of theology of the time. The professor Henrik Nicolaj Clausen called Lindberg "A

psychological Peculiarity"⁵, and that was not meant kindly at all. In 1828 Clausen's friend, the professor *extraordinarius* in theology Mathias Hagen Hohlenberg, like Lindberg a Semitic philologist, denied Lindberg access to a Phoenician inscription of which he had a transcript which Lindberg needed for his master's thesis. Lindberg of course knew that Brøndsted was a friend of Mynster, a professorial colleague of Hohlenberg, and moreover Brøndsted *had* to be Lindberg's theological opponent.

But Lindberg appealed for Brøndsted's help. And Brøndsted in Paris immediately provided a new and better copy of the text from the original. Mynster was always Brøndsted's friend no matter what. Judging by their letters they respected each other's decisions. Brøndsted actually – and with good reason – admired Lindberg's learning and cooperated with him in numismatic studies even if they disagreed in other matters. Brøndsted thought that Lindberg needed his help and that Hohlenberg had not behaved in accordance with Brøndsted's own view of the high calling of a genuine scholar. Lindberg replied in one of his numerous polemical pamphlets praising Brøndsted highly for his generosity while bestowing learned but almost insultingly formulated blows on Hohlenberg. Brøndsted, however, was not happy at all with Lindberg's triumphant reaction and wrote him a reproachful letter: Lindberg had to extinguish *the Volcanoes of Hatred and Zealotism* and exchange them with the *Springs of Love, Justice and Equity* and stop being a *Rebuking Guest*. If not, Brøndsted would not see him anymore in spite of Lindberg's great gift for scholarship. Lindberg obviously reformed,⁶ because Brøndsted actually employed him as an assistant in 1835 at the collection of coins and medals.

4. The Royal Library/Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen), New Royal Collection/Ny kongelig Samling, 1448 2°: Peter Oluf Brøndsted, *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland nebst Darstellung und Erklärung vieler neuentdeckten Denkmäler griechischen Stils, und einer kritischen Übersicht aller Unternehmungen dieser Art, von Pausanias bis auf unsere Zeiten*. Erstes Buch. Paris, 1826 (with figures, illustrations, maps etc.).

This copy also contains Brøndsted's later handwritten comments to his original text.

5. Quotation from H.N. Clausen in Clausen 1877, 117.

6. Lindberg 1829; Baagø 1958, 128-130; Mørkholm 1981, 209. Cf. also the articles by Nadia Haupt and Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication.

In spite of the feuds, you would be either family or colleague and would almost always meet *the others* at parties in private homes, or publicly at the University, at the University Library, or from 1793 in the likewise public Royal Library, The Royal Theatre or wherever decent people met. Copenhagen was a provincial town with a rather strict code of conduct, but the code could be slightly altered if you had the necessary social skills and – just as necessary – social position.

Brøndsted became a man of the world and stood out as such at an early age. It is my impression that he actually could provoke the *bourgeois* and the intellectual public of Copenhagen – especially when people found him self-assertive or thought that his noted *procrastination* was too extensive.⁷ He had been habitually late from his early youth: even his essay as a student in order to obtain the *Gold Medal* of the University was delivered too late. His literary first appearance in the *University Journal* of 1801, edited by the professor *eloquentiae* Jacob Baden, two brief texts on the description of Achilles' and Hercules' shields *according to Homer and Hesiod* – a spin-off from the essay – was of course also delayed.⁸ Later on, as a member of the Bible-Society and the Commission to make a new translation of the New Testament he was given the privilege of always being late, as is related by his biographer and old friend Bishop Mynster.⁹

When it comes to social coherence of this all-encompassing community it must be noted that the general death rate in Danish society was high at the beginning of the 19th Century. A rather large proportion of the population was consequently raised by stepparents, relatives or friends of the family. This phenomenon included all layers of society with the result that even in a *bourgeois* setting there existed networks of people

with different names who had been brought up together as children. This strengthened the social web.¹⁰

Brøndsted provides a typical example. After his wife's untimely death in 1818 at 28 years of age, he sent his children to be brought up by the Aagaard family at Iselingen (fig. 2), where they spoke of "Father Brøndsted" and "Father Aagaard".¹¹ Frederikke and Marie, Brøndsted's and Aagaard's wives, were twin sisters of Brøndsted's friend, co-student and co-traveller Georg Koës. They for their part had been raised by the vicar-family Winther together with Koës' fiancée Caroline Falck. In that respect, they had a close relationship with the son of the house, the later poet and short story author Christian Winther, whose mother after her husband's death in 1808 married another vicar, later bishop, Rasmus Møller, whose son Poul Martin Møller befriended Brøndsted. P.M. Møller also became a poet, translator of Homer, philosopher and a university teacher. He was an ideal for Søren Aabye Kierkegaard, who printed a posthumous dedication to Møller in one of his major philosophical works, *The Concept of Anxiety* (1844), calling him "The happy lover of Graecicism ...". P.M. Møller was in his youth one of the most beloved sons of Bakkehuset, as Karen Margrethe (Kamma) Rahbek, the mistress of Bakkehuset, felt. He lived there as a young student, and the three girls that the Winthers also brought up visited the house. Knud Lyhne Rahbek, the owner of the house, was an old friend of the vicar Hans Christian Winther.

Bakkehuset

Bakkehuset, i.e. *The House on the Hill*, had originally been an illicit inn placed strategically where the old road from Copenhagen to the south of Sealand had to

7. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 27; J. Jensen 1992, 104.

8. Baden 1801, IX, 48, 86-91, 97-102.

9. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 28-29.

10. Christensen 1977-1992, IX, 22-40.

11. Hammerich 1980, e.g. 31



Fig. 2: The manor house Iselingen. Lithograph (1865) by the artist Joachim Ferdinand Richardt and the lithographic draughtsman Nordahl Grove. It was published in the series *Prospecter af Danske Herregaarde*, vol. 1-20, Copenhagen 1844-1868. In the foreground the stocky Holger Halling Aagaard and the former Danish Prime Minister C.C. Hall.

pass a steep hill at Valby, where everybody going to and from Copenhagen was wont to pause. Bakkehuset was eventually (1784) made into a kind of summer residence for people from Copenhagen who could rent some rooms there far from the crowds and noise of the city, but of course not from the dirt and mud, which was ubiquitous.

Today, it is almost impossible to imagine the surroundings of Bakkehuset in the final years of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. The Carlsberg Breweries took up lots of space during the 19th century close to the old house, and the area was made a residential quarter by the end of the same century. But

Rahbek loved the then rural settlement and although Bakkehuset severely needed mending, he spent one summer there and then actually rented a small flat in the old worn down summerhouse for the whole of the year from 1787 and on. In 1802 he bought the place for his wife and himself in spite of its condition and his impossible economic situation.¹²

Rahbek was always without money although he was a diligent and important publicist of various periodicals, which were part of the *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit* of the time. Most important were probably the periodicals for intellectual discussion called *Minerva* (1785-1808 and 1815-1819). Rahbek was a theater-maniac

12. Jørgensen 2001, 37.

and a man of the social clubs, a truly generous friend of his friends; a poet specializing in the composition of drinking songs, a translator, a teacher of history and a learned historian of literature. He was co-author of the first history of Danish poetry. His protector was the *patron* of the University, the Duke of Augustenburg, brother-in-law of Crown Prince Frederik, then governing, later King Frederik VI. The Duke created an extraordinary professorship in aesthetics for his client in 1790, and Rahbek became his private secretary in 1793. In 1799, with regard to his theatrical interests he was appointed one of the three directors or managers of the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen.

In 1798, after two years of engagement Rahbek married Karen Margrethe (Kamma) Heger, who hardly ever went into Copenhagen unless for the purpose of going to church to hear her favorite preacher, Mynster.¹³ She lived with her husband, with her house, friends and her self-made garden. Some have supposed that she began the tradition in this country of sending flowers to people on special occasions.

In spite of the semi-royal protection by the Duke of Augustenborg Rahbek stayed a friend of former fellow-students who now vehemently criticized the absolute government: Malthe-Conrad Bruun and Peter Andreas Heiberg who were sentenced to exile in 1800. Both went to Paris. One became a famous geographer under the name of Malte-Brun in France. The other – Peter Andreas Heiberg – became part of the *entourage* of Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, later French minister of foreign affairs, as a translator and secretary. Brøndsted came to know both of these exiles during his stays in Paris. Other guests in Bakkehuset at the time were friends of Rahbek: the writers and philosophers of the time, such as the troublesome poet Jens Immanuel Baggesen and the impressive and influential Danish-German philosopher and romanticist Henrich Steffens, one of the inspirers of a new Danish poetry.

With Kamma's arrival in 1798, the guests of Bakkehuset gradually changed. Her older brother, Carl

Heger, a student of theology, served from 1809 as the lifelong personal librarian of Crown Prince Christian Frederik, later King Christian VIII. Heger, who possessed a special timid ability for friendship and contacts, provided the house with new guests. The young master-poet Adam Oehlenschläger was also a frequent visitor. He was later appointed professor of aesthetics, even if he was rather uneducated as a young man. Two other guests, however, had secured Oehlenschläger's *examen artium*. They were Anders Sandøe Ørsted, a young up-and-coming government official and, in old age, politician and prime minister, and his brother, later a famous scientist and professor, Hans Christian Ørsted, the discoverer of electro-magnetism. Oehlenschläger and the Ørsted brothers remained friends for life. The former was also a friend of Steffens, but was provoked to a long-lasting literary feud by another house guest, Baggesen. Oehlenschläger was at first primarily interested in Kamma's sister Christiane, whereas Anders Sandøe Ørsted took a special interest in Oehlenschläger's sister Sophie. Both parties eventually married. But again Baggesen interfered. To the discomfort of everybody, he obviously fell in love with Sophie Ørsted and did not hide it. Not everything was ideal and idyllic in the Bakkehuset. Brøndsted also became a friend of the house and with his sense for politeness and neutrality obviously avoided getting involved in the skirmishes. He knew the other guests from the University and from his travels.

A special role was played by Carl Heger's friends Ole Hieronymus Mynster, MD, the doctor of Bakkehuset (meaning Kamma), and his brother the aforementioned Jacob Peter Mynster, the spiritual advisor of the house (also meaning Kamma). Kamma referred to him as *Uncle Job* in the special language of the house; although the name *Job* actually originated in his schooldays. As bishop of Sealand, Mynster later became the *primas* of the Danish Church and married the daughter of one of his predecessors, Maria Frederica Franzisca (Fanny) Münter.

13. Mynster 1832; Clausen 1877, 250, 298-299.

Kamma Rahbek was mainly educated by her father, co-judge at one of the lower courts of Copenhagen. She read and spoke English, German, Italian, Spanish and even Portuguese, and when Brøndsted arrived she tried to learn Greek in order to follow her new friend – but it turned out to be difficult for her. She had an irresistible charm and was a blessed and very productive letter-writer. She was a word-maker of her own. Everything could get a new name in the special Bakkehus-language as it has been called – and she baptized her surroundings, giving them more or less friendly pet names, a habit that infected her acquaintances and visitors who in the Bakkehus-language were called “the generals”.¹⁴ Her husband was named *the squirrel* because he was red-haired all over and was always eating the seeds that were intended to be the food of his canary-bird. Moreover he was, as Boswell says of Doctor Johnson, no friend of clean linen. Kamma at one point proclaims with triumph to Mynster that he has put on a clean shirt without her interference – the actual words are that he did it “un-flogged, yea even un-asked”.¹⁵

Brøndsted, “the little Professor Worm”, was known to the Rahbeks from at least 1806 when Mynster in a letter of January the 30th reports that they had travelled together to Brøndsted’s half-cousin and Mynster’s friend, the learned rural dean and expert in Coptic, Wolf Frederik Engelbreth in Lyderslev in Sealand.¹⁶

Later that year, Brøndsted and Koës left Denmark to travel through Germany where they met Oehlen-schläger in Dresden and began their *Grand Tour*. The three of them saw Goethe in Weimar. They went to Paris, ending their common journey in Rome in 1809. Later on the two young classicists set out for Greece with their co-travellers. Koës died 28 years old in Zakynthos/Zante on the 6th of September 1811. Brøndsted was ill with dysentery in Asia Minor at that time and was devastated when he heard the sad news of his friend’s death in Thessaly on September the 26th.¹⁷

The Rahbeks and Brøndsted obviously met when Brøndsted returned to Copenhagen from his long travels in 1813. Immediately after his return to Copenhagen he was appointed *professor extraordinarius* in philology. Kamma Rahbek tells Mynster in a letter from “*the month of lilies*”, which is an old name for October, that she was very fond of hearing Brøndsted, whose name in Bakkehuset consequently became *the Greek professor*, speaking the “rather harmonious modern Greek” with “his young beautiful Greek”. The young man was Nicolo Conrad Lunzi of Venetian origin, from the island of Zakynthos. His father who had been the local Danish consul decided in his will that the son should visit Denmark. When Brøndsted was on the island to raise a monument to Koës he was appointed to fulfill this wish and in effect *adopted* the boy for some years. Kamma was deeply fond of the teenager. She continued to Mynster, “But it was an even greater pleasure for me to find Br. far more different from what I had expected – he was really very amiable”.¹⁸

Molbech as an editor and Brøndsted as an early topical art-critic

Among the people that Brøndsted met in Bakkehuset on his return was Christian Molbech, another friend of Carl Heger. Molbech had no formal academic degree and was of a socially and intellectually melancholy, peevish personality, totally devoid of humor. In spite – or maybe *because* – of this he possessed an enormous working capacity and had professionally as an editor of periodicals opinions about almost everything, primarily literature and history. He also edited medieval texts and a Danish dictionary among other innumerable tasks. Among his many projects he founded the Danish Historical Society¹⁹ and the Danish *Historical Review*²⁰, which is still alive, and sometimes kicking.

14. Dreier 1993-1994, I, introduction.

15. Mynster 1875, 123.

16. Mynster 1860, 77.

17. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 19.

18. Mynster 1875, 124.

19. Den danske historiske Forening.

20. Historisk Tidsskrift.

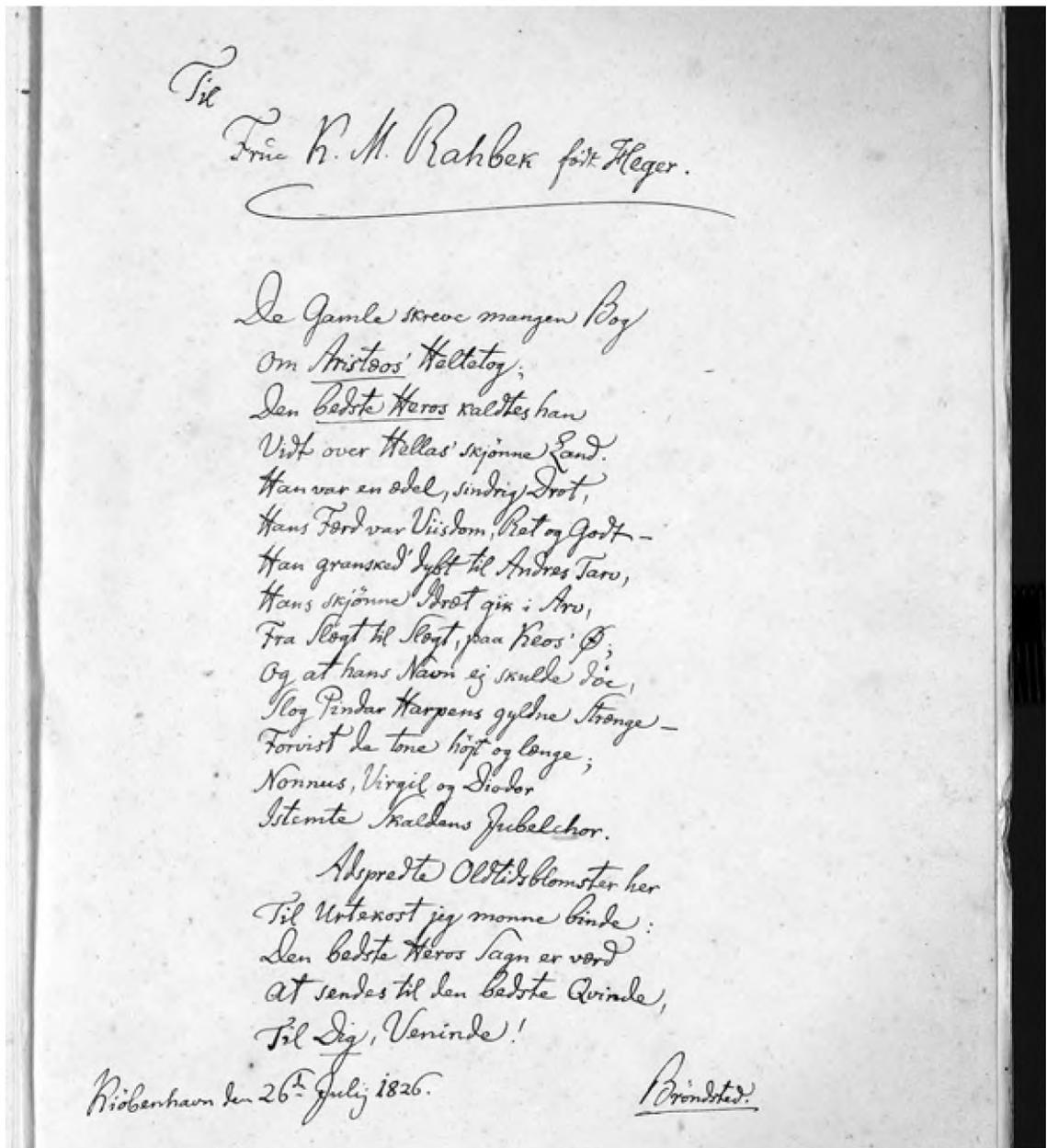


Fig. 3: In the essay a presentation copy to Kamma Rahbek of the first volume from 1826 of the *Voyages dans la Grèce* is mentioned. The dedication "To Mrs. K. M. Rahbek nee Heger" is shown here. The topic of the dedication is taken from the contents of the volume: the description of the archaeological sites, finds and antique legends of the island Keos. The dedication has the *Heros Aristæos* as its point of departure. Some parts of the rhymed text can probably be translated – in prose – like this: "He (Aristæos) was a noble, clever King, his dealings were Wisdom, Right and Good – He always studied other persons' needs deeply. His beautiful efforts were inherited from Age to Age on Keos' Island ..." – His name was never to die for he was always remembered by posterity: Pindar as well as Nonnus, Virgil and Diodorus praised his memory – "Mingled flowers of Antiquity here are made a bouquet, the legend of the finest *Heros* is worth sending to the best Woman – To you, my Friend! Copenhagen, July 26th 1826. Brøndsted". Danish private collection.

Molbech was employed at The Royal Library with the title of Secretary, which meant that he was in fact one of the few librarians in the institution. That position he loved: the daily contact with the old books as well as the new ones gave him the material for his academic discussions in letters and articles in periodicals mostly edited by himself. He also wrote books (among the most influential, *Walking Tours in Youth through my Native Country I-II*),²¹ and his literary results were almost always long-winded and came on like a torrent. It was therefore not without reason that he was called *Molbekken – the Mol-creek*. From 1813 to 1817 Molbech edited the monthly periodical *Athene*, the *yellow booklets* so-called because of the color of the glazed paper that was used as wrappers.²²

Kamma gave Molbech names, among them *the Editor* and *the Wolf*. The first term could be totally neutral but could also contain the meaning that he *edited* himself as quite another person than he was. The second nickname was probably bestowed because of his *praise-hunting*, belligerent and sinister mind – he insistently required acceptance in all situations. He actually forced Kamma in 1813 into an intimate correspondence to make her an instrument in his efforts to mend his mental insecurity. Kamma eventually let the correspondence slowly die out in 1815 after about 280 letters between the two.²³

Molbech probably persuaded Brøndsted in early 1814 to write a review of an example of the new nationally and idealistically based painting. It was called “a presentation-piece”, painted by Johan Ludvig Gebhard Lund in order to become a member of the Royal Academy for the Fine Arts. Its subject derived from Saxo Grammaticus, *The Return of Habor from Battle and his Reception at King Sigar’s Court*. Brøndsted who had seen and sensed and read about art of the highest quality during his travels wrote the small and mostly enthusiastic essay, which was published in

Athene in April of the same year. He probably knew Lund from Rome where Lund had been living in the ambience of Thorvaldsen.²⁴ This diminutive article of Brøndsted probably became the first example of topical art-criticism in Denmark so that with his little work he founded a genre. Not, of course, without an anonymous objection by a “*q*” in the next installment of *Athene*.

Brøndsted and the Rahbeks – a friendship

As a friend for Kamma, Brøndsted was certainly different and undoubtedly more convenient than Molbech. The worst he could do to his friends socially was to ask them to listen to his playing the piano, but he did play rather well.²⁵ He must have been a polite, kind, and with his human reserve of strength, a well-meaning and supportive friend.²⁶ He gave Kamma a copy²⁷ of the first volume of *Voyages dans la Grèce* (1826) in the special edition in folio, printed in only 55 copies, with a long and lovingly versified dedication in his characteristic handwriting dated the 26th of July (fig. 3).

The friendship between Kamma and Brøndsted grew stronger and stronger from 1813. One reason could have been that their religious sentiments were probably almost identical, a personally rooted, undoubting, almost spontaneous belief.²⁸ *Uncle Job* had had his influence, but the sheer Christian security of a life in God’s hand and a deep trust in an ever-forgiving Lord was a confidence that Mynster had never given Kamma. He was a speculative theologian. He had his basis in scripture, in the biblical texts, and he became after certain psychological breakthroughs an orthodox Lutheran. But in the eyes of his time – and in Kamma’s – he was at the same time a great, influential and stimulating preacher.

The older he got and the more responsibilities that were heaped upon him, the more did he take on the po-

21. Molbech 1811-1815.

22. Molbech 1813-1817.

23. Dreier 1993-1994

24. Bobé 1935, 177-198

25. But see J.P. Mynster’s remarks in Brøndsted 1844b, 78.

26. Brøndsted 1844b, 29.

27. This copy of Brøndsted 1826-1830a, I, is now in a Danish private collection.

28. Troels-Lund 1920-1922, I, 119-121.

sition of the Church of the Danish absolutist state. In his posthumously published memoirs, written in old age, he admitted that he had suffered from what we today probably would call *depression*. That illness could have had an influence on his religious feelings and utterances.²⁹

Nobody ever heard Brøndsted complain of such afflictions. He was physically and mentally strong, and in his own view could and should manage any practical and psychological obstacle. This he proved on his long and dangerous travels and by the handling of his personal losses, all with the help of the Lord, as Brøndsted saw it. One of the few preserved statements about his Faith is in a personal contribution to the collected works of his old teacher Oluf Worm, who “awakened in my young heart a need for religion and the strong hope for eternity which well-rooted never fails, not even among the worst rocks and skerries of life”.³⁰

Rahbek presumably found Brøndsted to be a man of vast knowledge and a gifted teller of stories about incidents from a life in both the remotest part of Europe (at that time) and Europe’s famous capitals. Brøndsted was a social and amusing boon to Rahbek himself and to the guests of Bakkehuset. It was also fortunate that Mynster’s young wife Fanny – 21 years younger than *Uncle Job* – and Brøndsted’s wife Frederikke liked each other, and that Frederikke was only five years older than Fanny. Brøndsted’s father in Horsens officiated at the marriage of his son and Frederikke in October 1813 and Mynster married his Fanny in 1815.

However, 1818 became an *annus horribilis* for the acquaintances of Brøndsted and for Brøndsted himself. Oehlenschläger’s sister Sophie Ørsted died; Mynster’s older brother, the famous MD and cultural communicator, died; Mynster’s first son died shortly after birth; and Brøndsted’s wife too died, after the birth of their third child, their youngest daughter.

The manor house Iselingen

Brøndsted was out of his mind. But it is said that Frederikke had made him promise that if anything happened to her he would let her sister bring up the children, “because then they will not feel any difference: Marie is me and I am her”.³¹ And so it happened. Brøndsted could not stand being in Denmark after Frederikke’s death and left for his second long stay away from Denmark from 1818 to 1832, leaving his three children in the care of the generous owners of the manor house Iselingen near Vordingborg: his wife’s sister and the jurist and military judge Holger Halling Aagaard who had inherited Iselingen from his father.

Here I must thank Jesper Brandt Andersen, a chief physician and pediatrician living in one of the old houses that is part of Iselingen. He has given me scholarly help by publishing a well-informed and sympathetic essay, *P.O. Brøndsted and the manor house Iselingen – a symbiosis of The Golden Age*.³² This essay is a must for everyone interested in the life and times of Brøndsted, especially if one wants to see him in his Danish social setting. Brandt Andersen tells the story of Brøndsted’s long delays in returning to Denmark, and the substantial economic support that the couple at Iselingen granted him, always urging him to come home to his children. But he also tells the story of the many lively and enthusiastic letters about European culture and events that Brøndsted sent home to Iselingen (66 of these are preserved in the Royal Library). So the Aagaards brought up Brøndsted’s children and provided him with money as well, while as a benefit the family at Iselingen received culturally valuable knowledge from Brøndsted abroad. This appears to be part of the reason for Brandt Andersen’s use of the word *symbiosis*.

29. Mynster 1854, 40-41.

30. Brøndsted 1835c, 13.

31. Andersen 2005, 67.

32. Andersen 2005.

Brøndsted and the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals

Brøndsted finally returned to Denmark in May 1832, and he became director of The Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals at Rosenborg Castle half a year later. He thereby outclassed one of the most gifted and industrious Danish numismatists and archaeologists at the time, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen. Thomsen was the person who from practical observations created the basic version of the theory of material classification of the three prehistorical ages: stone, bronze, and iron. Moreover, he was since 1816 secretary of the Commission for Antiquities established in 1807. And in this respect he was the main figure behind the creation of what is now the National Museum of Denmark which – with appropriate reverence for his efforts – has been called Thomsen's Museum. Thomsen also worked much with coins. It was therefore disappointing for him to see Brøndsted suddenly becoming head of the collection. He described Brøndsted as a person who wanted the position out of *vanity* and of course maintained that he had received the appointment because of his rank. But as time went by they came to be on friendly terms.³³

Brøndsted also took up his position as professor – now as *ordinarius* – in philology and archaeology. He also reinvoked old relations. He and Oehlenschläger again became close friends, writing poems to each other on special occasions as for their birthdays in 1837.³⁴

Brøndsted and the new generation of politicians and humanists

At Iselingen after his return to Denmark, Brøndsted met some of the young men who would become important in the next generation of politicians and hu-

manists. They were for the most part university friends of Georg Aagaard, the oldest son of the house.³⁵

Among the young men were Ditlev Gothard Monrad, a theologian and scholar in Semitic languages, who became one of the members of the first non-absolutist government in March 1848 as *Kultusminister* (minister for Church and Education). He was also a member of the assembly to negotiate a Danish democratic constitution (1848-49). Monrad became one of the most influential founding fathers of Danish parliamentary life. He was one of the authors of the constitution and became prime minister in 1864 in one of the most dangerous situations of the nation since the wars against Sweden in the 17th and 18th centuries. Owing to his despair at the failure of his ambitions for the nation he went into voluntary exile in New Zealand. The fatal loss of Schleswig was in the end *his* responsibility: he had declined a suggestion about arbitration from the British and that had its consequences. But he recovered from his depression and returned to Denmark in 1869, ending his days as bishop of Lolland-Falster.

Another of the young guests at Iselingen was Count Frederik Marcus Knuth of Knuthenborg. Aristocracy, and for that matter Royalty, were not unknown to the cultivated and wealthy Aagaard family, but they maintained a style of life that was *bourgeois* and indeed almost modest. Thus, the couple did not tolerate the luxurious use of servants and coachmen in livery. Knuth had the confidence of Christian VIII, and was appointed *Antmand* – i.e. prefect – for the county of Sorø and at the same time Head Director of the Academy of Sorø in 1847, when only 34 years old. As a friend of the house and as a nobleman with the right to nominate vicars for certain parishes he procured an office for Monrad. Knuth was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in March 1848. He died young but his presence as

33. J. Jensen 1992, about Brøndsted's relation to Thomsen in particular pp 102-104. "The friendly terms" between the two of them are kindly related to me by Jørgen Steen Jensen, cf. the article by Jørgen Steen Jensen in this publication. After Brøndsted's death Thomsen finally and rightfully became director of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals

34. Brøndsted 1839, 304; Oehlenschläger 1837, 226-229.

35. The basis for the following description is the various biographies in DBL 1 and DBL 3. Neergaard 1892-1916 has also been consulted. A list of Lindberg's pupils is published in Baagø 1958, 114-121. Hammerich 1980, 23-33, especially p. 32, has provided the basic list of persons.

a friend of the house shows the breadth of the Iseligen circle.

To the family of the manor house Brøndsted himself introduced one of the two people who were to be the most important in the later history of Iseligen, his young friend Martin Johannes Hammerich, a pupil of Jacob Christian Lindberg from Borgerdydsskolen. He became, like Lindberg, a master of Semitic languages – as well as writing his master's thesis on Nordic mythology in 1836 – and after 3 years of studies abroad, he became an able expert in Sanskrit. He translated Kalidasas *Sakuntala* in 1845, a translation that is still read. But in 1835 he was invited to Iseligen “as if in order to say good-bye”³⁶, as he put it, before he was due to travel abroad, and fell in love with the 15-year-old daughter of the house Anna Mathea, a person whom everybody loved. They married in 1841 and he became – born teacher as he was – headmaster of his own old school, Borgerdydsskolen on Christianshavn in 1842. He and Anna Mathea stayed there with their children until 1867, in which year they inherited Iseligen from her father. The two of them maintained Iseligen as a *cultural institution* outside Copenhagen but with the same connections to the university and the literary, political and artistic milieu in the capital as had the old Aagaards.

Holger Halling Aagaard's young colleague as a military jurist, Carl Christian Hall, was also one of the friends of Georg Aagaard. Hall later became judge, advocate general and professor of Roman law. In his democratic political career he was Minister of Culture, Education and the affairs of the Church, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Prime Minister. However, Monrad and his supporters did not consider him for Prime Minister in December 1863, because they wanted to confront the Germans in confidence of the support of the Great powers. But in the 1830s Hall was just another of the young men in love at Iseligen. He married Brøndsted's oldest daughter Augusta Marie Frederikke in 1837. That

brought him closer to Christian VIII who knew Augusta Marie, as she called³⁷ herself, from earlier days, and thereby she probably furthered his career. The Halls moved out to Frederiksberg and bought a villa close to the old Bakkehus. Augusta Marie talked a lot about *Father Brøndsted* and resembled him in certain ways, though she was even more politically naïve. She was married to a politician and statesman but that had no influence upon her immediate affections even in matters of state. In 1863, when her husband for a period was as well Prime minister as Minister for Foreign Affairs, she donated money in her own name to the rebellious Poles, although at that time Denmark could very well have used the support of Russia in its own dangerous situation with regard to Prussia and the rest of Germany. Denmark needed all the help the nation could get from the great powers in order to keep Bismarck at bay. But Augusta Marie found the Russian oppression of Poland abhorrent and acted, I suppose, as she felt her father would have done. It did not make her husband's life as a minister any easier.

Brøndsted and contemporary politics

Brøndsted's own political *blunders* in 1820 as Royal Agent for the Danish Court at the Papal See are discussed elsewhere in this publication. Brøndsted stayed in Rome as if nothing had happened but remained a constitutionalist *and* monarchist. In his published traveler's diaries there are at the end some reflections from 1821-1824 on constitutionalism and monarchy: “I am a royalist with all of my heart, because I believe that this form of commonwealth is better than any other to further true happiness and blessings in a state, and it offers the possibilities of peace and good order to secure the well-being of all”.³⁸ In the end his fatherland eventually *would* have a constitution as a result of the European and Danish uproar demanding parliamentary development. The public turmoil of March 1848 had its effect.

36. Andersen 2005, 94.

37. See e.g. a personal and signed remark about “Father Brøndsted” in the presentation copy to C.C. Hall of Werlauff 1858. Now it is in a Danish private collection.

38. Brøndsted 1850, 138-149. Quotation from page 139. See the articles by Jacob Isager and Schepele in this publication.

If Brøndsted had lived he would presumably have been made a royally appointed member of the general assembly in view of his merits. The members of the assembly were elected – or royally appointed – in order to negotiate and create a Danish constitution, but I think that by the end of the meetings of this assembly in 1849 he would have voted *against* the final draft for the constitution, just as his friends Mynster and A.S. Ørsted did. The democratic elements in the constitution weighed too heavily and the intelligent and educated elements, the landowners and the industrious *bourgeois* had not acquired the influence that Brøndsted probably would have found necessary in order to establish a stable political and civil society.

In this connection one can note a letter of the 4th April 1840 from Brøndsted to Mynster from London in which he describes at length and in great agitation a meeting led by the industrialist and utopian socialist Robert Owen. Brøndsted writes among other defamations, “The man in question really means in all sincerity that all divine and human institutions upon which our present society is founded, such as Christianity, religious belief, marriage, the right of property and its enforcement, the educational system, universities, courts of justice, prisons and penitentiaries etc. etc. etc. are partly unnecessary, partly tyrannical and highly absurd institutions, all of which ought to be exterminated in a well arranged society to make space for a Socialism which will consist of a loving community of all possible and impossible things and which (so he thinks) if rightly conducted will make all other kinds of government or state totally superfluous”. The letter stands in sharp contrast to Brøndsted’s usual kind and tolerant acceptance of other people, different though they might be culturally or of different levels of society. It is amazingly acidic in its attitude toward Owen’s audience: artisans, ordinary workers and their women-folk. Brøndsted was obviously no friend of proletarians who might stand in opposition.³⁹

39. Mynster 1862, 208-215. Quotation from page 210.

Brøndsted and his famous acquaintances

Proletarians or not – Brøndsted was safe in his own circles. As has been stated before, Brøndsted knew all of the significant people in the Copenhagen of his day. Among these, three personalities of the Danish 19th century are internationally known today. One was an old friend, the second a person with a more remote relationship to Brøndsted, and the third a nuisance.

The friend was Bertel (Alberto) Thorvaldsen whose father, an Icelandic wood carver, lived in poverty in Copenhagen. Brøndsted probably met Thorvaldsen during his first stay in Rome and was, like everybody else, impressed by the artistic genius of the authentically taciturn descendant of Icelandic masculinity: no words but lots of work. But Thorvaldsen represented the ideal of the romanticist conception of the original brilliant and almost autochthonous Great Artist. During his time as Agent in Rome Brøndsted helped Thorvaldsen with negotiations and correspondence with his customers, a task which he obviously performed with pleasure.

But a much-discussed problem arose in May 1823, when Brøndsted borrowed the substantial sum of 2000 *scudi* from Thorvaldsen in order to cover his most immediate needs. Brøndsted’s financial situation was at that time very strained. The transaction was a loan, for which Brøndsted pawned his coins and books as security. Thorvaldsen kept the coins and the books, which to this day are preserved in his Museum in Copenhagen.⁴⁰

Brøndsted was a generous person but in his own happy-go-lucky way unreliable in financial matters. He was never able to repay Thorvaldsen and of course found the situation embarrassing. Thorvaldsen was for his part niggardly by nature. The sculptor and medalist Frederik Christopher Krohn, who worked unpaid for the great master in his *ateliers* on Piazza Barberini for a couple of years from 1835, once wrote to his father-in-law when Krohn had produced yet another child, “... you talk, Dear Father, about getting money from Thor-

40. Mørkholm 1982.

valdsen, but the skinflint is the last man in Rome that I would ask to borrow money from. You would not believe what difference there is between the artist Thorv. and the man Thorv. In the first respect he is in my mind's eye a Demigod, but in the second an incomprehensibly base miser".⁴¹

Brøndsted did not express himself like that about his Hero of Art, and he preserved *his* friendship with Thorvaldsen, writing to him about visiting Iselingen during Thorvaldsen's stay in Copenhagen in 1819-22. When the sculptor was back in Denmark from 1838 and sometimes lived at the nearby manor house of Nysø he eventually visited Iselingen to Brøndsted's great pleasure. In 1819, Brøndsted even offered (hopefully as a joke) any one of his young daughters as a wife to Thorvaldsen, at his choice. After the loss of his books and coins Brøndsted actually created a new library (2753 numbers in the auction catalogue) – and he must have bought coins again for he was obviously a compulsive numismatist.⁴²

Hans Christian Andersen was a more remote acquaintance. Brøndsted met him in Paris in May 1833, whereupon they took tea together, according to Andersen's travel-diaries. Brøndsted presented Andersen with a copy of his newest book (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus Griechenland*) and of course played the piano: a waltz composed by himself. The two of them walked together to the library in "Cardinal Ricellieus Hotel", as Andersen writes, where Brøndsted explained a prospect of Athens to his guest. Furthermore, Brøndsted praised Andersen as a genuine poet in a small rhymed epistle dated "Paris, Midsummer 1833": he prophesied that Andersen would soon receive The Laurel Wreath. Andersen never forgot that early and friendly recognition. He actually quoted Brøndsted's piece in his memoirs and kept the little poetic page in his Scrapbook – his *Album*. As an old man Andersen

had Lemercier's lithographic portrait of Brøndsted after a drawing by L. Dupré, also from 1833, hanging on the wall in his apartment, directly over the main table.⁴³

At the time, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard was making a nuisance of himself. In June, July and September 1841, Brøndsted, in his capacity as one of the professors of classical philology, was a member of the committee to judge Kierkegaard's thesis for obtaining his master's degree. It was written not in Latin but in Danish, which was highly unusual – only three examples, among them Hammerich's, had been seen before. Kierkegaard's thesis, now of course famous, was entitled *On the Concept of Irony with continual reference to Socrates*. The professor of philosophy and dean of the faculty Frederik Christian Sibbern, Kierkegaard's old teacher, did not like the work, but tried to find a compromise. Johan Nicolai Madvig, one of the three professors in classics and Brøndsted's colleague, disliked it – it "hunted the piquant and witty which often changes into the vulgar and tasteless"; but negotiations about revisions are always difficult and in the case of Kierkegaard probably would not have any effect. This he writes to the other professor in classics, Frederik Christian Petersen, who also hesitated to accept the thesis. Petersen suggested "that several excesses of the sarcastic and mocking style should be removed as being ill-timed in an academic dissertation". H.C. Ørsted, at the time Rector Magnificus of the University of Copenhagen and *almost* the Supreme Court in this particular case, was for his part dryly furious: he also condemned the language of the book as vulgar, tasteless, and long-winded.

The man of the world, Brøndsted, like Madvig, could observe Kierkegaard and his thesis at a certain distance. He wrote in a letter to F.C. Petersen, "Some internal temptation has provoked the young man to

41. Nørregård-Nielsen 1996, 115.

42. Plesner 1942, 71.

43. Andersen 1926, I, 112; Andersen 1971-1977, I, 149-150; Andersen 1980, folio 107; photograph of Andersen's living room in

Feigenberg 1996, 13; identification of picture: see Brøndsted 1926, 168; cf. Strunk 1865, 99, no. 470. Cf. the article by Mikala Brøndsted in this publication.

jump over the fence that divides proper irony and cheap satire from the vulgar and exaggerated non-refreshing area ... but if the author really has taken a liking to it ...”⁴⁴ then Brøndsted was willing to let it pass with no further fuss.

After further negotiations with theologians and a teacher of philosophy the *arbiter* was King Christian VIII himself who (influenced by his old friend Brøndsted?) accepted that the defense of the Danish book could take place, provided that it was followed by 15 Latin theses and that the deliberations should be held in Latin. So they did, and including lunch the ceremony lasted 7½ hours, *in good Latin* we are told.⁴⁵

Brøndsted and music

After such an effort one needed some pleasure and relaxation. For Brøndsted that was often synonymous with his beloved piano. We know that he held musical evening entertainments on Fridays when back in Copenhagen. He loved music. It was an essential element of a civilized life – and moreover, of the civilization of the ancient Greeks. One must not forget that his friend Koës had taken a special interest in ancient Greek music. The theme of harmonious Greek culture is actually the core of Brøndsted’s short memorial speech published in 1835 on the composer and musician Friederich Daniel Rudolph Kuhlau. Kuhlau, originally from Hanover, had lived in Copenhagen since 1810 as a naturalized Dane and was one of the major early romantic composers in Denmark. He had been Brøndsted’s own musical teacher in 1817. But Brøndsted himself actually began early as a musician. He was as a boy in 1794-96 invited to give small piano-entertainments for the imperial Russian court exiled in Horsens (Russian interior politics!).⁴⁶

If you read the Diaries and Records of Crown Prince Christian Frederik from his stay in Rome from 1819 to

1821 you will find that Brøndsted used his connections to procure visits for the Prince to various notable collectors of antiquities and especially coins, and of course he showed him his own specimens. But you will also note that music was an integral part of the evening entertainments for the Prince. Thus, for instance, at the domicile of the Prince himself on the 2nd of January 1820 professional artists performed – but Brøndsted of course *had* to play: “Un maitre de musique Giovannini accompagna ses dames sur le piano, et Brøndsted joua aussi.”⁴⁷

Brøndsted was especially fond of romantic music. He wrote in May 1824 to Kamma Rahbek to whom he sent as a small gift a couple of lithographed portraits. “One of the pages shows a young, innocent angel inspired by heavenly harmony, the young Listz, created by the Lord in his Mercy as an inspiration and refreshment for many a noble heart”.⁴⁸ But it was obviously with a critical mind that he listened to others play, especially if in his opinion they were just showing off. On the 20th of January 1819, while in Bologna, he wrote in his diary, “I again heard the half-mad Paganini play his totally-mad variations, doing everything with a violin except the one thing: to play the violin.”⁴⁹

Brøndsted’s death and the financial consequences

Brøndsted had lived a full life in Greece and Europe as well as in Copenhagen. He may not have published much, but his studies were learned, and his excavations in Greece were probably the state of the art at the time. His lectures at the University of Copenhagen in 1815-17 were a success even though he unusually charged a not inconsiderable fee.⁵⁰

His major publication, based on his travels, archaeological work and artistic studies, appeared both in

44. Garff 2000, 171.

45. Garff 2000, 167-172.

46. Brøndsted 1835b; Brøndsted 1844b, I; Johannsen 1967, 8-12.

47. Christian VIII 1943-1995, II, 1, 188.

48. Brøndsted 1999, 12; Cf. Brøndsted 1850, 138.

49. Brøndsted 1850, 94.

50. Brøndsted 1815, 5. See the article by Jørgen Mejer in this publication.

VOYAGES DANS LA GRÈCE

ACCOMPAGNÉS
DE RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES,

ET SUIVIS

D'UN APERÇU HISTORIQUE SUR TOUTES LES ENTREPRISES DE CE GENRE QUI ONT EU LIEU
EN GRÈCE DEPUIS PAUSANIAS JUSQU'À NOTRE TEMPS ;

OUVRAGE ORNÉ D'UN GRAND NOMBRE DE MONUMENTS INÉDITS, RÉCEMMENT DÉCOUVERTS, AINSI QUE DE
CARTES ET DE VIGNETTES.

Dédié à S. M. le Roi de Danemark,

PAR

P. O. BRÖNDSTED.

L'AUTEUR se propose de présenter au public les résultats du séjour qu'il a fait en Grèce et des recherches auxquelles il s'y est livré avec ses compagnons de voyage, dans les années 1811, 1812, 1813, et plus tard en 1820.

Les personnes qui s'intéressent à la Grèce, à ses arts et à son histoire, n'ignorent pas qu'une société d'artistes et de savants, dont l'auteur avait le bonheur de faire partie, entreprit et exécuta, depuis 1811 jusqu'en 1814, une suite de voyages et de recherches dans la Grèce européenne et dans quelques parties de la Grèce asiatique, où elle obtint les résultats les plus importants, qui ont augmenté considérablement ce que l'âge actuel possède de beaux monuments de l'art antique des Grecs, ou qui, appartenant aux monuments proprement dits historiques, intéressent les études archéologiques, et jettent de nouvelles lumières sur les institutions publiques et privées, ainsi que sur les rapports politiques et commerciaux de ce peuple illustre.

L'ouvrage que nous annonçons a pour but d'exposer ces résultats, de rendre compte des voyages et des entreprises qui les ont produits, et de fixer leur place dans l'ensemble des travaux faits de notre temps pour augmenter ou pour rectifier nos connaissances sur la Grèce ancienne et moderne.

Depuis son retour de la Grèce, l'auteur, bien que distrait par beaucoup d'autres travaux, ne perdit jamais de vue l'objet de ses plus chères occupations, celui d'étudier à fond et de rédiger,

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avec tout le soin dont il est capable, les nombreux matériaux qu'il avait rapportés de ce pays classique. Il n'a pas non plus négligé de comparer les fruits de son propre voyage avec l'ensemble des résultats obtenus par les précédents voyageurs. Les mêmes motifs l'ont déterminé à entreprendre, en 1820, un autre voyage dans les îles Ioniennes et en Sicile, afin de rectifier ses idées sur plusieurs points importants, et surtout afin de pouvoir comparer les monuments siciliens avec ceux de la Grèce proprement dite : car, qui est-ce qui fut jamais assez préparé pour un voyage scientifique dans le pays des Hellènes ?

De cinq amis qui passèrent ensemble en Grèce pour puiser à la source même de l'instruction classique, trois seulement revinrent dans leur patrie; le docteur G. Koës et le baron Haller de Hallerstein moururent en Grèce. Un des vœux que l'auteur a le plus à cœur est de faire connaître le mérite de ces hommes excellents, et d'honorer leur mémoire par un ouvrage qu'il se plaît à regarder comme un monument modeste élevé sur leurs tombeaux; il sait que leurs compagnons de voyage et les siens, MM. le baron O. M. de Stackelberg et F. Linckh, sont pénétrés des mêmes sentiments.

La nature variée des matériaux dont doit se composer cet ouvrage nous défendait d'adopter la forme ordinaire des productions littéraires appelées *Voyages*, c'est-à-dire, celle d'un récit qui suivit chronologiquement les différentes excursions et entreprises dont il peut être question. Comme il s'agit ici à la fois d'archéologie, d'histoire, de géographie, des monuments et des peuples; comme un objet découvert en 1811 ou 1812 se trouve souvent expliqué par d'autres objets trouvés ou considérés en 1820 et 1821, et l'auteur se proposant de promener le lecteur tantôt dans la Grèce ancienne, tantôt dans la Grèce moderne, il a dû renoncer à une forme qui aurait entraîné des répétitions nombreuses; car l'objet principal qu'on se propose est *de tirer des journaux de voyages et des portefeuilles de l'auteur tout ce qui lui a paru nouveau, remarquable et important sous quelque rapport, soit pour la science, soit pour l'art, soit enfin pour la connaissance des localités et de la Grèce actuelle; de rédiger ces-matériaux choisis avec la vérité historique la plus rigoureuse, et de les expliquer, autant que ses forces le lui permettent, à l'aide des connaissances qui constituent l'érudition moderne.*

En comparant tant de monuments d'espèces différentes, l'auteur s'est convaincu de plus en plus combien les productions du génie et de l'esprit des Grecs se complètent et s'expliquent les unes par les autres; persuasion qui le détermina surtout à n'épargner ni soins ni dépenses pour que les monuments véritablement grecs qui comparaitront pour la première fois gravés et expliqués dans cet ouvrage fussent publiés d'une manière digne du génie de la contrée célèbre à laquelle ils appartiennent. Les grandes planches représenteront tantôt des ouvrages de sculpture inédits, tantôt des vases de bronze récemment découverts, tantôt des vues de sites les plus remarquables. On y joindra aussi des cartes géographiques et des plans de topographie, des *fac-simile* d'inscriptions inédites, et de simples traits d'une foule d'autres objets qui seront classés d'après l'ordre même des matières auxquelles ils se rapportent. A l'égard de monuments plus petits, qui néanmoins sont d'un grand intérêt et fournissent souvent des lumières inattendues, tels que médailles inédites ou rares, pierres gravées, figurines en bronze ou en terre cuite, etc., on s'est déterminé à procéder à peu près, dans la publication de ces monuments, comme le hasard les a fait tomber entre les mains du voyageur. C'est rarement que ces petits témoignages de la vie publique et des habitudes des Grecs s'offrent à lui entièrement isolés. La fortune les conduit volontiers entre les mains de l'étranger, que le peuple voit occupé à la recherche d'autres monuments helléniques. Souvent, vers le soir, les plus belles médailles antiques, et quelquefois des pierres gravées, des figurines en bronze ou en argile, des pâtes antiques de diverse matière sont apportées au voyageur et viennent le réjouir, comme une nouvelle récompense de sa jour-

(4)

rinthe, Sicyone, Stympalé et Phénée. Découverte des sources et de la chute du Styx dans les montagnes de Nonacris. Topographie de cette partie remarquable de l'Arcadie. Examen des assertions singulières des anciens au sujet de la qualité de l'eau du Styx, et résultat de l'analyse chimique de cette eau. — Départ de Phénée. Voyage par Tripolitza, Caritena et Andritzena aux ruines du temple d'Apollon à Bassa, près de Phigalie. — Long séjour auprès de ce temple et histoire des fouilles. — Résultat de cette entreprise.

V^e LIVRAISON. Topographie de Phigalie et des environs de la Néda, d'Ira, etc. — Examen critique des fables relatives aux Amazones et aux Centaures, pour servir d'introduction à l'exposé des sculptures de la frise du temple d'Apollon des Phigaliens. — Explication de ces ornements du temple, conformément aux dessins faits sur les marbres originaux par le baron de Stackelberg. — Voyage de Phigalie à Mistra, aux ruines de Sparte et d'Amycles, et de là par le Taygète à Calamie (Calamata), et à Ithome (Matromati). Retour, par l'Élide et Olympie, à Patras.

VI^e LIVRAISON. Séjour à Delphes (Castri), et voyage par la Bœtie, l'Ébée et la Thessalie. — Remarques sur

Larisse, la vallée de Tempé, les montagnes de Thessalie et le golfe Pélasgique. — Du mythe des Argonautes et de son emploi dans les monuments de l'art. — Vase de bronze relatif à cette série mythologique. — Autres vases de bronze inédits, représentant des sujets analogues.

VII^e LIVRAISON. Excursion à Égine. Géographie et archéologie de cette île. Séjour auprès du grand temple. De la découverte faite par MM. de Haller, Cockerell, Linckh et Foster, des statues du fronton de cet édifice. Représentation et description de ces ouvrages originaux, sortis de l'école d'Égine. Essai d'une explication de ces compositions sous le double rapport de l'art et du sujet représenté.

VIII^e LIVRAISON. Coup-d'œil sur toutes les contrées grecques en Europe, depuis les monts Acrocérauniens, le Pinde et l'Olympe, jusqu'au Taygète. Observations comparatives sur les Grecs anciens et modernes. Vues sur la destinée future de ce peuple. — Aperçu historique de tous les voyages scientifiques entrepris en Grèce depuis Pausanias jusqu'à nos jours. — Résultat de cet aperçu, et indication de nouvelles recherches qu'on pourrait faire en Grèce, avec grande probabilité de succès.

Table générale des matières contenues dans tout l'ouvrage.

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IMPRIMERIE DE FIRMIN DIDOT, RUE JACOB, N^o 24.

Among other details the *prospectus* contains a short register of the artists who have worked on or who will be working on the exquisite illustrations of the whole *opus*. Some of the illustrators also took part in the publishing of copperplates of Thorvaldsen's reliefs. The *prospectus* has hitherto been unknown at least to Danish scholars and is not in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. Danish private collection.

French, *Les Voyages dans la Grèce*, and in German, *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland*.⁵¹ Actually only two of the eight planned volumes ever appeared, and even though this, his chief work, was printed in only 555 copies intended for all Europe it nevertheless could not sell. As late as in 1927 you could buy both the French and the German versions at the Royal Library in Copenhagen – the Danish state had obviously taken over the remaining copies. They were printed on some of the varied qualities of paper that Brøndsted wanted, at a price beginning at 10 Danish kroner for the ordinary German version (*en papier fin*) going up to 50 Danish kroner for probably the best French edition then available (*papier velin*). The exquisite French edition in folio *en velin*, printed in only 55 copies for Royalty, celebrities, etc. cannot – I think – have been part of the stock of the Royal Library. It must be added that a Danish skilled worker at the time (1927) earned about 1.60 Danish kroner per hour on a basis of 48 hours a week.⁵²

The explanation of the fact that the Danish state took over the remaining copies is probably money. We have to look into the diaries of King Christian VIII who was rather interested in Brøndsted's effects.⁵³ In his diary for January 1844 the King wrote that Brøndsted's friend, the titular professor Niels Vinding Dorph, had told him about Brøndsted's unpublished works. The King granted a public subsidy and Dorph became their editor. It is stated on the title page of *The Ficoronian Cista* (1847) that the book was "Published by Royal Command".⁵⁴

In January 1845, still according to the diaries, Brøndsted's daughter Augusta Marie Hall expressed to the King her pleasure with the room selected in the Palace of Christiansborg to house the belongings of her Father. If they really were placed in the Palace they must have disappeared during the fire of 1884. The ex-

planation of the Royal interest – or at least a part of it – is revealed during a conversation on the first of January 1846 between the King and Just Mathias Thiele, his personal librarian, well-known collector of folktales, biographer of Thorvaldsen, and sometimes resident at Bakkehuset etc. The annual audiences to say "Happy New Year" to the absolute Monarch could also be used for more practical purposes. The King says about Brøndsted's estate that he can not for the moment accept "pieces of art, manuscripts, paintings" as payment for the debt that Brøndsted had to the Royal cashier's office. Furthermore the King has to donate to the estate some thousand rigsbankdaler in order to make ends meet. Brøndsted's position as a friend of the King and an internationally known scholar probably had to be protected from rumours about economic irresponsibility. But before the King can do anything he has to know the results of the negotiations with the estate of Thorvaldsen, and how Brøndsted's affairs with his German publisher were settled.

Brøndsted's humor when it came to the obstacles of producing books is rather refreshing with his own difficulties in mind. The literary aesthetic Peder Ludvig Møller who apart from his mostly critical work published in periodicals also wrote a few books, tells in his *A Short Account of the History of Printing*⁵⁵ (1841) that Brøndsted proposed a toast "to the subscribers" at the festivities in Copenhagen on the official occasion of the 400-year jubilee of the art of book-printing. He said that he once had given Frederik VI one of his books in a foreign language and that the King asked him to write something in Danish. Following the King's wish Brøndsted went to a printing-office, made a deal with the printer, and produced an invitation to subscribe to this scholarly work. They got *two* subscribers. Then one of them died, and the project was subsequently abandoned. Brøndsted asked the assem-

51. Brøndsted 1826-1830a; Brøndsted 1826-1830b.

52. Behrend 1925-1927, I-II, advertisement on the back of the printed wrapper; Thestrup 1991, 45.

53. Christian VIII 1943-1995, IV, 2, 405, 543, 615.

54. Brøndsted 1847.

55. Møller 1841.

bly to drink to the health of *all* subscribers. Everybody present laughed.⁵⁶

Brøndsted's endeavors were undertaken with a firm faith in his mission and in its importance. Once when his mother wrote to him about his restlessness and extravagances he replied quoting from one of his father's sermons: "Cast your Bread upon the Water and you will find it long after." And he continued, "I have thrown a part of my bread both spiritual (which is my knowledge and my insight) and a part of my earthly or material bread (which is my property) on the ocean and the roaring and widely rolling billows and it has bettered my scholarship, myself and my Fatherland".⁵⁷

Brøndsted must have been insolvent when he died. It is economically dangerous to live splendidly and to publish books of the quality that Brøndsted wanted.

The End

Brøndsted died in Copenhagen in 1842 as he had lived in Greece – dramatically. He fell from his horse on an morning's ride in the street of Esplanaden. Brøndsted, who was Rector Magnificus that year, encountered the economic administrator of the University, the jurist, Professor Peter Georg Bang. They had a short conversation but Brøndsted had in his haste forgotten to thank Bang for an essay just written. He turned his mount back too quickly in order to renew the conversation politely, as always, but fell from the horse.

In the fall Brøndsted's pelvic region was broken on the pavement. In spite of his injuries he was able to walk by himself to the nearby Royal Frederiks Hospital in Bredgade. As Oehlenschläger put it, "He was Herculean and had excellent health". But in spite of his physical strength Brøndsted died on the 26th of June 1842, from internal bleeding and his death was possibly also caused by the crushing of his urinary system. The sources say that his body was swollen, which is part of the consequences of internal bleedings. Injuries of that kind were incurable in those days. But the devastation of his hip and the crushing of the "soft parts" of his abdominal interior must have been the main reason for his death (fig. 5).⁵⁸

As Brøndsted was Rector Magnificus the University arranged his interment. Some of his oldest friends carried out the official ceremonies: Mynster delivered the funeral oration and Oehlenschläger composed the five stanzas of the *cantata*:

The fourth stanza may be translated roughly thus:

*Our friend! All things Beautiful on Earth
Beckoned to you in God's own Nature:
In Youth you hurried from the North,
To Walls of Hellas rich in Memories;
But more important than Beauty, Studies,
Were to you Words of Christ: Be Pious, Righteous!*⁵⁹

56. Møller 1841, 232-233.

57. Brøndsted 1850, 149-150.

58. Brøndsted 1844b, I, 85; Oehlenschläger 1850-51, IV, 171-172: the two eyewitnesses wrote that: J.P. Mynster: "all the parts of his hip and abdomen came out of order", A. Oehlenschläger: "something broke inside" – both have remarks about how swollen he became. Brøndsted 1926, 9 actually just wrote: "inner bleedings"; Jørgen Steen Jensen has kindly related an old

oral tradition from The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, The National Museum of Denmark: that Brøndsted died from a crushing of his urinary system. I thank the chief surgeon; doctor of medicine, of the University Hospital of Glostrup, Svend Schultze, for an instructive conversation, that left no doubt that the main reason for Brøndsted's death was internal bleedings.

59. Oehlenschläger 1842.



Fig. 5: Sometime in the 1930s the great-grandchild of Brøndsted, Johannes Brøndsted, later professor of Nordic archaeology and director of the National Museum of Denmark, but at that time assistant curator at the museum, received this plate from a person who had been out with his spike to search some rubbish heaps near the inner harbour of Copenhagen. It is probably made of pewter (I have not had it in my hands) and is related to a widespread custom in the 18th and early 19th century of fastening such plates on top of the lid of the coffin. It may have been placed in front of Brøndsted's coffin in the Church of our Lady (today the Cathedral of Copenhagen) before and/or during the funeral because it obviously wears no traces of corrosion and cannot have been interred or placed in a churchyard. Is it possible that it has just been stored away in some quiet corner of the church and totally forgotten – and then later on just thrown away? Brøndsted's friends and relatives all knew Latin well enough to write the text.

In translation the text should be:

Peter Oluf Brøndsted.
 An illustrious Knight. Professor of Philology and Archaeology.
 The eloquent narrator of Greek literature.
 The strenuous discoverer of Greek monuments.
 Characterized by love for the fine arts and intelligence.
 A good citizen. A generous man.
 The most loving Father of three children,
 Whose mother he grieved for a long time.
 Born near Skanderborg on November the 17th 1780.
 He died not by an insidious illness but was snatched away in the middle of life's strength.
 Rector of the University of Copenhagen.
 June the 26th, 1842.

The plate is still owned by a descendent.