



## A distilled fire of thirteen hells – Jens Baggesen between the Germans and the Danes

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symbolischem als auch ökonomischem Kapital von enormer Bedeutung. Der Dichter ist ab Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr ausschließlich von einem wohlwollenden Mäzen abhängig, sondern kann dank der ökonomischen Revolution des Buchmarktes „eine eigenständige literarische Laufbahn außerhalb des ‚traditionellen‘ literarischen Feldes samt seines Patronagewesens“ einschlagen.<sup>92</sup> Deswegen sind innovative Inszenierungs- und Vermarktungsstrategien und damit die Transformation der eigenen Dichtungsauffassung zur öffentlichen Leitpoetologie grundlegend für den Erfolg auf dem literarischen Feld. Das ‚skaldische‘ Element in der Dichtung des Kopenhagener Kreises wird zu einem Exportschlager und zum Mittel der Inszenierung einer jungen, sinnlichen Literaturavantgarde, die sich von der als starr empfundenen Aufklärung emanzipiert. Für Gerstenbergs casualpoetisches *Gedicht eines Skalden* ergibt sich abschließend nicht etwa lediglich eine Funktion, denn es beinhaltet nicht entweder einen ‚nordischen Anhänger‘ oder eine literaturpolitische Standortbestimmung. Vielmehr präsentiert sich das Gedicht funktional als ein Sowohl-als-auch.

Henrik Blicher

## A Distilled Fire of Thirteen Hells. Jens Baggesen between the Germans and the Danes

Under den såkaldte Tyskerfejde i 1789, da latente spændinger mellem en indflydelsesrig tysk gruppering i København og en større nationalt orienteret gruppe borgere blev til åben konflikt, blev venskabet mellem Carl Friedrich Cramer og Jens Baggesen for første gang et politisk anliggende. Jens Baggesen kom mod sin vilje til at stå centralt i sagen, og hans kontroversielle tyske ven bidrog aktivt til at skærpe konflikten, der i årene efter Jens Baggesens store Europarejse fik et mindre kendt efterspil, da Cramer fornyede konflikten ved at publicere fortrolige breve om Baggesens affinitet til det tyske aristokrati i København. Det prekære forhold har sat sig indirekte, men tydelige spor i rejseskildringen Labyrinth (bd. 1–2, 1792–93), der på denne baggrund fremstår som en apologi for Jens Baggesens position.

The inherent tensions between Danish and German interests in the Danish conglomerate state peaked on two occasions in the late eighteenth century: The first confrontation developed around Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1772), who made his way to power at the absolutist Danish court during the turbulent years of 1770–72. The second is known as the German Feud (in Danish: *Tyskerfejden*) and was sparked in 1789 by an opera, *Holger Danske*, which bears the name of a legendary Danish hero as its title.<sup>1</sup>

With no intention of provocation, the Danish poet Jens Baggesen (1764–1826) crafted the libretto to the *Holger Danske*. The opera's form was not in accordance with a certain civic taste in Copenhagen; Baggesen had used German Christoph

1 The literary tradition of the Viking warrior Holger Danske goes back to the *Songs of Roland*. – See also Leif Ludvig Albertsen: *Holgerfejden*. Copenhagen 1971 (Baggeseniana vol. 2); Ole Feldbæk and Vibeke Winge: *Tyskerfejden 1789–1790 – Den første nationale konfrontation*. In: Ole Feldbæk (ed.): *Dansk identitetshistorie. Vol. 2: Der er et yndigt land 1789–1848*. Copenhagen 1991; Ole Feldbæk: *Borgerskabets danskhed. 1720–1800*. In: *Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen* (ed.): *På sporet af dansk identitet*. Copenhagen 1991, p. 67–108; Ole Kongsted: *Om Holger Danske og Holger-fejden*. In: *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek* 10 (1996), no. 4, p. 19–31; Sven-Aage Jørgensen: *Den gale Moltke eller Excentriciteten i centrum*. Det tyske danske litterære miljø i København ved udgangen af det 18. århundrede. In: *Meddelelser fra Thorvaldsens Museum* (2001), p. 90–101.

92 York-Gothart Mix u. Carlos Spoerhase: *Die Genese eines Marktes der Kreativen? Einleitende Fragestellungen*. In: *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 36 (2012), H. 2 [Themenheft: Schöpferischer Wettbewerb? Ästhetische und kommerzielle Konkurrenz in den schönen Wissenschaften, zusammengestellt v. dens.], S. 179–189, hier S. 181.

Martin Wieland's adventurous *Oberon* (1780) as a hypotext. As if that were not enough, Baggesen's friend Carl Friedrich Cramer's (1752–1807) translation of the opera into German included a comparison of Baggesen to another Danish poet, the national icon Johannes Ewald (1743–1781), in which he found his friend to be superior. Polemics addressing the subject of German supremacy began in the spring of 1789 and lasted almost a year. The opera was cancelled, and Jens Baggesen's German friends in the aristocratic circles of Copenhagen convinced him to leave the country in May in order to regain his health. On returning to Copenhagen the year after, he started working on his European travelogue *Labyrinthen* (1792–93; in German: *Das Labyrinth oder Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz*, 1793–95).

Carl Friedrich Cramer and Baggesen were friends, but they were also crossing borders in different ways. Cramer appears in Baggesen's travel account as a fellow companion, since both felt an urgent need to leave Copenhagen in May 1789.<sup>2</sup> Cramer has been called “ein Mann von Feuer und Talenten.”<sup>3</sup> Cramer's fire and talents were diverse: He had unquestionable accomplishments in multiple languages as well as in musicology, he was a prolific writer, and he was a stern partisan of the French Revolution, which led to his dismissal from his post at the University of Kiel in 1794. To Jens Baggesen he was a steady but erratic friend as well as an *agent provocateur* and a troublesome fan.<sup>4</sup> On two occasions, his interventions highlighted Baggesen's precarious conflict with the Danes. Baggesen's travels did not bring the conflict to an end; when Baggesen returned to Denmark, newly-wed and with great expectations, Cramer made his second

2 Sven-Aage Jørgensen: Carl Friedrich Cramer: Ein verunglückter Nachzügler der Gesamtstaatskultur. In: Heinrich Detering, Anne-Bitt Gerecke and Johan de Mylius (ed.): Dänisch-deutsche Doppelgänger. Transnationale und bikulturelle Literatur zwischen Barock und Moderne. Frankfurt 2001 (Grenzgänge. Studien zur skandinavisch-deutschen Literaturschichte vol. 3), p. 116–133.

3 Cf. Rüdiger Schütt (ed.): “Ein Mann von Feuer und Talenten.” Leben und Werk von Carl Friedrich Cramer. Frankfurt 2005 (Grenzgänge. Studien zur skandinavisch-deutschen Literaturgeschichte vol. 5). – It was Heinrich Christian Boie (1744–1806), the editor of the *Göttinger Musen-Almanach*, who rendered his impression of Cramer as “einen jungen Mann von Feuer und Talenten” in 1773 (cf. Karl Weinhold: Heinrich Christian Boie. Beitrag zur Geschichte. Halle 1868, p. 47).

4 In a review of Rüdiger Schütt's rehabilitating anthology, Cramer is called “a notable cultural intermediary between France and Germany,” and “for much of his later life in Paris after the expulsion” he acted as “a key cultural intermediary between Germany and the Danish kingdom, where he had lived for many years during the early part of his life”. The reviewer explains: “Because his father had been a preacher at the Danish court, Cramer witnessed firsthand the frenzied reforming zeal of Johann Friedrich Struensee, who also introduced the principle of a free press in Denmark-Norway while Cramer was studying at Copenhagen.” (Jonathan Israel: “Ein Mann von Feuer und Talenten.” Leben und Werk von Carl Friedrich Cramer by Rüdiger Schütt [review]. In: German Studies Review 31 (2008), no. 3, p. 644f.).

intervention prior to the publication of Baggesen's *Labyrinthen* in 1792.<sup>5</sup> This time it was a ‘distilled fire of thirteen hells’ (in Danish: ‘en distilleret Ild af tretten Heiveder’),<sup>6</sup> as I will show in the following.

## I. Parvenu

Jens Baggesen's early life is the story of a parvenu. In less derogatory terms, Baggesen transcended his humble social background and left his native town Korsør on the western shore of Zealand by means of education, talents and adaptability. When he arrived in Copenhagen in order to study theology, he was – very much like Cramer – characterized as “a boy, who has every possible talent to become a good and important poet [...] a strange enthusiastic, melancholy, indescribable one”.<sup>7</sup> No wonder that the two of a kind should meet and become troublesome friends. *Qui se ressemble s'assemble*.

In those days, Jens Baggesen wanted to be German: “*Germanus esse volo*” – that is what he wished for in a letter. The full quote reads as follows:

‘By the German language I have become acquainted with the noblest people, only a few of this kind are to be found on earth – I owe this not only to the dead, but also to the living noblemen. If you and I had been speaking German instead of Danish from the cradle, we would write far more beautiful poems... I can do nothing about the fact that I have not met that lovable people in Denmark, it is a pain to me, but I cannot help exclaim: *Quid mihi cum Dano? Germanus esse volo* [...]’.<sup>8</sup>

5 Jens Baggesen: Labyrinthen eller Reise giennem Tydskland, Schweiz og Frankrig. Vols. 1–2. Copenhagen 1792–93.

6 See here, footnote 25.

7 Quoted from Henrik Blicher: Jens Baggesen (1764–1826). In: Marianne Stecher-Hansen (ed.): Danish Writers from the Reformation to Decadence, 1550–1900. Detroit [et al.] 2004 (Dictionary of Literary Biography vol. 300), p. 47–58, p. 49. – The original Danish quote: “en Dreng, som har alle mulige Talenter til at blive en god og from Digter [...] en u d e r l i g, e n t h u s t a s t i s k, m e l a n c h o l s k, u b e s k r i v e l i g E n” (Knuud Lyne Rahbek: Erindringer af mit Liv. Vol. III. Copenhagen 1825, p. 215f.).

8 Translated by the author from Peter Hansen: Illustreret dansk Litteraturhistorie med 36 Bilag. Vol. 2. Copenhagen 1902, p. 522: “jeg har ved det [...] lært at kjende de ædlestes Mennesker, som der kun findes faa Mage til paa Jorden; ikke blot de døde, men ogsaa de levende Ædlingers Bekjendtskab skylder jeg det. Dersom Du og jeg fra Vuggen af havde talt Tydsk istedfor Dansk, vilde vi nu skrive langt smukkere Digte [...] Jeg kan ikke gjøre for, at jeg ikke har truffet saa skikkelige Mennesker i Danmark, det smærter mig, men jeg kan ikke Andet end udbyrde: *Quid mihi cum Dano? Germanus esse volo* [...]” – See also Otto Brandt: Geistesleben und Politik in Schleswig-Holstein um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Berlin and Leipzig 1925, p. 225. – The Latin quotation is a remake of Lesbia's longing for her lover in Sicily in Ovid's *Heroides* XV, 51f. (“quid mihi cum Lesbo? Sicelias esse volo”).

Why would Baggesen want to be German? In the years after Klopstock's stay in Copenhagen and after Struensee's takeover in 1770, there were still tensions between the German and Danish parties in Copenhagen. After the national reaction to Struensee and to German influence headed by Ove Høegh-Guldberg (1731–1808), the German party had reorganized itself.

The German party was dominated by the aristocracy, officials, and learned people from Holstein and Germany, which included individuals such as Ernst Heinrich von Schimmelmann (1747–1831), the younger Reventlows and Prince Friedrich Christian of Augustenborg (1765–1814). This party supported the talented but poor Baggesen. The dedication in his travel account is addressed to his patron: the Prince of Augustenborg. This group was, in the words of Sven-Aage Jørgensen, “modern, sentimental, philanthropic, cosmopolitical, keen on reforms – and patriotic, in agreement with the super national monarchy”.<sup>9</sup> On the Danish side, there were the satirist Peter Andreas Heiberg (1758–1841), the editor Christen Pram (1756–1821), another friend of Baggesen's, and also Germans such as Johan Clemens Tode (1736–1806), Werner Hans Frederik Abrahamson (1744–1812) and Levin Christian Sander (1756–1819). The German party, on the other hand, was represented by the poet brothers Friedrich Leopold (1750–1819) and Christian (1748–1821) zu Stolberg-Stolberg. The German party had both financial backing and an educated European horizon.

All in all, Baggesen had become German overnight, but his dream turned out to be a nightmare. In many ways, his travel account is a response to the delicate situation in the spring of 1789. The publication of *Labyrinthen* in 1792 and 1793 is an apology and Baggesen's response to the German feud of 1789, rekindled in 1792 by the appearance of some autobiographical writings by Cramer containing confidential letters from Baggesen about his precarious relationship to the German party.

## II. Obstruction

*Labyrinthen* has not only an ordinary preface (in Danish *Forerindring*), dealing with the book as such, but also a supplementary preface addressing the troublesome Cramer: “I thought,” Baggesen writes, “that the bad weather, which in connection with the fatal performance and even more fatal translation [sc. by Cramer] three years ago poured down, hailed down, flashed down and thundered down my little literary and civil existence finally raged to the end [...]”.<sup>10</sup> But he

<sup>9</sup> Jørgensen, *Den gale Moltke*, p. 91; translation by the author.

<sup>10</sup> Jens Baggesen: *Labyrinthen eller Reise gjennem Tydskland*, Schweitz og Frankrig. Vol. 1. Ed. by Henrik Blicher. Copenhagen 2017, p. 28; translation by the author.

was wrong. This time his change of fate came from a direction he had convinced himself was safe. It was not, for “Professor Carl Frederik Cramer has had the pleasure of publishing a work in several parts, in *European*, or, if you like, in *German* and *Nondanish* under the title of ‘Neseggab’ (*retro sublapsum!*).”<sup>11</sup> He continues:

*Neseggab*, or *The story of my travels to the Caribbean Islands* – with the half-title *Human Life – Justice and equality* – in which he, much to my surprise as well as my annoyance, not alone has brought the whole of the old, long time ago forgotten *Holgermachie*, with all its, to me, most unpleasant consequences once again in memory – but on top of that has added so much dealing with me, in much his own way, and in a tone easy to be misunderstood, that I see myself in need of the first the best occasion to declare in public [...].<sup>12</sup>

Baggesen then declares that he is not pleased, and never has been, with Cramer's great praise. He declares that Cramer's new book is absolutely his own, that he has never seen it before, that he more than anybody is very much annoyed with it, that he has no part in Cramer's war against well-known people in Copenhagen, and that certain bitter passages in the letters ascribed to Baggesen and published by Cramer would be understandable, if given the proper context. Baggesen distances himself from Cramer. Nonetheless, he refers to Cramer as his ‘friendly enemy’ and says he will never stop loving a friend like that, despite the remarkable blows to his happiness, life and honor.

Cramer's work, which relates his voyage to the Caribbean Islands and whose title contains the name of Baggesen spelled backwards, was published frenetically in 18 volumes from 1791 to 1797 under the title of *Menschliches Leben*. In the first volume Cramer provides a description of the project as a whole:

‘[...] ein Buch voll Unsinn und Sinn, voll Scherz und voll Ernst, voll Eignem und Fremden, das labyrinthischste und undefinissableste der Bücher: mein *menschliches Leben*, und zwar darin zuerst, die *Geschichte meiner Reisen nach den caribischen Inseln*, sey hiermit – Euch! – meinen *eilftausend Freunden* unter den Singvögeln und dem Hausgeflügel, geweiht.’<sup>13</sup>

Baggesen sees himself caught within Cramer's autobiographical ‘Gesamtwerk’, much to his surprise and annoyance. His secondary preface should be regarded as crisis management.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28; translation by the author. – “*Retro sublapsum*”, originally a phrase from Virgil (*Aeneis* II, 169; *Georgica* I, 200), means ‘backwards’ – that is, *Baggesen* spelled backwards turns into *Neseggab*.

<sup>12</sup> Baggesen, *Labyrinten* [2017], vol. 1, p. 28f.; translation by the author.

<sup>13</sup> Carl Friedrich Cramer: *Menschliches Leben. Gerechtigkeit und Gleichheit!* Vol. 1. Altona and Leipzig 1791, p. 13–14. – Volumes 1–3, 7 and 8 were published with the subtitle *Neseggab oder Geschichte meiner Reisen nach den caribischen Inseln*, and in May 1792, volumes 1–8 were published together.

### III. Secrets

What then is revealed about Baggesen? Mainly that the war is not over in 1792. Baggesen mentions the opera as a scandal inflicted on him on different occasions in his travel account, but he never addresses the real issues behind the German feud, for good reasons. His dubious friend Cramer, however, does exactly this by quoting a letter from Baggesen, dated Trolleborg in October 1790, just after his return to Denmark with a possibly pregnant wife. The letter was surely confidential – intended for Cramer and Cramer alone. Baggesen is forced, he says, to address “eine sehr *delicate* Sache für Dich und für mich”.<sup>14</sup> His situation had changed since their travels: “Aber jetzt, da ich als Mann, für eine geliebte Frau, und wer weiß, ob nicht einmal als Vater für geliebte Kinder zu sorgen habe.”<sup>15</sup> He partly explains himself in French, as a token of their mutual understanding: “*Je suis mari à présent, autrefois je n’étois qu’ami – voilà la différence.*”<sup>16</sup> Back then he was nothing but a “*citoyen de l’air*”, which is his definition of a poet, un *Poète*; now he is a “*Citoyen de la terre*”, a responsible married man with obligations.<sup>17</sup> Baggesen’s agenda is quite clear – he does not want Cramer to discuss him: “[S]preche [...] *nichts*, oder so wenig als möglich von mir in Copenhagen.”<sup>18</sup> Baggesen has to deal with forthright “Haß” in Copenhagen, a hatred that “sich immer vergrößert”.<sup>19</sup> This is why he asks Cramer not to make him other enemies (in the original German: “Feinde”): “[V]ermehre die Anzahl dieser ..... nicht, liebster Cramer, durch dein Lob”.<sup>20</sup> His present escape at Trolleborg in Funen is without all these “Kleinigkeiten” in the generous company of the count and countess, but only temporarily.<sup>21</sup> In his answer, Cramer poses as the firm and incorruptible Luther writing to Philip Melancthon – he (Cramer) should be allowed to think and talk and write exactly “wie ich denken und reden und schreiben kann, soll, muß, und will!”<sup>22</sup>

In a new letter from Trolleborg, Baggesen once again tries to persuade his friend not to read and write about him. The letter is in Danish, and Baggesen talks about “the damage that any homage to me or to my wife would do to the both of us, since” (“om den Skade enhver Lovtale over mig eller over min Kone vilde tilføje os begge”)<sup>23</sup> – he puts it somewhat ironically – “apparently no one in

14 Cramer, *Menschliches Leben*, vol. 1, p. 66.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*, p. 78; emphasis added.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Copenhagen is willing to be led to admire us” – (“da man i Kiöbenhavn nu engang ikke vilde lade sig nöde til at beundre os”).<sup>24</sup>

The problems are still the same, but it seems that Baggesen has found means of dealing with the present calamities, which he describes as: “a distilled fire of thirteen hells / and I don’t know myself how many furies”, quoting the Danish playwright and poet Johan Herman Wessel (1742–1785):

‘*en distileret Ild af tretten Helveder,  
og jeg veed ikke selv, hvor mange Furier.*’<sup>25</sup>

The quote is from Wessel’s genre parody of the French *tragédie classique* entitled *Kierlighed uden Strømper* (1772; *Love Without Stockings*, 1772). In this play, the dramatic hero, a humble shoemaker called Mads, laments in style about his dire straits. It seems that Baggesen, on his way back to Copenhagen in October 1790, is ready to face the music. However, his friend cannot be silenced.

This is what happened in 1790 seen through letters exchanged between friends, and Baggesen expected their secrets to remain hidden in this correspondence. Baggesen and his pregnant wife returned to Copenhagen, and as time went by he started preparing his account of the travel. Then, out of the blue, immediately before the publication of *Labyrinten* in 1792 the letters reappear, shedding light on Baggesen’s dilemma of being torn between the Germans and the Danes.

### IV. An Apology

The serious public trouble arising in 1789 was followed by even more trouble in 1792, immediately before the publication of *Labyrinten*. Against this background Baggesen’s travel account appears to be something more than what is traditionally acknowledged: an apology, an act of self-defense, a means to put an end to Baggesen’s bad standing and present himself as a loyal citizen in Denmark. The original two books of *Labyrinten* covered a journey in 1789. Jens Baggesen promised another two volumes in order to cover the whole journey, but they never appeared.<sup>26</sup> The first volume, published in 1792, brought the traveller from

24 *Ibid.*; translation by the author.

25 *Ibid.*

26 After Baggesen’s death in 1826, his two sons endeavored to establish the whole journey by putting together his diaries and letters, and thereby handling their own father’s shortcomings and praising their mother, who died in 1797 (Baggesen’s *Danske Værker*, vols 1–12, 1827–32). The biography (vols. 1–4, 1843–56) by August Baggesen takes part in the national rehabilitation of Baggesen, cf. Henrik Blicher: Jens Baggesens hyperbel. En patriotisk parabel. In: Henrik Blicher, Merete K. Jørgensen and Marita Akhøi Nielsen (ed.): *Tænkesedler 20 år*.

Copenhagen to the spa resort of Pyrmont, and the next volume brought him almost to Switzerland. He returned home to Copenhagen from Switzerland in the fall of 1790 with a Swiss wife of prestigious descent and plans of writing about his travels through Germany, Switzerland and France. The urge to write a travel book was partly due to the fact that his powerful friends in Denmark had paid for the journey. The client was eager to pay back his patrons.

*Labyrinth* is no ordinary travel book. It is sentimental and autobiographical in the new manner of traveling invented by Laurence Sterne in his *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768): more traveller than travel, few facts and lots of impressions, more digressions than main roads. The first part of Baggesen's account recalls his journey to Pyrmont for reasons of sanity. In Pyrmont he was supposed to drink water, go on walks, and calm his sensitive nerves in a rural yet urban setting.<sup>27</sup> The young Baggesen had several reasons for visiting a bath like the one in Pyrmont, and his wealthy friends provided the financial means in 1789. Strolling down the central avenue in Pyrmont in a very bad mood, he met an acquaintance, Count Adam Gottlob Detlev von Moltke (1765–1843). The surprise was mutual, and their reasons for being there were similar:

Misunderstandings, unhappy love, exorbitant exhaustion and breast sickness have put me in the condition that you see me here, he shouted out. [...] Misunderstandings, unhappy love, inappropriate exhaustion and nervous spasms have brought me in this condition, I repeated.<sup>28</sup>

The surprising meeting with an old friend in a similar condition seemed to be a far better cure for the troubled Baggesen, and the two friends were putting their pasts behind them, while undertaking a journey to the promised Switzerland.

An important preparation for this comes to pass in the hills on the outskirts of Pyrmont. The ~~the~~ location in the Teutoburg Forest, presumably the Hermannsberg, becomes a venue for reconciliation of Baggesen's dilemma of being torn between the Danes and the Germans – in the form of a vision. This crucial but complicated chapter in *Labyrinth* is called “Germanism! Cosmopolitan extravaganza [in Danish: *udsvævelser*]. Dream about national understanding”.<sup>29</sup>

On the Hermannsberg, Baggesen translates 14 stanzas from Klopstock's martial homage to Hermann or Arminius – Herman the German.<sup>30</sup> But Baggesen

tællinger af fædrelandets litteraturhistorie. Festskrift til Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen. Copenhagen 2007 (Universitets-Jubilæets Danske Samfund's skriftserie vol. 567), p. 125–135.  
27 Cf. Reinhold P. Kuhnert: Urbanität auf dem Lande. Badereisen nach Pyrmont im 18. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 1984 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte vol. 77).

28 Baggesen, *Labyrinth* [2017], vol. 1, p. 201; translation by the author.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 16; translation by the author.

30 A chieftain who led a coalition of Germanic tribes to victory in 9 AD over a Roman army in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest

does more than translation: He adds his own perspective. The weather conditions proclaim ‘enlightenment’ in every possible respect: “The clouds were splitting apart, they disappeared between the mountains and the sun came forward lighting up everything”.<sup>31</sup> This sudden spreading of light is followed by an ecstatic *Who's Who* of the contemporary German intellectual world – Herder, Schiller, Voss, Wieland:

Fra Germaniens Skove gik Frieheden du  
Gik med reenerne Troe, med en dybere Viden,  
Med Fakler, som oplyste Himlen og Jorden  
Og Menneskets Guddom, *Oplysningen* ud,  
Omtonet af Musernes yndigste Sange  
I himmelhentedede nye Melodier!  
Broderen agte sin Broder i Staten!  
Staten agte sin Nabostat!  
Broderen elske sin Broder i Landet!  
Landet elske sit Naboeiland!

[...]

Von Germaniens Wäldern ging die *Freyheit* aus!  
Ging aus mit reinerem Glauben, mit tieferem Wissen,  
Mit Fackeln, die Himmel und Erden,  
Und die Gottheit im Menschens erleuchteten, die *Aufklärung* aus!  
Um tönt von den lieblichsten Liedern der Museen,  
In neuen, dem Himmel entwandten Melodien  
Der Bruder achte seinen Bruder im Staate!  
Der Staat achte seinen Nachbarstaat!  
Der Bruder liebe seinen Bruder im Lande!  
Das Land liebe sein Nachbarland.<sup>32</sup>

And then Adam Moltke and Jens Baggesen share a revelatory embrace as if to symbolize the heartfelt friendship of the two nations they represent. Baggesen is attempting to merge two very different ideas: Klopstock's heroic Germanism, in the incarnation of the German Hermann's fight for freedom, is considered the precondition for the coming prosperous collective protestant and transalpine culture sparked by the uprising in 1789 in Paris. At the same time, Baggesen is also dealing with his own problem in the form of a vision of cosmopolitanism for mankind: A utopian new world to come, where the human faculties of sense and sensibility have found equilibrium – and where petty problems are dissolved in

31 Baggesen, *Labyrinth* [2017], vol. 1, p. 221; translation by the author.

32 Cramer, *Menschliches Leben*, vol. 15, p. 179. Cramer's translation of *Labyrinth* was part of the series (vols. 1–11 and vols. 14–16); see also Baggesen. *Labyrinth* [2017]. vol. 1, p. 220f

brotherhood. Schiller's famous words spring to mind – *Seid umschlungen, Millionen!*<sup>33</sup>

York-Gothart Mix

## „Die Leibeigenen selbst nennen ihren Zustand Sklaverei“. Erbuntertänigkeit und Kolonialismus im dänischen Gesamtstaat der Spätaufklärung

Debatten om slavehandel og livegenskab i den danske helstat førte – ganske som ræsonnerer over kolonialismen – i 1792 og i 1797 til vidtrækkende reforminitiativer, som var inspireret af Guillaume-Thomas Raynals og Johann Gottfried Herders skrifter, og disse reformtiltag blev tidligere end i andre europæiske stater til et fremtrædende historisk narrativ i den dansk-tyske helstat. Disse blivende forandringer blev primært initieret af adelige godsejere og transatlantiske slavehandlere i Holsten og København, som længe havde profiteret på netop slavehandlen. Var årsagen hertil de historisk-filosofiske appeller såvel som de følsomme, emotionelle anklager, rettet mod bestemte personer i litterær forklædning af kritiske samtidige – eller var der, hvad der i dag går for at være lykkelig oplysning, også mere konkrete landbrugsøkonomiske årsager?

### I. Fragen

Denken Sie beim Stichwort ‚Abolitionismus‘ an die Abschaffung der Sklaverei durch den Französischen Nationalkonvent 1794, ihre Wiedereinführung durch Napoléon Bonaparte 1802, ihre erneute Abschaffung in der Zweiten Republik 1848 oder den britischen *Slave Trade Act*, der 1808 in Kraft trat? Oder gar an Wilhelm Adolph Maximilian zu Wied, der 1891–92 Vorsitzender des Deutschen Antisklaverei-Komitees war? Im Gegensatz zu diesen immer wieder angeführten Ereignissen und Akteuren scheint das von Heinrich Ernst von Schimmelmann (1747–1831) im Jahr 1792 initiierte Sklavenhandelsverbot des dänischen Gesamtstaats nur wenig in das europäische Geschichtsbewusstsein gehoben zu sein. Vergewenartigen wir uns in diesem Kontext das folgende, zunächst einmal unwirklich erscheinende Szenario: Stellen wir uns vor, ein politisch überaus einflussreicher, extrem wohlhabender und kunstsinniger Minister, der den Großteil seines Vermögens dubiosen, skrupellosen Machenschaften und Transaktionen in Afrika und Mittelamerika verdankt, ließe einem renommierten, unter kargen Umständen lebenden Schriftsteller ein mehrjähriges Stipendium zukommen, und dieser Autor schriebe dann in seiner unerwarteten finanziellen Sicherheit eine theoretische Programmschrift, die dem Publikum

33 In the sober presentation of Sven-Aage Jørgensen, these ideas of cosmopolitanism lost to “das neue Nationalgefühl des 19. Jahrhunderts”, but from an ideological point of view this chapter in *Labyrinth* remains instructive since it reveals the historical contradictions which it tries to deal with (“Ideologiegeschichtlich bzw. mentalitätsgeschichtlich ist dieses Kapitel aber aufschlußreich und enthüllt die geschichtlichen Widersprüche, die er [sc. Baggesen] auszutragen hatte und die politisch schon das Ende des Gesamtstaates ankündigten.”) – Cf. Sven-Aage Jørgensen: Baggesen zwischen Holger Danske und Hermann dem Cherusker. ‘Germanismus und Cosmopolitische Ausschweifungen’. In: Meddelelser fra Thorvaldsens Museum (1997), p. 18–28, here p. 26f.

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## **Deutsch-dänische Kulturbeziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert**

German-Danish Cultural Relations  
in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

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