

Schleiermacher's Visit to Copenhagen in 1833.

With an Introduction edited by Jon Stewart

Introduction by the editor

Schleiermacher's visit to Copenhagen from September 22–29, 1833 was a signal episode in Danish intellectual life of the day.¹ Most all of the leading Danish theologians, philosophers and literary figures played some role in the many events that took place in connection with his celebrated stay. By that time Schleiermacher was already an old man in the last year of his life. The trip to Copenhagen was a part of a longer journey through Scandinavia, and Schleiermacher was actually on his way back to Berlin when he stopped in the Danish capital. On this trip he was accompanied by his friend Maximilian Heinrich Karl Anton Kurt Graf von Schwerin (1804–72), known as Duke Schwerin-Putzar, a former cavalry officer. The journey, which began in early August 1833, took the two friends first to Sweden, where they stopped in Stockholm. They continued on to Norway, where they met with the Danish-Norwegian philosopher Niels Treschow (1751–1833) in Oslo. From Oslo they went south in mid-September, travelling through Helsingborg in Sweden, and crossing to Helsingør on the Danish side of the sound. From there they proceeded to Copenhagen.

In Copenhagen Schleiermacher was received with tremendous pomp and ceremony. There exist several accounts of this eventful week from both Danish newspapers and private individuals.² Three of the most extensive of these accounts are presented here. In what follows a short de-

¹ I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Peter Tudvad for his generous help in locating some of the older materials relevant for this article and Richard Purkarthofer for his help with the philological aspects of this article.

The most detailed accounts of this event are found in Niels Munk Plum, *Schleiermacher i Danmark, Copenhagen (Bianco Lunos) 1934*; Skat Arildsen, *To Tyske Teologers Københavns-Besøg*, in: *Kirken. Tidsskrift for Kirkelig Orientering* 6, 1934, 1–17. See also Richard Crouter, *Kierkegaard's Not so Hidden Debt to Schleiermacher*, in: *ZNThG* 1, 1994, 205–225, 205–208.

² For example, those of Vilhelm Birkedal (in his *Personlige Oplevelser i et langt Liv*, Bde. 1–3, Copenhagen 1890–91, Bd. 1, 196) and Henrik Nikolai Clausen (in his *Optegnelser om mit Levned og min Tids Historie*, Copenhagen 1877, 173). See also H. C. A. Lund, *Studenteforeningens Historie 1820–70*, Bde. 1–2, Copenhagen 1896–98, Bd. 1, 353–359.

scription is given of the general context of these texts as well as the authors who wrote them. Based on the information they provide, an attempt is made in the second section to reconstruct Schleiermacher's visit day by day. In the third section a brief account is given of the coverage of Schleiermacher's visit in the local Copenhagen newspapers. Finally, in the fourth section Schleiermacher's relation to Denmark's most famous theologian and religious writer, Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855), is briefly touched on.

I.

The first account is in German and comes from the hand of the philosopher Frederik Christian Sibbern (1785–1872). Sibbern is known today primarily as the advisor for Søren Kierkegaard's famous dissertation *The Concept of Irony* (1841); however, Sibbern was Denmark's leading philosopher at the time and the author of several major works on virtually every field of the discipline. He was one of the main Danish figures to have been influenced significantly by Schleiermacher. During Winter Semester 1811–12, he attended Schleiermacher's lectures in Berlin.³ In his letters from the period, Sibbern indicates his familiarity with Schleiermacher and Fichte, for whose sake he says he went to Berlin.⁴ He seems to have had a very positive impression of Schleiermacher, while he is quite guarded with respect to Fichte.⁵ He further indicates that Schleiermacher was able to read some Danish as a result of his early studies in the Moravian school.⁶ Sibbern's early encounter with Schleiermacher seems to have had a lasting influence on his thought, and the connection between Sibbern's philosophy and Schleiermacher's theology has been noted before.⁷

The text featured here is a letter that Sibbern wrote to Henriette Herz (1764–1847). It is dated October 1, 1833, i.e., immediately after Schleiermacher's departure from Denmark, and appears in a collection of

³ This is confirmed by a letter from Georg Sverdrup (1770–1850) to Sibbern, dated April 30, 1812, where Sverdrup alludes to the fact that Sibbern has attended Schleiermacher's lectures. Letter from Sverdrup to Sibbern, Copenhagen, April 30, 1812, in: *Breve til og fra F.C. Sibbern*, Bde. 1–2, ed. by C. L. N. Mynster, Copenhagen 1866, Bd. 1, 19. See also Jens Himmelstrup, *Sibbern*, Copenhagen (J. H. Schultz Forlag) 1934, 39.

⁴ Letter from Sibbern to Sophie Ørsted, Berlin, January 14, 1812, in: *Breve til og fra F. C. Sibbern* (n. 3), Bd. 2, 56–57.

⁵ *Breve til og fra F.C. Sibbern* (n. 3), Bd. 2, 60.

⁶ *Breve til og fra F.C. Sibbern* (n. 3), Bd. 2, 58.

⁷ See Helge Hultberg, *Schleiermacher und die dänische Romantik*, in: *Schleiermacher – im besonderen Hinblick auf seine Wirkungsgeschichte in Dänemark*, ed. by Helge Hultberg/Karsten Friis Johansen/Theodor Jørgensen/Friedrich Schmöe, *Text & Kontext, Sonderreihe*, Bd. 22, Copenhagen/Munich (Wilhelm Fink Verlag) 1986, 132–133; Plum, *Schleiermacher* (n. 1), 45–53.

letters to and from Sibbern that was published in 1866.⁸ During his study trip to Berlin, Sibbern had met Henriette Herz, whose home served for years as a meeting-place of German intellectuals, such as the brothers Humboldt and Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829). Knowing that Schleiermacher would be passing through Copenhagen, she sent with him a letter to Sibbern. After Schleiermacher's departure, Sibbern writes back in order to thank her for the letter and to tell her about what their common friend experienced in the city. Sibbern recounts in vivid colors the main events of Schleiermacher's stay, providing almost a day by day account.

The second text featured comes from the hand of the theologian Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–84). Like Sibbern, Martensen is known today primarily for his relation to Kierkegaard. When he was appointed Bishop of Zealand in 1854, he bore much of the brunt of Kierkegaard's wrath during the so-called attack on the church. However, it should be noted that Kierkegaard had been consistently critical of Martensen prior to that most famous episode in their relationship. In any case, at the time of Schleiermacher's visit, Martensen was a young up-and-coming scholar. Thus, the perspective he gives is considerably different from that of Sibbern who was considerably older and regarded himself as a friend to Schleiermacher.

One of the more significant chapters of the Danish Schleiermacher reception can be found in Martensen's work.⁹ Although Martensen ultimately remained more a Hegelian than a Schleiermacherian, he was nonetheless highly interested in Schleiermacher's theology and indeed made a careful study of it. Martensen treats Schleiermacher in some detail in his dissertation *On the Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness* from

⁸ Letter from Sibbern to Henriette Herz, October 1, 1833, in: *Breve til og fra F.C. Sibbern* (n. 3), Bd. 2, 179–182.

⁹ See Peter Widmann, *Zur Rezeption von Schleiermachers Grundlegung der Dogmatik in der skandinavischen Theologie*. H. L. Martensen/F. C. Krarup/A. Nygren, in: *Schleiermacher – im besonderen Hinblick auf seine Wirkungsgeschichte in Dänemark* (n. 7), 166–167. Skat Arildsen, *Biskop Hans Lassen Martensen. Hans Liv, Udvikling og Arbejde*, Copenhagen (G. E. C. Gads Forlag) 1932, 53f., 61, 62f., 69. Josepha Martensen, *H. L. Martensen i sit Hjem og blandt sine Venner*, Copenhagen (J. Frimodts Forlag) 1918, 214. Niels Thulstrup regards Schleiermacher's influence on Martensen as rather minimal: "On a single, important issue, Martensen seems to have been influenced by Schleiermacher, since, like the latter he insisted on the intimate connection between the basic principles of Protestantism (the formal principle, *sola scriptura*, the material principle, *sola fide*) and the concept of the Church," quoted from Niels Thulstrup, *Martensen's Dogmatics and its Reception*, in: *Kierkegaard and His Contemporaries. The Culture of Golden Age Denmark*, ed. by Jon Stewart, *Kierkegaard Studies Monograph Series*, Bd. 10, Berlin/New York (Walter de Gruyter) 2003, 186; Vilhelm Birkedal, *Personlige Oplevelser* (n. 2), Bd. 1, 193–198; *Biskop Otto Laubs Levnet, En Livsskildring i Breve*, Bde. 1–3, ed. by F. L. Mynster and G. Schepelehn, Copenhagen 1885–87, Bd. 2, 380.

1837.¹⁰ That work contains an extended section dedicated to Schleiermacher's "Theology of Feeling."

The text from Martensen's hand which is featured here is an English translation of a short section from his autobiography, which he wrote many years later as an old man.¹¹ Here Martensen tells how he, although a young man only twenty-five years-old, nonetheless had enough self-confidence to seek out and speak with Schleiermacher personally during the latter's visit. Many years later Martensen recalls Schleiermacher's visit as being one of "the most beautiful moments of [his] youth."¹²

The third and final text consists of two letters written by the Danish theologian Hardenack Otto Conrad Laub (1805–83). Although he was made bishop later in life, Laub was at the time more or less in the same position as Martensen, namely, a young student of theology. However, unlike Martensen, Laub is much more of an outsider and spectator to the events. He does not seek out Schleiermacher personally for one-to-one conversation but rather blends in with the rest of the students, playing the expected role. These letters appear along with several others in a collection of letters concerning the life and times of Bishop Jakob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), under the heading, "A Selection of Letters from O. Laub to H. Laub and Others at Frørup Vicarage."¹³ Laub was a student studying in Copenhagen, and with this series of letters he informs his father Hieronymus Laub (1771–1848), who was a rural priest, of what he experienced. The charm of Laub's account comes from its informality.

II.

From these texts and a number of contemporary newspaper articles (discussed below), it is possible to piece together with some degree of accuracy the main events of Schleiermacher's stay. Schleiermacher seems to have arrived in Copenhagen on the evening of Sunday, September 22,

¹⁰ Hans Lassen Martensen, *De autonomia conscientiae sui humanae in theologiam dogmaticam nostri temporis introducta*, Copenhagen 1837, 86–129. Danish translation: *Den menneskelige Selvbevidstheds Autonomie*, trans. by L. V. Petersen, Copenhagen 1841, 71–105. English translation: *The Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness in Modern Dogmatic Theology*, in: *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard. Hans L. Martensen's Philosophy of Religion*, trans. by Curtis L. Thompson and David J. Kangas, Atlanta (Scholars Press) 1997, 73–144.

¹¹ Hans Lassen Martensen, *Af mit Levnet*, Bde. 1–3. Copenhagen (Gyldendal) 1882–83, Bd. 1, 67–76.

¹² Letter from Martensen to Dorner, dated August 26, 1858, in: *Briefwechsel zwischen H. L. Martensen und J. A. Dorner 1839–1881*, Bde. 1–2. Berlin 1888, Bd. 1, 306.

¹³ *Nogle Blade af J. P. Mynster's Liv og Tid*, ed. by C. L. N. Mynster, Copenhagen (Gyldendal), 282–287. See also *Levnet, Livsskildring* (n. 9), Bd. 2, 380

1833.¹⁴ He appears to have lodged with his companion part of the time in the offices of the journal *Den Nordiske Kirketidende* and then later at the *Hotel Royal ved Stranden*.¹⁵ No account is given of what Schleiermacher did on Monday and Tuesday, the first two days of his stay. One can presume that his visit began quietly enough by renewing some of his old acquaintances with, for example, Sibbern.

On Wednesday, September 25, Schleiermacher and his travelling companion together with Sibbern and the customs official Herman Bech (1789–1842) took a long walk, presumably a sight-seeing tour, from 6 a.m. until 3 p.m. They then had dinner at the home of the German-born Ernst Philip Kirstein (1759–1834). In the evening they went for a visit at the home of the poet Adam Oehlenschläger (1799–1850) in *Bispegaarden* in *Nørregade*.

Although the date is not certain, it was probably on Thursday, September 26, that Schleiermacher went to the Royal Castle *Christiansborg*, in the heart of the city, in order to see an exhibition of art. He was accompanied by Martensen on this visit. Afterwards, Martensen accompanied him to the home of the physician Joachim Dietrich Brandis (1762–1845) in *Kronprindsessegade* presumably for dinner.

The highlight of Schleiermacher's stay seems to have been a festive dinner that took place on Friday, September 27, at the halls of the Royal Shooting Society in *Vesterbro*.¹⁶ Schleiermacher apparently arrived there in a coach at 3:30 p.m. accompanied by Oehlenschläger and the theolo-

¹⁴ There are some discrepancies about the exact dates of Schleiermacher's visit. The most reliable seems to be Sibbern's account featured below, according to which Schleiermacher arrived in Copenhagen on the evening of Sunday, September 22, 1833. This seems to be confirmed by a letter from Schleiermacher from Helsingborg in Sweden, dated Saturday evening, September 21, where he writes "morgen Abend hoffen wir in Kopenhagen zu sein." (Aus Schleiermachers Leben. In Briefen, Bde. 1–4, ed. by Ludwig Jonas/Wilhelm Dilthey, Berlin 1858–63, Bd. 2, 472.) Finally, Schleiermacher and Schwerin are listed among those travellers arriving on September 21 and 22, in the journal *Berlingske Tidende*, September 25, 1833, no. 229. He left Copenhagen on the steamer to Malmö at 12:30 p.m. on Sunday, September 29, 1833.

¹⁵ There is some ambiguity on the question of Schleiermacher's lodging in Copenhagen. In the brief article that appears in *Kjøbenhavsposten*, on September 26, 1833, no. 189, 756, the anonymous author complains that Schleiermacher has been subject to the unworthy hospitality of the Jakob Christian Lindberg, who has put him up in the offices of the journal he edited, namely *Den Nordiske Kirketidende*. However, in his account featured below (p. 68) Martensen mentions, without further explanation, that Schleiermacher stayed at the *Hotel Royal ved Stranden*. The explanation could be that after a few days of Lindberg's hospitality, Schleiermacher and his friend moved to the more comfortable hotel.

¹⁶ The *Skydebane*, which is today the building of Copenhagen's City Museum, was not, strictly speaking, merely a firing range, although this was a part of its function. The Shooting Society was a traditional club which had a number of other activities of which shooting and hunting were but a few. This building, outside the city walls in *Vesterbro*, was apparently a pleasant place to hold festive and cultural events like the one described here.

gian Henrik Nikolai Clausen (1793–1877). During the course of the evening there was a series of songs, speeches and toasts. Oehlenschläger recited a poem in Danish, after which Mynster made a toast to Schleiermacher: “to the thinker, the pastor, and especially to the person [sc. Schleiermacher]!” Then the patriotic Danish song “King Christian Stood at the High Mast” was sung. Afterwards the following song was sung for Schleiermacher, the lyrics of which were composed by a young theologian:

“Es wird in der fernesten Weite
Der Geist von dem Geiste erkannt,
Drum feiern wir einstimmig heute
Den Genius nah uns verwandt.
Oft haben wir freudig vernommen
Was männlich er gründete dort,
Und über das Meer ist gekommen
Sein hohes geflügeltes Wort!

Er spähte mit mächtigem Streben
Der Weisheit verschlungenen Lauf,
Zu fördern ins menschliche Leben
Die ewigen Schätze hinauf.
Da klangen hellenische Töne
Uns wieder lebendig und rein,
Die Weisheit lud wieder die Söhne
Zum Gastmahl des Platon hinein!

Doch auch in der Heimath Gefilden,
Getrieben von hoher Gewalt,
Half kräftig und groß er zu bilden
Des Lebens verjüngte Gestalt.
Er hat in gesegneter Stunde
Am Felsen des Glaubens gebaut,
Da ist in dem edelsten Bunde
Zuletzt er mit Ehren ergraut!

Er hat in den stürmenden Zeiten
Das Heiligthum tapfer gewehrt,
Und ritterlich braucht’ er im Streiten
Sein gutes zweischneidiges Schwert.
Da mußte wohl zagen und schwanken
Der Feinde verbündetes Heer,
Es flogen die trüben Gedanken
Wie Wolken die Kreuz und die Queer!

Gegrüßt uns am dänischen Sunde
Der Ritter aus edlem Geschlecht!
Willkommen im nordischen Bunde
Für Glauben und Wahrheit und Recht!
Hoch lebe der herrliche Meister,
Der freundlich zu uns sich gesellt;
Es blüh’ die Gemeinschaft der Geister
Von hier bis ans Ende der Welt!”¹⁷

¹⁷ Quoted from Nyheds-Post, in: Kjøbenhavnsposten, September 28, 1833, no. 191, 762.

Schleiermacher then responded with some gracious words of thanks by wishing the young theologians a happy lot. Further songs were sung, including the following lighter one by Oehlenschläger:

“Ein lust’ges Lied – wir wagen’s jetzt zu singen;
 Es soll ein deutsches seyn!
 Das fremde Wort – es wird wohl noch gelingen –
 Der Muth kommt mit dem Wein.

Wie’s Christoph geht – bei Holberg (doch nur kühner
 Hier wendet sich das Blatt)
 Nur dänisch singt von Tyboes deutscher Diener,
 Wenn er getrunken hat.

Wir singen deutsch! Ja – das ist keine Fabel,
 Nein, glaubet sicherlich,
 Bei’m guten Tisch geht’s wie am Thurme Babel,
 Die Sprachen mischen sich.

Sprachmeister ist Cupido: doch nicht minder
 Herr Bachus trefflich spricht:
 Und die Grammatik schickt sich zwar für Kinder,
 Doch bei dem Glase nicht.

Das: “Der, Du, Das” – ist schwer, sagt Peter wieder;
 Doch, liebe Zecher! was –
 Was fragen wir, – ist nur die Meinung bieder, –
 Nach diesem: Der-Du-Das?

So singet deutsch! und grüsst in treuen Worten
 Dem Freund mit Ungestüm,
 Er wanderte von Brandenburg nach Norden,
 Und das war hübsch von ihm.

Nun kann er den Gevattern dort erzählen;
 Hier giebt es Menschen auch.
 Zwar sprechen sie das Wort mit andern Kehlen,
 Nach anderm Sprachgebrauch.

Nicht Bären bloß hier laufen, muß er sagen,
 Im zott’gen Pelze schlecht.
 Der Deutsche weiß zwar vieles; – Copenhagen
 Kennt er nur noch nicht recht!

Wir kennen ihn! Und seine großen Leute
 Sind und als Brüder werth;
 Drum dieses Fest begehnt wir fröhlich heute,
 Wie es das Herz begehrt.

Und grüßen so dem Trefflichen, dem Werthen,
 Und schenken lustig ein.
 Am Rhein, am Rhein da wachsen die Gelehrten;
 Gesegnet sei der Rhein!”¹⁸

¹⁸ Quoted from Nyheds-Post, in: Kjøbenhavnsposten, September 28, 1833, no. 191, 763.

Toward the end of the festivities, the students present invited the distinguished guest outside to the garden in order to sing a song in his honor. After the song, Schleiermacher thanked the students and mingled with them until his carriage arrived to take him back to his hotel.

Schleiermacher spent the next afternoon, i.e., Saturday, September 28, at the home of Clausen. The other guests included Oehlenschläger, Sibbern and Martensen, and, not surprisingly, the main topic of discussion was theology. Schleiermacher spent the evening at the Student Association where there was a concert and a festive meal held in his honor. He was apparently accompanied there sometime shortly after 8:00 p.m. by a group of elder students. This event seems to have gone more or less like the one on the previous evening, with songs, toasts, and speeches. At the table the students sang the following song to honor Schleiermacher:

“Streiter in dem heil’gen Krieg
Für die reine Lehre;
Kämpfer für der Wahrheit Sieg
Mit des Geistes Wehre!
Wo, entbrannt für Recht und Licht
Herzen sich vereinen,
Bist Du unter Fremden nicht,
Weilst Du bei den Deinen.

Glüht nur kurz der Sonne Schein
Hier auf Blumenpfade,
Welkt auch früh der Buchenhain
An des Sunds Gestade;
Blüht des Dankes Blume doch
Hier in ew’ger Jugend,
Und der Norden feiert hoch
Männerwerth und Tugend.

Seh’n für Geistesfreiheit kühn
Wir den Edlen ringen,
Und ein Leben, voll Bemüh’n,
Ihr zum Opfer bringen;
Bieten wir, demüthlich jung
Unsre Lieb’ zum Lohne,
Weißen voll Bewunderung
Ihm die Siegeskrone.

Nimm sie liebvoll an, wie dreist
Sie aus Liebe rühret!
Liebe für den hehren Geist,
Der zum Licht uns führet.
Wie Du sä’st für nah und fern
Keime lauterer Wahrheit,
Glänzet fernhin auch Dein Stern
Hell in Himmelsklarheit!”¹⁹

¹⁹ Quoted from Nyheds-Post, in: Kjøbenhavnsposten, September 30, 1833, no. 192, 767, also printed in Kjøbenhavn, den 30te September, in: Dagen, September 30, 1833, no. 233 (no page numbers).

On the final day of his visit, Sunday, September 29, Schleiermacher was asked to give a sermon in St. Peter's Church. In order to make this possible, he was obliged to modify his travel plans somewhat. A steamship by the name of "Caledonia" was then reserved in order to bring him across the sound to Malmö in Sweden so that he could begin his return trip to Berlin. The church service began at 10:00 a.m. and the sermon an hour later. At 12:30, after the service, Schleiermacher boarded the "Caledonia" with a number of students and well-wishers and crossed over to Sweden. The well-wishers apparently took leave of Schleiermacher at the inn in Malmö by shouting a loud "hurrah" in his honor.

III.

Schleiermacher seems to have made a tremendous impression on everyone who saw him at any of these occasions. His stay was without a doubt an unqualified success. Few foreign scholars have been feted to such a degree or enjoyed such an elaborate reception by the intellectual world of Copenhagen. The usually dispassionate Sibbern notes, in the letter quoted here, that the degree of ceremony and reverence was almost too much to bear.²⁰ There can be no question that this visit played a significant role in furthering Schleiermacher's influence in Denmark.

The local Copenhagen newspapers took a keen interest in Schleiermacher's visit. Prior to his arrival, a brief article appeared on September 16 in the journal *Den Nordiske Kirketidende*.²¹ This article, written by the journal's editor, the Grundtvigian theologian and orientalist Jakob Christian Lindberg (1797–1857), merely announces Schleiermacher's imminent arrival and says a few words about the nature of hospitality, which, the author notes, is owed to everyone, even those whose views one does not share.

The most extensive coverage of the events surrounding Schleiermacher's stay was found in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*. On Tuesday, September 24, i.e., two days after his arrival, there appeared in the journal a one paragraph announcement about his visit.²² Here it is briefly reported that the torch-lit procession that the students had planned to give Schleiermacher upon his arrival in the city in fact did not take place since the local authorities had decided not to grant the students permission to stage the event. A second short article appeared in the same

²⁰ Letter from Sibbern to Henriette Herz, October 1, 1833, in: *Breve til og fra F.C. Sibbern* (n. 3), Bd. 2, 179.

²¹ Jakob Christian Lindberg, *Kirkelige Efterretninger*, in: *Den Nordiske Kirketidende*, no. 38, September 21, 1833, 640.

²² *Nyheds-Post*, in: *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, September 24, 1833, no. 188, 751.

journal on Thursday, September 26.²³ Like the first one, this article appears under the journal's usual rubric of "news," and no author is given. This second article merely announces that Schleiermacher was at the moment staying in Copenhagen. It gives a very brief overview of his accomplishments and biography. It notes that Oehlenschläger had met Schleiermacher during his trip to Germany and that the two had become close friends. A third longer article appeared in the same journal two days later, i.e., on Saturday, September 28.²⁴ This one, from the hand of Clausen, has a clear eulogizing character. Apart from the encomium, the goal of this article was to report on the festive dinner the previous evening at the Shooting Society. A fourth article appeared on Monday, September 30, immediately after Schleiermacher's departure.²⁵ This article reported first on the events of Saturday evening at the Student Association and then on Schleiermacher's departure the next day. On Thursday, October 1, there appeared an article in this journal with the title "Dr. Schleiermacher Honored by the Danish Students."²⁶ This two-paragraph article merely lauds the Danish students for having acquitted themselves so well in connection with Schleiermacher's stay. It thereby seeks to redeem the youth against the reactionary charges that the students of the day have no sense for scholarship or higher things. A month later on November 7, there appeared an article comparing Schleiermacher's visit with that of his fellow German theologian Julius August Wegscheider (1771–1849), who had been in Copenhagen three weeks earlier.²⁷

The newspaper *Dagen* also showed a passing interest in the visit. On Saturday, September 28, it announced that Schleiermacher would be giving the sermon at St. Peter's Church at 10:00 the next day.²⁸ It featured an article on Monday, September 30, which gave an overview of Schleiermacher's visit, including brief accounts of the festivities at the Shooting

²³ Nyheds-Post, in: *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, September 26, 1833, no. 189, 755–756. See Skat Arildsen, *To Tyske Teologers Københavns-Besøg*, in: *Kirken. Tidsskrift for Kirkelig Orientering* 6, 1934, 7.

²⁴ Nyheds-Post, in: *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, September 28, 1833, no. 191, 761–764. This article is summarized in some detail by the editors of *Aus Schleiermachers Leben* (n. 14), Bd. 2, 473–477.

²⁵ Nyheds-Post, in: *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, September 30, 1833, no. 192, 767–768.

²⁶ *Dr. Schleiermacher hædret af de danske Studenter*, *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, October 1, 1833, no. 193, 769.

²⁷ *Wegscheider og Schleiermacher*, in: *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, November 7, 1833, no. 219, 873f.

²⁸ *Prædikanterne paa syttende Søndag efter Trinitatis*, in: *Dagen*, September 28, 1833, no. 232 (no page numbers). This was also announced in the journal *Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerede Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger*, on Friday, September 27, 1833, Bd. 75, no. 227.

Society and the Student Association as well as his sermon.²⁹ This was, however, not a genuinely scholarly periodical, and thus its coverage of the event was rather limited.

In the fall of 1833 the later politician and writer Orla Lehmann (1810–70) went to Berlin and, doubtless inspired by the events in Copenhagen just a few months before, attended the lectures of, among others, Schleiermacher. He was thus the last Danish student to have attended Schleiermacher's courses. He recounts his experiences in Berlin in his memoirs and in an unpublished letter to Sibbern dated December 20, 1833.³⁰ Lehmann reports that, together with many other students, he was in attendance at Schleiermacher's birthday celebration on November 21, 1833.³¹ It was to be Schleiermacher's last birthday, for he died on February 12, 1834. Lehmann gives a brief account of the funeral, which took place on February 15.³²

Schleiermacher's death was deeply mourned in Copenhagen. A number of eulogies to him appeared in academic periodicals.³³ Mynster, who had also met Schleiermacher in Copenhagen a few months before, writes of how, upon learning of Schleiermacher's death, he had no desire to take up a polemic with him, although he had previously written a piece against Schleiermacher's conception of God.³⁴

IV.

At the time of the visit Kierkegaard would have been a young theological student, and thus he would hardly have been in a position to play any central role in the events described above. As has been pointed out, there is no evidence that he attended the student activities staged in connection with Schleiermacher's visit or participated in any of the other events.³⁵

²⁹ Kjøbenhavn, den 30te September, in: *Dagen*, September 30, 1833, no. 233 (no page numbers).

³⁰ See Himmelstrup, Sibbern (n. 3), 299f. See Orla Lehmann, *Erindringer*, in: *his Efterladte Skrifter*, Bde. 1–4, ed. by Hother Hage and Carl Ploug. Copenhagen 1872–74, vol. 1, 117ff.

³¹ See Lehmann, *Erindringer* (n. 30), 118f.

³² See Lehmann, *Erindringer* (n. 30), 119.

³³ H.[enrik] Steffens, Taler over Schleiermacher, in: *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, Bd. 2, 1834, 209–217. F.[riedrich] A.[ugust] Pischon, Taler ved Schleiermachers Grav, in: *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, Bd. 2, 1834, 217–226. F.[riedrich] Lücke, Minder om Fr. Schleiermacher, in: *Tidsskrift for udenlandsk theologisk Litteratur*, Bd. 2, 1834, 652–718.

³⁴ Jakob Peter Mynster, *Meddelelser om mit Levnet*, ed. by F. J. Mynster, Copenhagen (Gyldendal) 1884 [1854], 238f.

³⁵ See Crouter, Kierkegaard (n. 1), 206f.; Wilhelm Anz, Schleiermacher und Kierkegaard. Übereinstimmung und Differenz, in: *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 82, 1985, 409–429, 409.

It has, however, been argued that it is inconceivable that he could have been entirely absent from such a major event.³⁶

Schleiermacher's visit to Copenhagen must have served as one of the inspirations for the private tutorials on Schleiermacher's *The Christian Faith*, which Kierkegaard took with the young instructor Martensen at the University of Copenhagen in Summer Semester 1834. In his autobiography, Martensen recalls this as follows:

“[Kierkegaard] had his own way of arranging his tutoring. He did not follow any set syllabus, but asked that I lecture to him and converse with him. I chose to lecture on the main points of Schleiermacher's dogmatics and then discuss them. I recognized immediately that his was not an ordinary intellect but that he also had an irresistible urge to sophistry, to hairsplitting games, which showed itself at every opportunity and was often tiresome. I recall in particular that it surfaced when we examined the doctrine of divine election, where there is, so to speak, an open door for sophists.”³⁷

Martensen indicates here that the choice of Schleiermacher as the theme of the tutorial was his own and not Kierkegaard's. This is understandable given the important role, noted above, that Schleiermacher played in Martensen's thought. Reading notes to Schleiermacher's *The Christian Faith* stemming apparently from this time survive among Kierkegaard's loose papers.³⁸

Kierkegaard was without doubt familiar with the discussions of Schleiermacher's thought that were taking place in Denmark. He owned the main works of the Danish authors who were treating different aspects of Schleiermacher's theology. In addition, it was natural that, as a student of theology, he owned a number of Schleiermacher's own works. In his library one finds, for example, two selections of posthumous sermons, one

³⁶ For example, Henning Fenger writes, “it should be observed that Schleiermacher is another fine example for the employment of criteria of improbability in Kierkegaard scholarship. In 1833 Schleiermacher visited Copenhagen, where he was lionized on September 27 at Skydebanen and feted in the Student Association the next evening, and where he preached at the morning service in St. Peter's Church on Sunday the 29th. It was a reception with a grandeur seldom vouchsafed a foreign intellectual personality in Denmark before or since. It was the autumn's great event, and so it is inconceivable that Kierkegaard should not have partaken of it.” Henning Fenger, *Kierkegaard: The Myths and their Origins*, trans. by George C. Schoolfield. New Haven/London (Yale University Press) 1980, 93. From the context it is not entirely clear whether Fenger takes this seriously or understands it as a negative example for using “improbability” as a positive argument for Kierkegaard doing or thinking something specific.

³⁷ Martensen, *Af mit Levnet* (n. 11), Bd. 1, 78, cited from *Encounters with Kierkegaard. A Life as Seen by His Contemporaries*, trans. and ed. by Bruce H. Kirmmse, Princeton (Princeton University Press) 1996, 196. Translation slightly modified.

³⁸ Pap. I C 20–24, in Pap. XII, 126–131. (Pap. = Søren Kierkegaards Papirer, Bde. 1–16, ed. by P. A. Heiberg, V. Kuhr and E. Torsting, Copenhagen (Gyldendal) 1909–48, supplemented by Niels Thulstrup, Copenhagen (Gyldendal) 1968–78.

in German³⁹ and one in Danish translation.⁴⁰ He owned a third edition of *The Christian Faith* published in 1835–36.⁴¹ He also possessed a copy of the fifth printing of Schleiermacher's popular, *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*.⁴² The auction catalogue also registers a copy of Schleiermacher's posthumous *Dialectics*.⁴³ Not surprisingly, Kierkegaard also owned Schleiermacher's Plato edition, which he used so extensively in *The Concept of Irony*.⁴⁴ It is not known with any certainty if the works that appear in the two appendices of the auction catalogue were in fact from Kierkegaard's own library,⁴⁵ but there do appear two titles from Schleiermacher in Appendix I. The first is a third edition of *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*.⁴⁶ The second is a work edited by Schleiermacher and others entitled, *Magazin von Fest-, Gelegenheits- und andern Predigten und kleineren Amtsreden*.⁴⁷ Most striking in its absence is Schleiermacher's *Confidential Letters Concerning Schlegel's Lucinde*,⁴⁸ which can be said with certainty to have been of interest to Kierkegaard in connection with his master's thesis. There is no doubt that he was familiar with this work since reading notes to it are found in the Nachlass.⁴⁹ It is, however, odd that he did not himself own a copy of it.

³⁹ Schleiermacher, *Predigten*, Bde. 1–4, Berlin 1834–35. ASKB 238–241. (ASKB = Auktionsprotol over Søren Kierkegaards Bogsamling, ed. by H. P. Rohde, Copenhagen (The Royal Library) 1967.)

⁴⁰ Schleiermacher, *Prædikener om det christelige Huusliv*, trans. by Christian Winther, ASKB 242, Copenhagen 1839.

⁴¹ Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche*, Bde. 1–2, Berlin 1835–36, 3rd edition (1st edition, 1821–22; 2nd edition, 1830–31), ASKB 258.

⁴² Schleiermacher, *Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*. Fünfte Auflage, ASKB Appendix I, 40, Berlin 1821 [1799].

⁴³ *Dialektik*, ed. by L.[udwig] Jonas, ASKB 769, Berlin 1839.

⁴⁴ *Platons Werke*, by Fr. Schleiermacher, Bde. 1.1–2, 2.1–3, Berlin 1804–1809. *Platons Werke*, Bde. 1–6. 2nd improved edition, Berlin 1817–28, ASKB 1158–1163.

⁴⁵ See Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, *Kierkegaard som bogkøber og bogsamler*, in: *Tekstspejle. Om Søren Kierkegaard som bogtilrettelægger, boggiver og bogsamler*, ed. by Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Gert Posselt, Bente Rohde. Esbjerg (Rosendahls Forlag) 2002, 115f.

⁴⁶ Schleiermacher, *Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*. 3. Ausgabe, Berlin 1821 [1799]. ASKB Appendix I, 40.

⁴⁷ *Magazin von Fest-, Gelegenheits- und andern Predigten und kleineren Amtsreden*. Neue Folge, Bde. 1–6, ed. by J.F. Röhr, Friedrich Schleiermacher and J. Schuderoff. Magdeburg 1823–29. ASKB Appendix I, 40.

⁴⁸ Schleiermacher, *Vertraute Briefe über F. Schlegels Lucinde*, Berlin 1800.

⁴⁹ JP, Bd. 4, 3846; SKS, Bd. 19, Not3:2, 99. (JP = Søren Kierkegaard's Journals and Papers, Bde. 1–6, ed. and trans. by Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong. Bloomington and London [Indiana University Press] 1967–78. SKS = *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*, 28 text volumes and 28 commentary volumes, ed. by Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Joakim Garff, Jette Knudsen, Johnny Kondrup and Alastair McKinnon. Copenhagen: Gad Publishers 1997ff.).

*Edited Documents*1. Letter from Frederik Christian Sibbern to Henriette Herz,
October 1, 1833.⁵⁰

Das kleine Blättchen, das mir *Schleiermacher* von Ihnen überbrachte, erschien mir gleich im ersten Augenblicke, als mahne es mich, wie ich den größten Bogen Papier, der zu haben wäre, ergreifen müße, um meiner Pflicht und meinen Gefühlen gegen Sie, theure Freundin, einigermaßen zu genügen. Indeß laße ich es doch, um Sie nicht zu erschrecken, bey einem gewöhnlichen bewenden; allein den will ich recht benutzen. Sie erhalten diesen Brief mit der Post, und nicht durch Schleiermachers Hand, weil ich bis auf die letzte Stunde so viel mit ihm bey verschiedenen Feten mitgenommen worden bin, daß es mir an Zeit und Muße zum Briefschreiben gefehlt hat. – Wie es ihm in Kopenhagen ergangen, kann er Ihnen nur halb erzählen; denn unmöglich kann er wissen, mit welcher Theilnahme er von Professoren, Geistlichen, Studenten erwartet wurde, und mit welcher Freude die Kunde aufgenommen ward, daß er nun da sey. Auch hat man ihn die 6 Tage so überall haben wollen, hat ihn mit Diner's und Soupers, mit Lebewohls und Lebehochs so mitgenommen, daß ich mir oft dachte, auf längere Zeit wäre das doch nicht auszuhalten gewesen, selbst nicht einer Natur, wie der seinigen, die schon was aushalten kann; dabey hat er sich überall umgesehen, hat sich für Alles interessirt, als wäre er noch ein junger Mann. Aber eine Freude ist's, daß er so viel Lebenskraft und Lebensfrische bewahrt. Was an einem Tage gelebt werden kann, fühlten wir besonders am 25ten, da Schl. mit seinem Begleiter nebst Bech und mir den Vormittag von 6 Uhr Morgens bis 3 Uhr Mittags eine Tour von 5 bis 6 Meilen durch unsre schönsten Gegenden machten, und beide Freunde nun noch einem Diner beym Conferenzzrath Kirstein beywohnten, und Abends bey Oehlenschläger bis um 12 Uhr aushielten. Der schönste Tag seines Hier- | [180] seyns war aber der, da ihm ein akademisches Fest gegeben wurde, und er auf die ihm gebrachten Toaste so herrlich erwiderte, und eigene Toaste so herrlich hervorbrachte, daß die Blume seiner Beredsamkeit, wie Oehlenschläger sie nannte, in schönster Flor blühte. Die Gegenwart des Geistes, mit der er bey jedem Liede, das gesungen ward, einen guten Anhebepunct zu ergreifen, und die Gewandtheit des Geistes, womit er ihn zu benutzen wußte, erfreute Alle. Viele Candidaten der Theologie nahmen nebst vielen unserer Prediger und durch Wissenschaftlichkeit vorzüglichen Beamten am Feste Theil. Hernach brachten ihm die Studenten im Garten ein Hurra, nachdem sie ihm beym Scheine von Pechkränzen,

⁵⁰ Originally published: Breve fra og til F.C. Sibbern, vols. 1–2, edited by C. L. N. Mynster. Copenhagen (Published by the Gyldendalske Boghandel [F. Hegel]) 1866, vol. 2, pp. 179–182.

die in einem halben Cirkel umher gepflanzt waren, ein Lied gesungen; worauf er, der in der Mitte des Kreises stand, sie durch einige Worte erfreute, von denen sie sich sehr ergriffen fühlten.

Den Tag darauf war er im Studentenverein Abends, wo Concert und Souper gegeben wurde; und da der Studentenverein es den Abend, wie sonst bey andern Festen, machte, hat er ihn recht ordentlich kennen lernen können. Er gehört zu unsern trefflichsten Einrichtungen. Die Studenten haben ihn vor etwa zehn Jahren selbst errichtet. Es ist ein Klub, wie ein anderer, nur daß kein Karten- und Billardspiel da zugelassen wird. Dagegen liegen Zeitungen, Journale und neu erschienene Bücher herum auf den Tischen; ein Fortepiano ist in dem Saale; Musik wird viel getrieben. Dann und wann ein musikalischer Abend; einmal jährlich, auch wohl zweimal, eine Komödie, oder Poßen anderer Art, eine Maskerade etwa, ein Jahrmarkt und dergleichen, wo denn dem Gecken erlaubt wird sich loszuschlagen. Von den Professoꝛen sind Viele Mitglieder, auch andere Beamte, besonders solche, die, nachdem sie in Aemter getreten, einen Theil ihres Studentenlebens noch bezubehalten wünschten. Senioren sind Studenten allein; an den Berathungen nehmen wir Andern keinen Antheil, sondern betragen uns, als wären wir nur Ehrenmitglieder, ob wir es gleich durchaus nicht sind. Wir be- | [181] schränken uns auf den stillen Einfluß, der von selbst wirkt. Das Vernehmen ist das beste, die Harmonie ungestört. Selbst bey dem Könige ist der Studentenverein gut angeschrieben; wie sich denn Universität und Student sehr gut mit dem Könige stehen.

Daß Schleiermacher sollte in Kopenhagen gewesen seyn, ohne gepredigt zu haben, wollte uns nicht recht in den Kopf. Indeß er war am Sonntag Abend gekommen, und mußte den künftigen Sonntag früh wieder weg, um nicht zu spät nach Ystad zu kommen. Allein wie man ihn am Freitage bey dem akademischen Diner hatte reden hören, nahm ihm Bech das Wort ab, daß er den folgenden Sonntag predigen wolle; indem ihm versprochen wurde, daß er in seiner Reise dadurch nicht verspätet werden sollte. Es wurde denn durch Bech arrangirt, daß eines unserer Dampfböte, das sonst vielerley Touren zu machen pflegt, aber an diesem Sonntage keine Tour hatte, den Sonntag Mittag um 12 ½ Uhr – d. h. gleich nach geendigtem Gottesdienst – nach Malmöe in Schweden hinüberging. Und so hatten wir denn den wahren geistigen Genuß, ihn predigen zu hören; und mit dem Dampfboote gingen dann über 100 Studenten mit über's Meer, und brachten ihm noch im fremden Königreich auf offenem Platze vor dem Gasthofe ein letztes Hurra.

Ich habe Ihnen dies Alles geschrieben, weil ich wohl mit Recht vorausgesetzt, daß Sie einige Kopenhagener-Relationen über Ihren Schleiermacher gar gern von meiner Hand hätten. Ich habe viel mit ihm gelebt in diesen wenigen Tagen. Welch' eine Freude das mir ist, daß sich in diesen Tagen mein früheres Verhältniß zu Schl. zu einem recht wahr und echt freundschaftlichen ausgebildet hat, kann ich Ihnen mit Worten nicht ausdrücken.

Nun und *Sie* – genießen denn eines ruhigen und guten Alters.

Mir machen eine noch sehr jugendliche Frau und vier Kinder – eine Tochter von 12 Jahren und drey Knaben von 9, 7 und 2 Jahren, – einen schönen Lebensfrühling im Hause | [182] blühen. Ob ich noch selbst der Alte bin, wie ich in Berlin war, kann und wird Ihnen Schleiermacher sagen.

Immer muß ich doch, wenn ich von Ihrer Hand eine Zeile erblicke – und ich bewahre Alles, was ich von Ihnen empfangen habe – daran denken: wie treu doch weibliche Freundschaft ist.

Sibbern.

2. Hans Lassen Martensen, *Af mit Levnet*.⁵¹
vols. 1–3, Copenhagen: Gyldendal 1882–83, vol. 1, pp. 66–76.

Hegel formed a great opposition to Schleiermacher. He wanted nothing to do with the idea that religion should be limited only to feeling and the pious disposition. He wants thought to be a fundamental moving force in religion itself. He demands an objective world-view, in which all dogmas can be rightly judged. He frequently complains that theology has become emaciated, limited and lacking in content, and he demands that the orthodox dogmas again receive proper respect since they are reproduced in a new and fresh form, in which their true content is made known according to the immanent necessity of thought. The key to understanding the world-view which Hegel, in such a magnificent manner, applied to all aspects of existence, lies in his speculative logic, | [67] the system of existence's universal thought determinations, which were not our subjective thoughts but divine thought, which permeated and unfolded themselves in the universe. Hegel often pointed to J. Böhme, who then for me was a, I am almost tempted to say, mythical person. But during the study of Hegel, there arose in me an intuition of a perspective, which, with a ground in the Trinity, conceives Christ as the central point of existence, conceives the universe as a system of concentric circles, which all point to the innermost circle where Christ is, and only in him find their explanation and understanding. However, I had to ask myself again whether this intuition could find its fulfillment in the Hegelian system; whether it did not rather point to an entirely different system from the Hegelian one, and whether this alternative system was at all possible. Serious voices said that the Hegelian philosophy only aimed at dissolving all individual existence into a logical pantheism and, instead of recognizing the Christian revelation as truth, only conceived it as a realm of picture thinking, which was destroyed when the picture thinking was

⁵¹ Originally published in: Martensen, *Af mit Levnet* (n. 11), 66–76.

changed into the Concept with philosophy. Here there was much to consider and ponder.

During this meditation and pondering, when the time for my free studies were divided between Schleiermacher and | [68] Hegel, there came news that powerfully affected me. It was said that Schleiermacher was making a trip to Scandinavia, and it was said that he would stop in Copenhagen. This electrified me. I had to see him and if possible speak with him. It was not that I hoped that any discussion could lead me to a result but – however bold the thought was of introducing myself to him – I wanted to meet him out of admiration and love. Although Hegel – I can also add Sibbern – in some points had weakened his authority for me, nonetheless my heart remained with him. His personality had thus spoken to me through his writings in such a way that it would be of great value for me to be able to have his image impressed on me by seeing him in person.

My wishes were granted. H.C. Ørsted and Sibbern prepared the way for me. Schleiermacher was lodging at the Hotel Royal ved Stranden, and I visited him there. He was a very small man, a somewhat emaciated person, as Sibbern put it, with white hair, somewhat round-shouldered and with deep eyes, with which he looked upwards in conversation since everyone was always taller than he, but the longer he spoke, the more he made the impression of a large figure. For me, a gentle seriousness shined forth from his soul. Here I learned firsthand in the most beautiful manner about the good will and indulgence, which | [69] great spirits could show to insignificant beginners. He received me and my often immature and naive remarks well, and his enormous superiority was not expressed in any way. When he heard that I had studied his dogmatics, which Sibbern had already said to him, he said: “My dogmatics are not easy.” But he went into everything and allowed me every freedom. In the eight days he was here, I was with him several times. The conversations touched on various points in his dogmatics, and above all I sought more information about what he thought about philosophy. Once I asked wholly naively whether he assumed that it was possible to have a philosophical knowledge of God's being in itself, of the inner, eternal process of life in God, with which I, without naming them, was thinking of Hegel or Schelling, Baader, J. Böhme and related thinkers. He answered with complete calm, without naming anyone – he did not like to speak about Hegel –: “*Ich halte es für eine Täuschung,*” and he added some words, which implied what I later came to understand better from his Dialectic. The view was that we could only think in opposites, but, according to Schleiermacher, God as the absolute or as the being of all beings is beyond all oppositions. If we think of him therefore in oppositions, | [70] then we think of him finitely, anthropomorphically or ktisiomorphically. Whether we think of God as personhood or with Spinoza as *natura naturans*, we think of him

in opposites. But it is according to Schleiermacher “*eine Täuschung*,” an illusion, a disappointment, a self-deception and a mere appearance to believe that in such determinations we have thought the absolute. For him God is a purely mystical unity raised above all differences in his infinite richness. God is the eternal presupposition for our thinking. We must presuppose him; but He cannot be the object of our thinking, our conceiving. For my own part, it has, however, become clear that I here cannot agree with him, but on that point I must agree with Hegel and J. Böhme in saying that God *must* be thought in oppositions, and that inner oppositions belong to the essence of God. Without inner differences and oppositions, God could not be the living God revealing Himself for Himself; He could not be the God of the Trinity. I could not let go of the trinitarian God. Schleiermacher maintained a one-sided monism (Sabellianism).

One day I went with him to Christiansborg Castle where he wanted to see a collection of paintings. He passed by several paintings, making occasionally a remark, which, however, did not interest me much. | [71] I saw as good as nothing of the paintings, for I saw only him. And we were hardly out on the street again, where I was supposed to accompany him to Kronprindsessegade, to the home of Royal Advisor Brandis, before we were in middle of his *Dialectic*. After I had given the occasion for it from my side, he stated that he was now busy with preparing for its publication but that one should not expect that he would dwell for very long in the purely metaphysical regions. He tried to cross over from metaphysics into the real sciences. I now do not recall how it came into the conversation, but suddenly he stood still for a moment and said with great energy: “Theology must be kept separate from philosophy, and the church must be kept separate from the state; otherwise we will return to scholasticism.” This was a weighty unforgettable statement for me. But however often I have pondered it to myself during the experiences of life, I nonetheless have not been able to agree with him here. Also here my sympathy had to lead me much more to Hegel.

In his honor there was a festive gathering at the Shooting Society, where several of our most significant men were present: Oehlenschläger, Ørsted, Mynster, Sibbern. In addition there were also several up-and-coming young people. Here he really showed his personal | [72] amiability, as well as his admirable talent for improvisation since he seized the opportunity to speak, sometimes with humor and light irony, sometimes with seriousness and feeling and, moreover, responded to the toasts that were made to him. On this occasion I had written a song in German, which was well received. After the meal I stood and talked with old Dr. Rothe from the Church of the Trinity, who, in jest, pointed out to me that people were making too much of Schleiermacher, saying, among other things: “He believes in neither the Devil nor angels.” This conversation was interrupted by Schleiermacher himself coming over to us, pointing to

me and saying: "Here is someone who knows how to hit the nail on the head. Yesterday he criticized the most difficult point in my dogmatics." With this he referred to some remarks I had allowed myself to make against his conception of the holiness of God and the relation of this to sin, which, according to Schleiermacher's dogmatics is prescribed by God – undeniably a difficult point. After this he said some pleasantries to me in regard to my German verse, after which we began to discuss Steffens. Soon some students approached, who asked him to come out into the garden, where a group of students was assembled in order to sing a song in Danish for him. This Danish | [73] song was written by Monrad. When in this song there was an allusion to Schleiermacher's famous name, he took this as an occasion in his speech, with warmth and seriousness, to express some words about the perishability of human names, and that every human name has its time, while there is only one name and one spirit which remains forever.

The last time I was together with him was at a dinner party at Clausen's home. Here Oehlenschläger and Sibbern were also present, and the atmosphere was very animated. A small, light dispute came up at dinner between Schleiermacher and archdeacon Clausen about the stringently faithful and very zealous priest at the Bohemian Church in Berlin, Gossner, who formerly had been a Catholic priest but had converted to the Protestant Church. The archdeacon regarded Gossner as a corrupt obscurant. But Schleiermacher disagreed with this and, with mildness and firmness, lauded Gossner's beneficent evangelical work. Gossner was certainly very different from Schleiermacher, and Gossner, who preached very sternly and for whom the Devil was an important article of faith, had hardly acknowledged Schleiermacher. But also here it was evident that the rationalists continually met in Schleiermacher a | [74] spirit which was foreign to them, and that Schleiermacher represented a transition to something new. It was obvious that the archdeacon was completely astonished and surprised at Schleiermacher's response and did not know how to respond.

After the meal Schleiermacher took his leave of us. He shook hands with me, saying good-bye, with the words: "*Kommen Sie zu uns.*" Yet on the following day, which was a Sunday, I was still to hear him preach in Peter's Church. The gospel was about the man who had dropsy, and he preached about the words: "He who exalts himself, will be humbled, and he who humbles himself, will be exalted." Some of the listeners found themselves disappointed since they had expected something magnificent, sensational, and they could not grasp that this should be the great preacher. Others (including Mynster) admired the lack of pretentiousness, "the sublime simplicity, which managed to include every ornament, but also could do without it," the richness of thought, which came forth completely unforced, and also, the deep and quiet movement of the will,

which is the special mark of his sermon. He interpreted the words in the text about those who would assume the highest places at the banquet, as a reference to the place that we should take in society, and the correct self-abasement we should show here. | [75]

It was in September 1833 that Schleiermacher visited us. The next year in the month of February we received word of his death. It made a much more profound impression, not only because he had attained what he says in the *Monologues*: “This I have always wished: to die with full awareness, without surprise and without disappointment, quite determined and certain to see the coming of death.” But also because his death had also been so edifying since it was granted him to give the holy Eucharist to himself and his family, and to give witness of his faith in the reconciling death of Christ. Steffen’s speech made a deep impression since this friend, who had so sharply attacked Schleiermacher in his book *On the False Theology*, now spoke about him with such great enthusiasm and, as he emphasized their differences, added, “But he was a *Christian*,” a word which had an effect in wide circles. For many opponents denied that Schleiermacher had been a Christian. This was also the general opinion among the Grundtvigians; indeed, a Grundtvigian with whom I spoke about Schleiermacher stated that Schleiermacher without doubt even on his deathbed had wanted to give the impression of being a Christian just as the Roman emperor Augustus, faced with his impending death, had asked those standing around him whether he had played his role well. Here one can only say: May God forgive | [76] such people their blasphemous and ungodly thoughts and words and lead them out of their literalism!

Thus, I was not to find him, Schleiermacher, as I had hoped when I came to Berlin. It is impossible to say how my development would have proceeded if I had found him. Certainly, I have been strengthened, by the hours I spent with him, in the view that there were important differences between us, that there were main points in his views, which were impossible for me to appropriate. But he, who was Plato’s intimate, with a rich wealth of thought, the powerful Socratic personality, could perhaps in other respects have exercised a great and fruitful influence on me, if I had stepped into a closer relation to him, for which a beginning had been made. I could not help but regard his death as a loss also for the future which I was facing. I grieved truly the light which was now extinguished, yet I had to appreciate with gratitude that, by means of favorable circumstances, I had his image impressed upon me for my entire life.

3. Letters from Otto Laub to Hieronymus Laub,
September 28 and 30, 1833.⁵²

Borch's Collegium, September 28.

Schleiermacher, as mentioned, was supposed to be at the Shooting Society yesterday, and a large group of students, including me, had been encouraged to take part. I really wanted to be in | [283] the group with him; but 4 rixdollars – that was expensive, and I knew that I was going to need a lot of money at the time. Would that I had been able to say, as Chr.[istian] Mynster said, that this was the first and last time he would be present at such a frivolity, and then he could go to his calling [as priest]. I said “no” to many people; finally I took the subscription list and wrote my name on it; I was the fourth person on the list from the Collegium here.

We (Dr. Krarup was with us and the school had permission) went out there [sc. to the Shooting Society in Vesterbro] yesterday at 3:30 p.m., and I saw first many excellent men gathering and then talking with one another. Finally, a coach arrived, in which I soon saw the white head, which is hanging [sc. in a picture] over the sofa in Frørup with glasses. He was accompanied by Oehlenschläger and Clausen. I placed myself in front of the door in order to see his entire person immediately. The door of the coach opened – would that I could describe the singular impression he made on me! I had imagined him to be short; but it was impossible to imagine him to be so short and thin, with such small legs, which stuck out backwards when he bent forward! Can you remember “*Klein-Zaches, genannt Zinnober*” (by Hoffmann)? I was not the only one who saw him. He was made to be at the center of attention in a dinner party; for when one took away his arms and legs, the rest was a point. Archdeacon Clausen had to bend down to talk with him – and all the quite tall people had to do the same; for he did not look up but always straight ahead – he only moved his eyes upward; and if one had seen them [sc. his eyes] once, then the Klein-Zaches impression was completely gone, and the calm, clear facial features became clearer little by little. He went around and spoke with various people until Oehlenschläger led him up to the large, beautiful hall. I ended up sitting far away from him and could only just catch a glance of the white head at the other end of the table between Oehlenschläger and Mynster. I sat between some Danish and German students. | [284] The Germans, who studied in Berlin were very comely and treated me to a round of “good German wine” (Rhein wine); the Danish students were acquaintances of mine (for example, Kolthoff). We ate many courses and sang many songs. The first one by Oehlenschläger was in Danish, after which Mynster made a toast: “*Dem Denker, dem Pre-*

⁵² Originally published in: Nogle Blade (n. 13), pp. 282–287.

diger und auch noch dem Menschen, besonders Schleiermacher!” – When the trumpets fell silent, he rose – I could not see that he was standing – and spoke for a long time with a voice that was not strong but clear and sharp. Since there was so much commotion with the chairs, I did not pick up much of what he said but I got the gist of it from others. He said that he had to ask those present to pardon his friend [sc. Mynster], who had not said what he [sc. Schleiermacher] was, but rather what he should have been and perhaps could have become – this was the beginning of his speech. Later we sang “King Christian,” and Schl. made a toast which ended more or less thus: “*daß diese zwei Völker fortfahren mögen von einander zu lernen und einander zu lieben.*”

We then sang another song in German by Oehlenschläger, in which the lyrics said that Schl. should speak well of Denmark to his good friends and say to them that “there are people there and not just bears.” The song also said that the Germans knew a lot about Denmark but not Copenhagen; one of the lines was “*Am Rhein, am Rhein, da wachsen die Gelehrten.*” Schl. stood up and said that he had several objections to this song. The first one I didn’t quite understand, but it was accompanied by loud laughter from the tables at the front. I quickly ran up there and stood behind Clausen’s chair, and heard from him what I had not understood: “*Erstens, was hat Oehlenschläger mir vorzuwerfen, daß ich nicht vom Rheine bin, weil ich nicht gewachsen bin?*” And secondly, he said that the Germans do not think that there are bears in Denmark. However, perhaps they do not know enough about Copenhagen, and he would later speak well | [285] of it. I stood just opposite him, wholly lost in observing him: he was calm, but yet with no sign of stiffness in the beautiful features, with which he looked out around himself, while every word that he spoke came out just right!

After a song in Danish which ended with the words, “*Viins, Ven-skabs, muntre Pigers Skaal*” (several songs were poorly chosen), Schl. said more or less the following: “*Die Philosophen verzeihen mir nicht Vieles; aber dies wollen sie mir wohl verzeihen, daß ich anstatt des Abstracten das Concreteste nenne; meine gegenwärtigen Freunde.*” A toast was also made to his friend, Duke Schwerin, a handsome man with the figure of Ryge, with cross and star; he said thank-you very nicely, but in comparison with Schl. he seemed rather shy. Finally, we all came, including me, and clinked our glasses with him.

We went downstairs and drank coffee. Everything was cleared away. I followed Schl. and observed him from all sides, especially from the side from which Eder’s portrait was made, and I was quite happy that it resembled him so well. Here Mynster, seeing me, came over and spoke with me: “Isn’t he a man worth giving a dinner party for?”

Schl. was told that the students wanted to bring him a “*Hoch.*” A deputation [sc. of students] came in, addressed him in Latin in order to

present him with a song. We then all went out in the garden to a place that was illuminated by torches. When the song was over, Schl. stepped forth and said, among other things, this: "*Meine lieben Freunde! laßt uns dabei bleiben, daß jeder Name⁵³ vergehen muß, aber der | [286] Geist bleibt⁵⁴ ewiglich.*"

We went out into the wonderful, clear night. The students came forth, and Schl. went around and spoke with them. We gathered around him so that he could hardly move; but nothing bothered him. "*Der Wagen ist da,*" Oehlenschläger finally said to him (how beautiful Oehl. was!) Funch, Kolthoff and others went with me; we were in agreement that we would not regret spending so much money. I spoke a bit with Frederik, read a bit in Schl.'s dogmatics and went to bed.

September 30.

Now you probably thought that I was done with Schleiermacher? Hang on just a bit longer. Last Saturday night there was a concert [for him] at the Student Association; I went there around 8:00 p.m. A little later Kolthoff and one of the *seniores* came with Schleierm. I was sorry that I could not stay and eat with him; but I had had such a good time at the party at the Shooting Society that I was completely satisfied. The concert was beautiful, and he heard our best voices. At the table toasts were offered to him, and he thanked those present, as I was told, by saying that he was glad that he had come, first, for his own sake, because he had had the opportunity to see their student life, but also for their sake, so that he could say to them what he could see better than they could: namely how good such an association was where the older students could continually support the younger ones.

Thus, we honored Schl. in Copenhagen, and a large group of us still wanted to buy a ticket for the "Caledonia" in order to accompany him over to Malmö (he was going from Ystad to Stettin); but before the trip got started, he also wanted to say thank-you to Copenhagen, or better, to say thank-you even more than he had already done. On Saturday morning one could read in the *Adresseavis*: "St. Peter's Church – Dr. Schleiermacher." You can imagine that one had to be attentive. Frederik came to my place at 8:00 a.m., and he was happy that this was | [287] his day off. I first read aloud for him a sermon by Schl., and he thought that it helped him to understand him later. We went over to the church shortly after 9 a.m. and stood with many others in a great wind until we came in; at 10:00 the service began, and at 11:00 the sermon. I ended up standing at an excellent distance where I heard every word and saw every change of facial expression. Mynster was sitting a bit further towards the choir

⁵³ Reading "Name" for "Nahme."

⁵⁴ Reading "bleibt" for "bleiben."

along with the dean and many others with their families, but I would not have wanted to trade places with them. – All of this was an introduction; and now I notice that I can say no more. For how could I describe the impression he made since it is something completely spiritual! He seemed wholly oblivious to everything external when he went up to the pulpit and looked out around himself, but his soul was collected inwardly; and everything disappeared for us who listened when this soul shined out among us. There was life and power in his monotone voice, his serious face and simple gestures; he spoke slowly and with emphasis, and towards the end with much warmth. His theme was “What should we do to assume the place in society which belongs to us” in connection with the text of the day. At 1:00 p.m. he sailed away with the Caledonia.

Zusammenfassung

Schleiermachers Aufenthalt in Kopenhagen vom 22. bis 29. September 1833 zählt zu einem der Höhepunkte des dänischen Geisteslebens, an dem führende zeitgenössische dänische Theologen, Intellektuelle und Schriftsteller auf verschiedene Art und Weise beteiligt waren. Die Edition bietet drei zeitgenössische Sichtweisen dieses Ereignisses dar. Beim ersten Dokument handelt es sich um einen Brief von Frederik Christian Sibbern an Henriette Herz (1764–1847), einer gemeinsamen Freundin von Sibbern und Schleiermacher. Der zweite Text entstammt der Autobiographie des Theologen Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–84), worin er von seinem persönlichen Kontakt mit Schleiermacher während dessen Aufenthalts berichtet. Schließlich beinhaltet die Edition zwei Schreiben des dänischen Theologen Hardenack Otto Conrad Laub (1805–83), der als junger Student an den wichtigen Veranstaltungen während des Aufenthalts Schleiermachers in Kopenhagen teilgenommen hatte. Diese Dokumente aus erster Hand gewähren nicht nur einen guten Einblick in die Bedeutsamkeit des Kopenhagen-Aufenthalts Schleiermachers, sondern bekunden auch seinen außerordentlichen Einfluß auf das dänische Intellektuellenmilieu allgemein.