

P.O. BRØNDSTED, THE FORTUNES OF THE FINDS FROM KARTHAIA AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES FROM GREECE

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To the problem of what happened to the antiquities that came into the possession of Brøndsted during the period of his stay in Greece, 1810-1813, and especially *his exceedingly important collection*, as he calls the sculpture from Karthaia, new evidence may be added that perhaps may help in further research on the matter. The new evidence, which emerges from correspondence in the Manuscript Collection of the Royal Library of Denmark¹ and from reports given at the symposium on Brønd-

priest. Thus he initially studied theology, satisfying the desire of his father but not his own. With a diploma in theology in hand, he went on to study philology, showing particular interest in ancient Greek.

In 1804, having obtained a university scholarship, he went with his friend Georg Koës,⁵ likewise a philologist, on an educational journey to university centres of Germany with Paris as his ultimate goal.



View of Karthaia by Brønsted (1826)

sted held at Copenhagen in October 2006,² supplements the information known up to now from the two basic sources: the résumé of the lectures given by Brøndsted at the University of Copenhagen between the years 1815 and 1817³ and the first two volumes of his ambitious work on his travels in Greece.⁴

The Danish philologist-archaeologist, Peter Oluf Brøndsted, or P.O. Brøndsted as he preferred to be known, was born in 1780 in the town of Horsens in Denmark. He grew up in a family environment of austere regulations imposed by his father who was a

The time spent in the French capital by the two friends, winter 1806 – summer 1809, he devoted to systematic preparation for a scholarly journey to Greece. The first stop made by Brøndsted and Koës in their programmed trip was Rome. There they met the Estonian antiquarian, Baron Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, the architect Karl Haller von Hallerstein and the artist Jakob Linckh, the latter two from Germany. The common interest of Brøndsted and Koës, being the discovery, study, and acquisition of Greek antiquities, led to the formation of a group, which gathered in Athens in September 1810, where they acquired two additional members:

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the young English architects Charles Robert Cockerell and John Foster. The winter months that followed were dedicated by the researchers to the archaeological exploration of Athens and Attica.

In the spring of 1811 the group divided into two teams: Brøndsted, Koës and Stackelberg left for Constantinople and then for Smyrna, planning to visit Ephesos. The other members of the group embarked on archaeological explorations in Aigina with the known results: the collection of sculpture from the supposed temple of Zeus Panhellenios – the temple of Athena Aphaia – and its sale, with the known scandalous auction in Zakynthos.⁶

Koës, for some unknown reason, left the three-member team of Brøndsted, Koës, Stackelberg, and returned quickly to Athens. In a trip he made to the Peloponnese, he was struck by dysentery and in the end he died in Zakynthos. Brøndsted and Stackelberg returned to Athens from Asia Minor in the autumn of 1811. In the Capuchin monastery where they ended up, they met a merchant from Scotland named Walsingham who had just arrived in Athens from Kea where he had stayed for a time. The man had no idea whatsoever of ancient history and art but in conversation with Brøndsted he mentioned enthusiastically a mass of ruins at a beautiful seaside location in Kea.⁷ These accounts together with Brøndsted's desire to visit Simonides⁸ homeland and the antiquities of the island, which he had learned about from the notes of de Villoison,⁹ prompted him to leave for Kea.

On the 18th of December of the same year, 1811, Brøndsted together with Linckh and Walsingham left Athens by way of Liopesi and Markopoulo, arriving at Porto Rapti from which they embarked on a caique for Kea.¹⁰ At the place the Scottish merchant showed them there were indeed ancient ruins; for this was the city of Karthaia, which Brøndsted identified on the basis of the descriptions of ancient authors and from the texts of ancient Keian inscrip-

tions.¹¹ The area they chose for their archaeological explorations they rented from the owner. Work began without delay with the help of some 30 workmen. The excavation lasted 2-3 weeks and it brought to light the foundations of an ancient temple dedicated to Apollo and many marble sculptures, inscriptions, pottery and coins. Brøndsted lists a series of splendid sculptures that were brought to the surface: the torso of a colossal statue of Apollo from the neck to the lower part of the knee, which was found fallen on the floor of a niche in the temple, a headless female statue with peplos, of Parian marble, which was found near the stairway of the east entrance of the gate to the ancient city, the superb little head of a woman, perhaps a caryatid, as the fragmentary marble plaque on top of her head might suggest, the left hand of a colossal statue holding a phiale, a second headless statue of a woman, smaller than the other two, the legs of a statue, a marble horse with head missing, smaller than life-size, and many fragments of marble vessels.¹² The only illustration we have of the above sculpture is the one of the statue of a peplos-clad woman, whose head is missing.¹³

The escape of the antiquities was performed with some caution and with the help of an English ship to the secure ground of English occupation, the island of Malta. To be precise, a merchant ship, the *Bella Nina*, had arrived in the harbour of Kea from Smyrna, loaded with grain and headed for Malta. Walsingham undertook to make arrangements with the English captain Lothrington for the finds to be transported to Malta. The agreement was made and the sculpture the ship was able to carry was the following: the three statues, specifically, the torso of the male figure, the headless female figure wearing a peplos, the second headless statue of a woman and various marble fragments.¹⁴ These finds had been selected by the three excavators with the intention of sending them to European collections. They became the property of Brøndsted by lot, however, and after the other two had disclaimed all rights and he had paid them a sum of 300 species.¹⁵ After this the cap-

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tain transferred the sculpture from the little harbour of Karthaia with the help of a barge to the *Bella Nina* where they were placed in the hold with the grain. Brøndsted agreed with the captain, through Walsingham, that the finds were to be handed over for safe-keeping to the English commercial firm of Wilson and Allardyce in Valetta until he himself could arrange for their transport to Rome, where the Danish sculptor Thorvaldsen or some other artist would undertake their restoration.¹⁶

In connection with these antiquities, the Keian amateur historian Konstantinos Manthos,¹⁷ in a handwritten text containing descriptions and sketches of the antiquities of Kea, writes in his notes in 1861, the following: *Some Europeans carrying out excavations removed the statue of Apollo holding a lyre, a colossal horse that stood outside the temple, the statue of a plump woman with head missing, a baby wrapped in swaddling-clothes and a large statue and stones with inscriptions and various other things, all good works of art. There are still some men living who were in those excavations.* Manthos evidently received this information from surviving workmen of the excavation.

After this two-month sojourn in Kea, Brøndsted and Linckh returned to Athens where they met with their other comrades. For the first time the members of the group decided to work together and to take an active part in a large-scale excavation of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, Phigaleia, in the spring of that same year. The assistance of the

consul Gropius¹⁸ was important in making the necessary arrangements with the Ottoman officials. The results of the excavation are known and they do not concern us here.¹⁹ Brøndsted's notes on the excavation of the temple at Bassai, which he wrote in Rome in 1823, were published long after his death²⁰ and they add nothing more to Stackelberg's²¹ publication of the work.



Headless statue of a woman wearing a peplos.
Found in Karthaia in 1811

In the spring of 1813, Brøndsted left for Italy by way of Kerkyra, after a two-month sojourn in Zakynthos with the family of the Danish consul²² and an interesting visit to Ali Pasha in Ioannina.²³ In Rome he was to meet with the other members of the excavation group to arrange the publication of a collective report on their archaeological research in Greece.²⁴

This time he was burdened in addition with an important mission: the announcement to certain European personalities that the sculptures from Aigina and from Phigaleia were for sale. Armed with a letter of recommendation from Gropius he was also commissioned to negotiate with a certain *Excellency*, a representative of the French state,²⁵ on the part of all the members of the group that had participated in the excavations in Aigina and the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai. I am quoting the entire letter as it is in the original French text because it is a revealing piece of evidence of Brøndsted's participation in the sale of the antiquities discussed here to the Eminent of Europe and, at the same time, it illustrates the intense love of antiquities and antiquarian interest of the epoch.

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The letter is dated 14 August 1812 and it was composed at the temple of Apollo Epikourios, on Mt. Kotylion in Arcadia, and it refers to negotiations between the French Government and Gropius through Fauvel for the sale/purchase of the Aigina sculpture. Brøndsted has been charged with delivering the letter containing Gropius' observations about the proposals of the French Government. They concern the transportation and the method of payment for the sculpture as well as informing *his Excellency* about the Bassai excavation and the *superb frieze*, which *will have the same fortune as the statues of Aigina*.

Temple d'Apollon sur le Mont Cotylus d'Arcadie le 14 Août 1812.

Monseigneur,

Je reçois ici par une lettre de Mr. Fauvel d'Athènes, l'offre de Votre Excellence pour les statues d'Égine, de la vente desquels je suis chargé.

Les conditions que le Gouvernement français met à cet offre, exige de ma part une prompte réponse, afin que la dernière décision de Votre Excellence puisse me parvenir à temps. J'ai répondu de suite à Mr. Fauvel, mais pour prévenir mieux tout retard, je charge de cette lettre un voyageur, Mr. le Dr. Brøndsted de l'Université de Copenhague, qui part d'ici directement pour Rome.

J'ose faire à Votre Excellence sur ses propositions les observations suivantes:

Qu'on ne saurait trop hésiter de confier ce trésor des Antiquités, dont la perte serait irréparable pour les Arts, pour un plus grand trajet à la mer, que ne l'exige l'absolue nécessité. Or vu que les 17 statues portées d'Athènes par des chemins affreux, à travers tout l'Isthme de Corinthe, sur pas plus de vingt chevaux et sans le moindre accident, j'ose espérer que Votre Excellence fixera pour lieu de la consignation, non Marseille mais Reggio. Je dois de plus parvenir Votre Excellence,

que, puisque les frais et les risques du transport, depuis Malte jusqu'au Continent, doivent être à la charge des Vendeurs, je suis obligé de rabattre une somme équivalente, au moins, des Cent soixante mille francs offerts, et cela dans la proposition suivante: trente mille pour Marseille, 25 fns pour Civitavecchia, 20 fns pour Naples. Pour Reggio, seules quinze mille francs.

J'ajoute que par rapport au paiement, il m'est prescrit de la part des vendeurs respectifs, qui tous se trouvent encore ici, et qui ont besoin de la somme, d'exiger qu'il soit fait ici même, en Espèces, ou bien en Lettre de Change acceptée de quelque Banquier respectable de Constantinople ou de Salonique.

Mr. Brøndsted se réserve de l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence de la nouvelle fouille, que nous venons de terminer dans les ruines du temple d'Apollon Epikourios, qui décore ces forêts depuis le temps de Periclès, et dont l'heureux et étonnant résultat a été une superbe frise en marbre, de 96 pieds de long, sur laquelle Cent figures en haut relief de la proportion de deux pieds, représentent les Combats d'Amazones avec les Héros Helléniens, et celui des Centaures et Lapithes aux Noces de Perithôus. Cette frise découverte et trouvée par des amis voyageurs réunis, aura le même sort des statues d'Égine. Mr. Fauvel communiquera à V. Ex. les conditions relatifs à la vente qu'on fera de cette frise.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monseigneur,

De Votre Excellence

Le très humble Serviteur

G. Gropius

v. Consul Britt. En Thessalie

The same year, 1813, he met the Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria in Augsburg where he informed him about the Aigina sculpture. Later he again visited Ludwig in an effort to persuade him to entrust the restoration of the sculpture to Thorvaldsen, whom he considered the best contemporary sculptor in Europe.²⁶ He recommended Thorvaldsen also

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to the British Museum for the restoration of the Parthenon sculpture.²⁷

On his return to Denmark, Brøndsted informed the government service that had funded his journey with 4000 talents that *his research in Greece had produced historical and artistic treasures* that he had stored in Zakynthos and Malta and that he had brought part of the collection with him.²⁸ Between the years 1815 and 1817, he organised a series of lectures at the University of Copenhagen, divided into two periods, on the subject of ancient and modern Greece.²⁹ The academic community, however, expected something more than a series of talks that satisfied mainly public curiosity about Greece, its history, its monuments and its inhabitants. Brøndsted was commended in his homeland for his archaeological research, he was made a member of various scholarly Academies, among them the Ionian Academy of Kerkyra, but he had not yet published anything about his visits to artistic and intellectual centres of Europe or on the conclusions of his archaeological researches in Greece. His deep knowledge of ancient Greek history and art had not rendered a corresponding scholarly work. Thanks to the fortune he had acquired through his wife, he was able to enjoy a comfortable private life, but his assets were beginning to evaporate in luxurious social events and in constant travel to the artistic centres of Europe. In 1818 his wife died and he entrusted the care of his three children to one of his close relatives.

The need for a steady income and the possibility of continuing his many travels together with his love of Rome, led him to accept the position of representative of the Danish Court to the Vatican.³⁰ Of the studies he made during his tenure of that position, 1819-1823, he published only one.³¹ He made yet another journey to Greece, this time in the company of Lord Guilford and the young Nikolaos Luntzis. They visited Kerkyra, Ithaca and Zakynthos, where Brøndsted handed over Nikolaos Lu-

ntzis to his mother and continued alone his journey to Malta.

Thus the summer of 1820 found Brøndsted in Valetta and in a letter to James Wilson, representative of the commercial firm of Wilson and Allardyce, he tried to locate the sculpture that he had sent from Kea eight years earlier, in 1812, about which all that time he had received no information whatsoever.³²

The letter is dated 8 May 1820. It is an extensive reference to the excavation and to the way in which the finds left Kea, with Mr. Walsingham as middleman and with the help of Lothrington, the captain of the ship *Bella Nina*. Brøndsted wanted to learn from James Wilson just what had become of the finds, which comprised *at least 15-16 pieces including three superb statues*.

The content of the letter is a handwritten chronicle by Brøndsted himself about the excavation and the finds from Karthaia and for that reason I think it useful to present it here in its entirety.

Valetta, May 9th 1820. Mr. Wilson Esq.

Dear Sir,
*You will permit me to address you the following details in order to ask you several questions concerning a very interesting collection of ancient greek marbles which I sent in the spring of 1812 with your good ship **Bella Nina**, Captain Lothrington.*

It happened at that time that Capt Lothrington came up with your ship loaded with corn from Smyrna to the harbour of Zea just as I was busy with an excavation undertaken in the ruins of the ancient city of Carthea, 8 or 9 miles from the modern town of Zea. I undertook this excavation together with my friend and fellow traveller Mr. Linckh and one Mr. Walsingham who happened to be at Zea that time, lodged in the

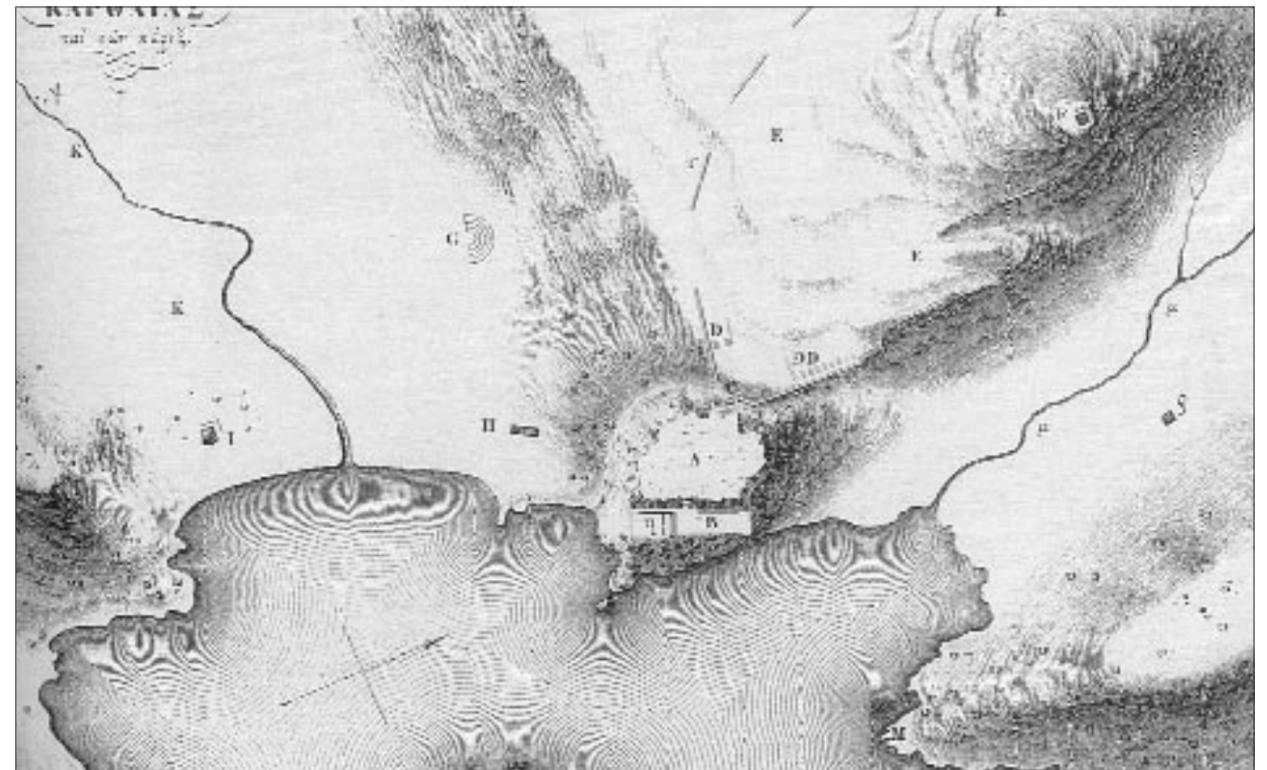
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town of Zea in the same house with us. After having made a stay of 3 or 4 weeks on the ruins of the ancient town and having digged there continually with about thirty men, great quantity of inscriptions and number of sculptured marbles were found. The whole collection became my property by an accommodation agreed upon by those persons who had a share in this undertaking. After having payed to them the fixed sums, I took the marbles in possession and made proper arrangements for preserving well that part of them which I was obliged to leave at Zea till some future period.

For different reasons I was rather anxious to carry away immediately the sculptured marbles, especially two beautifull female torsos, another greater torso of Apollo and a quantity of smaller pieces, as heads, legs, hands etc. of other statues of which the bodies were not found. I became acquainted with Captain Lothrington through his countryman Mr. Walsingham and as he was to go directly to Malta it was looked upon as very good opportunity bringing my sculptured marbles to

this place; of course the proposal was made by Mr. Walsingham to the Captain, who showed himself very disposed to fulfil any wish in this case; he came himself in his boat round the island to the ruins of Carthea where he stayed with us a day or two and agreed upon the commission which he was to receive. Every thing upon perfectly settled, the captain engaged to bring all those pieces of my marbles which he received with the utmost care to Malta and to consign them there to the house of Wilson and Allardyce, gentlemen settled in Valetta, whom I had not the honor to know, but till my disposal of them by a letter from Mr. Walsingham who pretended to know their house perfectly and to showed himself very zealous in doing what he seemed believe to be my interest on the present occasion.

Of course the marbles were embarked in the boat of the Captain, who carried them himself on board to his ship in the port of Zea where I found them, some days afterwards very well preserved and disposed in a proper manner upon the corn which was the principal cargo



The site of Karthaia. Drawing by Brøndsted (1826)

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of the ship. Mr. Lothrington was in those days several times engaged to come up to the town for breakfasting or dinning with us. Thus the commission was still further arranged. Unfortunately the letter which Mr. Walsingham was to write on this subject to the house of Mr. Wilson and Allardyce, was brought some hours too late to the port (which is at least three miles from the city of Zea) and the opportunity lost; however this could not be looked upon as a disappointment of any consequence, as the Captain was so perfectly aware of what interest and had assured me so often that I might depend upon his fulfilling my commission in every respect. The letter of Mr. W. to your house as afterwards send from Athens over Hydra and accompanied with another from myself by which I engaged Mr. W. and A. to be so kind to preserve my collection for my future disposal, engaging myself in the same time as I ought to payment the usual charges.

I went in the following year, 1813, through Greece, Italy and Germany to the north of Europe, decided to leave my Zean-collection of marbles at Malta, as I left several other collections in other parts of southern Europe, to some future period when peace might be restored and my literacy or public occupations should engage me to revisit Italy and Greece. [I was] somewhat surprised that [I] never did receive in five years which I pasted in Denmark till my return to Italy, any information of my marbles at Malta either from you, Sir, nor from Captain Lothrington, however I felt myself confident that my marbles were perfectly save in your storehouse at Malta. In order to ascertain the facts, I lately preferred, coming from Corfu, to return to Sicily and Italy by the way of Malta. Arrived, two-three days ago, at this place I take the liberty of asking you to be kind enough to give me that information I want on the following questions:

1. Did you receive the letter dated from Zea I believe in the month of February 1812 from Mr. W? I am sorry to hear that this person who called himself Walsingham was a man of uncertain character but happily his intervention is not of any consequence in the pres-

ent affair. The letter from this man was accompanied with one from myself written at Athens in the month of March 1812.

2. Did you receive by captain Lothrington a number of sculptured marbles, at least 15 or 16 pieces and among them two beautiful female torsos and a larger male one? Did you receive proper information from Mr. Lothrington on my account? And do you think that Captain L. has acted well and honestly like a gentleman towards me?

3. In the case that Mr. Lothrington has ailed wrong and ill against me, can I hope from your kindness some information how to find out where this man lives at present in order to avail legal myself of that protection, which every country of cultivate Europe and especially England, accords to every honest man who reclaims his right.

I am, my dear Sir, with true esteem,
Your most obedient, humble servitor
Chevalier Brøndsted, His M. The king of D.s Agent at the Court of Rome.
Malta: la Valetta, May 9th 1820

The next day, 10 May 1820, James Wilson replied that because of the involvement in shipping the marbles, of Walsingham, a pathetic swindler, the request to store them had not been accepted by the English commercial firm.³³ A month later, on the 10th of June 1820, Brøndsted elatedly informed Johan Adler, the secretary to Christian, the Crown Prince of Denmark, that they had found in Malta two of the most beautiful sculptures that he had sent from Kea and that he had already received them. Unfortunately however, 7-8 smaller marble fragments, of excellent workmanship, had been given away as a gift by the captain of the ship, in an effort to promote himself socially.³⁴

During his sojourn in Valetta, Brøndsted was in

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touch with collectors for exchange and probably the sale of Greek coins that he had brought with him from Greece.³⁵

At the same time he tried to gather in his headquarters in Rome, his personal objects and the Greek antiquities that were in his possession. He addressed himself to Marassi, the Danish assistant consul at Livorno, and asked him to take charge of the shipment from Rome of a crate. numbered CAV:B:No 1, containing marbles and books that Lountzi had sent him from Zakynthos, and a second crate containing a very valuable Greek marble – *un marbre grec bien precieux*. This crate arrived at the English commercial firm of Hunter in the ship *George*, the captain of which was John Willens.³⁶ The sculpture contained in the first crate must have been that which he himself had taken from the excavation of the temple of Apollo Epikourios and had brought to Zakynthos in care of the Luntzis family.

As for the contents of the second crate, *the very valuable Greek marble* can only be the Doric column capital that had been found in the Aigina excavation in 1811 and that had been kept by Haller on Brøndsted's account. With Gropius as intermediary, the capital had been sent to the Danish consul in Constantinople, Baron Casimir de Hübsch, who, through a misunderstanding, had sent it on to Copenhagen. Brøndsted, then in Rome, asked the consul to give orders to have the column capital sent to the commercial firm of Marassi in Livorno or to the English commercial firm of Hunter-Jameson in Malta for a final destination in Rome.³⁷

On 16 July 1820 Brøndsted received in Rome a second letter from James Wilson who wrote to say that they had sent him another *fragment of his Greek marble that was found in the King's Bakery* and that despite his efforts he had been unable to locate any others – *I leave with my friend Capt Smyth R.N. another fragment of your Grecian marbles, which was found in the King's bakery after you left Malta... This*

*is the last piece, I think, you may expect to hear of from Malta as I have searched most diligently anywhere.*³⁸

In January 1821, a portion of the sculpture of Karthaia was sent by Wilson to Rome. This comprised only the three statues we referred to above. What happened to the remaining pieces, numbering around thirteen, is unknown. The headless peplophoros female figure was the most impressive piece of his collection. At that time Brøndsted was preparing a mould in order to make 12 plaster casts of that statue.³⁹ From Rome he was again in communication with collectors about *the sale of the marvellous collection of Greek coins, for not less than 10.000 Spanish piastres.*⁴⁰

The last awaited shipments also arrived in Rome in February 1821: two crates with his personal possessions, a crate containing the Doric capital and a *small marble*. This is probably the last sculpture from Karthaia that Wilson sent him. In order to avoid customs inspection of the crates, he asked for the assistance of Cardinal Münter, minister at the Vatican.⁴¹

In the spring of 1823, Brøndsted gave up his residence in Rome and we find him for a few months in Geneva⁴² and then Paris, from which he made frequent visits to London, his enthusiasm for which he does not conceal and which he considers the real megalopolis. The autumn of that same year he sent for safe keeping 6 crates that had remained in Rome, containing *marbles and other ancient objects of importance to me... very well packed* and bearing the number *TC No 1, MR no 1,2,3,4, CB no 4*⁴³ to the banking firm of London Rouchement and Behrends, 14 Broad Street, by way of Livorno. From the fact ascertained up to now, we can accept as fact that one crate held the Doric column capital from the Aphaia temple, a second crate the antiquities from Bassai that had been sent from Zakynthos and the four crates with the continuous numbering, antiquities mainly from South Italy, but also from Greece – *The finest collection of marbles and terracottas I ever possessed.*⁴⁴

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A year later, on 13 November 1824, Brøndsted tried to sell the contents of five crates to the British Museum, through the agent Adolphus Richter. His offer was accompanied by a catalogue of the antiquities and includes: two statues, in separate crates, one of a youth made of Parian marble that had been found in Rome in 1819 – 130 pounds sterling and the other of a headless woman that had been found in Karthaia in 1812 – 450 pounds sterling. A third crate contained a column capital from the temple of Zeus Panhellenios – of Athena Aphaia – in Aigina – 100 pounds sterling and a painted antefix from the same temple. The fourth crate contained a fragment of the pediment, probably an akroterion, from the temple of Apollo Epikourios – 60 pounds sterling, two marble antefixes from the same temple – 40 pounds sterling, a pedimental fragment from the Parthenon with marvellous decoration – 10 pounds sterling. The contents of the fifth crate included 48 coloured, clay ornaments of which only three came from Greece, the rest from Italy – 80 pounds sterling. Total 890 pounds sterling. This attempt of Brøndsted's was not crowned by success.

I. Statues. Case nr 1. The greater part of a young male figure, probably representing a Hymen, of greek workmanship (parian marble) found in 1819 in the ruins of an ancient Roman house on the via Appia near Rome. Pound sterling 130. Case nr 2. Female torso of the most exquisite style and workmanship, probably of a statue representing Diana (Artemis) found in 1812 by excavation in the ruins of the ancient city of Carthea on the island of Ceos near Attika in Greece. Pound sterg. 450. II. Architecture. Case nr 3. A. One of the capitals on the interior pillars in the temple of Panhellenian Giove on the island of Egina in Greece. Pound sterg 100. B. One of the painted marble fleurons which surrounded the roof of that temple. Pound srerg 20. Case nr 4. C. Fragment of the ornament upon the pediment of the temple of Apollo Epicurius near Phigalia in Peloponnesos. Pound sterg. 60. D & E. Two marble fleurons of those which surrounded the roof of that temple. Pound

sterg 40. F. Fragment of a fine ornament of the temple of Minerva Polias on the Acropolis at Athens. Pound sterg 10. III. Terracottas. Case nr 5. Forty eight pieces of ornamental Terracottas. Three of them purchased in Greece and forty five found by excavation (in the year 1822) at Palestrina (ancient Pronste) near Rome. Pound sterg 80. Total sum Pound sterg 890.⁴⁵

Brøndsted stayed in Paris from 1823 to 1830, preparing the publication of his work. He applied to the French publisher Fermin Didot for the publication of 500 copies in French and another 500 in German.⁴⁶ He made frequent visits to London from Paris because he was studying especially the metopes of the south side of the Parthenon. He was in continuous communication with his good friend Cockerell, established in England, and kept him informed as to course of publication of his work.⁴⁷ The first volume was published in Paris in 1826 and on the title page, among the European archaeologists, the name of Brøndsted is included, thus satisfying one of his great expectations.

The ancient finds remained in England for safe-keeping at the London banking firm except for some vases that were *less heavy* and which he sent to Paris. Their sale would have improved his economic situation and his ability to continue publishing his work. He counted on the willingness of Cockerell to help, beginning with the Doric column capital for the *moderate sum* of 100 pounds sterling and he asked him to approach the British Museum or anyone else he might have in mind – *You will be kind enough to try to dispose the capital, if possible to the British Museum if not to anybody else, for the said sum.* Since Brøndsted, moreover, had urgent need of money, he asked Cockerell, in addition, to lend him 100 pounds sterling and to retain that amount from the sale of the capital.⁴⁸

Brøndsted's negotiations with the British Museum for the sale of the column capital and the other

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antiquities were approaching finalization when one of the trustees, Taylor Combe, died, with the result that negotiations were indefinitely postponed. – *As for that remarkable stone, Egina capital, it was almost sold with some other very valuable marbles and terracottas to the British Museum a short time before poor Combe died.*⁴⁹ At this same time he notified Cockerell that he wanted the sum of 890 liras for the sale of the antiquities in the 6 crates.⁵⁰ Specifically, for the crate containing the Doric capital from Aigina and some fragments-spoils from the decoration of the temple with traces of colour, and for the second crate with fragments-spoils from the decoration of the temple of Apollo at Bassai, for the two together he had decided on the amount of 220 liras. For the other four, he said he wanted a total of 670 liras without referring to their contents.⁵¹

From the history of the vicissitudes of the antiquities we have seen up to now, those crates contained antiquities from Greece including the pieces from Karthaia. This hypothesis is supported also by the fact that Brøndsted sent Cockerell the folio edition of the two first volumes of his work with the request that he give them to the Library of the British Museum, to Lord Aberdeen, to Mr. Ellis or to anyone else. – *If you believe that it might facilitate the business you may present two or three copies of both volumes of my edition in fol. to the Library of the British Museum, to Lord Aberdeen, to Mr. Ellis or to anyone else.*⁵² It is known that the first volume of the work had to do exclusively with the history of Kea and the excavation at Karthaia. What is not known is the outcome of the efforts to sell the antiquities. Brøndsted himself was persuaded that the *publication of his work would double or triple the price of the antiquities.*⁵³

In the summer of 1829, Brøndsted was in need of money for the publication of the second volume of his work and he asked Cockerell to lend him 500 liras. For such an amount he received a negative reply from his friend.⁵⁴ In the autumn of the same

year he again asked Cockerell for a loan, this time of 200 liras, apart from the 100 he had already borrowed, and he wanted desperately to have the antiquities sold, in any way possible, to English collectors.⁵⁵ Added to his critical economic plight was the insolvency of the English firm that had undertaken to publish his work in English. In Brøndsted's last offer to the British Museum, in 1831, mention is made of a *Collection of classical antiquities, bronze finds and pottery.* The catalogue of objects offered includes 21 antiquities, of which only four are noted as having come from Greece.⁵⁶ We have no further information about this offer.

His repatriation in the autumn of 1832 brought him the pleasure of being appointed full professor of philology and archaeology in the University of Copenhagen and also director of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medallions. His scholarly trips to Paris and London continued but they were of shorter duration. In 1832 he sold a large part of his collection of Greek coins and some bronze objects to the French Government, for a price of 23.350 francs.⁵⁷ Shortly before his death, in 1842, he published an excellent translation of Aischylos' *Agamemnon.*

As for the antiquities that remained in London, there is little we can learn. We have seen that some vases, *the lightest*, Brøndsted had sent to Paris. The Doric column capital was not sold, despite all his efforts. Six years after his death, in 1848, it entered the Collection of Antiquities of the National Museum in Copenhagen, where it is exhibited.⁵⁸ Professor P.J. Riis holds that Brøndsted had taken with him the column capital in question from the temple of Aphaia on his trip to Aigina in 1812, an event for which there is no support as we have seen.⁵⁹ Following information given by Michaelis, the Danish archaeologist John Lund was led to the Torrie Collection of the University of Edinburgh for the existence of a torso of a female figure wearing a chiton, of Parian marble and probably from Kea. Unfortunately he was not given permission to pursue his research.⁶⁰

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Part of Brøndsted's collection of Greek coins is today in the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen.⁶¹

Worth noting in connection with the fortune of the antiquities is Brøndsted's characteristic insistence that they be sold in England and his efforts to have them purchased by the British Museum with which he had forged a special relationship.⁶² The involvement of Cockerell in projecting their sale to museums and private collections was a piece of good fortune for Brøndsted. It should be borne in mind that Cockerell was a most important personage in his own country with rich architectural achievements and that his easy entrance to the antiquarian circles of England should not present any particular difficulty. This coincidence of circumstances leads us to the hypothesis that an important part of the Greek antiquities of Brøndsted must have been sold initially in England.

For the antiquities from Karthaia in particular, of the approximately 15-16 marble sculptures that they had shipped to Malta, Brøndsted finally received only three. Of those three, only the headless female figure clad in a chiton and known from the illustration in his publication, can be said with any certainty to have arrived in London. Brøndsted's offer to the British Museum in 1824, includes that sculpture and it is the only one from Kea.⁶³ After Rome, where all the antiquities had been gathered, there is no further mention of the other two statues, the male figure and the smaller female figure. They are likely to have been sold to private collections in Italy. The other approximately 13 marble fragments of statues were scattered in Malta, which was an important centre for the passage of antiquities. We do not know the count of pottery and coins that were "lighter" and therefore easier to transport. Two little oinochoai



The geometric phase of the acropolis of Karthaia. Graphic restitution by A. Papanikolaou (1991)

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from Karthaia are today in the collections of the National Museum in Copenhagen.⁶⁴

Identification of the antiquities is an exceedingly difficult task, for in the various collections information about their origin is frequently deficient⁶⁵ and, particularly in the case of the Karthaia sculpture, apart from the female torso with chiton, illustrations are unknown. It is likely that Linckh, who worked with Brøndsted in the excavation of Karthaia, made drawings of some of the archaeological finds; likewise Cockerell, who knew the sculpture first-hand. A future research in collections, particularly those in Europe, should focus also on archives and collections that contain drawings and notebook sketches by Linckh and Cockerell. Perhaps then valuable evidence might emerge for an approach to answering to the question: "what became of the antiquities from Karthaia and the other finds from Greece that Brøndsted took with him?"

Notes

1. KB-Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Haandskriftsafdelinge. This correspondence of Brøndsted's is dated after his departure from Greece in 1813.
2. Peter Oluf Brøndsted (1780-1842). A Danish Classicist in his European context. Copenhagen 5-6 October 2006.
3. P.O. Brøndsted's *Reise i Graekenland i Aarene 1810-1813*.
4. P.O. Brøndsted, *Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques, et suivis d'un aperçu sur toutes les entreprises scientifiques qui ont eu lieu en Grèce depuis Pausanias jusqu'à nos jours*. The first volume is devoted to archaeological researches in Kea. On its initial contents see Lund, n.5. The second volume includes Brøndsted's study of the metopes of the south side of the Parthenon. A German translation of the work was published at the same time under the title *Reisen und Untersuchungen in Griechenland nebst Darstellung und Erklärung vieler neuentdeckten Denkmähler griechischen Styls, und einer kritischen Übersicht aller Unternehmungen dieser Art, von Pausanias bis unsere Zeiten. In acht Büchern*. τ. I-II, Paris

1826-1830. The remaining six volumes that Brøndsted had planned were never circulated.

5. Georg Koës (1782-1811), Danish philologist. His sister Frederikke married Brøndsted in the autumn of 1813.
6. On 16 February 1824, Brøndsted wrote to Cockerell from Paris to say that from his studies it emerges that the Aigina temple must have been dedicated to Athena and not to Zeus and he adds: *do not give this information to anyone until we talk to each other in London* where he was to arrive very soon, Engl. KB NKS 4648 I 2, 4o. The sculpture from the temple today grace the Munich Glyptotek and were purchased for the sum of 20.000 species, *Reise I*, p. 405.
7. *Reise II*, p. 496.
8. *Reise II*, p. 495.
9. J.-B. d'Ansse de Villosion (1753-1805), French Hellenist, in 1785 he had visited Kea twice. Brøndsted had studied his relevant archaeological notes when he was in Paris, *Voyages*, pp. 34-35, n. 2.
10. *Reise II*, p. 495.
11. Brøndsted had an excellent idea of the topography of Kea, drawn from his extensive study of ancient Greek literature, *Voyages I, Première Partie, Topographie*, pp. 3-35.
12. Description of the excavation *Voyages I*, pp. 15-24, *Reise II*, pp. 502-507.
13. *Voyages I*, pl. IX, p.124. Perhaps there are drawings by Linckh in the private collection mentioned by M. Honroth, *Jacob Linck, ein Griechenland – Reisender des frühen 19 Jahrh.*
14. *Reise II*, p. 506, *Voyages I*, p. 24.
15. This is described in the lectures given by Brøndsted, *Reise II*, p. 506 and repressed by himself in the publication of his work.
16. *Reise II*, p. 507. Restoration comprised the addition of missing parts of the sculptures, a regular practice of the collectors of antiquities.
17. The amateur historian and antiquarian Konstanti Ioannes Manthos (around 1826-1890) arranged his own exhibitions of antiquities of the island in 1855, 1861 and 1871, *Manthos 1861*.
18. Georg Christian Gropius represented the consular authorities of Austria, England and Denmark.
19. The frieze of the temple was taken initially to Engli

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controlled Zakynthos, then was auctioned in Malta and bought by the British Museum, where it is exhibited today.

20. *Udgravningen af Templet ved Phigalia*.

21. Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, *Der Apollotempel zu Bassae*.

22. Brøndsted was on friendly terms with the family of the Danish consul in Zakynthos, Anastasios Lountzis, after whose death his young son, Nikolaos Conrad (1798-1885) accompanied the Danish archaeologist to Denmark. Nikolaos stayed with Brøndsted for seven years, 1813-1820, accompanying him on his travels and to the frequent philological salons of Copenhagen, Παπανικολάου-Κρίστενσεν, *Correspondence between the Ionian Islanders and the Danes*, pp. 388-389.

23. *Reise I*, pp. 248-270. Jacob Isager, *Peter Oluf Brøndsted-Interview with Ali Pacha*.

24. Letter from Brøndsted to Cockerell, Rome 28 July 1815, Engl., KB NKS Fol. 1578 I koncept p. 22.

25. KB NKS 1546 1, 2o. With the above shipment, Brøndsted is very likely to have envisioned a certain recompense and in all probability it is directly connected with the money owed him by Gropius, 400 Spanish piastres, from 27 Μαΐου 1812, to Gropius, Paris 23 May 1821, Fr. KB NKS 1578 2o II.

26. Restoration/filling in of the sculpture from the temple of Aphaia at the Glyptotek in Munich was done by Thorvaldsen.

27. Letter from Copenhagen by Brøndsted to M. Gell, 7 July 1816, Fr. KB NKS Fol 1578 I koncept, p. 22.

28. Letter To Deputationen for Fondet ad usus publicus, 29 Nov. 1814, Dan. KB NKS Fol. 1578 I koncept, p.20. Some of the antiquities he had taken with him from Greece will evidently have been pottery and coins from Kea.

29. His lectures, a total of 44, were published posthumously by the philologist R.B. Dorph.

30. Schepelern.

31. P.O. Brøndsted, *Sopra un iscrizione Greca scolpita in un antico elmo di bronzo rinvenuta nelle ruine di Olimpia del Peloponneso*, Naples 1820. Other studies from his notes were published after his death.

32. From his private archive of copies of his letters, KB NKS 1578 I 2o.

33. Lund, n. 41.

34. Lund, n. 42.

35. To the officer Otto Beyr, Valetta 14 May 1820, Fr. KB NKS Fol. 1578 I koncept, p. 136v.

36. Valetta 16 May 1820, Fr. KB NKS Fol. 1578 I koncept, p. 137v.

37. Naples 29 Aug 1820, Fr. KB NKS Fol. 1578 I koncept, p.167. There are letters relevant to the Doric column capital from Hübsch to Brøndsted, Fr. KB NKS 1546 I-II 2o nr 217-220 and one to Gropius, 7 January 1820, Fr. KB NKS 1546 I-II 2o nr 217.

38. 10 May 1820, NKS 1546 2o, Lund, n. 43.

39. A cast, 53 cm. in height, exists today in the Thoraldsen Museum in Copenhagen and I thank my colleague Torben Melander of that Museum for placing the cast at my disposal. For the existence of casts of the same find in other European collections, see Lund.

40. Letter to Milord d' E., Rome 30 Jan.1821, Fr. KB NKS Fol. 1578 I koncept, pp. 192-193. In another letter, he informs Prince Poniatowsky that he has *some 3000 coins from the Ionian Islands and Sicily*, Rome 14 Dec. 1820, Fr. KB NKS Fol 1578 I koncept, p. 186.

41. Rome 8 February 1821, Fr. KB NKS 1578 I 2o koncept, p. 194v.

42. He has met Capodistria of whom he speaks highly, Breve, p.153.

43. He notifies the banking firm about the shipment, Geneva 7 Oct. 1823, Fr. KB NKS 1578 II 2o, p. 64.

44. As Brøndsted characteristically writes to Cockerell, 23 Dec.1828, Engl. KB NKS 4648 I 2, 4o.

45. This important piece of information with the relevant catalogue is provided by the Danish archaeologist Bundgaard Rasmussen in her research in the archives of the British Museum, Bundgaard Rasmussen.

46. Paris le 31 March 1825, Fr. KB NKS 1578 II 2o.

47. The original title of Brøndsted's ambitious work was: *Voyages et entreprises scientifiques en Grèce avec quantité de monuments inédits d'un style purement grec. Ouvrage suivi d'un aperçu critique de toutes les entreprises de cette espèce exécutées en Grèce dès le voyage de Pausanias jusqu'à nos jours*. Letter from Brøndsted to Cockerell, Paris 16 Febr. 1824, Engl. KB NKS 4648 I, 4o.

48. Paris 25 August 1828, Engl. KB NKS 4648 I 2, 4o.

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49. Letter from Brøndsted to Cockerell, Paris 23 Oct. 1830, Engl. KB NKS 4648 I 4, 4o.

50. In the catalogue included in his 1824 offer to the British Museum with the price of 890 liras, he mentions five crates, whereas the total price remains the same, 890 liras, Bundgaard Rasmussen. It is likely that two crates were combined into one.

51. Letter to Cockerell, Paris 23 Dec. 1828, Engl. KB NKS 4648 I 2, 4o.

52. Henry Ellis was the secretary of the Trustees of the British Museum.

53. Letter to Cockerell, Paris 23 Oct. 1830, Engl. NKS 4648 I 2, 4o.

54. Paris 5 January. 1830, Engl. KB NKS 1546 2o.

55. Paris 23 Oct. 1830, Fr. KB NKS 4648 I 4, 4o.

56. Bundgaard Rasmussen.

57. *Reise I*, p. 67.

58. I thank John Lund, of the National Museum-collection of antiquities in Copenhagen for the information about the origin of the column capital in the Museum collections.

59. P.J. Riis, *Three Aeginetan Fragments*.

60. Lund, n. 47, 48, 49.

61. Jensen, p. 48.

62. Bundgaard Rasmussen.

63. Bundgaard Rasmussen.

64. Christian VIII, p. 32, fig. 20.

65. D. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, Cornelius Vermeule, Notes of a new edition of Michaelis.

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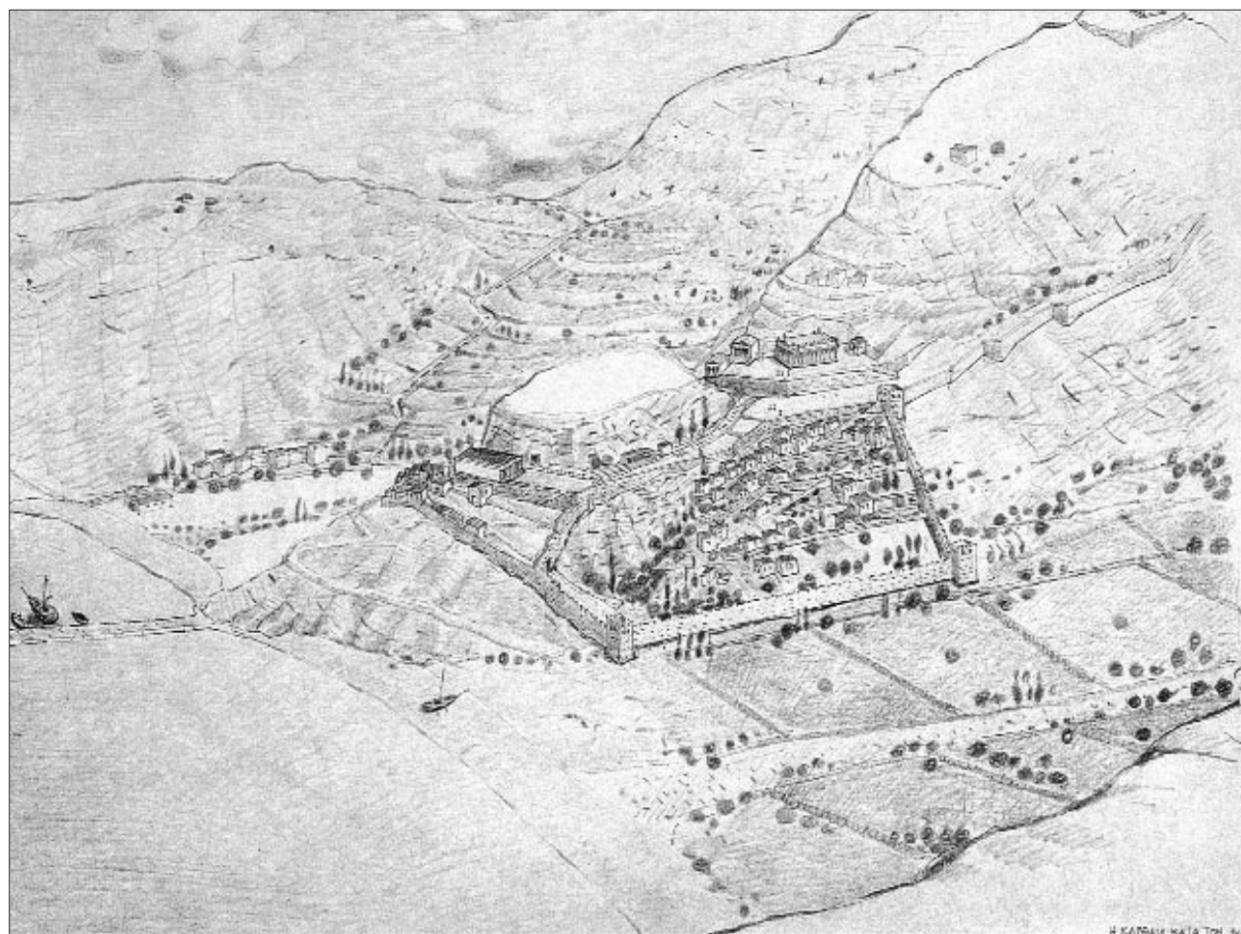
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The acropolis of Karthaia at the beginning of the 3rd c. BC. Graphic restitution by A. Papanikolaou (1991)