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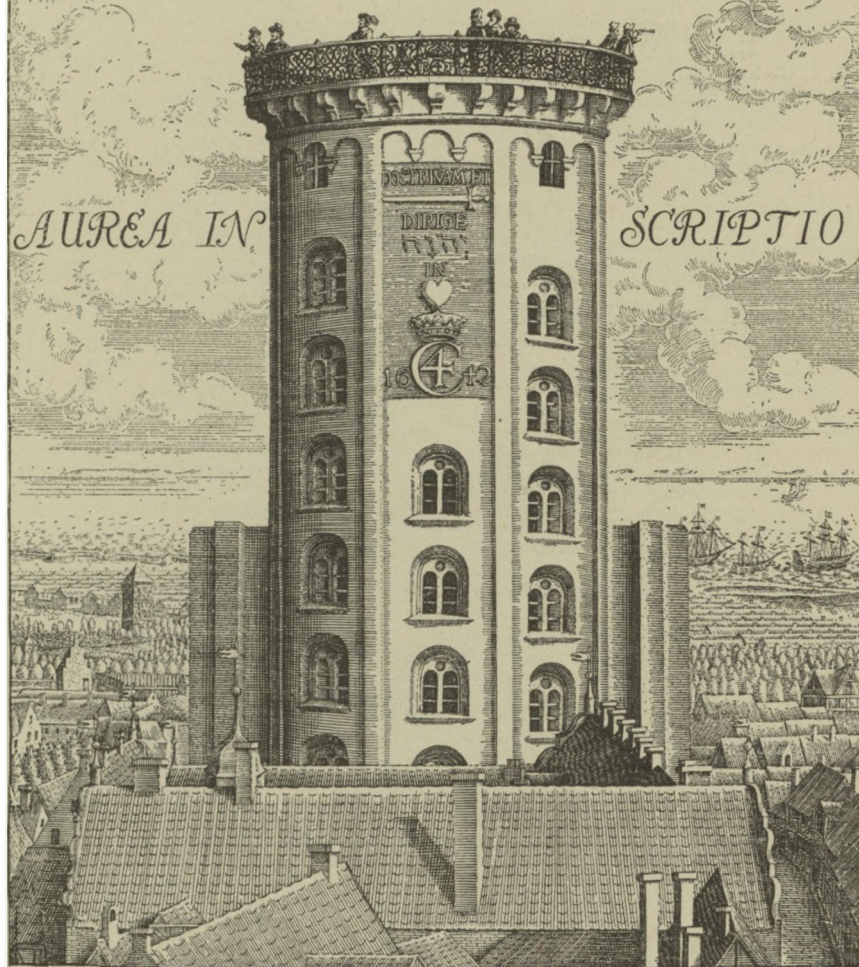
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RUNDETAARN

JAN STEENBERG



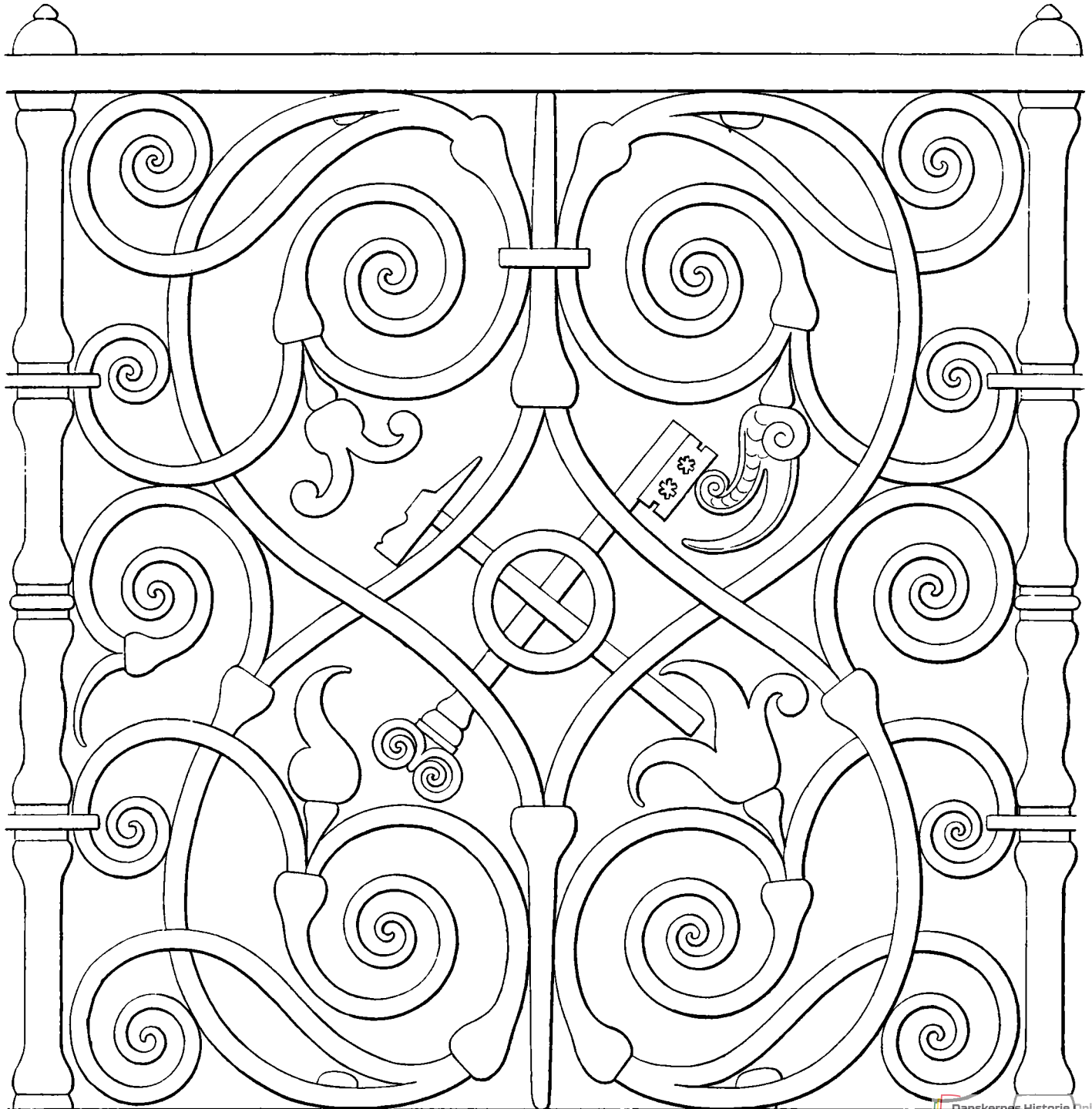
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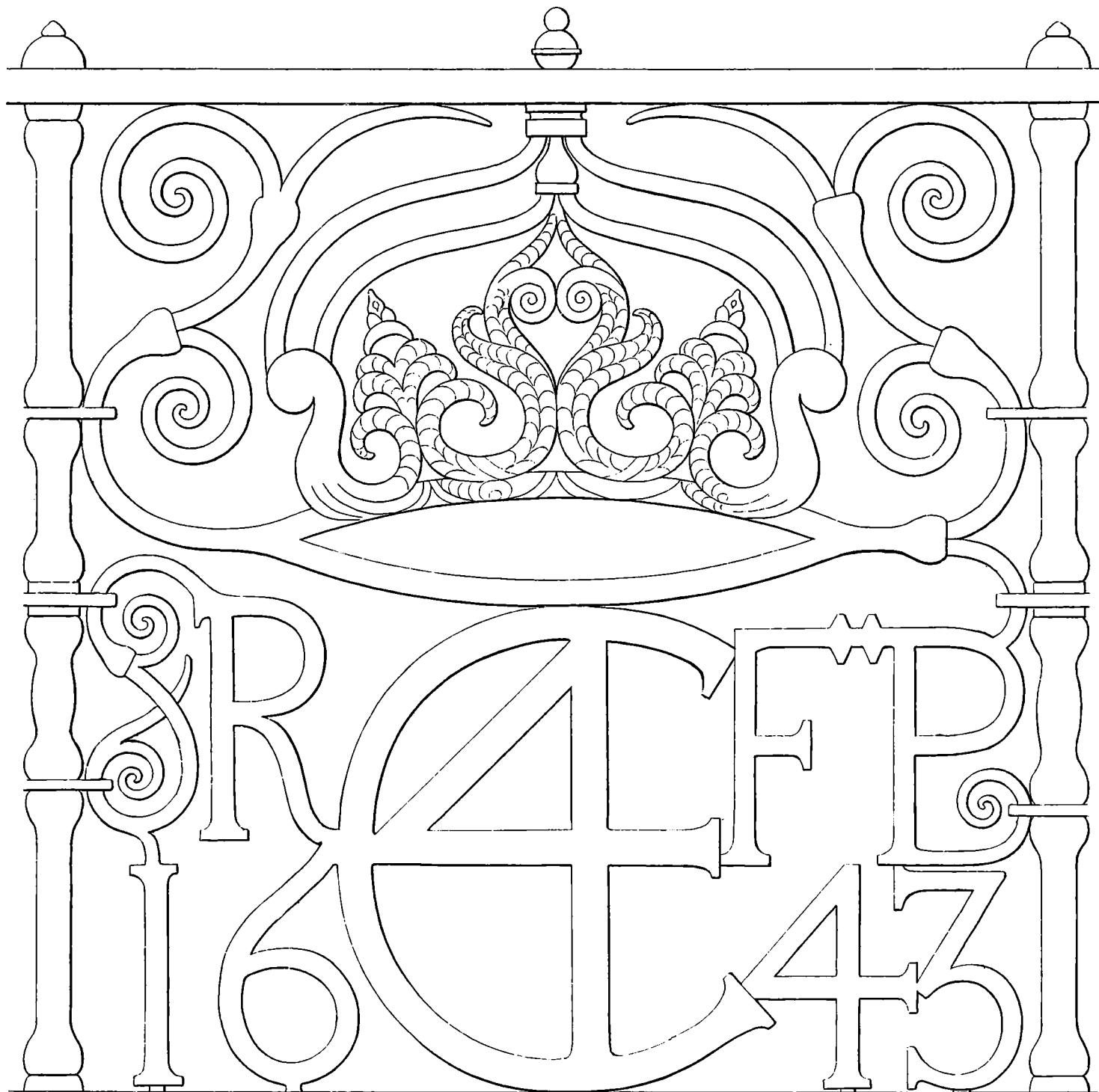


*Turris fortissima nomen JEHORÆ: Ad eam curret
justus: Et in munito editoq' loco collocabitur.*

Proverb. xviii. vers. x.

H.A. Grønsø, sculp. 1646.





BINDETS FORSIDE: Regensgaarden med Rundetaarn ca. 1830. Sepiategning af C. F. Christensen. Bymuseet

FORSATSPAPIRET: Felter i Rundetaarns Gitter. Tegnet af I. D. Petersen 1845

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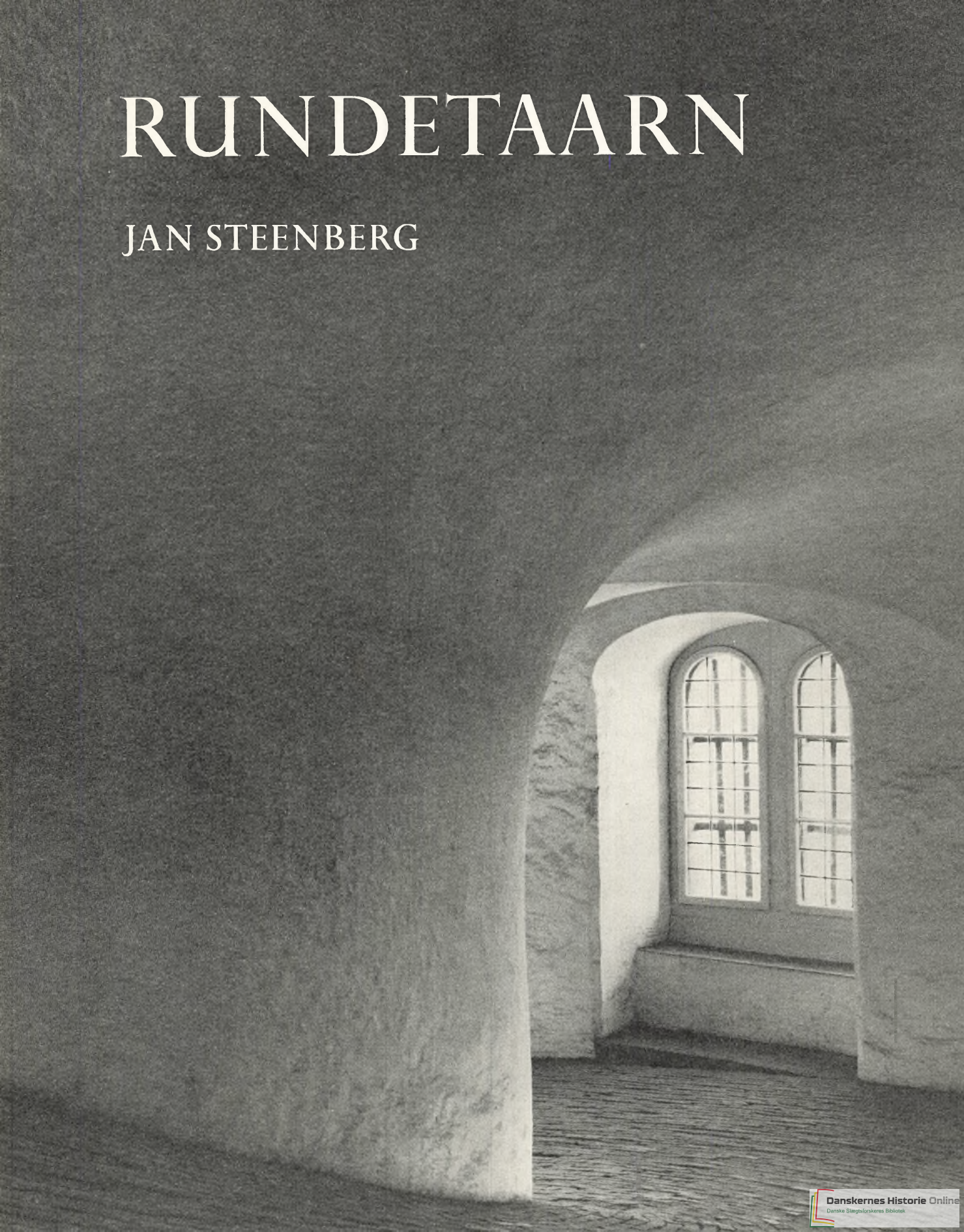
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RHODOS



RUNDETAARN

JAN STEENBERG



STUDENTERKIRKEN

Latinerkvarteret i København er kun et lille Indsnit i Hovedstadens gamle Bykærne, men det har midt i en larmende Storby bevaret en stilfærdig Atmosfære af Lærdom og boglige Sysler. De smalle Gader, der løber gennem Universitetskvarteret, Store Kannikestræde med Professorgaarde og Studenterhybler langs dens svagt bugtede Kurve, og S. Pederstræde med høje Lindetræer bag den gamle Hegnsmur om Petri Kirkegaard, bliver endnu oplyst af gammeldags Lygter, som kaster deres Skær over aldrende Bygninger: en Professorresidens med røde Mure og smaatavlede Vinduer; et Ildebrandshus fra 1730'erne med Bindingsværk i Gaarden; et Studenterkollegium med ærværdige Traditioner. . . . Midt i Latinerkvarteret staar Vor Frue Kirke, der var Stammoder til det hele Lærdomssæde, og den stod her, længe før man tænkte paa noget dansk Universitet, og i dens 800-aarige Tilværelse har fire Kirkebygninger afløst hinanden. Om denne Kirke, dens latinske Skole og dens katolske Bispebolig er Universitetet bygget op. Consistoriums lille senmiddelalderlige Bygning i den nuværende Universitetsfirkant er en Del af den fordums Bispegaard, som efter Reformationen blev overdraget til de højlerdes Brug. De katolske Kannikerresidenser ved Kirken omdannedes til protestantiske Pro-

THE STUDENTS' CHURCH

The Latin quarter of Copenhagen forms only a small section of the old nucleus of the city, but even in the centre of a noisy modern capital it has retained its peaceful atmosphere of learning and bookish pursuits. The narrow streets which traverse the university quarter, Store Kannikestræde where professorial lodges and students' digs line the gentle curve of the street, and Sankt Pedersstræde with the tall lime trees behind the mellow brick wall enclosing St. Peter's churchyard, are still lit by old-fashioned street lamps which cast their yellow glow at night over venerable buildings: a professor's lodge with red brick walls and latticed windows; a house built in the 1730s, after the Great Fire, its half-timbered walls still showing in the courtyard; a students' hostel, where time-honoured traditions are still in force. . . . In the heart of the Latin quarter stands the Church of Our Lady, the fount of this seat of learning; it has stood here long before any Danish university was ever thought of, and in the course of its eight hundred years of existence four successive churches have followed one upon the other. Around this church, its grammar school, and the catholic bishop's palace the university has grown up. The late-medieval building which houses Consistorium, the senate of the

fessorboliger. Nye Kollegier skød op, fra Valkendorfs længst mod Vest til Regensen i Øst. I Universitetets første Storhedstid, i 16. og 17. Aarhundrede, strakte Latinerkvarteret sig fra Vestervold til Købmagergade. Her ved den østlige Grænse, som Genbo til Regensen, grundlagde Christian IV sin nye Studenterkirke, hvis Historie her skal fortælles.

De fleste nye Kirker, der byggedes i København i Tiden efter Reformationen, var næsten alle Institutions- eller Standskirker. Vor Frelzers Kirke paa Christianshavn var endnu i gammeldags Forstand en regulær Sognekirke, men alle de andre søgte deres Menighed paa anden Maade. Holmens Kirke blev indrettet for Mandskabet paa Orlogsflaaden, Landetaten fik sine tilsvarende Kirker: Kastelskirken og Garnisonskirken; der var en Kirke for den tyske Menighed, en anden for den reformerte, og saa var der under Enevælden bygget Kirker i Tilslutning til mange milde Stiftelser: Vartov, Vajsenhuset, Opfostringshuset o.s.v. I 1630'erne hører vi for første Gang om den Studenterkirke, der efter en besværlig Fødsel blev til den af alle Københavnerne kendte »Runde Kirke« paa Købmagergade.

TILBLIVELSEN

Om store Byggeforetagender i Fortiden er der næsten altid skriftlige Meddelelser fra det Øjeblik, da Planerne er udarbejdet og Byggeriet skal tage sin haandgribelige Begyndelse. Men de mange Forhandlinger forud for dette Stadium mellem Bygherren og hans Arkitekt førtes mundtligt og bag luk-

university, and which forms part of the quadrangle of the present university is all that remains of the former bishop's palace which was turned over to the use of scholars when the Reformation came to Denmark. The residences of the catholic canons became the lodges of Protestant professors. New student hostels grew up, Valkendorf's College to the west and Regensen, the King's College, to the east. During the first golden age of the university, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Latin quarter stretched from Vestervold to Købmagergade, and here on its eastern boundary, as opposite neighbour to Regensen, King Christian IV founded his new church for the students, the church whose history will now be told.

Most of the new churches which were built in Copenhagen in the years after the Reformation were what one might describe as institutional or class churches, i.e. churches belonging to institutions or to special groups of citizens. Our Saviour's Church on Christianshavn was still in the old sense of the word a parish church, but all the other churches sought their congregations in other ways. Holmens Church became the navy's church, and the army too, had its own churches, Kastelskirken and Garnisonskirken; there was a church serving the German community, another for the Reformed, and likewise, during the age of enlightened despotism, churches were built for the many charitable institutions that were founded at this time: Vartov, the orphanages Vajsenhuset and Opfostringshuset, etc. In the 1630s, for the first time, we find references to the students' church, which, after a start fraught with difficulties, became the Round



Rundetaarn set fra Regensen. Erik Hansen fot.

The Round Tower seen from Regensen, the King's College. Photograph by Erik Hansen



Rundetaarn og Trinitatis Kirke set fra Elers Kollegium. Lennart Larsen fot.
The Round Tower and Trinity Church: a View from Eler's College. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

kede Døre og gav sjældent Anledning til Skriverier. Saadan er det ogsaa gaaet ved Trinitatis Kirke; de lange Regnskabslisters begynder først, da Byggegrunden er købt og Materialerne samles. Men der er dog en Forskel. Der var saa »mange Slags Kød i den Frikassé«, hvoraf den nye Studenterkirke skulde sammenkoges, og der skulde udstedes saa mange Ordre og Kontraordrer, før den blev til Virkelighed, at et og andet Træk fra Tilblivelseshistorien er blevet overleveret til Eftertiden. Vi kan i det mindste i Hovedtræk rekonstruere Hændelsesforløbet.

Kongen udstedte Sommeren 1636 en Ordre om, at Universitetets Bibliotek, der laa i Firkanten nord for Frue Kirkegaard, skulde rømmes for Bøger, Huset skulde rives ned, og den ny Studenterkirke bygges paa Stedet. Om Professorernes Mening blev der næppe spurgt, de havde blot at sørge for, at Bøgerne kom bort. Men det ligger dog i hele Sagens videre Udvikling, at Kongen nødvendigvis ogsaa har tænkt paa et nyt Hus for Bøgerne. Samtidig havde Professoren i Astronomi, Christen Longomontanus, talt med Kongen om at faa bygget et Observatorium paa Valby Bakke for nu omsider ved København at kunne genoptage Thyge Brahes berømmelige Virksomhed paa Hveen, og Planen var vistnok nær sin Virkeliggørelse, da der skete noget uventet: i Sensommeren 1636 fik Professorerne ved Universitetet pludselig Ordre om, at de kunde standse Evakueringen af det gamle Bibliotek og bringe Bøgerne paa Plads igen. Intet meddeles om Aarsagen til denne forvirrede Kurs, men vi kan se, hvad Resultatet var. Hele tre af Universitetets Institutionersøgte om Husly,

Church on Købmagergade which is known to all Copenhageners.

THE BEGINNINGS

It is usual to find letters dealing with the erection of great buildings in the past from the moment when the plans were completed and the actual work of building was to begin. But before this stage was reached, the many negotiations between the builder and his architect must have been held behind closed doors, rarely giving occasion for messages in writing. This must also have been so when Trinity Church was being planned; the long accounts only begin from the time when the plot had been bought and the building materials were being collected. But there is a difference. The hotch-potch of ideas which was to materialize into the church for the students was so great, and so many orders and counter-orders were to be given before the plans became a reality that a few incidents from the genesis of this church have been handed down to posterity. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the course of events in outline.

In the summer of 1636 the King issued an order to the effect that the university library, which was at that time housed in a building on the square to the north of Our Lady's churchyard, was to be emptied of its contents of books, the house was to be pulled down, and the new church for the students was to be erected in its place. The opinion of the professors of the university had hardly been invited, they had merely to see to it that the books were removed. However, as things developed, it is obvious that the King

en Studenterkirke, et Bibliotek og et Observatorium. Nu bestemte Christian IV, at de skulde bringes under samme Tag, Kirke og Bibliotek i en tostokværks Bygning med Observatoriet anbragt i det kæmpemæssige Rundetaarn. Da man først var kommet saa langt, kom der ogsaa hurtigt Skred i de nærmere Forberedelser. Kongen købte tre Gaarde i Købmagergade lige over for Regensen, skønt Ejerne aldeles ikke var ivrige efter at sælge, Husene blev revet ned, og de egentlige Byggearbejder kunde begynde Foraaret 1637.

At Professorerne skulde have fundet paa denne forbløffende Løsning af Universitetets Pladsmangel, lyder usandsynligt. Det er den meget foretagsomme Konge, der hele Tiden har haft Føringsen, og Idéen med det tredobbelte Bygningskompleks i Købmagergade maa vistnok ogsaa være hans. Derved er han ogsaa paa en Maade blevet Rundetaarns Arkitekt, selvom han ganske givet ikke har bekymret sig om at udfærdige de endelige Bygningstegninger; men Tanken med det hele, anskuet i store Træk, gaar tilbage til den kongelige Bygherre, og hans Løsning af Problemet var endda i Datidens København ikke helt saa enestaaende, som en sen Eftertid har været tilbøjelig til at tro. Christian IV havde nemlig tidligere i sin Hovedstad været med til at udforme en Kirkebygning, der i det smaa havde flere Træk til fælles med det, der i stor Stil blev realiseret ved Trinitatis Kirke. Paa Bremerholm lige over for Kongeslottet havde Frederik II ladet bygge en Ankersmedje, hvis Gavl mod Slottet blev dækket af en taarnlignende Bygning, hvori der indrettes en kgl. Mønt og en Bolig for Holmens Mestersmed. I 1619 blev

had also given some thought to the erection of a new library for the books. At the same time the professor of astronomy, Christen Longomontanus, had approached the King about the possibility of building an observatory on Valby Hill so that it might now at last be possible to continue—in or near Copenhagen—the great work done by Tycho Brahe, the Danish astronomer, on the island of Hveen. The plan was apparently about to be realized when the unexpected happened in the late summer of 1636, the professors of the university were suddenly ordered to stop the evacuation of the old library and to bring the books back again. Nothing is revealed about the background for this confusing change of course, but the result we know. No less than three university institutions were clamouring for a roof over their heads, a church for the students, a library, and an observatory. So Christian IV took the decision that they were all to be housed under the same roof, the church and the library in a two-storey building, and the observatory in a huge round tower. Once this point had been reached, the further preparations moved forward quickly. The King purchased three farms in Købmagergade right opposite Regensen, despite the fact that their owners were by no means eager to sell, the farm buildings were demolished and the building of the church could begin in the spring of 1637.

It seems most unlikely that it was the professors themselves who found this remarkable solution to their problems. It was the ever-enterprising King who had taken the initiative all along, and it seems likely that his too, was the idea of the three-purpose building in



Trinitatis Kirke set fra Øst. Lennart Larsen fot.
Trinity Church from the East. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

Smedjen omdannet til Holmens Kirke, og i Taarnet var der Toldbod og Navigations-skole med en Platform for Observationer øverst paa Tagryggen. Her er Kimen til det, der senere blev til det store astronomiske Taarn i Købmagergaden; paa Christian IV's Tid var altsaa i to københavnske Kirker timelige og aandelige Funktioner blandet sammen. Man skal dog ikke tro, at dette var helt enestaaende. Fra meget gammel Tid kender vi den mærkelige militære Opbygning af de bornholmske Rundkirker. Magasinrum i gamle Kirker er heller ikke ganske enestaaende – der er for Ex. et meget stort Lagerrum over Hvælvingerne paa Visbys Domkirke; rundt omkring fra Landsbykirkerne har vi Meddelelser om, at Præsterne kunde benytte ledig Plads i Kirkerne (Taarnrummene som oftest) til Øldepot eller lignende, og i 17. Aarhundrede benyttede man tit Vaabenhusene til Opbevaring af Landmilitens Vaabenlager. Men det er jo altsammen Smaating i Sammenligning med det, Christian IV fik gennemført ved sin nye Studenterkirke. Det mærkelige Rundetaarn med den fornøjelige Sneglegang og den to-stokværks Kirke med Biblioteket paa Loftet er baade i Idé og Udformning noget sjældent og seværdigt. Der findes ikke Magen dertil i Verden.

Der er imidlertid endnu en Mærkværdighed ved denne Bygning, blot er den i vore Dage ikke særlig iøjnefaldende. Kirken selv er meget stor (indre Længde godt 50 m, Bredden 20), og i Virkeligheden alt for stor. Den Menighed, som Kirken blev bygget for, var de studerende ved Universitetet, og de kunde ikke fylde det store Rum. Nu har man meget præcist i Forvejen kunnet udregne,

Købmagergade. Thus, in a way he was the architect of the Round Tower, though he certainly did not concern himself with the completion of the final plans; but the general conception of the building in broad outline can be traced to the royal builder, although his solution of the problem was not quite as unique in his time as later generations have been wont to think. Christian IV had once previously taken part in the construction of a church in his capital, and this church had several features in common with the plan which on a larger scale was realized with the building of Trinity Church. On Bremerholm, opposite the Royal Castle, Frederik II had had an anchor smithy built, and the gable-end facing the castle was topped by a tower-like construction which served as a Royal Mint and living quarters for the naval master smith. In 1619, the anchor smithy was turned into the navy's church, Holmens Kirke, and the tower now housed a customs house and a school of navigation, with an observation platform right up on the roof ridge. This was in embryo the idea which was later to become the great astronomy tower in Købmagergade. In Christian IV's time temporal and spiritual functions were thus combined in two churches in Copenhagen. This solution is by no means unique, however. The strange military function of the round churches on the island of Bornholm have been known from very old times. Storage rooms have also been found in certain old churches. There is, for example, a very large storage room above the vaulted roof of Visby Cathedral; reports have from time to time been received of how the clergy used empty space in country churches—

hvormange Kirkegængere der skulde være Plads til, og alligevel byggede man en Kirke med Plads til mange flere. Hvorfor? Tanken om et virkeligt Sogn dukkede først op, da Trinitatis Kirke var bygget, og kan altsaa ikke have haft nogen Indflydelse paa Udformningen. Det ligger meget nærmere at tage Biblioteket i det øvre Stokværk med i Overvejelserne. Her har man maattet regne med et ganske bestemt Flademaal med Plads til de Bøger, som Universitetet dengang raadede over, og til alle dem, man engang i Fremtiden kunde erhverve. Paa denne Maade kan man i 1640 have regnet med en Bibliotekssal af en ganske bestemt Størrelse, og Kirken nedenunder har da maattet følge Trop. – Den lille Skare Studenter var da i nogle Aar den eneste Menighed, der kom her. Fra 1680'erne blev dette anderledes. Da havde Kirken faaet sit Sogn og en Menighed, som kom til at præge Studenterkirken paa en helt anden Maade, end Christian IV oprindeligt havde tænkt.

RUNDETAARN

Paa den ene af de to smaa Stentavler, der sidder ved Siden af Indgangen til Rundetaarn, staar der paa sirligt Latin fortalt, at Grundstenen til Bygningen blev lagt den 7. Juli 1637 af Christian IV »med egen Haand«. Datoen er rigtig nok, men Historikerne har haft deres Tvivl med Hensyn til Kongens personlige Andel i Grundstensnæggelsen. Alle hans Breve fra denne Tid er dateret Glückstadt i Holsten; i København har han næppe været, og Stenen, der beretter derom, er da ogsaa fra en lidt senere Tid

generally the church towers—to store beer and other victuals, and in the seventeenth century the church porch was frequently used to store the weapons of the local militia. But all these uses are as nothing compared to the ideas that came into being when Christian IV built his new church for the students. The curious round tower with its charming spiral ramp, and the two-storey church with its attic library are rare and remarkable both in conception and form. It is unmatched throughout the world.

There is, however, yet another remarkable fact about this church, although in our day it may not be particularly noticeable. The church itself is very large (its inside measurements are over 50 metres long by 20 metres broad) and was, in fact, far too big. The congregation for whom the church was intended were the students of the university, and they could not by any means fill the huge church. It was possible beforehand to calculate exactly how big the student congregation would be, and yet a church was built for one that was far larger. One may indeed ask the reason. The idea of attaching a proper parish to the church did not arise until after the church had been completed, and can therefore not have had any influence on its size. It seems far more likely that the library in the upper storey may provide the explanation. In planning this room the architects had to provide enough space not only for all the books owned by the university at that time, but also for future purchases and donations. The library that was planned in 1640 thus determined the size of the church below. For a number of years the small band of students at the university

– den bekræfter kun, at man tidlig har til-
lagt Kongen en meget stor Andel i det nye
astronomiske Taarn.

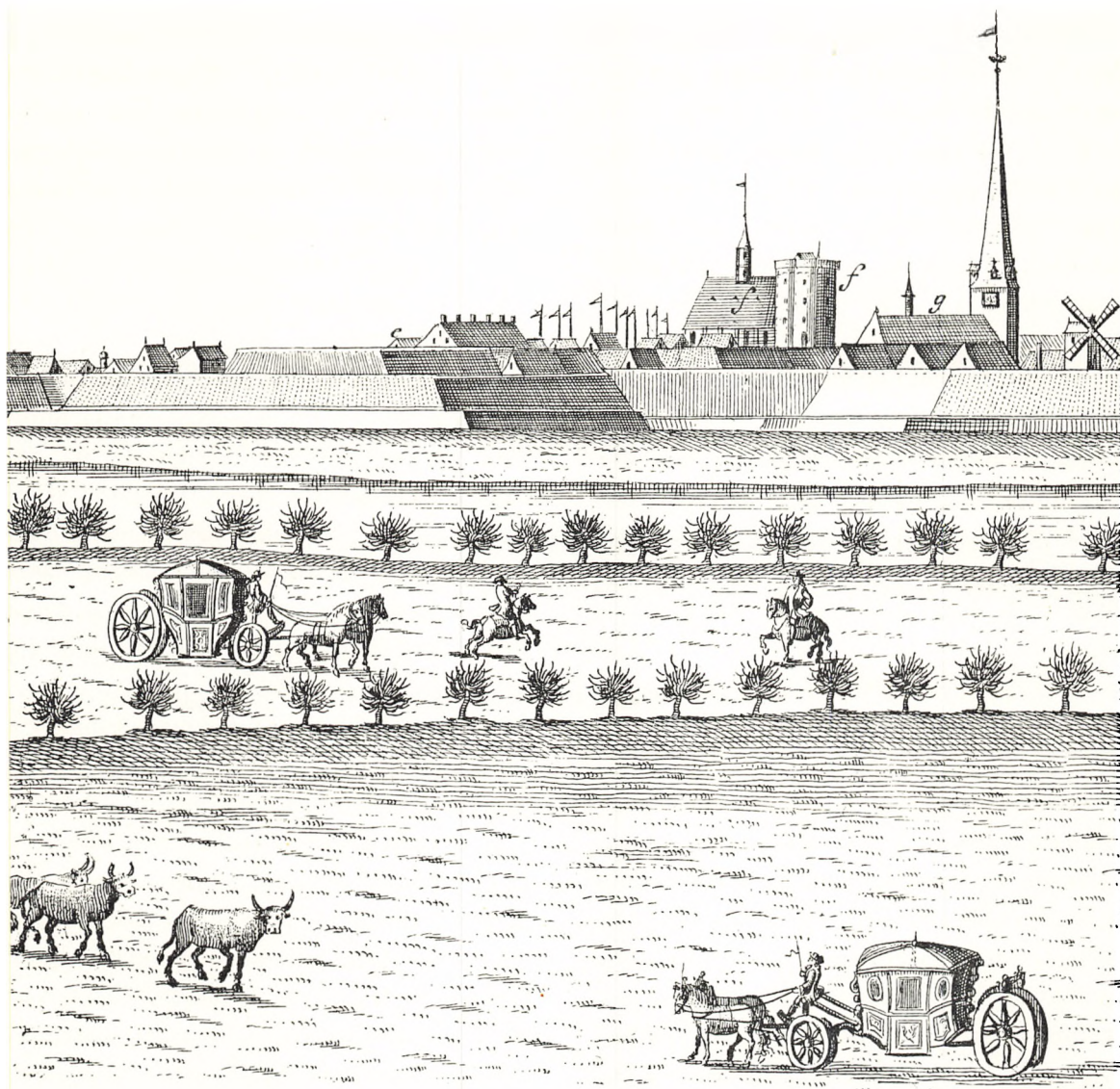
I den følgende Tid har man haft travlt
med Fundamenteringen, og der er nok
gaaet en rum Tid, før Datidens Københav-
nere kunde se den kæmpemæssige Cylinders
Mure skyde til Vejrs. Muremesteren for det
hele Værk, Jørgen Scheffel fra Bern, har da
ogsaa først fremsat sit Overslag til Haand-
værkerlønningerne saa sent som 15. Marts
1639. Dette mærkelige Dokument fortæller
lidt om Byggeri i gamle Dage. Mester Jørgen
har delt sit Regnestykke i tre Dele; først reg-
ner han Udgifterne ud til de 10 nederste
Alen af Taarnet, dernæst opstiller han det
samme Regnestykke for de næste 10 Alen,
idet han anfører, at Udgifterne til Haand-
langere og Stilladser vil øges, jo mere man
bygger i Højden. Og endelig beregner han,
hvad der paa samme Maade vil komme af
Extraudgifter til den tredje Etape paa
10 Alen, og længere behøver han ikke at
gaa, siger han, thi enhver kan regne Resten
ud efter en progressiv Skala, og han veed
endnu ikke, hvor højt Taarnet skal være.
Det er denne sidste Udtalelse, der viser os
lidt om, hvordan man dengang kunde
bygge: en Arbejdstegning har naturligvis
foreligget, og Muremesteren har haft ganske
bestemte Ordre at gaa efter, saalænge det
gjaldt Fundamentets Dybde og Murens Tyk-
kelse og Taarnets Diameter. Men endnu
to Aar efter Grundstenens Nedlæggelse hav-
de man ikke bestemt, hvor højt man skulde
bygge i Vejret. En saadan Improvisation har
vistnok været ret almindelig paa Datidens
Byggepladser. I dette særlige Tilfælde for-
nemmer man bag Muremesterens Ord en

formed the entire congregation. In the 1680s
this was changed; by then the church had
its own parish and a congregation which was
to leave its mark on the Students' Church in
a manner quite different to that originally
visualized by Christian IV.

THE ROUND TOWER

On one of the two small stone tablets placed
in the wall beside the entrance to the Round
Tower is inscribed in meticulous Latin the
fact that the foundation stone of the building
was laid on the seventh of July, 1637, by
Christian IV "with his own hand". The
date is correct, but historians have doubted
whether the King took part in person in the
laying of the foundation stone. All extant
letters from him about this time are dated
from Glückstadt in Holstein; it is hardly
likely that he was in Copenhagen, and more-
over, the stone tablet itself was of a later date
and merely confirms that from the very be-
ginning the King's responsibility for the new
astronomy tower was widely recognized.

After the foundation stone had been laid
the work on the foundations was begun, and
a good while must have passed before the
citizens of Copenhagen began to see the walls
of the enormous cylinder rise before them.
The master mason in charge of the building,
Jørgen Scheffel of Berne, did not send in his
estimate for his bricklayers' wages until 15th
March, 1639. This curious document tells
something about building methods in olden
days. Master Jørgen divided his estimate
into three parts; first he worked out the cost
of building the bottom ten "alen" (one alen
= roughly two feet) of the tower; he then



Trinitatis Kirke og Rundetaarn. Udsnit af et Stik o. 1720 af Jeremias Wolff. Prospektet er taget fra Nordvest uden for Voldene. Til højre ses Frue Kirke med det høje Spir, der brændte 1728

Trinity Church and the Round Tower. From an engraving about 1720 by Jeremias Wolff. Northwest view from outside ramparts of the city. On the right the Church of Our Lady with the tall spire which was destroyed in the Fire of 1728

kongelig Ordre: Byg blot videre, jeg skal nok sige stop.

Hvorlænge de endelige Planer blev holdt svævende, veed vi ikke, men i 1642 havde

worked out the cost of building the next ten “alen”, adding that the wages to the bricklayers’ assistants and the cost of scaffolding increased with the height of the building.

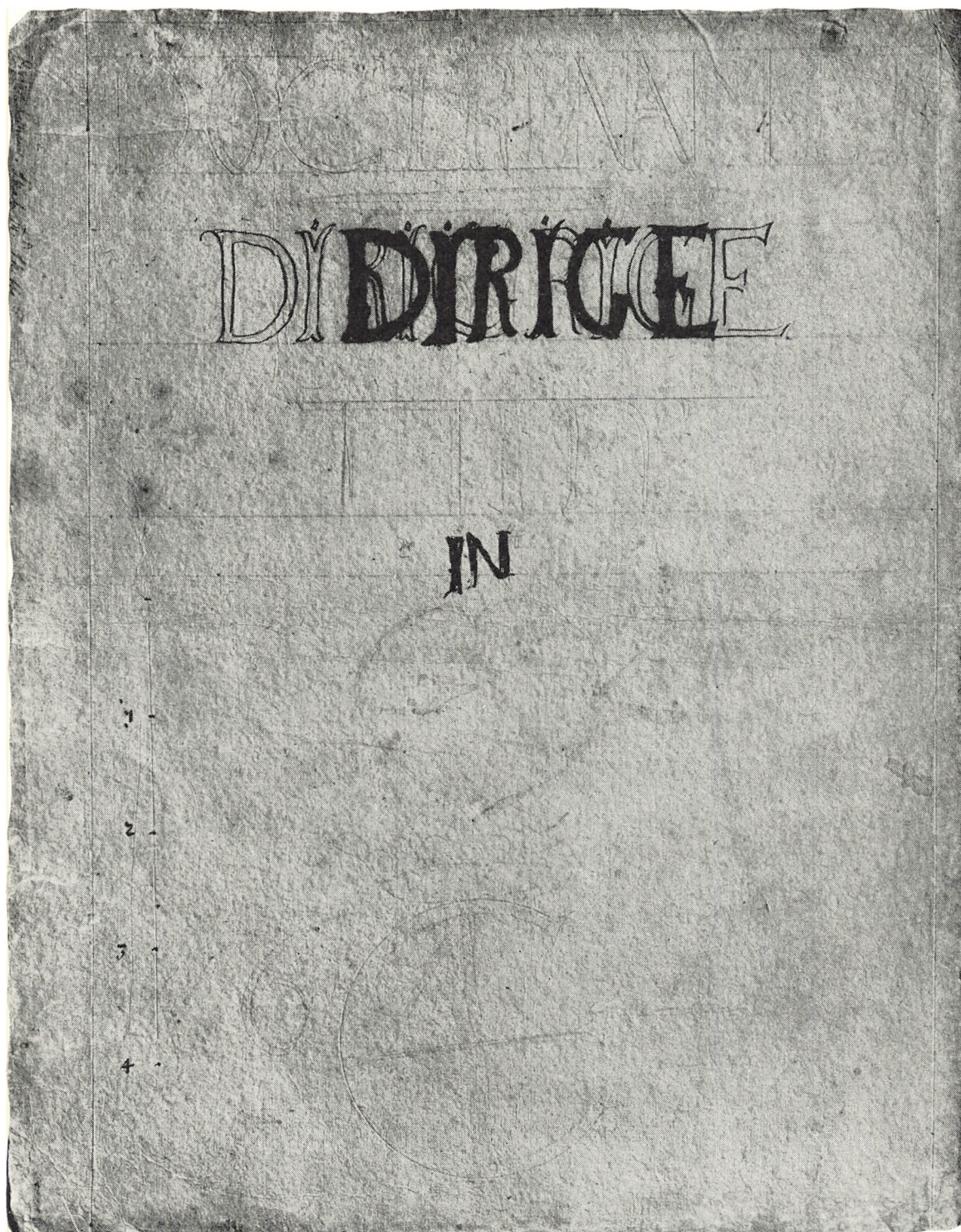
Taarnet da endelig faaet den tilstrækkelige Højde. Dette Aarstal staar at læse paa den store Rebus-Indskrift, som Kongen lod sætte øverst paa Taarnmuren med Front mod Vest, og som han selv havde tegnet; hans Udkast dertil findes i Rigsarkivet. Man tør trygt regne med, at Stadens Indbyggere undrende har prøvet at stave sig gennem denne sære Blanding af Latin, Hebraisk og snurrige Figurer. Løsningen skal vistnok være: Retroenhed (gengivet paa Latin »Doctrinam«) og Retfærdighed (symboliseret ved et Sværd) styr (»Dirige«) Jehova (skrevet med hebraiske Tegn) i Hjerter (et Hjerte er aftegnet) hos Christian 4. Bygherren har med Pathos stemplet sit eget Værk.

SNEGLEGANGEN

De astronomiske Kamre kom til at ligge i Taarnets øverste Stokværk, og Observationerne foregik paa selve det flade Tag. Adgangen til disse vigtige Dele af Rundetaarn blev formet som en snoet Spiralrampe, der trinløst i 8-9 Vindinger presser sig tilvejs. Det er denne Konstruktion, der maa vække Undren. Enhver, der har prøvet Bjergbestigningen op til den øverste Tinde, vil vistnok have sandet, at en Trappe vilde have været mageligere. Til hvad Nytte har Rampen da været? Christen Longomontanus har i et Skrift om Observatoriets Indretning (fra 1639) fortalt, at Kongen skulde kunne ride eller køre op i Taarnet. Flere andre Forfattere fra senere Tid har gentaget det, og Paastanden maa da ogsaa være rigtig. Vi maa tænke os Kørebanen paa Købma-

Finally, he calculated the extra expenses involved in building the third stage of ten "alen"; it was not necessary to continue his estimate, he added, for anyone could calculate the cost of building higher by means of a progressive scale, and he had as yet not been informed how high the tower was to be. This last statement reveals how one could build in those days; there must have existed some sort of detailed plan, and the master mason must have had definite instructions about the depth of the foundations and the thickness of the walls and the diameter of the tower. But even two years after the foundation stone had been laid, it had not yet been decided how high the tower was to be. Such methods of building were apparently quite usual in those days. In this particular case, one senses behind the mason's remarks a royal order "Go ahead. I will tell you when to stop".

It is not known for how long the final plans were left in suspense, but by 1642 the tower had finally reached the desired height. This is the year named in the great riddle inscription which the King had placed at the top of the wall of the tower facing west, and which he had designed and written himself; his rough draft is preserved in the Danish Record Office. One can imagine the puzzled citizens trying to spell their way through this strange mixture of Latin, Hebrew, and quaint figures. The solution is presumably as follows: Faith (orthodoxy?) (the Latin *Doctrinam* of the inscription) and Justice (symbolized by a sword) direct (*dirige*) Jehovah (written in Hebrew) in the heart (a heart is depicted) of Christian IV. The builder has signed his own work with *pathos*.



Christian IV's egenhændige Udkast til Rebusindskriften paa Rundetaarn. Rigsarkivet
Christian IV's Own Draft of the Riddle Inscription on the Round Tower. The Danish Record Office

gergade suget ind i Taarnets Cylinder for derefter at rotere til Tops. Saadanne Ride- og Køresneglegange var ikke ganske ualmindelige ved Datidens Fyrstehoffer, og Christian IV maa have haft Kendskab dertil. Der skal senere gøres Rede for de europæiske Ridesneglegange (nedenfor S. 77). Man maa nødvendigvis ved det danske Hof have haft Kendskab til den Slags fyrstelig Komfort, og herfra er Ideen sandsynligvis overført til Danmark.

Sneglegangen blev ikke ført helt til Tops. Den standsede et Stykke under det øverste Stokværk, hvor Astronomikamrene var indrettet, og herfra har der været Trapper op til Taarnets flade Tag. Saadan er det ogsaa nu; men den Vindeltrappe, der nu er indsluttet i den hule Spindel i Taarnets Akse, er gentagne Gange i nyere Tid blevet ombygget, og vi veed ikke, hvordan de oprindelige Forhold har været. Spindelen gaar som et Rør fra Jorden og helt op til Taget. Den fungerer som den Tap, hvorom Sneglegangen roterer, og har tillige en rent praktisk Opgave; da Taarnet blev bygget, har man muret svære Jernankre i Sneglegangens Gulv, nitted dem ind i Spindelen og derved bundet den til Taarnets Ydermure, hvor Ankerhovederne endnu kan ses. Herved har man ment at kunne hindre de svære Taarnmures Udskridning. Spindelens hule Indre har man under hele Opstigningen kunnet se, da dens Mure var gennembrudt af rundbuede Aabninger. De er senere muret til, vistnok omkring 1730, og blev først genopdaget ved en Istandsættelse i 1920'rne. Af Sikkerhedsgrunde turde man ikke lade dem staa aabne; de er nu blot markeret som Nicher.

THE SPIRAL RAMP

The astronomy chambers were placed in the top storey of the tower, and the actual observation was done on the flat roof of the tower. These important premises of the Round Tower were reached by a spiral ramp which winds its way to the top in eight or nine stepless whorls. It is this construction that causes amazement. Anyone who has made the arduous climb to the top will have reached the conclusion that a spiral stair would have provided a more comfortable ascent. What then was the reason for this spiral ramp? In a paper dated 1639, dealing with the construction of the observatory, Christen Longomontanus writes that the King was to be able to ride or drive up into the tower. Several later authors have repeated this statement, which must presumably be correct. We must imagine the roadway in Købmagergade swallowed up, as it were, into this cylindrical tower and then rotating upwards to the top. Such spiral ramps for riding or driving up into a building were not unknown in the royal castles of the time, and Christian IV must have known of their existence, just as members of his court must have seen or heard of them, and in this way the idea was probably imported into Denmark. An account of the European spiral riding ramps is given below (page 80).

The spiral ramp was not taken right to the top of the tower. It stopped below the top storey, where the astronomy chambers were situated, and from here stairs led to the flat roof of the tower, just as now. But the winding stairs which are now placed in the hollow newel of the tower have been rebuilt

Rundetaarns Ydre blev lige saa utraditionelt som dets Indre. Der er tydelige Mindelser om middelalderlig Arkitektur i den Maade, hvorpaa Enkelthederne er formet. Vinduerne er dobbelte og rundbuede, med hvert Dobbeltpar samlet under en spidsbuet Blending i kraftigt modellerede Indfatninger. Da Vinduerne maa følge Sneglegangens Spiralform og derfor ikke kan sidde i vandrette Bælter, skulde man tro, at Helheden virkede forvirrende. Men dette har man modarbejdet ved at samle Vinduerne i lodrette Felter, og alle Felterne indrammes af mægtige Lisener, der spænder fra Sokkel til Gesims for heroppe at udløses i stærkt modellerede Rundbuefriser. Det er en Formgivning, som er beregnet paa at virke med enkle og krasse Midler paa stor Afstand for at frembringe den største Reliefvirkning. Denne store og simple Effekt blev yderligere understreget derved, at Vinduerne alle til en Begyndelse blot var aabne Huller i de store Murmasser, uden Rammer og uden Glas, blot skærmet af indre Trælemme og et Par vandrette Jernstænger. Naar Lemmene var aabnede, og det var de vel ved Dagslys, har Himlens Fugle haft lige saa frit Spillerum i Taarnets Indre som Storm og Kulde. Men den arkitektoniske Virkning har været kolossal.

Taarnets Ydre staar siden Istandsættelsen omkring 1950 i blank Mur, og Murstenene er lagt stribevis i røde og gule Skifter. Naar man valgte dette tvefarvede Materiale, maa det ogsaa have været Bygmesterens Mening, at Farverne skulde ses. Men alligevel viser de ældste Billeder, vi har af Rundetaarn, at Murene paa et meget tidligt Stadium har været overfladebehandlet. Johan

several times in recent years, and it is not known what the original staircase was like. The newel is like a hollow pillar or central well which runs through the tower from the ground right up to the top. It acts as the pivot round which the spiral ramp rotates, and has also a purely practical purpose: when the tower was built solid iron beams were anchored into the floor of the ramp and rivetted into the newel, thus securing the newel to the outer walls of the tower, where the heads of the beams can still be seen. In this way it was hoped to prevent the solid outer walls from caving in. The hollow inside of the newel was visible the whole way up the tower, as small openings in the form of rounded arches pierced the walls. These arches were later bricked up, probably about 1730, and were first rediscovered in the 1920s in the course of repairs. For safety reasons it was decided not to leave them open; today they are merely marked by niches in the wall.

The outside of the Round Tower was just as untraditional as the inside. Its debt to medieval architecture is clearly seen in the details of the building. The windows are double and with rounded arches, and each pair of windows is set in a pointed niche with a powerfully modelled frame. The windows had perforce to follow the spirally rising ramp and could therefore not be placed in horizontal lines, and this might have spoiled the general effect. This was avoided, however, by placing the windows in perpendicular panels, each panel being framed by great pilasters stretching from base to cornice and finishing in a strong frieze of rounded arches. By its very strength and simplicity

Greys' Stik fra 1646 maa vistnok fortolkes paa denne Maade, og et farvelagt Billede fra en Stambog fra 1670'erne viser, at Muren dengang var graa, altsaa formodentlig berappet. Og en omhyggelig Gennemgang af Kirkens Brevsager og Regnskaber kan vistnok kun give dette Resultat: Rundetaarn har lige til vore Dage staaet som en ensfarvet, graa Kolos, hvor kun Rebus-Indskriften foroven fik Lov til at prange med Farver: Kronen, Sværdet og Bogstaverne forgyldte, Hjertet blodrødt.

DE ASTRONOMISKE HUSE

Taarnet fik fladt Tag. Intet Spir fik Lov at knejse deroppe, og der var ingen Klokker, thi Rundetaarn var ikke bestemt til at være Kirketaarn. Fra dets øverste Platform skulde de astronomiske Studier foregaa, og her maatte Stjernekygterne færdes med Udsyn til alle Sider. Til Beskyttelse anbragte man saa et fint udarbejdet Smedejernsgitter langs den cirkelrunde Gesims med en samlet Længde paa omtrent 53 m. Det er opdelt i 54 Felter, syv af dem bærer Kongens kronede Navnetræk og Valgsprog (symboliseret med Bogstaverne R F P = regna firmat pietas, dvs. Fromhed styrker Rigerne), og i de tre af disse syv er tillige indarbejdet Aars-tallet 1643. Felterne i hele den lange Ring er af forskellige Størrelse, som om de er blevet improviseret, og fyldes af en Rigdom af snirklede Rankeslyngninger, saadan som Datidens Kunstsmede yndede det. Hvem Mesteren for Gitterværket paa Rundetaarn har været, behøver der næppe at være Tvivl om: han har stemplet sit Værk med et Slags Bomærke, den korslagte Hammer og Nøgle,

this design stands out in great relief at a distance. This impressive and simple effect was furthermore achieved by the fact that to begin with all the windows were merely open holes in the great mass of brick, without frames or glass, shielded only by inside shutters of wood and a pair of perpendicular iron bars. When the shutters were open, as they presumably were during the day-time, the tower was open not only to the winds and the cold, but also to all the birds of heaven as well. But the architectural effect must have been stupendous.

Since its restoration in 1950, the outside of the Round Tower has stood in raw brick, the bricks being laid from the beginning in alternate horizontal stripes of red and yellow. In choosing to use two different colours of brick it must have been the builder's intention that the colours should be visible. Nevertheless, the oldest pictures that exist of the Round Tower show that the walls were plastered over at a very early stage. Johan Greys' print from 1646 seems to show this, and a coloured picture in an album from the 1670s shows that at this date the walls were grey, i. e. presumably plastered. A careful study of the letters and accounts in the church archives also seem to support this theory: right up to our day the Round Tower has stood as a plain, grey giant, the only brightness lighting up its monochrome surface being the colours of the riddle inscription: the gilt of the crown, the sword, and the letters, and the bright blood red of the heart.



Rundetaarn omkring 1670. Farvelagt Tegning i Tribollets Stambog. Privateje
The Round Tower about 1670. Coloured drawing in Tribollet's album.
Private collection

hvilke Tegn røber, at Arbejdet maa være udført af Caspar Fincke.

Samme Aar som Rebus-Indskriften blev indmuret paa Rundetaarn (1642) var Kongen optaget af Problemerne vedrørende Indrettelsen af fem smaa Huse oven paa Taarnets Tag. Skønt det egentlige astronomiske Arbejde skulde udføres af Christen Longomontanus og hans Hjælper, kunde Christian IV ikke dy sig for ogsaa at blande sig i dette Spørgsmaal. »Jeg har tegnet Vidden af Taarnet ved Regensen paa Rustkammeret i Tøjhuset«, skrev han til Kansleren, »derhos Pladsen af hvert Instrument, hvorfor du skal befale Christen Lumborg med sine Fæller, at de gaar derhen og ser, om det saaledes eller anderledes skal være«. Og næste Aar var Tømreren i Færd med at rejse de fem Astronomihuse til Brug for Stjerne-kiggerne. Vi har saaledes fuld Sikkerhed for, at disse Smaabygninger blev rejst paa det flade Tag, men mærkelig nok ser vi paa Billedet fra 1646 kun en Forsamling lærde Herrer, en enkelt af dem forsynet med Kikkert. Kobberstikkeren har maaske fundet, at Husene ret beset ikke harmonerede med Rundetaarns magtfulde Arkitektur, og deri har han sikkert haft Ret. Senere Billeder, f. Ex. det i Tribollets Stambog, bekræfter kun, at denne Tilvækst var af det Onde. Men Husene var nu en Gang nødvendige, og de stod der, indtil Branden 1728 fortærede dem. De genopstod i ny Skikkelse kort derefter, omdannedes paany 1777 til en ottekantet Centralbygning med to korte Udløberfløje og stod i denne Skikkelse til 1870. Paa dette Tidspunkt var al astronomisk Virksomhed paa Taarnet ophørt; Observatoriet flyttede 1861 ud til en Nybygning paa

THE ASTRONOMY HUTS

The tower was given a flat roof. No spire was allowed to adorn the top, and no bells were hung there. For the Round Tower was not destined to be a church tower. Studies in astronomy were to be conducted from the platform, and the star-gazers had to have an unbroken view on all sides. To protect them from falling off the tower beautifully worked wrought-iron railings were placed along the circular cornice, 53 metres in length. The railings are composed of fifty-four panels, seven of them bearing the King's crowned monogram and his motto, symbolized by the letters RFP viz., regna firmat pietas, piety rules kingdoms, and with the date, 1643, set in wrought-iron in three of these seven panels. The panels forming the railings are of different sizes, seemingly as if they had been improvized, with a wealth of intricate scrollwork, such as artists of that day favoured. There is little doubt that the artist responsible for the railings was Caspar Fincke, for he signed them with his own mark, a crossed hammer and key.

In the same year that the riddle inscription was set into the wall of the Round Tower—1642—the King was busily engaged with the problems connected with the arrangement of the five small huts which were to be placed on the roof of the tower. Although the actual astronomical research was to be done by Christen Longomontanus and his assistants, Christian IV would interfere in these matters. "I have drawn the width of the tower by Regensen in the armoury in the arsenal", he wrote to the Chancellor, "and also the position of each instrument,

Østervold overfor Rosenborg, og i Stedet for den ret uskønne Bygning fra 1777 kom der nu den saakaldte »Pebberbøsse«, en lille Rundbygning, der med sit kegleformede Tag saa ud, som om Spindelen inde i Sneglegangen stak Hovedet op i det frie. Siden 1929 staar nu Folkeobservatoriets kobberklædte Kuppelbygning paa Pebberbøssens Sted. Det var Københavns Bystyre, som paa denne Maade paany knyttede Traaden med Traditionerne fra Rundetaarns gode, gamle Dage.

RUNDETAARN OG MENIGMAND

Længe før dette skete, havde Københavnerne erklæret Rundetaarn deres Kærlighed. Man forstod maaske ikke saa meget af de astronomiske Observationers Værdi – alt det »der foregaar paa Rundetaarn« som Frits Jürgensen udtrykte det. Men man goute-rede Charmen ved Opstigningen ad Sneglegangen til den uforlignelige Udsigt over Byens Tage; Menigmand kom sjælden ret langt uden for Voldene, men fra Taarnets Platform kunde han lade Blikket flyve milevidt ud i Landet. Meget veed man ganske vist ikke om nysgerrige Turistbesøg i Rundetaarns ældste Tid, men af Astronomernes Skrivelser til Universitetet kan vi dog se, at man var ængstelig for Instrumenternes Skæbne, naar Taarnet om Dagen kunde modtage uvedkommende Besøg. Helt galt blev det efter Zar Peters Besøg 1716. Det er velkendt, at han morede sig med at ride op ad Sneglegangen, mens hans Gemalinde skal have kørt derop i en lille Vogn med Seksspand. Det ser ud til, at netop denne

wherefore you shall command Christen Lumborg and his companions to go there and observe whether it shall be thus or otherwise”. And the next year the carpenter was building the five astronomy huts for the star-gazers. From this we know that these small huts were placed on the flat roof, but strangely enough the picture from 1646 only shows a gathering of learned scholars, one of them holding a telescope, but no huts. The engraver may rightly have found that the buildings were out of tune with the impressive architecture of the Round Tower, and in this he was probably right. Later engravings, e.g. the one found in Tribollet’s album, only confirms that this superstructure was unsightly. But the huts were a necessary evil and they remained there until they were consumed by fire in 1728. Phoenix-like, they arose again in a changed form, and then in 1777 their place was taken by a central building, octagonal in form, with two short wings, and this building remained until 1870. By this time all astronomical research had ceased in the tower; in 1861, the observatory was moved to a new building in Østervold, opposite Rosenborg Castle, and in place of the rather unattractive building from 1777 the so-called “pepper-pot” was erected. This was a small round building whose cone-shaped roof made it look as if the newel of the spiral ramp protruded into the air. Since 1929 the copper-covered dome of the People’s Observatory has replaced the “pepper-pot”. It was the municipal authorities of Copenhagen who linked the present use of the building with the traditions of the good old days of the Round Tower.

Begivenhed mere end nogen anden har lokket Byens Borgere op i Taarnet, for paa samme Tid var det, at Klokkeren ved Trinitatis Kirke Søren Matthiesen af Frederik IV fik Ret til mod en ringe Betaling at lukke op for Gæster, der vilde nyde Udsigten. Holberg har livagtigt afmalet Situationen i »Barselstuen« (1. Akt, 2. Scene), hvor Claus udbeder sig en Skilling, saa han kan komme op i Rundetaarn for at se, hvad det er for en Allarm i Aabenraa. Men faa Aar senere kom Branden 1728, og Taarnets Top skulde repareres. Den bjergsomme Klokker blev dog ved med at lukke Folk ind mod Betaling, skønt Arbejdet med at udbedre Taget og opstille de nye Instrumenter ikke havde godt af dette Rend. Universitetet havde Ansvaret for Genopbygningen og ønskede derfor Besøgene standset. Men Søren Matthiesen fik endnu engang Kongens Tilladelse til at aabne Rundetaarn for Publikum. Hvorledes man i Tiden efter Branden ordnede Trappeforholdene i Taarnets øverste Dele, er ikke helt klart. I Regnskaberne fra Tiden omkring 1730 tales der om hele to Trappeforbindelser, en »italiensk« (d.v.s. med lige Løb) og en Vindeltrappe »i den cirkelrundede Grundmur«; den ene af dem var ført ud ved Taarnets Østside og hvilede paa svære Konsoller, som endnu ses paa Kirke loftet, men om denne Ordning er fra 1730 eller gaar tilbage til 1640, kan næppe med Sikkerhed afgøres. I alle Tilfælde blev Trapperne totalt ombygget 1822, da Stadsbygmesteren P. Malling lagde en Vindeltrappe ind i den hule Spindels øverste Afsnit. Saa-dan er det ogsaa nu, selvom Trappen ogsaa senere er blevet ændret.

Paa mangfoldige Maader gled Taarnet

THE ROUND TOWER AND THE PUBLIC

Long before this took place, however, the citizens of Copenhagen had taken the Round Tower to their hearts. Perhaps they understood very little of the value of the astronomical observations, "all that goes on up in the Round Tower" as the cartoonist Frits Jørgensen said. But what the citizens did like was the charm of the ascent up the spiral ramp to the incomparable view over the roofs of their town. The townspeople of those days rarely journeyed far outside the walls of the town, but from the platform on the roof of the tower they they could get a view of the surrounding countryside for miles around. Not much is known about the visits of these early tourists to the Round Tower, but from a letter from the astronomers to the university we can understand that they were anxious for the safety of their instruments when the tower was open to visitors during the day. Things did not improve after Czar Peter's visit in 1716. It is well-known that he amused himself by riding up to the top while his Empress was driven up in a carriage drawn by six horses. It seems as if this event more than anything else encouraged the citizens to visit the tower, for it was at this time that the sexton of Trinity Church, Søren Matthiesen, was granted permission by King Frederik IV to open the tower to visitors who wished to enjoy the view from the top for a small fee. Holberg, the eighteenth century Danish dramatist, has most vividly depicted this situation in his play "Barselsstuen" (Act I, scene 2), where one of the characters asks

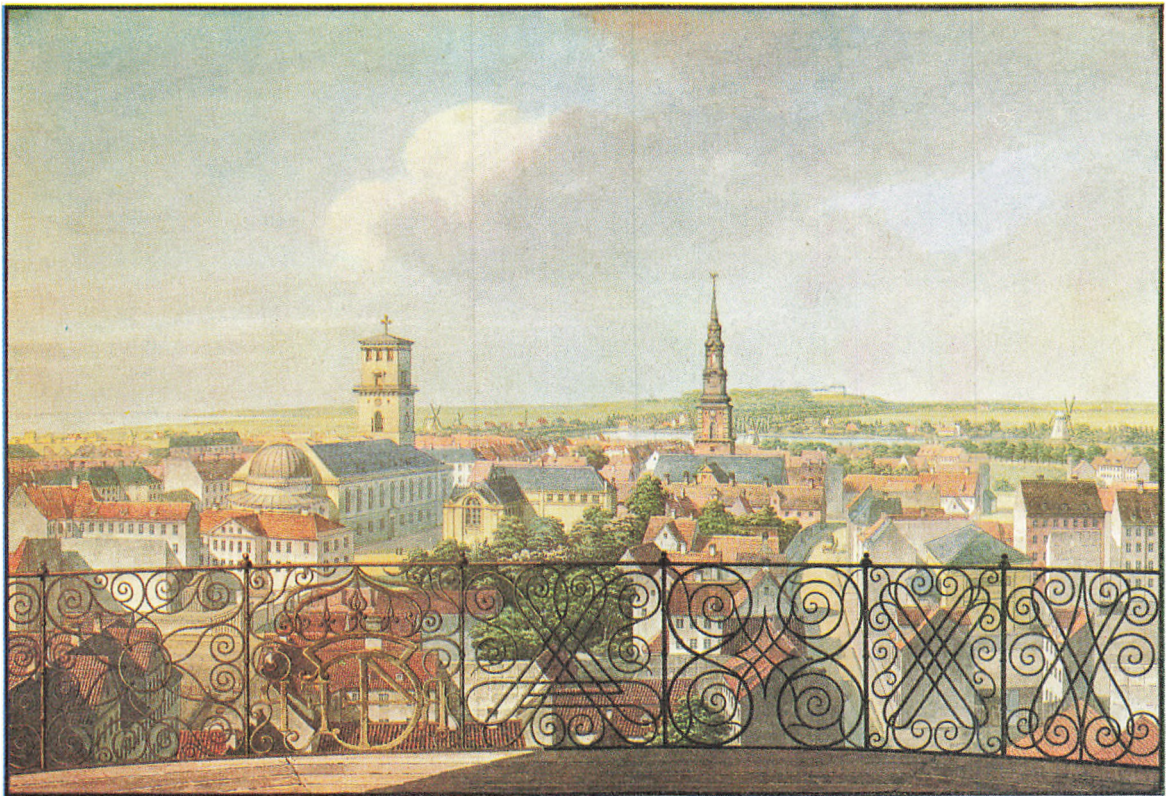


Rundetaarn set fra Skindergade med Elers Kollegium til venstre. Maleri 1800-1830
The Round Tower from Skindergade with Eler's College on the Left. Painting from 1800-1830

ind i Byens Liv. Udlaanet i Biblioteket har lokket det mere stilfærdige Publikum ind i Sneglegangen; Billeder af Bogorme, der har faaet Lektur med hjem og stjæler sig til at kigge paa Sagerne i en af Rundetaarns solbeskinnede Vinduesnicher, vil være velkendt. Regensianerne har naturligvis været hyppige Gæster for at se deres røde Gaard i Fugleperspektiv. Efterhaanden blev det Skik, at de nybagte Konfirmander løb op i Rundetaarn paa deres første Spadseretur i de fine Klæder; det synes dog ikke at være Kutyme mere. I Slutningen af forrige Aarhundrede har der været afholdt Bicycleløb op ad Sneglegangen, og der har senere været Optræk til, at et Bilfirma skulde demonstrere Køretøjets Dygtighed ved at lade det rotere op den samme Vej, men det synes dog ikke at være sket. »Det der sker paa Rundetaarn« fik 1771 en Aflægger, da man skulde stille alle Byens Ure efter Normaluret hos Astronomerne. Det foregik paa den ret primitive Maade, at den vagthavende paa Taarnet præcis Klokken 12 bankede paa en Rude i Observatoriet, hvorefter en dertil beskikket Karl sænkede det Flag, der vøjede paa en Stang over Platformen. Man veed, at denne Ceremoni spændt iagttoges fra Gader og Stræder. Tidssignalet fungerede knapt et hundrede Aar paa Rundetaarn. Det ophørte 1866 og blev to Aar senere genoprettet paa Nicolai Taarn under andre Former. Ældre Københavnerne vil endnu have i Minde, at »Kuglen« paa Nicolai faldt Klokken eet præcist. Som et dystert Modtræk til alt dette nævner man de talrige Selvmordsforsøg, der skal have fundet Sted fra Rundetaarn. Der var dem, der tog Livet af sig ved at kaste sig ud af et

for a penny so that he can go up the Round Tower to see what all the commotion is about in Aabenraa (a street in Copenhagen). But a few years later, in 1728, great parts of Copenhagen were laid waste by fire, and the roof of the tower had to be repaired. The thrifty sexton continued to open the tower to visitors for a small fee, although the work of repairing the roof and the arrangement of the new instruments must have suffered from this stream of visitors. The university was responsible for the rebuilding and wished the tower to be closed to visitors. But once again Søren Matthiesen obtained the King's permission to open the tower to tourists. It is not entirely clear how the stairs at the top of the tower were constructed after the Great Fire of 1728. The accounts from about 1730 refer to two stairs, one so-called Italian staircase (i. e. going straight up) and one spiral staircase "in the cylindrical wall"; one of them started from the east wall of the tower, and rested on heavy corbels which may still be seen in the ceiling of the church, but whether this construction is from 1730 or goes back to 1640 cannot be said for certain. In any case, the stairs were completely rebuilt in 1822 when P. Malling, the city architect, placed an inside spiral staircase right at the top of the hollow newel. This arrangement has been maintained, although the staircase itself has been reconstructed.

In many different ways the tower became part of the life of the town. The loan of books from the library must have enticed the quiet and learned citizens up the spiral ramp; pictures of bookworms,



Udsigten fra Rundetaarn. Farvelagt Tegning o. 1840 af H. G. F. Holm. Bymuseet. I Forgrunden ses Caspar Finckes Gitter. Mellem Vor Frue og Petri Kirker ligger det 1836 byggede Universitet
 The View from the Round Tower. Coloured drawing about 1840 by H. G. F. Holm in the City Museum. In the foreground Caspar Fincke's wroughtiron railings. The University, rebuilt in 1836, is seen between the Church of Our Lady and St. Peter's Church

af Vinduerne i Sneglegangen, hvor der saa godt som ingen Hindringer var, da Taarnet i ældre Tid stod med tomme Vindueshuller vindaabent til alle Sider. I 1830'rne stængede man da alle Aabningerne med Jerngitterværk, men med det Resultat, at Selvmorderne blot søgte ovenpaa og sprang ud fra Platformen. Man maatte derfor i 1890 sætte et Sikkerhedsgitter inden for Caspar Finckes smukke Sprinkelværk.

who, having borrowed their books, steal a look at their borrowed treasures in one of the sunny window niches of the Round Tower are well-known. The students of Regensen were naturally frequent visitors, for from the top they could get a bird's eye view of their college right opposite. Gradually the tradition grew up for newly confirmed children to run up the Round Tower on their first walk in their new finery. This tradition seems no longer to exist. At the end of the last century bicycle races were held up the spiral ramp, and at a later date there was some talk of an



Butikken ved Rundetaarns Port. Tegning, signeret CL 1854, i Bymuseet. Den nederste Del af Sneglegangen var i Begyndelsen af 19. Aarhundrede altid udlejet til Handlende, saaledes gennem lange Tider til en Grønhandler
 The Booth by the Entrance to the Round Tower. Drawing signed CL 1854 in the City Museum. At the beginning of the 19th century the lower part of the spiral ramp was always let to tradesmen, and for many years a greengrocer kept shop here

RUNDETAARN SOM MUSEUM

Til alt dette kommer ogsaa, at Rundetaarn en Overgang har fungeret som Museum. Det har en lang Forhistorie, som begyndte 1652, da Ole Worm skrev til Lensmændene om at faa sendt Runesten til Universitetet. Der skal være indkommet ialt 13 Runesten, som blev opstillet paa Trinitatis Kirkegaard ved Hegnsmurene syd for Kirken. Deres Skæbne er ikke ganske klar. Efter den store Brand var der i alle Tilfælde kun tre tilbage; de opbevaredes derefter i selve Kir-

automobile firm demonstrating the technical marvels of their cars by driving them up the tower; fortunately perhaps, this did apparently not take place. In 1771 there was a new aspect of "all that goes on in the Round Tower": all the clocks of the town were to be set by the astronomers' standard clock. This was rather a primitive process: the duty officer in the tower knocked on a window in the observatory at twelve o'clock precisely, whereupon the flag waving on a flagstaff on the platform was lowered by a man on duty expressly

ken. Men da man i Begyndelsen af forrige Aarhundrede havde anlagt en lille Samling Oldsager i Bibliotekssalen, fik man ogsaa Interesse for Stenene, som i Februar 1807 blev opstillet i nogle af Vinduesnicherne i Sneglegangen tæt ved Indgangen til Biblioteket. Den romantiske Digtningens levende Sans for Nordens Oldtid stimulerede yderligere Lysten til at indsamle Oldsager, og i de følgende Aar kom der endnu en Del Runesten, hvoraf de fire fik Plads i Rundetaarn. Skønt Datidens Kunstnere – saadan som det vil fremgaa af Billedstoffet i denne lille Bog – meget hyppigt gæstede Rundetaarn og forevige baade dets Ydre og navnlig dets Indre med den altid populære Sneglegang, er der dog ingen, der har fundet paa at skænke os et Billede af Runestene i Christian IV's Taarn; vi kender i det mindste ingen Gengivelser deraf og maa savne dem bittert. – Oldsamlingen i Bogsalen voksede hurtigt og sprængte snart alle Rammer, hvorefter den 1832 blev flyttet til Christiansborg og derfra i 1853 til Prinsens Palæ. Men Runestene forblev til 1867 i Rundetaarn. Christian IV's mærkelige Kirkebygning var saaledes blevet Rammen om Danmarks første Nationalmuseum.

TRINITATIS KIRKE

Det havde kun taget 5–6 Aar at bygge Rundetaarn. Men Kirken kom til at vente hele 19 Aar paa sin Indvielse. Murene var bygget, og Tagværket var rejst, inden den gamle Konge døde. Hvælvingerne i Kirkens Indre var muret færdige 1651, og

for this purpose. It is known that this ceremony was watched from the streets and alleys of the town. This time-signal from the Round Tower functioned for nearly a hundred years. It was given up in 1866, but was revived—somewhat differently—two years later, this time from the tower of St. Nicholas' Church. Older citizens of Copenhagen will still remember how the "ball" on St. Nicholas' church tower was dropped at one o'clock precisely. A sombre aspect of the part played by the Round Tower in the lives of the citizens is the number of suicide attempts that have been made from the tower. Some killed themselves by throwing themselves out of the windows up the spiral ramp, open and unprotected as these were in olden days. In the 1830s iron bars were put up in all the window openings, with the result that those who were determined to commit suicide merely went up to the top and jumped off the platform. It then became necessary to place safety railings inside Caspar Fincke's beautiful wrought-iron railings.

THE ROUND TOWER AS MUSEUM

In addition to all these functions, the Round Tower was also at one time a museum. The story of this begins in 1652, when Ole Worm, the famous professor of medicine and antiquary, wrote to the Lord Lieutenants asking them to have runic stones sent to the university. In all thirteen runic stones were received, and these were placed in the churchyard of Trinity Church, by the churchyard wall to the south of the church. The fate of these stones is not quite



H. G. F. Holm: Motiv fra Rundetaarns Sneglegang. Farvelagt Tegning o. 1830. Bymuseet

H. G. F. Holm: The Spiral Ramp in the Round Tower. Coloured drawing about 1830. The City Museum

Universitetsbiblioteket begyndte kort derefter at flytte Bøgerne ind. Alligevel blev Kirken først officielt taget i Brug 1656 og Biblioteket Aaret derefter. Bag denne paa-faldende Sendrægtighed aner man lidt om, hvad der skete bag Kulisserne. Endnu omkring 1640 var Christian IV en saare energisk Mand. Efter Torstenson-Krigen 1643–45 var han med eet Slag blevet en Olding. Alligevel er der ikke noget Tegn paa, at Kirkebyggeriet skulde standses, selvom Tempoet maaske har været langsommere. Den egentlige Stilstand er indtraadt under Frederik III, der modsat sin Fader ikke var nogen stor Bygherre og

clear. After the Great Fire in 1728 there were known to be only three left, and these were then kept in the church itself. When, at the beginning of the last century, a small collection of archeological specimens was placed in the hall of the library, interest was also shown in the runic stones, which subsequently, in February 1807, were placed in some of the window niches in the spiral ramp close to the entrance to the library. The vivid interest which the Romantic Age took in Nordic prehistory further stimulated the collection of antiquities, and in the following years yet a number of runic stones were received, four of which

næppe heller nogen særlig energisk Mand. Der er Forskel paa Tiden før og efter 1648: den store tolvkantede Kirke Sankt Anna Rotunda, som Christian IV havde paabegyndt ved Nyboder samtidig med Rundetaarn, blev helt svigtet og til slut revet ned; og Trinitatis Kirke, skønt næsten færdig, maatte vente otte lange Aar paa sin Indvielse, og da manglede den endnu vigtige Dele af sit Inventar. Om noget Sted mærker man det her, hvilken inspirerende Magt den gamle Konge havde over sine Omgivelser.

RUNDE KIRKE

Medens Byggearbejderne stod paa, havde Kirken mange Navne. Der tales sommetider om »den ny Studenterkirke« eller blot »Den ny Kirke«, undertiden ogsaa »Regenskirken«, hvilket Navn kan være forvirrende, da Regensen havde sit eget Kapel, der fungerede som almindelige Studenterkirke, indtil den store Genbo kunde tages i Brug. Det er først sent i 1650'erne, man begynder at give Kirken ved Rundetaarn et virkeligt Navn, Hellig Trefoldigheds Kirke. I Overensstemmelse med Opkaldelsen efter Treenigheden, blev Kirken indviet Trefoldigheds Søndag, Pinsedag den 1. Juni 1656. I Tiden derefter veksler undertiden det latinske Navn, Trinitatis Kirke, med det danske, skønt dette sidste har Overvægten. I det 18. Aarhundrede bliver det latinske Navn mere almindeligt, og i vore Dage kendes kun det. Men den almindelige Københavner talte vistnok altid kun om »Runde Kirke«, der i lange

were placed in the Round Tower. Although the artists of the Romantic Age—as will be evident from the illustrations in the present book—were frequent visitors to the Round Tower and portrayed both the exterior and the interior of the tower and its ever popular spiral ramp, none of them thought of depicting the runic stones which were placed in Christian IV's tower; we have no knowledge of any reproductions of these stones, and bitterly regret the lack. The collections in the library expanded fast, and at last outgrew the space available for them, and in 1832 the exhibits were therefore removed to Christiansborg Castle, and from there again, in 1853, to Prinsens Palæ, the Prince's Palace, the present National Museum. But the runic stones remained in the Round Tower until 1867. Christian IV's unusual church was thus the first home of the Danish National Museum.

TRINITY CHURCH

It had taken only between five and six years to build the Round Tower, but nineteen years were to pass before the church was consecrated. The walls had been built and the roof was finished before the old King died. The vaulted roof inside the church was completed in 1651, and shortly afterwards the university library began to move in. Nevertheless, the church was not inaugurated until 1656 and the library not till the year after. One may guess at what went on behind the scenes to cause all these delays. Up to 1640 Christian IV was still a man of great energy. After the Torstenson War of

Tider har været det populære Navn, fordi man uden videre kædede det sammen med Rundetaarn. Sandheden er dog mere kompliceret. Den »Runde Kirke« i København var den nysnævnte Sankt Anna Rotunda, en tolvkantet Centralbygning paabegyndt 1640 ved Nyboder, men aldrig fuldført. Den blev revet ned under Frederik III, og det Sogn, der oprindeligt var tillagt den, blev 1661 overført til Trinitatis, der jo ikke havde andet Sogn end Studenterne. Det varede dog mere end 20 Aar, inden Trinitatis Kirke kunde vriste sit nye Sogn fra Vor Frue og Sankt Nicolai Kirke, der længe havde haft Hævd paa de nye Distrikter mellem Kongens Nytorv og Østerport, og først et Par Kongebreve fra 1683 og 1686 bragte efter endeløse Stridigheder mellem de interesserede Kirker det ombejlede Sogn frelst i Havn hos Trinitatis. Og med Sognet fulgte Navnet, fordi, »Runde Kirke« saa nemt harmonerede med »Rundetaarn«.

KIRKEBYGNINGENS ARKITEKTUR

Da Trinitatis Kirke blev planlagt, havde Christian IV som sin Bygmester den kendte Hans van Steenwinckel den yngre, der imidlertid døde 1639, inden Murene var rejst. Efterfølgeren var Lennert Blasius, der vistnok var indvandret fra Holland, og som næppe har haft direkte Indflydelse paa Udformningen af den nye Studenterkirke. Denne fik hævdvunden dansk Form, en udpræget Bykirke i Skikkelse af et Langhus med tresidet afsluttet Kor, høje spidsbuede Vinduer mellem fremspringende Støttepil-

1643–45 he became an old man all of a sudden. There was no sign, however, of giving up the work of building the church, although the work proceeded more slowly. The lull set in with the accession of Frederik III who, unlike his father, was no great builder and probably not a particularly energetic man either. There is a marked difference between the time before and after 1648, the year in which Christian IV died: the huge twelve-sided church, Sankt Anna Rotunda, which Christian IV had started at Nyboder at the same time as the Round Tower, was quite given up and was subsequently demolished, and Trinity Church, although nearing its completion, had to wait eight long years before it was consecrated, and even then some important parts of the inside of the church were unfinished. In these building projects, as much as anywhere, the old King's power to inspire his surroundings made itself felt.

THE ROUND CHURCH

While the church was being built it was given many names. Sometimes it is referred to as the "new student church" or merely the "new church", and sometimes as "Regenskirken", King's College Church, which must be confusing, for Regensen had its own chapel for the students, which was used until its great neighbour was ready for use. It was not until the late 1650s that a proper name was given to the church by the Round Tower, and it was then named Holy Trinity Church. True to its name, it was consecrated on Trinity Sunday, Whitsunday, 1st June, 1656. Afterwards the Latin name, Trinitatis Church alternated with the Danish, though



Trinitatis Kirkes Indre. Lennart Larsen fot.
The Interior of Trinity Church. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

ler og et stort skifertækket Tag med et lille Rytterspir til Klokkerne. Alt dette lignede en dansk Købstadkirke fra Middelalderens seneste Tider. Det nye og særprægede ved Bygningen var, at den var i to Stokværk med Biblioteket indrettet i det lave, øvre Stokværk. Men denne Anordning stammede fra den Tid, da Kirken blev planlagt og maa altsaa tilskrives Kongen, ikke den nye Arkitekt. Derimod kan det tænkes, at Lennert Blasius har haft nogen Indflydelse paa Udformningen af det Indre. Sikre Spor i Murværket viser, at man til en Begyndelse tænkte at gøre Kirken fladloftet, men hurtigt har opgivet dette for derefter at gøre Rummet overhvelvet, delt i tre Skibe, hvis Stjernehvælvinger bæres af ottekantede Piller. Maa-ske den nye Bygmester har tænkt paa Biblioteket i andet Stokværk og været betænkelig ved den enorme Vægt, en stor Bogsamling repræsenterer, og derefter faaet Kongens Sanktion til at øge Kirkens indre Stabilitet gennem det nye System af Piller og Hvælv.

Ligesom Taarnet blev Kirken rejst af smaa hollandske Mursten, der blev lagt i skiftende røde og gule Striber. Stenene i sig selv var gule, men Kortsiderne var rød-farvede. Dette medførte, at en gul Stribe af Mursten ved hver Kant, f. Ex. ved en Støttepille eller en Vinduesindfatning, sprang over i det røde, og omvendt skiftede de røde Striber samme Steder om i det gule. Nu har Vind og Vejr i mere end tre Aarhundreder faaet dette Farvespil til at blegne, men dog ikke mere end at det let kan opdages, naar man ser godt efter. Da man samtidig med Opførelsen af Trinitatis Kirke og Rundaarn omdannede den tidligere saa lille Holmens Kirke til en større Korsbygning,

the Danish version was the more usual. In the eighteenth century the Latin name became more general and in our day it is used exclusively. But it is believed that the ordinary citizen went on calling the church the "Round Church" which had been its popular name for a long time, because of its apparently obvious connection with the Round Tower. The true explanation, however, is less obvious. The Round Church in Copenhagen was in reality the Church of Saint Anna Rotunda mentioned above, a twelve-sided building which was begun in 1640 by Nyboder, but which was never completed. It was pulled down in the reign of Frederik III, and the parish which was originally assigned to it was transferred to Trinity Parish, which, as mentioned earlier, had only the students as parishioners. It took more than twenty years, however, before Trinity Church could wrest its new parish out of the hands of the Church of Our Lady and St. Nicholas' Church, whose parishes by time-honoured custom covered the districts between Kongens Nytorv and Østerport; in the end, after years of strife, two Royal Decrees of 1683 and 1686 finally secured the parish for Trinity Church. And the old name followed with the parish, because of the analogy between the names of the Round Tower and the Round Church.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCH

When the plans for Trinity Church were being prepared Christian IV had engaged as his architect Hans van Steenwinckel the younger, who died in 1639, however, before



Trinitatis Kirkes sydøstlige Portal. Lennart Larsen fot.
The South-east Doorway of Trinity Church. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

dækkede man over de forskellige Bygnings-afsnits forskellige Materialer ved at overdække alle Murene med Kalkfarve, netop med det samme rød-gule Spil, der her bevarede i godt et Aarhundrede, og som maa være en Efterligning af Murværket ved Trinitatis.

Kirken fik fra Begyndelsen fire Portaler, to paa hver Langside. De to paa Sydsiden har vistnok været de fornemste, de havde i det mindste en finere Udsmykning og laa aabent ud mod Kirkegaarden, mens de to mod Nord var gemt bag en høj Hegnsmur ud til Landmærket. Nu er kun een af de gamle Portaler tilbage – den østligste paa Sydsiden, og den bruges ikke mere; de andre er ombygget, og de to vestlige er endda i 1870 blevet flyttet. Med deres sandstensprydede Indfatninger var de fire Portaler alene om at give Kirkens barske Mure nogen arkitektonisk Udsmykning.

KIRKERUMMET

Ligesom i det Ydre er Kirken i det Indre den Dag i Dag formet, som den var planlagt i Christian IV's Tid. Det er de samme hvidkalkede Vægge, de samme ottekantede Piller, der bærer de fligede Stjernehvælve. Rummet er delt i tre Skibe, det bredere Midtskib, de to smallere Sideskibe, alle ført op til samme Loftshøjde. Pillerne har spinkelt formede Baser og Hoveder i Renæssancens Aand; ellers er det hele Skema af senmiddelalderlig Oprindelse og kendes i lignende Udformning fra Birgittinerklosterkirken i Maribo. Koret, der omfatter det østligste Fag plus den tresidede Afslutning, var dengang som

the walls had been erected. His successor was Lennert Blasius, who had apparently immigrated from Holland, and who probably had no direct influence on the design of the new church for the students. This was characteristically Danish in appearance, a typical town church comprising a nave with a three-sided closed chancel, tall Gothic windows between projecting buttresses, and with a slate roof and a small belfry. Altogether, a typical Danish town church of the late Middle Ages. What was new and unusual about the church was that it was in two storeys, and that a library had been made in the low-ceilinged upper storey. But this innovation had been planned from the beginning and must therefore have been the King's idea, and was not due to the new architect. It is, however, possible that Lennert Blasius may have had some influence on the interior of the church. Clear traces found in the walls indicate that it was originally intended to give the church a flat ceiling, but this was soon given up in favour of the vaulted ceiling in three divisions, each with a star-vaulted roof borne by octagonal pillars. It is possible that the new architect was thinking of the enormous weight of the books in the library above, and then obtained the King's permission to increase the stability of the church by the new system of pillars and vaultings.

Like the tower, the church was built of small Dutch bricks, which were laid in alternate rows of red and yellow. The bricks themselves were yellow, but the ends were red. Thus, at the edge of a buttress or a window a yellow row changed to a red row and vice versa. The winds and rains of more than three centuries have faded the bright colours

nu hævet tre Trin over det øvrige Kirkegulv og har til alle Tider været lukket med en Korsranke. – Saa langt er det en let Sag at anskue Kirkerummet fra den ældste Tid. Men skal man til at møblere Kirken med alt det nødvendige Inventar, der giver Guds-tjenesten Indhold og Rummet Atmosfære, er man ilde stillet. Det blev næsten altsammen ødelagt eller kasseret ved den store Brand 1728. Reddet blev kun Altersølvet, en enkelt Pengetavle og endelig en Døbefont. De to sidste Inventargenstande findes nu paa Nationalmuseet, mens Kirken stadig bruger Altersølvet. Alt det andet Inventar som Alter, Prædikestol, Orgel, Stolestader og Pulpiturer blev Luernes Bytte og maatte bygges op fra ny i Tiden omkring 1730. Vi veed om de ældste kirkelige Inventargenstande kun saa meget, at man ved Indvielsen 1656 maatte klare sig med rent foreløbige Foranstaltninger: en tarvelig Prædikestol, en Alterdekoration i Form af et enkelt Kors osv. Først lidt efter lidt kom der fornemmere Ting ind i Kirkerummet. Den kendte Generalbygmester Lambert van Haven skænkede Kirken en ny Altertavle, vistnok et Nadvermaleri, malet af ham selv, og 1721 kom der en mere fornem Prædikestol af norsk, broget Marmor, men intet deraf er bevaret. Dronning Sophie Amalie havde til Indvielsen skænket nogle Alterklæder, men til den Rundhaandethed, man kunde have forventet af den første Bygherre, mærker vi ikke meget, da hans Søn førte Regeringen. Den lille Menighed, der samledes her i 1650'erne, har næppe heller formaaet at yde noget til Kirkens Udsmykning. Kun Orgelet var bygget stort og prægtigt, delvis efter Forbillede fra Hovedstadens fineste Instrument, Johan

of the bricks, but not more so than this interchange of colours is easily visible to the observant eye. At the same time as Trinity Church was being built the small Holmens Church, the navy's church, was being enlarged and given a cruciform shape, and here the different materials used in the walls were covered by plaster in exactly the same reddish-yellow colour; this colour was retained for over a century and must have been an imitation of the colour of the walls of Trinity Church.

From the beginning, the church had four doors or portals, two on each side of the building. Apparently the two doorways on the south wall were the grandest, at all events the decorations were more elaborate and they opened on to the churchyard, while the two doorways on the north side were hidden behind a high wall facing Landemærket. Only one of the old doorways remains today, the east door on the south side of the church, and it is no longer in use; the others were rebuilt and the two west doors were even moved in 1870. These four doorways with their sandstone architraves were the only architectural decorations on the otherwise bare outside walls of the church.

THE INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH

The interior of the church, just as its exterior, is today formed just as it was planned in the time of Christian IV. It has the same white-washed walls, the same octagonal pillars supporting the star-vaulting. The body of the church is divided into a broad central nave and two narrower aisles, the ceiling above being of the same height. The pillars



Fra Trinitatis Kirkes Gravkrypter. I Baggrunden den Gersdorffske Krypt, bag Lambert von Havens. Lennart Larsen fot. From the Crypt of Trinity Church. In the background, behind Lambert van Haven's vault is the Burial Vault of the Gersdorff Family. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

Lorens' Orgel i Nicolai Kirke. Men Universitetet havde Besvær med at faa det betalt, og der var endeløse Stridigheder med Orgelbyggeren, den stridbare Johan Christoff Frietsch fra Hamburg.

are typical of the Renaissance period with slender bases and capitals; otherwise, the whole plan reflects the inspiration of the late Middle Ages, as found in the convent church of the Birgitta Order in Maribo. The chan-

Naar man lige undtager dette prægtige, og desværre forlængst tilintetgjorte, Orgel, var Kirken fra Begyndelsen kun nødtørftigt udstyret, eller for at bruge et mere nymodens Udtryk: den var lovlig »skrabet«, medens Byens andre Kirker havde et prægtigt Inventar. Vor Frue Kirke havde saaledes faaet en fornem Renæssance-Altartavle 1624, skaaret af den kendte Billedsnider Hans Holst; Nicolai Kirke fik et stort Altermaleri af Karel van Mander i Slutningen af 1630'erne, og Holmens Kirkes overdaadige Baroktavle, skaaret 1661 af Abel Schrøder, eksisterer endnu, men Trinitatis Kirke maatte nøjes med et simpelt Kors, og den allerældste Døbefont skal have været et Træbord med et Fad. Det stemmer med, hvad vi paa anden Maade kan slutte os til, at Kirken ingen Midler havde, da den begyndte sin Tilværelse. En Kapital var der først Mulighed for at erhverve, naar den blev søgt af en talrig Menighed. Saaledes gik det da til, at det Sogn, der oprettedes i 1680'erne – og ikke Studenterne –, kom til at præge Kirkens Indre. Saa var der skabt et økonomisk Grundlag: nu kunde der komme Offer i Pengetavlerne, Værgerne kunde indkassere Afgifter i Form af Stoleleje, og fornemme Personer kunde udse sig et Gravsted under Kirkens Gulv. Henimod Slutningen af 17. Aarhundrede ser vi da ogsaa, at Trinitatis Kirke skiftede Ham. Det tarvelige Udstyr forsvandt og nyt kom i Stedet, og paa Vægge og Piller sprang Epitafierne frem som Vidnesbyrd om, at velstaaende Slægter var blevet bisat under Kirkegulvets Fliser.

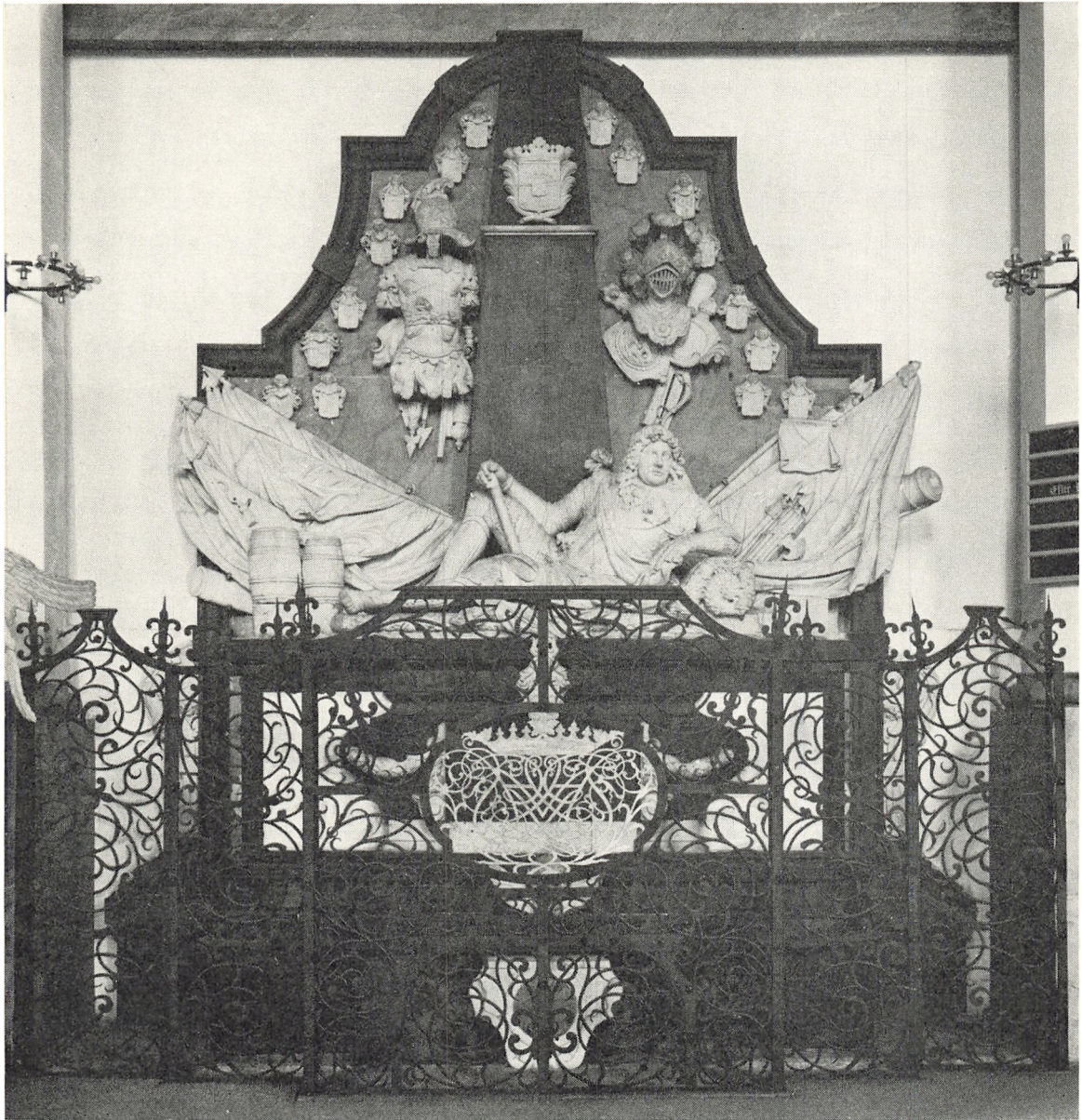
cel, comprising the east windows and the three-sided apse of the church was then, as it is now, raised three steps above the rest of the floor of the church, and has always been railed off by a chancel-rail. Thus far it is an easy matter to trace the interior to the earliest times. But it is no easy matter when it comes to the furnishings and fittings which lend meaning to the church service and which give the church its special atmosphere. Nearly all the original fittings were destroyed or discarded after the Great Fire of 1728. Only the altar plate, a collection box, and the font were saved. All the rest, the altar, the pulpit, the organ, the pews, and the galleries went up in flames and had to be rebuilt about 1730. About the first fittings and ornaments we only know that at the consecration of the church in 1656 they were regarded as temporary, and consisted of a plain pulpit, a plain cross in place of an altar-piece, etc. Little by little finer ornaments replaced these. The renowned Architect-General, Lambert van Haven, presented a new altar-piece to the church, presumed to be a painting of the Last Supper, painted by himself, and in 1721 a magnificent pulpit, of vari-coloured Norwegian marble, replaced the old one. But none of this remains. At the consecration of the church, Queen Sophie Amalie presented some altar-cloths, but none of the magnanimity which could have been expected of Christian IV was shown when his son came to the throne. It is also unlikely that the small congregation which filled the church in the 1680s was able to donate much towards the adornment of their church. Only the organ was great and splendid from the beginning, being a partial copy

Man havde i Tide forberedt dette store Bortsalg af Gravsteder. Der blev lagt en omhyggelig Plan for Inddelingen af Kor-gulvet med Henblik paa de kommende Gravsteder, og naar Salget af en Plads var i Orden, gik man i Gang med at bygge en muret, underjordisk Krypt. Saaledes fik Trinitatis Kirke sine »Katakomber«, der endnu er tilgængelige under Koret, og som Slægt efter Slægt har fyldt med Kister. Ved en større Udrensning 1926–27 blev en Del af disse Kister fjernet og gravsat andetsteds, navnlig de af dem, der var mornede i Tidens Løb, medens en anelig Række fornemme og kulturhistorisk interessante Kister blev istandsat og omgrupperet paa mere anskuelig Vis. Blandt Gravkrypterne kan man nævne de fire forreste langs med Korsranken: Rigsmarskal Johan Christoph von Körbitz' længst mod Nord. Saa fulgte Feltherren Hans Schack, Københavns berømte Forsvarer 1659. Derefter Rigshofmesteren Joachim Gersdorff. Og endelig længst mod Syd Greve Mogens Friis. – Disse fire dybtliggende Krypter havde alle selvstændig Adgang fra Kirkens Skib, de to yderste Nedgange var endda dækket af prægtige Smedejernsgitre, der siden 1835 staar paa begge Sider af Alteret. Den nordligste af dem, Körbitzernes Gravkælder, blev under Besættelsen anvendt til et ganske særligt Formaal: da Jødeforfølgelserne satte ind 1943, opbevarede man her den jødiske Synagoges Thoraruller.

Ogsaa over Jorden ønskede man at markere de fornemme Grave, der skjulte sig under Korets Gulv, og ogsaa her ønskede

of the finest organ in the capital, Johan Lorens' organ in St. Nicholas' Church. But the university had great difficulty in paying off the organ, and this led to endless strife with the organ-builder, the cantankerous Johan Christoff Frietsch of Hamburg.

Thus, with the exception of this magnificent organ, unfortunately long since destroyed, from the very beginning the church was most austere equipped, in contrast to the other churches of the town which were richly appointed. The Church of Our Lady had a fine Renaissance altar-piece from 1624, the work of the famous wood-carver Hans Holst; at the close of the 1630s, St. Nicholas' Church had been presented with a large altar-piece painted by Karel van Mander, and the magnificent Baroque altar-piece in Holmens Church carved by Abel Schrøder in 1661 is still in existence; but Trinity Church had to make do with a plain cross, and the first font is said to have been a wooden table with a basin. This agrees with what we know from other sources, that when it was consecrated the church had no funds, no endowment. It could get no endowments until it had a large congregation. This explains why it was the parish which was attached to the church in the 1680s, and not the students, that came to leave its mark on the interior of the church. With the parish the economic basis for the church's existence was secured, collections could be made, the church wardens could demand fees for the pews, and people of high rank might chose the site of their future graves under the stone floor of the church. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a change could be observed in the appearance of the church. The



Hans Schacks Gravmæle, udført 1687 af Artus Quellinus. Lennart Larsen fot.

The Monument to Hans Schack, executed by Artus Quellinus in 1687. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

Kirkens Patroner, Professorerne ved Universitetet, at gaa frem efter en nøje gennemtænkt Plan. De fire forreste Grave skulde smykkes med Gravmæler, der i Udseende og Størrelse nøje skulde svare til hinanden. Saaledes fik de to Gravsteder yderst paa

cheap fittings disappeared and were replaced by new, and the walls and the pillars were hung with sepulchral tablets in witness of the wealthy families who had found their last resting-place beneath the flag-stones of the church.

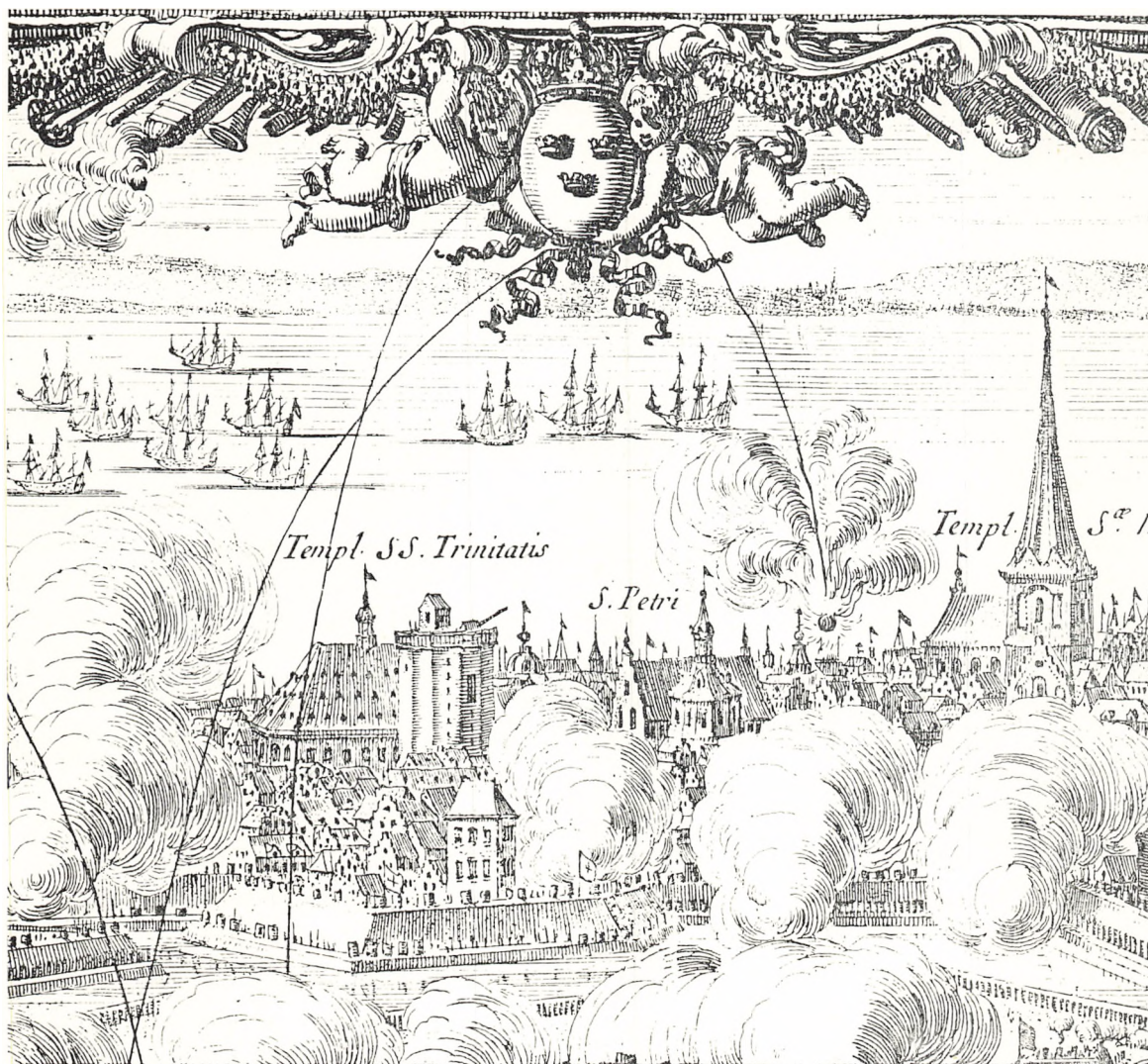
Flankerne ensartet opbyggede Epitafier over Nedgangene til Krypterne, saa de ligesom lukkede for den lange Flugt gennem Kirkens to Sideskibe. Hans Schacks store Epitafium blev anbragt der, hvor det endnu staar, ved Korets Nordside med Front mod Syd, og det var Meningen, at Gersdorffernes Grav paa den modsatte Side af Koret skulde have et lignende storslaaet Udseende; det skortede heller ikke paa Opfordringer til Familien om nu at bringe denne Sag i Orden, saa at Koret, som det hedder i en af Universitetets Skrivelser fra 1682 om denne Sag, »skikkelig kan vorde indelukt«. Men der var ingen, der reagerede derpaa, og Universitetets ganske storstilede Plan om at gøre Koret i Trinitatis Kirke til et vel tilrettelagt arkitektonisk udarbejdet Mausoleum for nogle af den unge Enevældes førende Slægter blev kun delvis gennemført. Denne fornemme Mindehal fik heller ikke nogen lang Levetid. Baade de Monumenter, der her er omtalt, samt et Par andre af mere beskedent Omfang, blev stærkt molesteret ved Branden 1728. Epitafierne over Körbitz' og Friis' Grave blev nedtaget, et Par af de andre, over Baron Didrik Fuiren samt over Slægten von Stöcken, blev helt fornyet, og Hans Schacks Epitafium stod længe i ruineret Stand for først saa sent som 1780 at blive istandsat; det er nu det eneste synlige Gravminde fra Kirkens første egentlige Blomstringstid under Kong Christian V.

Krypterne, der siden Saneringen 1927 er tilgængelige ad et Par murede Trapper i Koret, og som nu staar i indbyrdes Forbindelse med hinanden, rummer adskillige fornemme Kister i Senbarokkens overdaadige Former, enten helt indspundet i Udskæringer og Billedhuggerværk eller holdt i stram-

THE TOMBS

The sale of burial plots was prepared long before the crypt was ready for use. A careful plan was made for the division of the floor under the chancel into future burial plots, and when a plot had been sold the building of a walled underground tomb was begun. These "catacombs" in Trinity Church may still be seen under the chancel, and for generation upon generation they were filled with coffins. In 1926–27 a number of these coffins, mainly those which had mouldered away in the course of time, were interred elsewhere, while a large number of other coffins, either because of their magnificence or their cultural interest to later generations were repaired and regrouped. The four vaults nearest the altar-railing were those of the Earl Marshall, Johan Christoph von Körbitz on the north side, General Hans Schack, the famous defender of Copenhagen in 1659, Joakim Gersdorff, the Lord Chancellor, and on the south side, that of Count Mogens Friis. These four deep vaults all had their own entrances from the nave of the church, the two outer ones having magnificent wrought-iron gates, which now stand on either side of the altar, where they were placed in 1835. The far crypt on the north side, that of the Körbitz family, was used for a very special purpose during the German occupation of Denmark in the Second World War: when the Germans began their persecution of the Jews in Denmark in 1943, the Torah rolls of the Jewish Synagogue were hidden here.

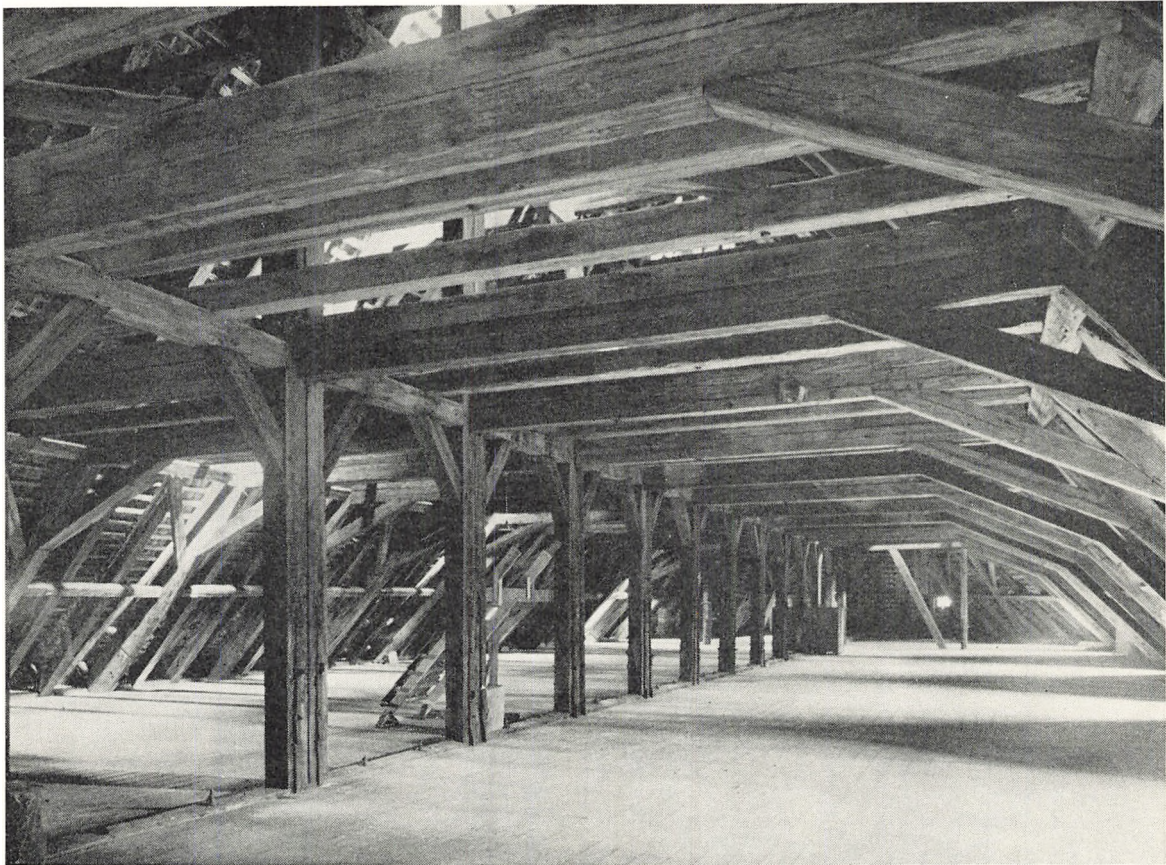
Above ground too, the tombs of the illustrious buried under the chancel floor were



Københavns Belejring 1658-59. Efter Stik af Erik Dahlberg, hos Pufendorf: *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo gestis*
 The Siege of Copenhagen 1658-59. After an engraving by Erik Dahlberg in Pufendorf's *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo gestis*

me Prismeformer, hvor alle Kanter indrammes af forgyldte Beslag. Paa Kistelaagene ligger støbte Krucifikser og ordrige Indskriftplader med panegyriske Skildringer af den afdøde. Det kunde hændte, at en enkelt af de hedenfarne blev mindet baade i en saadan Kisteplade plus en Gravsten plus et Epitafium; der synes heri at ligge en Protest mod Tilintetgørelsen, men det

to be commemorated, and here too, the patrons, the professors of the university, followed a careful plan. The four foremost graves were to be adorned with sepulchral monuments which were to be of a uniform size and appearance, the monuments above the two outside tombs over the entrance leading down to the crypt closing, as it were, the long flight of the two aisles of the church.



Tagkonstruktionen over Trinitatis Kirke, rejst 1730 efter den store Brand. Lennart Larsen fot.
The Roof of Trinity Church, Dating from 1730, after the Great Fire. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

fortæller ogsaa noget om Datidens kostbare Begravelsesceremonier og honnorte Ambitioner. Som en mærkelig Modsætning hertil staar Juristen og Forfatteren Bolle Luxdorph, der døde 1788 og blev bisat under Korgulvet i Trinitatis; han havde før sin Død bestemt, at hans Kiste skulde være simpel som hans Forældres, Begravelsen maatte ikke koste mere end 400 Rdl. – »Folk maa gerne sige, hvad de vil« – og paa Kistepladen skulde blot staa hans Data og Embeder samt et latinsk Fyndord, hvis Mening var: Mindet om os vil vare, hvis vi ved vort Liv har fortjent det. – Mellem de

Hans Schack's great monument was placed where it stands today, on the north side of the chancel facing south, and the plan was that the grave of the Gersdorff family on the opposite side of the chancel should be equally splendidly adorned. Despite repeated requests to the family to co-operate in this matter so that the chancel might be "decently enclosed", as it is worded in a letter from the university from 1682, no one reacted to the requests, and the university's splendidly conceived plan of making the chancel in Trinity Church a magnificent mausoleum commemorating some of the

mange prægtige Sarkofager er ogsaa en Del Barnekister, hvor Indskrifterne ikke godt kunde bryde med Titler og Bedrifter, men maaske netop derfor er mere menneskelige: »Her haver Hvilested den Paradisets Pøde – som allerkortest Tid i Verdens Have groede« staar der paa den lille Christian Gersdorffs Kiste (død 1680). Der er desuden et Par kortfattede Indskrifter over Søskendeparret Eggert og Sophia Elers, henholdsvis seks og 11 Aar, omkomne ved Operabranden den 19. April 1689, en Katastrofe, som krævede omkring 250 Døds ofre, hvorimel-

great families of the new age of enlightened despotism was only partially carried out. Neither did this stately Pantheon stand for long. Both the monuments mentioned here and some others of less magnificence were badly damaged in the fire of 1728. The monuments over the tombs of the Körbitz and the Friis families were taken down, and a few of the others, including the monuments to Baron Didrik Fuiren and the von Stöcken family were completely renewed. Hans Schack's monument was allowed to remain for many years in a ruinous condition, and

De dødsdomte Huse i Landemærket. Forf. fot.
The Condemned Houses in Landemærket. Photograph by the Author



lem der var et uhyggelig stort Antal Børn; de lakoniske Mindeord over disse Børnetragedier virker meget stærkt.

Universitetets egne Folk, som Kirken i sin Tid blev bygget for, blev naturligvis ogsaa nu og da bisat her, men Tallet er mærkeligt lille. Vor Frue Kirke var og blev den egentlige lærde Kirke i København. Vi maa dog nævne, at den berømte Historiker Hans Gram (død 1748) blev bisat i en af Trinitatis Kirkes Krypter, og hans Kiste eksisterer endnu. Men skal man fortsætte med Dødelisten, finder man af berømte Navne mest Folk uden for de Højlærdes Kreds. Vi slutter med tre kongelige Bygmestre, der alle fandt deres sidste Hvilested her. Den første var Albertus Mathiesen, som ledede Arbejdet ved Kirkens Fuldførelse i 1650'erne, og som ved sin Død fik anvist Gravplads under Gulvet i Kirkens Midtskib tæt ved Opgangen til Rundetaarn. Den anden var Christian V's Arkitekt, den norskfødte Lambert van Haven (død 1695), der fik en af Krypterne i Korets Sydside. Den tredie og berømteste var Laurids Thurah, død 1759 og bisat i sin Morfaders, Sognepræst Albert Withs, Grav i den østlige Del af Midtskibet; der findes hverken Gravsten eller Epitafium over ham, men man kan udpege Stedet, hvor Graven findes, og det er Tanken, nu mere end 200 Aar efter hans Død, at lægge en Mindeflise her.

UNIVERSITETETS BOGSAMLING

Biblioteket i Bygningens øvre Stokværk led samme Skæbne som hele Kirken; det brændte 1728 med samt sin kostbare Bog-

was not repaired until 1780. It is today the only visible sepulchral monument from the golden days of the church in the reign of Christian V.

The crypts, which since their restoration in 1927 have been accessible by two walled stairs in the chancel, and which are now all interconnected, still contain some fine examples of coffins adorned with all the exuberance of the late Baroque period, either completely cocooned by pompous carvings or sculptures, or strictly prismatic in form, the edges framed with gilded metal mounts. On the coffin lids lie metal crucifixes and metal plaques with flowery inscriptions giving panegyric accounts of the lives of the deceased; sometimes the deceased was commemorated both in a plaque on his coffin, and on a tombstone, and finally by a monument; herein seems to lie a vociferous protest against annihilation, but it also tells us something about the costly burial ceremonies and of the social ambitions of that time. In strange contrast to all this magnificence is the grave of Bolle Luxdorph, jurist and author, who died in 1788 and was interred in the crypt under the chancel floor; before his death he had ordered that his coffin was to be as plain as those of his parents, and that his funeral was not to cost more than 400 rix-dollars—"Let people say what they will" was his attitude—and the plaque on the coffin was to bear only his name, titles, and dates, and a Latin inscription whose meaning was that if his life has made him worthy of it, a man will be remembered. Among the many splendid stone coffins there are also a number of children's coffins, whose inscriptions did not flaunt titles and

samling. Den store Sal, der nu findes her, stammer fra Genopbygningen i Tiden omkring 1730 og har siden Universitetsbiblioteket flyttede herfra 1861 ikke fundet nogen værdig Anvendelse, et tomt og forsømt Magasinrum, ribbet for det Inventar, der i sin Tid gav Rummet sin særlige Stemning. Der findes dog et Par Beskrivelser af Salen i dens ældste Skikkelse. J. L. Wolf fortæller i sin Danmarksbeskrivelse fra 1654, at Bræddeloftet stod med gul Bund baaret af rødmaledede Bjælker, der atter støttedes af Jernsøjler med Forsiringer; langs Ydervæggene stod de mange Bogskabe, hvert Skab med fire Døre, i hvis Fyldinger der var Malerier samt danske og latinske Fyndord; i Salens Midte et stort rødmalet Arbejdsbord med Bænke. En senere Forfatter meddeler, at der i 1693 var kommet Skabe ogsaa midt paa Gulvet, og at en særlig Samling med Manuskripter opbevaredes i rødmaledede Skabe med forgyldte Zirater. Da Salens Dimensioner er de samme nu som for 300 Aar siden, kan man nok i Hovedtræk anskue, hvordan den tog sig ud, men ogsaa samtidig have sine Tvivl om, hvordan den i Praksis kunde fungere. Lysforholdene kan aldrig have været gode, og effektive Studier ved Vintertid maa have været en Prøvelse.

MELLEM BRAND OG BOMBER

Fire Gange inden for mindre end 100 Aar ramtes København af Storbrande. Talrige Bindingsværkshuse i snævre Gyder kunde fænge som Tønder, naar den røde Hane galede. Katastroferne 1728 og 1795 taler deres tydelige Sprog om Farerne ved forældede Byggemetoder og om Brandkorpsets

deeds of glory, but which, perhaps for that very reason, were all the more touching: "Here rests the child of paradise, who all too short a time in this world's garden grew" reads the inscription on the coffin of little Christian Gersdorff who died in 1680. There are also two short inscriptions to the memory of a brother and sister, Eggert and Sophia Elers, aged six and eleven years, who died in a fire at the Opera House on 19th April, 1689, a terrible catastrophe which cost the lives of two hundred and fifty people, including a tragically large number of children; the laconic epitaphs to these children are deeply moving.

It is remarkable how few members of the university, for whom the church was originally built, were interred here. The Church of Our Lady remained the real university church. Among university men who were buried here, however, was the famous historian Hans Gram (died 1748), whose coffin may still be seen in one of the vaults of the church. But the death-roll of eminent persons who found their last resting-place in the church lists mainly persons unconnected with learned circles, and includes such names as those of three royal architects. One was Albertus Mathiesen, who was in charge of the completion of the work on the church in the 1650s, and whose remains were buried beneath the floor of the nave, close by the entrance to the Round Tower. Another was Christian V's architect, the Norwegian-born Lambert van Haven (died 1695), whose coffin was placed in one of the vaults on the south side of the chancel. The third and most famous was Laurids Thurah, who died in 1759 and was interred in the grave of his



Trinitatis Kirkes Indre 1826. Farvelagt Stik af J. C. E. Walter («Kiøbenhavnse Prospekter» 1826) i Nationalmuseets Billedsamling

The Interior of Trinity Church 1826. Coloured engraving by J. C. E. Walter («Kiøbenhavnse Prospekter» 1826) in the Picture Collection in the National Museum.

lammende Magtesløshed. Meningsløse og ufattelige var Slotsbranden 1794 og Bombardementet 1807. Men hvad enten Ulykkerne kunde være afværget eller ej, maa vi notere de lidte Tab, og Gang paa Gang maatte Stadens Indvaanere modløse vandre rundt mellem Ruinerne af det, der engang var. Den barske Virkelighed krævede imidlertid hurtig Genopbygning, og det er et lykkeligt Træk ved Københavns Historie, at Byen efter hver Ulykke genopstod i ny og prægtig Skikkelse. Hvad der gik til Grund 1728, var en halv middelalderlig, saare malerisk og uregelmæssigt bygget Stad, men den genopstod i barok Klædedragt og stod sig ved Byttet. Det gentog sig i Aarene efter 1795, da Harsdorff formede nye Gader i den fine, stilfærdige københavnske Klassicisme; og den Genrejsning, der udførtes i Kølvandet paa det engelske Bombardement 1807, gav under C. F. Hansens Ledelse atter Hovedstaden nye Træk, som vi nu ikke har Raad til at undvære.

BRANDEN 1728

Rundetaarn har midt i alle disse Ulykker med sin stensatte Kolos staaet som en energisk Protest mod Død og Undergang, men Trinitatis Kirke med Biblioteket kom til at betale sin store Tribut til det ubønhørlige Baal. Under Kæmpebranden 1728 kom Christian IV's Kirkebygning i Farezonen, da Luerne for en kraftig vestlig Vind væltede fra Kvartererne omkring Vesterport ind mod Byens Centrum. Paa Storbrandens anden Dag, den 21. Oktober, havde Ilden raset omkring Universitetet og Vor Frue Kirke, den havde ædt sig frem gennem

maternal grandfather, Albert With, vicar of the parish, whose grave lies on the east side of the nave; there is neither a gravestone nor a monument to Thurah, but it is possible to point out exactly where he was buried, and now, more than two hundred years after his death, it is intended to place a memorial slab in the floor over his grave.

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The upper storey of the church suffered the same fate as the rest of the church; it went up in flames with the whole collection of precious books in 1728. The present large hall dates from the rebuilding of the church about 1730, and since the university library moved out in 1861 it has not been used for any worthy purpose, being now nothing but an empty and neglected store-room, stripped of all its furniture and contents and all that originally gave the room its special atmosphere. There are, however, a few descriptions of the hall in its original state. J. L. Wolf in his Account of Denmark from 1654 tells that the wooden ceiling was yellow with the beams painted red, and these beams were supported by ornamented iron pillars; the outside walls were lined with bookcases, each bookcase having four doors whose panels were decorated with paintings and with Danish and Latin mottoes; in the centre of the room was a huge table painted red, against which were placed benches. A later author relates that in 1693 bookcases had also been placed in the middle of the floor, and that a special collection of manuscripts were kept in red bookcases with gilded ornaments. As the dimensions of the hall are the

Store Kannikestræde og var naact til Købmagergade. Nabohusene gik op i Lucr, og store Flager af Gnister regnede hen over Kirkens skiferklædte Tagflader. Rytterspiret fængede og styrtede brændende ned i Biblioteket, hvis Bøger i Forvejen var antændt. I Løbet af kort Tid tilintetgjordes litterære Skatte i Tusindtal, og Spirets styrtende Tømmer slog Hul paa en af Korets Hvælvinger, for ad den Vej at skaffe Ilden et kærkomment Indpas i selve Kirkerummct, hvor alt Træværket blev raseret: Orgel, Stole, Pulpiturer og Alter. Selv den nyanskaffede Prædikestol af Marmor maatte man kassere. Kun Kirkens Beholdning af Altersølv og en Døbefont af Smedejern undgik Tilintetgørelsen.

Mellem de mange Øjensvidneberetninger om Branden er der ogsaa en der fortæller om et Besøg i Rundetaarn, netop paa det kritiske Tidspunkt, da Biblioteket gik op i Luer. Den er skrevet af Universitetets Professor i Astronomi, Peder Horrebow. Han havde Natten den 20. Oktober holdt Vagt i sin Bolig i Store Kannikestræde, indtil Situationen blev farlig. Man tog da Børnene ud af Sengene for at bringe dem bort. En nyfødt tog Ammen sig af, men under den almindelige Forvirring blev de borte fra det øvrige Følge, og man fandt dem først tre Uger senere. Med et tungt Skrin, der indeholdt Manuskripter, søgte Horrebow og hans Kone hen til Studiegaarden, til liden Nytte, da man her var nærmere Ildens Arnested. Saa flygtede de op i Rundetaarn, til de øverste Astronomikamre. Op kom de, men snart var Retræten næsten blokeret. »Fremmede opfyldte hele Taarnopgangen neden for mig med deres Bohave«, skriver han. »Min stakkels Kone, udmattet af Ar-

same now as they were three hundred years ago it is possible to conjure up a general impression of what it must have looked like, though the practical arrangements are difficult to imagine. The light can never have been good for reading, and it must have been a trial to do serious work here in the cold of winter.

CONFLAGRATIONS AND BOMBARDMENTS

Four times within less than a hundred years Copenhagen was ravaged by great fires. If one house caught fire, the flames would spread rapidly among the many half-timbered houses in the narrow alleys. The great fires of 1728 and 1795 clearly tell of the dangers of out-of-date building methods and of how the fire brigade was almost powerless to do anything. The fire in 1794 in which Christiansborg Castle was destroyed and the bombardment of 1807 were senseless and incomprehensible. But whether the catastrophes could have been avoided or not, we can merely sum up the list of the losses with the same sense of hopelessness as that of the townspeople wandering around in the ruins of their town. But the work of rebuilding had to begin at once, and happily each time the town rose again from the ashes, new and beautiful. It was a partly Medieval, extremely picturesque and straggling town that was consumed by fire in 1728. It arose again in Baroque dress, and the change was to its advantage. This happened again after 1795, when Harsdorff created new streets in the light, unobtrusive classicism typical of Copenhagen, and the rebuilding under C. F.



bejde, Nattevaagen og Sorg, gaar bort for at komme til Børnene«. Paa det Tidspunkt kunde man altsaa endnu komme ned. Men han selv blev deroppe med sin ældste Søn og saa gennem Taarnvinduerne sin Professorresidens brænde. Folk strømmede ustandselig til og stuede deres Ejendele ind i Sneglegangen. Hen paa Eftermiddagen den 21. Oktober var det saa, at Bibliotekets store Bogbestand blev antændt, uden at nogen havde haft Sans for at bringe den i Sikkerhed. Heden fra Kæmpebaalet gjorde fortsat Ophold her umuligt, og de to Mænd søgte da at komme ned paa Gaden, som de først naaede efter møjsommeligt at have klatret over Bjærge af sammenstuede Møbler.

Her taber vi saa Flygtningene af Syne for i Stedet at se paa Ruinen. Rundetaarn selv var jo bygget som et ildfast Hus og var derfor intakt, selvom de astronomiske Indretninger og Tagets Træværk var brændt. Af Kirken stod kun de røgsværtede Mure; men Hvælvingerne havde dog holdt, idet kun den ene over Koret var knust. Der var saaledes et brugbart Fundament for Genopbygning, og Trinitatis Kirke kom da ogsaa hurtigt paa Fode igen. Den blev genindviet 7. Oktober 1731.

I det Ydre bibeholdt Kirken sin gammelkendte Skikkelse. Man havde i Begyndelsen tænkt sig at genrejse Bygningen uden Biblioteket i det øvre Stokværk – Sporene var jo skræmmende. Men det strandede paa Kong Frederik IV's Modstand, han ønskede bestemt at indrette et nyt Universitetsbibliotek paa dets historiske Sted, som hans Forfædre havde udset dertil. Derfor blev ogsaa den nye Trinitatis Kirke en Bygning i to Stok-

Hansen which took place after the British bombardment in 1807 gave a new face to the capital, without which we would be the poorer today.

Through all these catastrophes the Round Tower with its mighty stone walls has stood there, an emphatic protest against death and destruction, while Trinity Church with its fine library was to pay its costly tribute to the relentless flames. During the Great Fire of 1728 Christian IV's church was in danger when the flames, blown by a strong west wind, came surging up from the quarters round Vesterport, the west gate of the city, towards the centre of the town. On the second day of the Great Fire, 21st October, the fire raged round the university and the Church of Our Lady, devoured its way through Store Kannikestræde and reached Købmagergade. The neighbouring houses went up in flames, and great flakes of sparks from the fire rained down on the slate roof of the church. The spire caught fire and crashed down in flames into the library, where the books were already blazing. In a very short time literary treasures of great value were destroyed in their thousands, and the flaming timber of the spire burned a hole in one of the vaultings of the chancel; in this way the fire gained access to the church itself, where all the woodwork, the organ, the pews, the galleries, and the altar, was reduced to ashes. Even the newly acquired pulpit of marble had to be discarded afterwards. All that was saved from the greed of the flames was the altar plate and a font of wrought-iron.

Among the many eye-witness accounts of the fire is one written by Peder Horrebøw,



Københavns Bombardement 1807, set fra Christianshavn. Gouache af I. M. Wagner i Bymuseet
 The Bombardment of Copenhagen 1807. A View from Christianshavn. Gouache by I. M. Wagner in the City Museum

værk, og med store Boggaver fra private Bibliofer kunde man lægge Grunden til den nye Bogsamling, der snart voksede sig stor.

KIRKERUMMET EFTER 1728

Kirkens Indre skiftede derimod Udseende. Rammen var vel den gamle med de høje Piller og de stjerneformede Hvælv, men Inventaret var nu helt i Tidens Smag, Senbarokkens rige Regencestil. Alter, Prædikestol, Front, Orgel og Stoleværk – alt var gjort efter den Model, der kort i Forvejen var gennemprøvet i to af Frederik IV's Kirkebygninger, Kapellerne ved Køben-

professor of astronomy in the university. He describes the Round Tower at the critical moment when the library went up in flames. On the night of 20th October he had kept watch in his house in Store Kannikestræde, until the situation became too dangerous. The children were woken from their sleep and taken to a place of safety. An infant in arms was given to the care of its wet-nurse, but in the general confusion they were separated from the rest of the family and were first discovered three weeks later. Taking with them a heavy chest containing manuscripts, Horrebow and his wife sought refuge in the University but to little avail, for this was even closer to the seat of the fire. Then

havns Slot og Fredensborg: Alter med Søjler, forkrøbbede Profiler, allegoriske Figurer, guirlandebærende Englebørn, der svinger sig op mod Guds hebraiske Navn, der i Transparent kroner Værket, omgivet af en Straaleglorie, der genkalder en Bombeeksplosion; en Prædikestol, hvis tunge, bugede Krop støttes af den stærke Engel i folderige Gevandter og dækkes af den svajede Lydhimmel med vældigt Udhæng til begge Sider og tæt befolket af allegoriske Figurer (S. 61); og ved Vestvæggen det store nye Orgel, hvis lodrette Piber, opbyggede i mægtige Taarne, indrammes af uroligt vibrerende Bladværk –. Dermed var den protestantiske Gudstjenestes tre Dominanter udformet dramatisk og virkningsfuldt. Mere stilfærdigt virkede den ret spinkle Font af hvidt italiensk Marmor, men den paraderede dog i nordre Sideskib omgivet af en Daabsskranke med svære Messingbalustre; og Stolestaderne nøjedes med en taktfast Opmarch af muslingbærende Gavle. Alt Træværket blev med Tiden (men ikke lige straks) stafferet i lette og festlige Farver, rigelig Anvendelse af Guld og broget Marmorering paa Alter og Prædikestol, og paa Sideskibenes Pulpiturer en let graalig Schattering, der efterlignede Marmorets Aarer, og som gik igen i Daabs- og Korskranken, i Orgelpulpituret og de ottekanterede Pillers Fodstykker. Man vilde paa denne Maade fremhæve den lutherske Gudstjenestes liturgiske Centrer, stemme Rummet til en Helhed og fyldte dets stramme og hvidkalkede Tomhed med pulserende Liv. Trods mange senere Ændringer er der endnu i Trinitatis Kirke noget tilbage af Aanden fra 1730.

they fled up the Round Tower to the highest astronomy chambers. They got up there, but soon all retreat was blocked. “Strangers filled the whole of the way up the tower below us with their goods and chattels”, writes Horrebow, “My poor wife, exhausted with work, vigil, and sorrow, has left to go to the children”. At that time it was still possible to worm a passage down through the tower. He himself stayed at the top with his eldest son and saw through the windows in the tower his own house burning. People kept on streaming into the tower, and choked the ramp with their possessions. Late in the afternoon of 21st October, the books in the library caught fire, no one having thought of removing them to safety. The heat from the huge bonfire made it impossible to stay at the top of the tower, and the two men then tried to reach the street, which they eventually did, after first having had to climb over mountains of stacked furniture.

Here we lose sight of the refugees, and turn again to contemplate the ruin. The Round Tower itself was built like a fire-proof house and was therefore still intact, even though the astronomy chambers and the woodwork of the roof had gone up in flames. Of the church, only the smoke-grimed walls remained; the vaultings were undamaged, except for the one over the chancel. The walls of the church were intact, too, and Trinity Church was soon rebuilt. The church was reconsecrated on 7th October, 1731.

The exterior of the church was restored to its former state. To begin with, the plan was to rebuild the church without the library in the upper storey—*vestigia terrent*. But this

I trekvart Aarhundrede blev der ikke rørt ved dette barokke Kirkerum, kun faa og usædvanlige Detaljer blev i Løbet af det 18. Aarhundrede føjet til. Et højt Standur med tre Urskiver blev 1757 anbragt paa Pillen over for Prædikestolen, et dansk Snedkerarbejde i Tidens muntre og sprælske Rokoko, skænket af Bryggeren Lars Griis, som ogsaa betænkte Kirken med et Par store Sølvalterstager. Efter en lang Pause sprang der paany Epitafier frem paa Væggene og Pillerne, fem ialt, fra Tiden efter 1780, alle af norsk Marmor og alle i den nyklassiske Aand, der kendetegner Aarene henimod 1800. Det smukkeste og tillige det enkleste er Wiedewelts Monument over Historikeren Terkel Klevenfeldt med Portrætrelief saa strammet og skarpt som en romersk Buste (S. 74). En Sammenligning mellem dette Monument og Hans Schacks fra 100 Aar tidligere viser det mægtige Skred i Kunstopfattelsen.

BOMBARDEMENTET 1807

Biblioteket paa Kirkeloftet var blevet genoprettet efter den store Katastrofe 1728. Ved store Gaver og Indkøb var det lykkedes at skabe en ny stor Bogsamling, yderligere suppleret med mange sjældne Manuskripter, der fik Plads i et særligt, ved Skranker afdelt Rum mod Øst, karakteristisk nok tituleret »Koret«, idet det svarede til Kirkens Kor nedenunder. Salens Udstyr har dog nok været enklere end i Frederik III's Tid. De brogede Farver var borte, Loftet var fladt og gipset, Støtterne enkle og af Træ. Ved Indgangen fra Rundetaarn blev der 1777 afskilret et Par Stuer, der kunde opvarmes, saa at der var mere menneskelige Forhold

plan met with resistance from King Frederik IV, who was quite determined to build a new university library in this historic place chosen by his ancestors for that purpose. For this reason, the new Trinity Church was also a two-storey building, and with generous gifts of books from private benefactors the foundation was laid for the new library.

THE INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AFTER 1728

Inside the church, however, there were many changes. The framework was the same, the tall pillars and the star-shaped vaultings, but the fittings were now entirely in the style of the period, the late Baroque style of the early Georges. The altar, the pulpit, the font, the organ, and the pews were all copied from two of Frederik IV's churches, the chapels in Copenhagen Castle and at the castle of Fredensborg. The altar was embellished with pillars, broken profiles, allegorical figures, and angel children bearing garlands, stretching up to the crowning Hebrew name of God. The pulpit, whose heavy curving body is supported by an angel in flowing robes, was crowned by a sounding-board thickly strewn with allegorical figures and with enormous projections on either side. On the west wall was ranged the great new organ, whose perpendicular organ pipes forming mighty towers were framed by vibrating foliage. Thus the three high-lights of the Protestant service were dramatically and effectively built up. The effect of the delicate font in white Italian marble was far lighter, but even this stood as if on parade in the north aisle, surrounded by a christening



H. G. F. Holm: Trinitatis Kirke set fra Landemærket. Tegning omkring 1830 i Thorvaldsens Museum
 H. G. F. Holm: Trinity Church from Landemærket. Drawing from about 1830 in the Thorvaldsen Museum

ved Vintertid. I sin *Københavns-Beskrivelse* fra 1800 siger Rasmus Nyerup, der selv var Universitets-Bibliotekar, at Bogsamlingen var paa omkring 70 000 Bind, men han tilføjede sarkastisk, at denne Skat kun i ringe Grad var til Nytte for Videnskaben; som en af Grundene hertil nævner han, at mange Givere har knyttet det Krav til deres Boggave, at den skulde staa samlet og ikke indlemmes blandt de øvrige Bøger. »Hvad Skade og Forvirring i et Bibliotek og Ulejlighed for Bibliotekarerne der forvoldes ved slige smaa uafhængige Stater i Staten har Testatorerne ingen Begreb haft om«, siger han med et Suk. Men han indrømmer dog,

rail with heavy brass balusters. The pews were less ornate, they stood in orderly rows, the bench ends decorated with a rocaille. In time, all the woodwork was decorated in light and cheerful colours with plenty of gilding and coloured marbling on the altar and the pulpit, and light-grey marbling on the galleries in the aisles, on the rails round the altar and the font, the organ gallery, and on the bases of the octagonal pillars, the aim being to throw into relief the liturgical centres of the Lutheran service, to create a wholeness, and to fill the strict white-washed bareness of the room with pulsating life. Despite many later alterations there still re-

at der var een særskilt Samling, der altid burde holdes intakt, nemlig den berømte Arnamagnæanske Manuskriptsamling, der ved Islændingen Árni Magnússons Testamente 1730 blev overdraget Universitetet sammen med en anselig Kapital til Skrifternes Udgivelse. Det var navnlig denne store Skats Tilstedeværelse, der gjorde Universitetet ængstelig, da Krigen 1807 bragte København i Farezonen. Et Bombardement maatte ikke faa de samme Følger som Branden 1728. I Tide bragte man derfor Haandskrifterne i Sikkerhed i en muret Kælder underst i Rundetaarn og gjorde Forberedelser til at evakuere de kostbareste af Bøgerne, som man tænkte at hejse ned i Taarnets hule Spindel. Bombardementet kom hurtigere og voldsommere, end man havde ventet; men Rasmus Nyerup, Knud Lyne Rahbek og Kirkens aarvaagne Værge, bistaaet af en Afdeling af Kronprinsens Livvagt, fik organiseret en hastig Nedkastning af Bøgerne i den brandsikre Cylinder og afværgede, at der skete en Ulykke med selve Bygningen. Den tredie Bombardementsnat var Situationen kritisk. Bomberne hagtede ned over Kvarteret, Kultorget stod i lys Lue, og Ilden gik over en bred Front til Angreb langs Lille Købmagergade ned mod Trinitatis. Værgen, Hørkræmmer Tvermoes, var her paa Pletten og sørgede for, at hver eneste Brand i Taarnets og Kirkens Tagværk blev slukket. Nogle af Bomberne ramte godt nok, men Ulykkerne fra 1728 gentog sig ikke. Man plejer at fremstille Bibliotekets Skæbne saadan, at kun een Bog – karakteristisk nok med Titlen »Defensor pacis« (Fredens Forsvar) – blev ramt; men helt rigtigt kan det ikke være, da Universitetets Regnskaber fra

mains something of the spirit of 1730 in the Trinity Church of today.

For three-quarters of a century little was changed in this Baroque church, only a few unimportant alterations being made in the course of the eighteenth century. In 1757, a tall grandfather clock with three clock faces was placed on the pillar opposite the pulpit; the case was of Danish make in the cheerful and exuberant style of the Rococo period, and was presented to the church by the brewer Lars Griis, who also donated two great silver candlesticks for the altar. After a long pause, sepulchral tablets were again hung on the pillars and the walls, five in all from the time after 1780, all of Norwegian marble and in the neo-classical style typical of the period just before 1800. The most beautiful, and the most unpretentious is Wiedewelt's monument to the historian Terkel Klevenfeldt, with a portrait medallion as stringent and clear-cut as a Roman bust. A comparison of this monument and that to Hans Schack a hundred years earlier clearly shows the enormous change in artistic ideals during that time.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF 1807

The library in the church loft was rebuilt and restored after the Great Fire of 1728. Munificent gifts and extensive purchases had made it possible once again to assemble a fine collection of books, further supplemented by many rare manuscripts which were placed in a special room, divided off from the rest of the library and entitled the "chancel" because it was situated above the chancel of the church below. The fittings and the

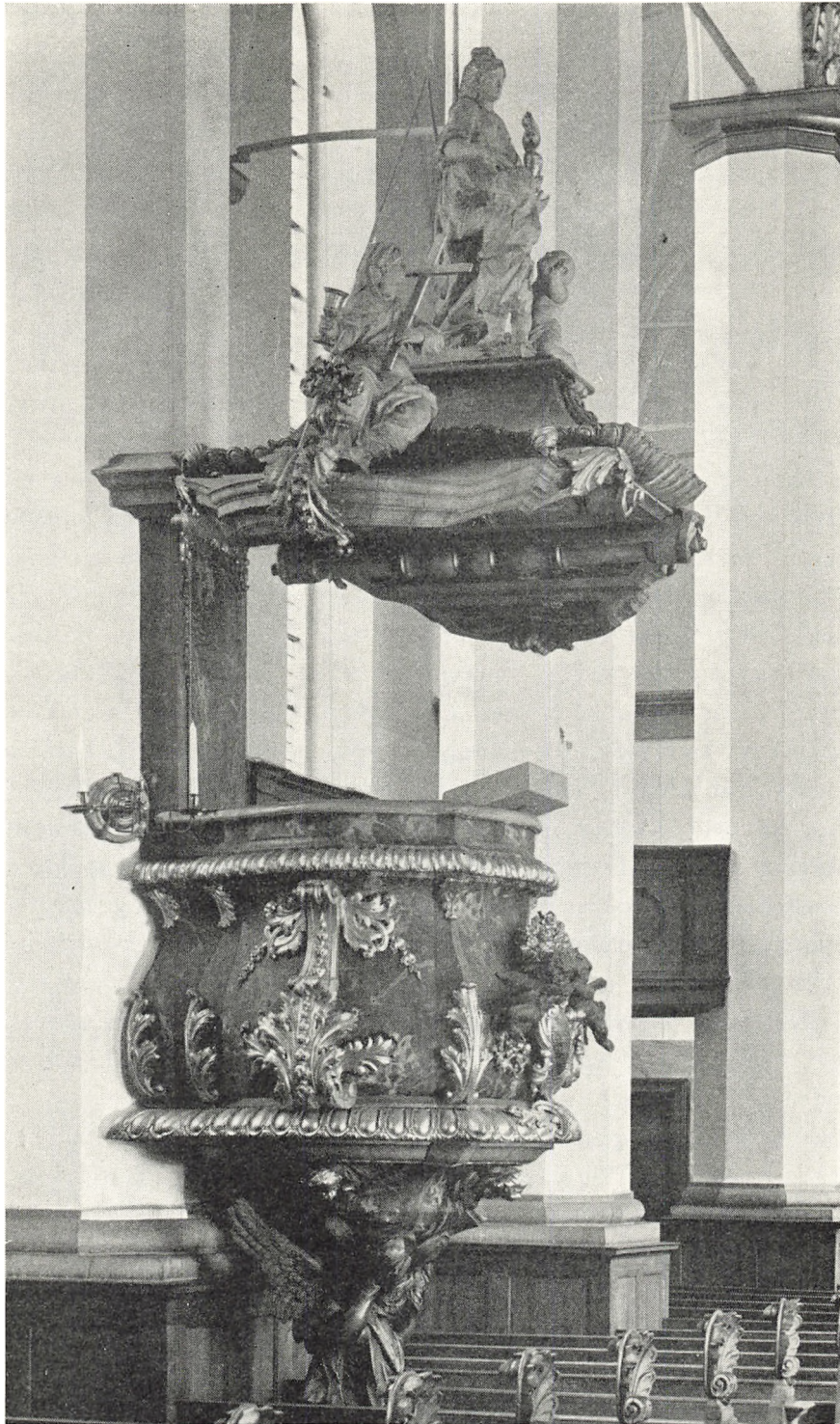
den kommende Tid viser, at adskillige Bøger var saa medtaget, at de helt maatte kasseres.

Bombardementet havde altsaa blot givet Trinitatis Kirke nogle Skrammer. Ogsaa Latinerkvarterets Hovedgade, Store Kannikestræde, havde klaret sig nogenlunde, i al Fald den østligste Del. Men Frue Kirke og Universitetet var ødelagt, og det varede mange Aar, inden de nye Bygninger stod rejst paa de gamle Ruiner. Som Følge heraf overtog Trinitatis Kirke en Del af de Op-gaver, der egentlig tilkom Vor Frue som Rigets Hovedkirke. Der indrettedes saaledes en Kongestol under Orgelet, og 1814 afholdt man en Højtidelighed i Anledning af Christian VII's Død – en Mindegudstjeneste, der paa Grund af Krigen var udsat i seks Aar. Det medførte dog ikke Ændringer i større Stil. Først de store Festligheder ved Reformationens 300-Aars Jubilæum Efter-aaret 1817 bragte indgribende Forandringer, der begyndte med Hegnsmurene omkring den lille Trinitatis Kirkegaard.

TRINITATIS KIRKEGAARD

Inden for Voldene i den tæt bebyggede Fæstningsby var der kun faa grønne Omraader overladt til den brede Befolkning. Kongens Have blev saa smaat lukket op for »honnerte Folk« under Frederik IV og for den store Offentlighed saa sent som 1771, og 10 Aar senere kom hertil Esplanaden ved Kastellet. Før den Tid kunde man promenerer paa Volden og var iøvrigt henvist til Byens Kirkegaarde. Disse sidste laa som smaa Oaser midt i de krinkelkrogede Gader, fredet mod Byens Larm af høje Hegnsmure

interior, however, were probably less ornate than in the time of Frederik III. The bright colours were gone, the ceiling was flat and plastered, the pillars simple in design and made of wood. By the entrance to the Round Tower two small rooms were sectioned off in 1777, which could be heated up, thus providing more humane conditions for industrious scholars in winter time. In a description of Copenhagen from 1800, Rasmus Nyerup, who was the university librarian, stated that the library consisted of about 70,000 volumes, but added bitterly that this treasure was of little use to scholars, one of the reasons being that many of the donors had stipulated that their gift was not to be split up but was to remain as a whole. "The testator can have no conception of the waste and confusion and the trouble caused to the librarian by these small states within a state" he comments with a sigh. But he does admit that there was one collection which should always be allowed to remain intact and undivided, and that was a famous collection of manuscripts, the so-called Arnamagnæanske Collection, which had been left to the university by the terms of Arni Magnusson's will, together with a considerable capital to provide for the publication of the manuscripts. The presence of this treasure worried the university authorities more than anything when the war of 1807 placed Copenhagen in imminent danger. A bombardment of the town must not be allowed to have the same tragic consequences as the Great Fire of 1728. In good time, therefore, the manuscripts were brought to safety in the cellars under the Round Tower, and preparations were made to evacuate the most precious



Trinitatis Kirke. Prædikestolen skaaret af Fr. Ebisch omkring 1730. Lennart Larsen fot.
Trinity Church. The pulpit carved by Fr. Ebisch about 1730. Photograph by Lennart Larsen

og skærmet af skyggefulde Træer. Ad Kirkegaardslaagerne kunde man ofte skyde Genvej mellem et Par Stræder, Koner i Nabolaget tørrede undertiden Tøj herinde paa det fredede Omraade, og Kvarterets Dreng fandt her et Fristed for deres Lege. Johannes Ewald har berettet, hvordan han som Dreng førte an, naar Drengflokkene kom stormende ind paa Byens Kirkegaarde. Maaske han da ogsaa har været Røverkaptajn ved Foden af Rundetaarn, hvor han selv skulde finde sit sidste Hvilested.

Thi ogsaa Trinitatis Kirke havde sin Kirkegaard. Den laa Syd og Øst for Bygningen og blev snart ved Ejendoms køb udvidet hen til Pilestræde (Datidens Springgade). Nu er dette sidste Stykke udnyttet til andet Brug, men man har let ved at opdage den tidligere Udstrækning, naar man i Fantasien fjerner de Hambroske Badeanstalters Bygninger, som blev opført her 1876. Bagved Koret naaede Kirkegaarden ud til Landemærket, og dens Hegnsmur dækkede tillige hele Kirkens nordre Flanke, skønt den smalle, trekantede Plads vistnok aldrig blev udnyttet til Begravelser.

Den gamle Gravplads er forlængst nedlagt. Fra 1851 var der udstedt Forbud mod indenbys Begravelser, og siden da har Trinitatis Kirkegaard ligget ubenyttet hen. Den er en smal aaben Plads, der ligesom i de meget gamle Dage er Tumleplads for Kvarterets Børn og Smutvej for dem, der søger en Genvej bag om Kirken mellem Landemærket og Købmagergade. Men ved Kirkens Kor er der endnu en lille Indhegning med nogle faa Gravminder. Her hviler bl. a. en Universitetsprofessor, desuden den kendte Legatstifter Claudi Rosset. Og saa er der

books in the library by lowering them down into the hollow newel of the tower. The bombardment came sooner and more fiercely than expected; however, Rasmus Nyerup, Knud Lyhne Rahbek, and the vigilant church warden, aided by a company of the Crown Prince's bodyguard, organized a hasty lowering of the books into the fireproof cylinder, and also saved the building from destruction. On the third night of the bombardment the situation was critical. Shells rained down on that quarter of the town, Kultorget was a mass of flames, and the flames were spreading over a broad front along Lille Købmagergade down towards Trinity Church. The church warden, a Chandler by the name of Tvermoes, was on the spot and saw to it that every single fire in the tower and on the roof of the church was put out. Some of the shells were direct hits, but the tragedy of 1728 was not repeated. It is usually related that only one book, ironically enough one entitled "Defensor Pacis" (The Defender of the Peace) was destroyed; this story must be without foundation, for the university accounts of the time that followed show that a number of books were so badly damaged that they had to be discarded.

Thus, except for a few minor scratches, Trinity Church was undamaged. The main thoroughfare of the Latin quarter, Store Kannikestræde, had also come through nearly unscathed, at least on the east side of the street. But the Church of Our Lady and the University had been destroyed, and many years were to pass before the new buildings arose on the ruins of the old. For this reason Trinity Church took over some of the cere-



Spadserestien over Trinitatis Kirkegaard i 1860'erne. Farvelagt Tegning af J. Knudsen i Bymuseet. Mindesmærket over J. H. Wessel, til højre paa Billedet blev rejst 1863. Kirkegaarden blev omdannet til Anlæg i Begyndelsen af 1870'erne
 The footpath across Trinity Churchyard in the 1860s. Coloured drawing by J. Knudsen in the City Museum. The monument to J. H. Wessel in the right of the picture was raised in 1863. The churchyard was turned into an open square at the beginning of the 1870s.

det berømte Gravminde, der paa sin store, liggende Sandstenplade forkynder, at her hviler Daner Skjalden Johannes Ewald, født 18. November 1743 og død 17. Marts 1781. Da man sidste Gang regulerede den forudoms Gravplads i 1920'erne, lagde man ved Siden af Ewalds Sten en anden til Minde om Johan Herman Wessel, der ligeledes blev begravet paa Trinitatis Kirkegaard (1785), men hvis nøjagtige Gravsted ikke mere kendes. Wessel havde dog i Forvejen faaet et lille Monument, rejst 1863 nærmere ved Kirkens Kor, og begge Digtere blev 1879 mindet ved et Dobbeltmindesmærke

monies which by right belonged to the Church of Our Lady as the principal church of the kingdom. In 1814 a service was held here to commemorate the death of Christian VII, a memorial service which, owing to the war, had been postponed for six years, and for this occasion a royal pew was installed below the organ, but otherwise no noteworthy changes were made in the church. It was not until the important celebrations held in connection with the 300th anniversary of the introduction of the Reformation in the autumn on 1817 that extensive alterations were carried out, beginning with the

med Portrætmedailloner udført af O. Evens, anbragt paa Kirkepladsen Syd for Kirken.

De hegnende Mure var et Fællestræk ved de gamle københavnske Kirker. Nu er kun Murene ved Petri Kirke tilbage. Men vi kender dem tillige fra Vor Frue, Helliggeist og S. Nicolai Kirker, og Trinitatis Kirke havde dem altsaa ogsaa. De havde det Hovedformaal at skabe Fred om de døde, men utvivlsomt har der ogsaa været en mere kunstnerisk Hensigt dermed. Man fastholdt Gadernes lange Linier paa denne Maade; hvor Husrækkerne slap, fortsattes Perspektivet af Kirkegaardens Mure. Købmagergades blidt bugtede Forløb fik saaledes en særlig Akcent gennem Hegnmuren, der begyndte ved Nabohuset – en gammel Bryggergaard (nu Priors Ejendom) – og løb lige hen til Rundetaarns Portal for straks at fortsætte paa den anden Side hen til et skarpt Hjørne mellem Købmagergade og Landemærket. Her bøjede den af og løb i lige Stræk ned til det nærmeste Borgerhus Øst for Kirkens Kor, idet den næsten tangerede et Par af de østligste Støttepiller paa Kirkemuren og udsparede foran de to Nordportaler et smalt Stykke Jord, der ikke kunde bruges til noget fornuftigt Formaal. En 30 Aar efter Kirkens Indvielse byggede man her ved Taarnets Fod paa Hjørnet af Landemærket en lille Klokkerbolig – saa var Pladsen delvis udnyttet. Klokkerens Hus forsvandt 1728, men 1798 indrettede man paa dens Sted, stadig med Udnyttelse af de gamle Hegnmure, en vinkelformet Butikslænge af samme Art som kendes fra de forlængst forsvundne Nicolai og Helligestes Kirkeboder. Alt dette viser, at kun Muren om selve Gravpladsen havde en praktisk

walls round the lesser churchyard of Trinity Church.

TRINITY CHURCHYARD

Within the ramparts of the closely populated fortified town there were only a few open spaces for the ordinary citizens. Kongens Have, the King's Garden, was opened to the citizens by degrees; "respectable folk" were allowed to use the park during the reign of Frederik IV and the general public was admitted in 1771; ten years later the Esplanade by the Citadel was also opened to the public. Before that time, however, the only open spaces where the citizens could go for a stroll were the ramparts of the town and the churchyards which lay hidden like small oases among the winding streets, guarded from the noise of the city by high walls and shaded by tall trees. Through the doors in the walls the citizens could take short cuts from street to street, the women of the neighbourhood would sometimes hang out their washing to dry in the churchyard, and the boys would play games among the graves. Johannes Ewald, the poet, has told how, as a boy, he was the leader of a gang of boys who used to storm across the churchyards of the town. Perhaps he played at being a robber captain at the foot of the Round Tower, where years later he was to find his last resting place.

Trinity Church had a graveyard which lay to the east and south of the church, and later, when the neighbouring houses had been bought up, it extended as far as Pilestræde, or Springgade as it was then called. This extension is now used for other pur-



Rundetaarn og Trinitatis Kirke i Midten af 1820'erne. Tegning signeret (H. G. F.) Holm, i Bymuseet
 The Round Tower and Trinity Church in the middle of the 1820s. Drawing signed (H. G. F.) Holm in the City Museum

Funktion, mens de overskydende Mure ved Landemærket og Købmagergade var skabt for at give Gadebilledet Karakter. Det gryende 19. Aarhundrede, altsaa Tiden lige efter Bombardementet 1807, ændrede ganske disse Forhold.

OMBYGNINGER 1817 OG 1835

Ved de store Reformationsfester 1817 skulde Trinitatis Kirke som ovenfor nævnt overtage de Hverv, som Vor Frue Kirke paa Grund af Bombardementet var forhindret i at udøve. For en kort Stund blev vor Kirke atter knyttet intimt til Universitetet og fungeredes som Rigets officielle Kirke ved Konge-

poses, but it is easy to imagine the original churchyard by removing in one's imagination Hambro's public baths, which were built here in 1876. Behind the chancel the churchyard stretched as far as Landemærket, and the wall around it also enclosed the whole north flank of the church, although, as far as is known, this small triangular enclosure was never used as a burial ground.

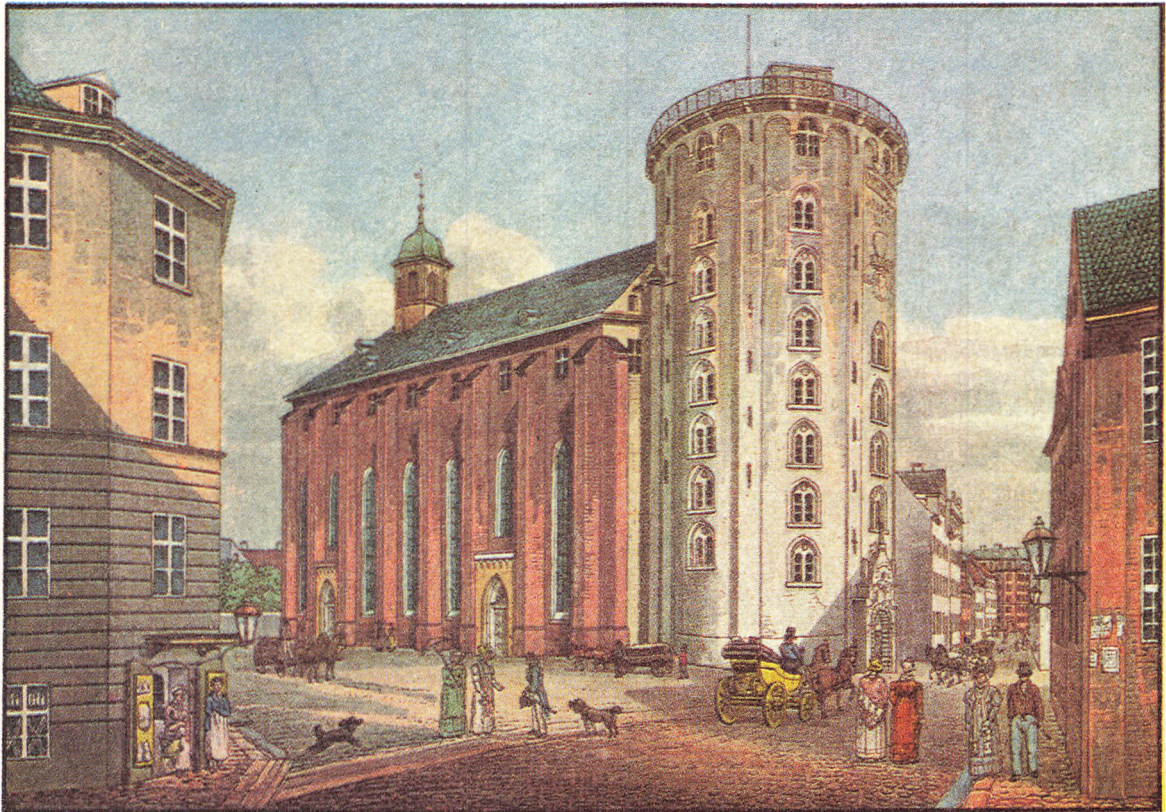
The old churchyard has long since fallen into disuse. After 1851 it was prohibited by law to bury people within the city ramparts, and since that time Trinity churchyard has not been used for burials. It is today a narrow open square and, just as in olden days, it is still the playground of the children of

modtagelsen i Oktober 1817. Det store Program krævede, at Kongen skulde køre til Kirken og der modtages af Honratiores. Det var ugørligt at lade en lang Række kongelige Kareter køre hen foran den sydlige Hovedindgang, thi her laa Kirkegaarden med talrige Grave. Man maatte altsaa overveje at modtage Majestæterne ved Nordsiden, der altid havde været betragtet som noget andenrangs. Af de to Portaler var den østligste forlængst blevet tilmuret, da den intet rimeligt Formaal tjente, og den anden – vestlige – Portal paa Nordsiden var kun tilgængelig gennem en uanselig Ganglaage i Hegnsmuren. Stadsbygmester P. Malling, der skulde lede de Byggearbejder, som maatte blive nødvendige, for at Kirken kunde blive den store Anledning værdig, foreslog derfor at sløjfe Hegnsmuren ud mod Landemærket, i hvert Fald den Del, der dækkede Adgangen til Kirken. Den østligste Del af Muren, som dækkede selve Kirkegaarden, fik Lov at staa til 1870, og Kirkeboderne kviede man sig ved at lade forsvinde, fordi Kirken da gik glip af gode Lejeindtægter. Men var det først blevet indlysende, at den nævnte Mur skulde forsvinde, blev det lige saa nødvendigt, at begge Portaler omdannedes, nu da de blev lagt blot, og end mere klart blev det, at Boderne ikke kunde reddes, naar Saneringen først var begyndt. Resultatet paa alle Overvejelserne blev da, at alle Hegnsmure ud til Købmagergade forsvandt, at Butikshjørnet jævnedes med Jorden og Murstrækningen ved Landemærket hen til Koret blev sløjfet.

Kirkens to nordlige Portaler blev da ombygget, ikke som man kunde tænke sig med klassisk Tilsnit, men i let tillempet gotisk

the quarter, and there is still a short cut from Landemærket to Købmagergade round the back of the church. But by the wall of the chancel there remains a small enclosure with a few gravestones. Among them are the graves of a university professor and of Claudi Rosset, the founder of a trust fund. The most famous monument is that to the poet Johannes Ewald; the great sandstone slab tells that here lies the Danish bard, Johannes Ewald, born on 18th November, 1743, died 17th March, 1781. In the 1920s, the last time that the former graveyard was put in order, another slab was placed next to Ewald's, a stone commemorating the poet Johan Herman Wessel, who was likewise buried in Trinity churchyard (1785), but whose grave is unknown. By the chancel there was a small monument to Wessel already, raised in 1863, and in 1879 both poets were commemorated by a double memorial which was placed in the middle of the churchyard to the south of the church, with portrait medallions of them both, executed by O. Evens.

The high walls screening the churchyard were a common feature of all Copenhagen churches. Now only the walls round St. Peter's Church are still standing. But it is known that walls enclosed the churches of Our Lady, Holy Ghost, and St. Nicholas, and to this Trinity Church was no exception. Their main purpose was to secure the peace of the dead, but they undoubtedly also had a more artistic aim. The long lines of the street were thus retained; where the row of houses stopped to give way to a churchyard, the churchyard walls continued the unbroken perspective. The softly winding run of Købmagergade was accented by



H. G. F. Holm: Rundetaarn og Trinitatis Kirke. Farvelagt Tegning o. 1830, i Nationalmuseets Billedsamling
 H. G. F. Holm: The Round Tower and Trinity Church. Coloured drawing about 1830, in the Picture Collection in the National Museum

Form. Dette skete samtidig med, at Frue Kirke genrejstes i græsk-romersk Stil, men ogsaa samtidig med, at C. F. Hansen tegnede den gotiske Tindekrans paa Nicolai Kirkes Taarn. Trods al Klassicisme i Tidens officielle Formsprog havde den romantiske Digtning genvakt Sansen for den fjerne Fortid. Christian IV's Runde Kirke var blevet ærværdig, »gotisk« og derfor interessant, og man skyldte den at give den et gotisk Anstrøg, naar Fornyelser var nødvendige. Sløjfningen af Hegnsmurene hørte med hertil: før blev Kirken trukket ind i Gadeliniens lange Flugt og underordnet denne; nu skulde den frilægges for at

the wall which began from the neighbouring house, an old brewery (now Prior's house) and continued right up to the doorway of the Round Tower and on to the sharp corner between Købmagergade and Landemærket. Here it turned sharply to the right and ran straight to the first house east of the chancel of the church, practically touching on its way some of the eastern buttresses on the church wall, and enclosing a small unused plot of ground between the two north doors. About thirty years after the consecration of the church, a small house was built for the sexton at the foot of the tower on the corner of Landemærket, and thus some of the empty

dens interessante Individualitet kunde beundres fra alle Sider.

Man nøjedes ikke med ydre Forandringer. Ogsaa Kirkens indre fik sin Andel i Reformationsfesten. Den tidligere Kongestol fra 1807 blev ombygget i virkelig kongelig Stil med Draperier og Søjler og med flankerende Kavaller- og Dameløger. Da det musikalske Islæt ved Højtideligheden var noget af det vigtigste, maatte en særlig Tribune opføres. I September 1817 mødtes i Kirken Kapelmester Claus Schall, der skulde dirigere det kgl. Kapel og Operaens Sangerkor, og C. E. F. Weyse, der havde komponeret Musikken, med P. Malling, der som Kirkens Arkitekt skulde forestaa de praktiske Arrangementer. Under dette Møde var det, at Weyse ønskede Musikken anbragt i Koret, og da der ikke var Plads her, foreslog han i Stedet Opførelsen af et Musik- og Sangerpulpitur i stor Højde mellem Korets Piller paa hver Side af Alteret. Forslaget fik Tilslutning, og Resultatet maa have været akustisk tilfredsstillende, eftersom Kirken begærede og ogsaa fik bevilget Ret til at beholde dette saakaldte »Orchestra« ud i Fremtiden. Under det nye Pulpitur hængte man tunge blaa Draperier med gyldne Kapper og opfyldte paa denne Maade det gamle Ønske fra Kirkens ældste Tid om at Koret »skikkeligt skulde vorde indlukt« (ovenfor s. 44). Musiktribunen og dets Drapering, der ses afbildet paa et koloreret Stik fra 1826 (s. 50), fik 18 Aar senere indirekte Indflydelse paa Udformningen af et Par nye Skriftestuer i Koret. 1835 blev Kirkens Indre istandsat under Ledelse af G. F. Hetsch. Han leverede Tegning til de to Skriftestole, den ene i Korets sydlige Side-

space was used up. The sexton's house disappeared in 1728, but in 1798, still using the old angle of the walls surrounding the churchyard, a shop was built on the same spot, similar to the shops or booths in the churchyards of St. Nicholas' and Holy Ghost; these have long since been pulled down. Thus, only the wall round the actual graveyard had a practical function, while the walls in Landemærket and in Købmagergade were merely built to give the street character. The nineteenth century which was dawning in the time after the bombardment of 1807 entirely changed these ideas and ideals.

REBUILDING IN 1817 AND 1835

At the great formal ceremonies in commemoration of the Reformation in 1817 Trinity Church took the place of the Church of Our Lady which had been destroyed in the bombardment. For a short while, therefore, Trinity Church again became intimately connected with the university and functioned as the official church of the realm at the reception of the King in October 1817. The length of the official programme made it necessary for the King to drive to the church, there to be received by the dignitaries. It was impossible for a long row of royal carriages to drive up to the main south entrance which was surrounded by the churchyard and its many graves. Another possibility remained, that of receiving their Majesties at the north entrance, though this had always been considered secondary to the south entrance. There had originally been two doors in the north wall, but as it



Rundetaarn o. 1840. Efter fransk romantiserende Lithografi: Paul Gaymard, *Voyages dans Scandinavie* (Paris 1842)
The Round Tower about 1840. After a romanticized French lithograph in *Voyages dans Scandinavie* by Paul Gaymard, (Paris 1842)

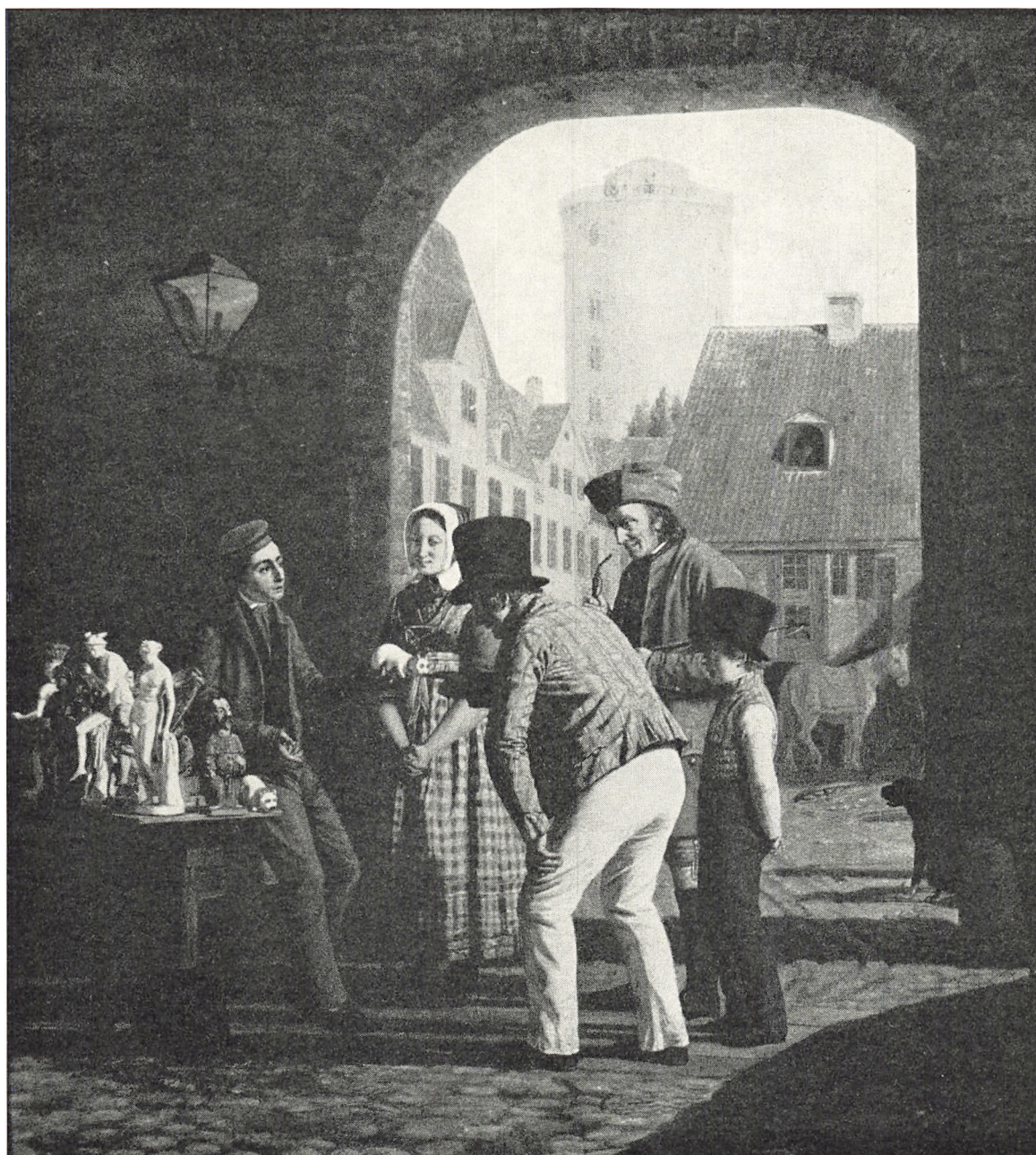
gang, den anden paa Nordsiden bag Hans Schacks Epitafium. De to Rum formedes indadtil med højt Panelværk og kassetterede Loftter, men udadtil med glatte og interesseløst gipsede Vægge. Deres Højde var bestemt af Orchesteret foroven, og deres Udformning skal derfor opfattes som Fundament for denne højt anbragte Musiktribune. De to Gravgitre fra Friis' og Kørbitz' Grave (ovenfor S. 42) flyttedes nu hen mellem Skriftestolene og Alteret. De kulørte Draperier er nok forsvundet ved denne Lejlighed, men den Maade, hvorpaa Hetsch dannede sine Nyskabelser, var blot en Variant af det gamle Krav om en »skikkelig« Indhegning af Koret. Musiktribunen bestod i alle Tilfælde indtil 1870; dens senere Skæbne er ikke helt klar, men den er vel forsvundet nævnte Aar ved Kirkens Restaurering. Nu da Galleriet ikke mere eksisterer, har Skriftestuerne mistet lidt af deres Funktion og træder mere frem i Kirkerummet som firkantede Kasser. Der er nu Planer om helt at fjerne dem.

UNDER KØBENHAVNS MAGISTRAT

Som Studenternes Kirke havde Trinitatis siden 1656 staaet under Universitetets Patronat, men den har vistnok kun en kort Tid haft et særlig akademisk Tilsnit. Af økonomiske Grunde maatte Regeringen kort efter dens Opførelse tildele den et Sogn (ovenfor S. 34), og det blev nok Menigheden fra dette Sogn, der satte sit Præg paa Kirken. Vi kan følge, hvorledes Tilknytningen til Universitetet langsomt løsnedes i Løbet af 18. Aarhundrede, ligesom vi mellem de mange bevarede Gravmæler kun nu og da træffer et, der er rejst over en af de højklæde

served no useful purpose, the eastern door had been bricked up for many years, and the door at the west end of the north wall was approached by a small and unimpressive gate in the churchyard wall. P. Malling, the City Architect, who was responsible for making the church worthy of the great occasion therefore suggested that the churchyard wall facing Landemærket, or rather that part which concealed the entrance to the church should be pulled down. The eastern end of the wall was to remain—it was not demolished until 1870—and it was hoped to avoid pulling down the booths, for the sake of the good rent they brought the church. However, once it had been decided to pull down part of the wall, it also became obvious that both doorways would have to be rebuilt now that they were to be laid open, and it also became clear that it would be impossible to save the booths once the rebuilding was begun. In the end the whole churchyard wall along Købmagergade was pulled down, the corner with the booths was demolished, and the wall from the corner of Landemærket to the chancel was razed to the ground.

The two doorways on the north side were then renewed, not as one might have expected in the classical style, but in a slightly adapted Gothic style. This took place at the same time as the Church of Our Lady was being rebuilt in the Graeco-Roman style, and also at the same time as C. F. Hansen was designing the Gothic pinnacle on the tower of St. Nicholas' Church. Despite the neo-classicism of the official style of the period, the romantic revival in poetry had reawoken the sense of the past. Christian IV's Round Church had become venerable,



Julius Friedländer: En Gadescene (1838). Rundetaarn ses vestfra, gennem en Portaabning og bag et Gaardparti, der aabenbart skal søges i Nærheden af Fiolstræde og Krystalgade

Julius Friedländer: A Street Scene (1838). The Round Tower from the west, scen through a doorway, with a foreground view of a courtyard, probably in the neighbourhood of Fiolstræde and Krystalgade

Professorer. Studenterne havde deres faste Stole i Midterskibet, og Professorerne deres i Koret, men vi savner Midler til at bedømme, om Stolene blev benyttet efter Hensigten. Konsistorium havde gennem en saakaldt »akademisk« Værge Tilsyn med Regnskaberne, men glemte ofte at kontrollere dem, og det er ikke saa helt sjældent, at man kom til at kigge paa Regnskaber, der var 20 Aar gamle. Derimod bevarede Universitetet sit Greb om Biblioteket paa Kirkeloftet og de astronomiske Studier paa Rundetaarn. Men ogsaa disse lærde Sysler hørte op engang. 1861 flyttede begge Institutioner bort fra det historiske Sted, Observatoriet til Østervold og Biblioteket til Fiolstræde.

Tiden var da inde til helt at afvikle Kirkens gamle Tilhørsforhold. Ved kgl. Resolution af 29. December 1868 blev Universitetets Patronat ophævet og overdraget til Københavns Magistrat fra den følgende 1. Januar 1869 at regne. Fra da af har Trinitatis Kirke været stillet paa samme Maade som Helligaandskirken og Vor Frelseres Kirke paa Christianshavn og fungerer som en normal københavnsk Sognekirke.

Ved Skiftet stod Kirken som ved sin Start uden Kapital, endda med en ganske pæn Gæld. Bygningen var forfalden, og en gennemgribende Istandsættelse var forestaaende. Den udførtes 1870–71 under Ledelse af Stadsbygmesteren N. S. Nebelong. Begge Vestportalerne, der før sad i andet Fag, blev flyttet hen til Faget tæt ved Rundetaarn og fik sammen med den nordøstlige Portal nye Indfatninger af Portlandcement. Murene rensedes og fornyedes, hvor gamle Sten var spolerede. Den tidligere Bibliotekssal, der

“Gothick”, and therefore interesting, and must be restored in the same style. The demolition of the wall round the churchyard was an expression of this tendency: formerly the church was drawn into the long line of the streets and was subordinated to this line; it was now to be opened up so that its interesting individuality could be admired from all sides.

The rebuilding was not restricted to the exterior. The interior of the church was also affected by the celebrations. The existing royal pew from 1807 was rebuilt in truly regal style with draperies and pillars, and was flanked by pews for the ladies and gentlemen in waiting. As the musical arrangements formed an important part of the celebrations, a special dais was to be erected for the musicians. In September, 1817 there was a meeting between Claus Schall, Master of the King’s Music, who was to conduct the Royal Orchestra and the choir of the Royal Opera, C. E. F. Weyse, who had composed the music, and P. Malling, the architect in charge of the practical arrangements. During this meeting it transpired that Weyse wished the musicians to be placed in the chancel, and when it was found that there was not enough room for this arrangement, he suggested instead that a high gallery for the musicians and the choir be should be erected between the pillars of the chancel on either side of the altar. His suggestion was accepted, and the result must have been acoustically satisfactory, as the church requested and was allowed to keep this so-called “Orchestra” afterwards. Under the new gallery heavy blue draperies surmounted by golden pelmets were hung up, thus

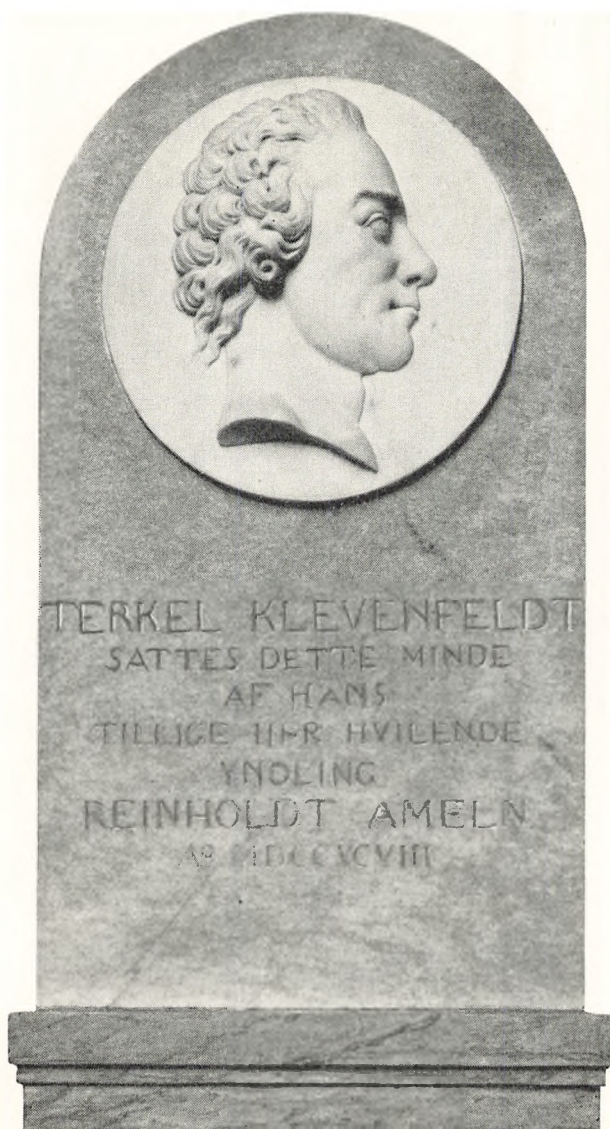


Rundetaarn og Købmagergade omkring 1880. Ældre Fotografi i Nationalmuseets Billedsamling
The Round Tower and Købmagergade about 1880. Early photograph in the picture Collection in the National Museum

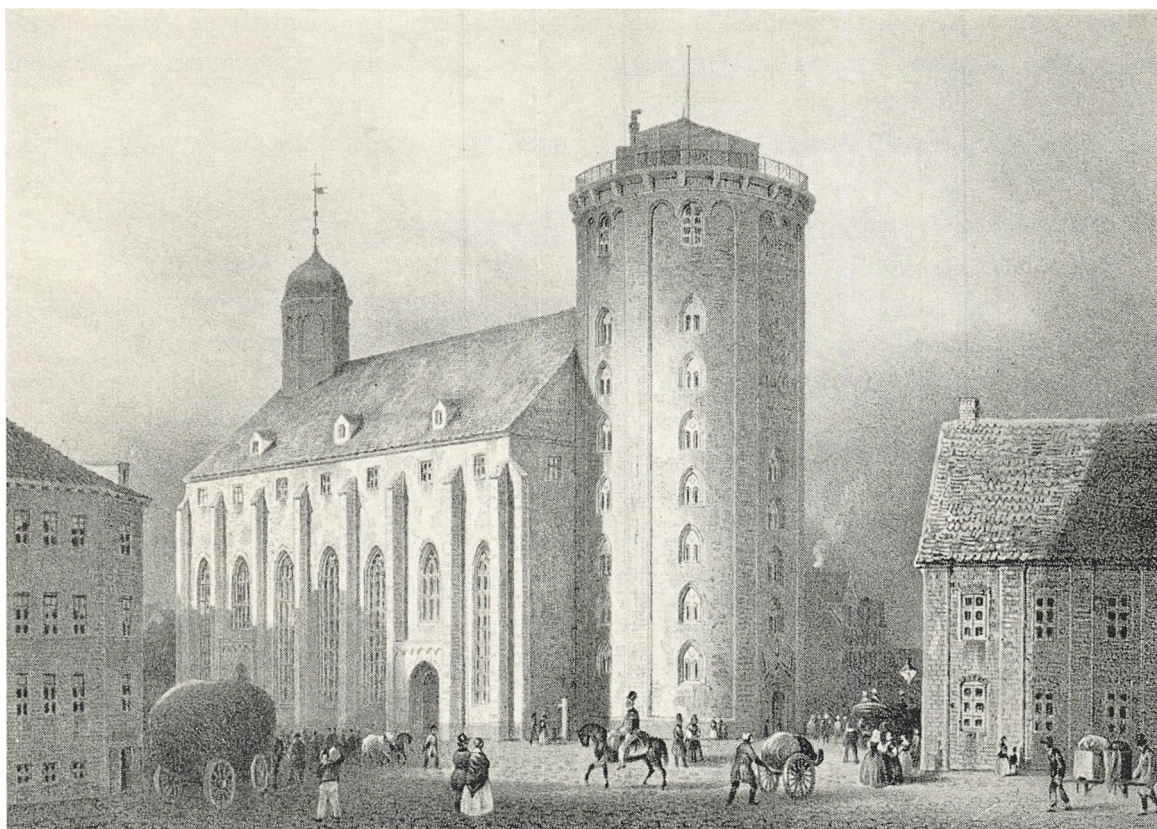
før havde haft lave firkantede Vinduer, fik nu Dobbeltvinduer i Spidsbuestil. Runder-taarn fik et nyt Lag Puds, og »Pebberbøs-sen« paa Taget blev rejst (ovenfor S. 25). I det Indre forlod man tildels den barokke Farveholdning for at gaa over til andre Idealer. Søjlerne blev mønstermalede Hvælvingerne blev blaa; Alter og Prædikestol fik dybere Kulører, og Pulpiturerne, der hidtil havde staaet i lette perlegraa Schatteringer, blev nu tungt egetræsmaledede. Om det var et

Terkel Klevenfeldts Gravmæle, udført 1798 af Johs. Wiedewelt. Lennart Larsen fot.

Terkel Klevenfeldt's monument, executed by Johs. Wiedewelt in 1798. Photograph by Lennart Larsen



gratifying the church's old wish to have the chancel "decently enclosed" (see above page 46). The music gallery and its hangings, depicted in a coloured engraving from 1826 (p. 50), was eighteen years later to have a direct influence on the design of two new confessionals in the chancels. In 1835, the interior of the church was redecorated by the architect G. F. Hetsch. He designed the two confessionals, one in the south aisle of the church and the other in the north aisle, behind Hans Schack's monument. The two stalls were designed with high panelling and coffered ceilings inside, but with plain plastered outside walls. The height of the confessionals was determined by the "Orchestra" above, and they were designed to look like the foundations of this high music gallery. The two wrought-iron gates from the Friis and Körbitz graves (see above page 44) were now moved and placed between the confessionals and the altar. On this occasion the coloured hangings probably disappeared, but Hetsch's innovations were probably merely intended to be a variation of the old demand for a "decent" enclosure of the chancel. The music gallery remained until 1870; after this date its fate is not quite clear, but it is likely that it disappeared during the restoration of the church in this year. Now that the music gallery exists no longer, the confessionals have lost some of their original purpose and look more like a pair of redundant square boxes. There are plans to remove them completely.



Rundetaarn o. 1840. Efter Lithografi af Em. Bærentzen
 The Round Tower about 1840. Lithograph by Em. Bærentzen

Fremskridt, kan vel diskuteres; Hvidtekosten holdt i alle Tilfælde paany sit Indtog 1909, samtidig med at der blev indlagt elektrisk Lys og der ophængtes fire nye Malmkroner foruden de to ældre fra Slutningen af det 18. Aarhundrede. Ved Restaurationen indlagde man baade Gas (til Lampetter ved Stolestaderne) og Centralvarme – det sidste installeret i Bolle Luxdorps Gravkrypt under Alteret. Trods alle disse Fornyelser, var Stammen i Inventaret dog det gamle. Alter, Prædikestol og Stolestader fra Tiden omkring 1730 findes endnu i Kirken, og Orgelets Façade med tilhørende Pulpitur er der ogsaa, selvom Værket flere

THE FATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE LAST CENTURY

As the church for the students, Trinity had been under the patronage of the university since 1656, but it was probably only for a short time that it was really connected with the university. For economic reasons, the government found it necessary shortly after its completion to give it a parish (see above page 36), and it was the congregation of this parish that was to leave its mark on the church. The connection with the university became gradually weaker in the course of the eighteenth century, and among the many

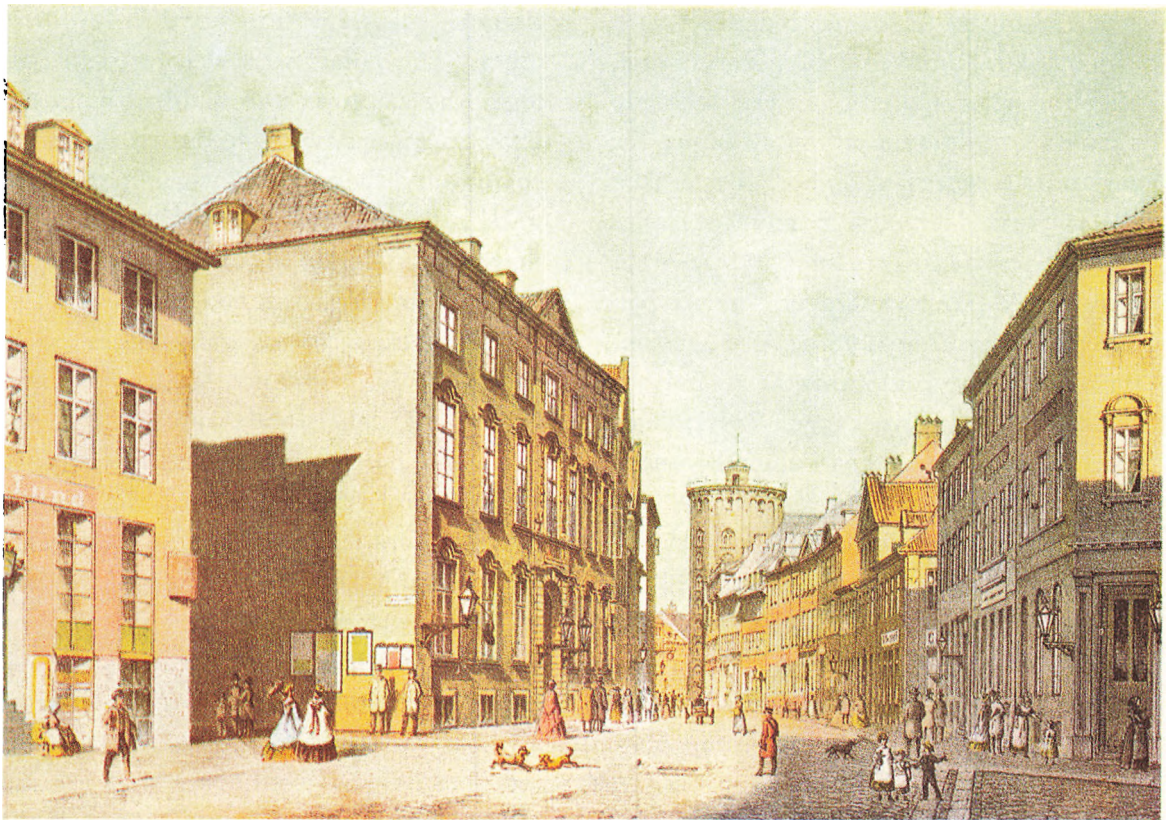
Gange er fornyet (sidste Gang 1956, Marcusen og Søn). Fonten var indtil fornylig ogsaa den gamle fra Tiden efter den store Brand. Den blev med sit Fontegitter 1871 flyttet op i Korets Sydside, hvor den som Baggrund fik et stort Maleri med bibelsk Motiv af A. Dorph. En ny Font af Sandsten blev imidlertid opstillet i nordre Tværgang foran Koret 1956, medens Gerckens lille hvide Marmorfont kom til at friste Tilværelsen i en Kasse paa Loftet.

Som en levende Organisme i Storbyens Liv vil Christian IV's Runde Kirke ogsaa i Fremtiden blive underkastet Ændringer. Det er Livets Lov og kan ikke være anderledes. Længst muligt vil man nok beholde den som den er. Og Rundetaarns grundfæstede Popularitet skal nok værne Kirken mod Overlast. Det stærkeste Anslag mod vor Kirke vil i Fremtiden komme fra Forretningskvartererne i dens umiddelbare Nærhed. Bag Kirkens Kor ligger i Landmærket en Klynge maleriske Huse, bygget efter Branden 1728 og skaanet af Bombardementet 1807. De danner nu, naar man kommer fra Kongens Have, en saare charmerende Optakt til Rundetaarn. Men de er dødsdømt i Kraft af den moderne Udviklings ubønlige Lov (S. 47). Derved er intet at gøre. Man maa da slaa sig til Taals med, at den virkelige Adgang til Trinitatis Kirke var ad Købmagergade og Store Kannikestræde. Rundetaarn knejser endnu som et fyndigt Point de Vue over Købmagergades blide Krumninger, og Christian IV's imponante Rebusindskrift taler endnu sit eget Sprog til Studenter og Professorer, mellem alle Lærdommens gamle Huse i Latinerkvarteret.

gravestones and monuments there are only a few commemorating university professors. The students had their own pews in the nave, and the professors had theirs in the chancel, but we have no means of ascertaining whether these pews were, in fact, used for their proper purpose. The Senate of the university, Konsistorium, appointed a so-called academic warden to supervise the accounts but often neglected to check them, it even happened that when they were looked at they were found to be twenty years old. But the university maintained its control of the library above the church, and the studies in astronomy that went on in the Round Tower. But even these learned pursuits came to an end. In 1861 both these institutions moved from this historic place; the observatory was moved to Østervold, and the University Library moved into new premises in Fiolstræde.

The time was now ripe to break off the old connections with the university. By a Royal Decree of 29th of December, 1868, the patronage of the university was terminated and from 1st of January was transferred to the Corporation of Copenhagen. From this date, Trinity Church, like the Church of the Holy Ghost, and Our Saviour's Church on Christianshavn has functioned as one of the ordinary parish churches of Copenhagen.

At this change-over, as at its consecration, the church was without any capital, indeed it had quite a considerable debt. The buildings were in a state of disrepair, and thorough repairs were necessary. In the years 1870-71, the church was repaired under the supervision of N. S. Nebelong, the city architect. Both west doors, which were



Købmagergade i Begyndelsen af 1870'erne. Til højre ses Hjørnet af Kronprinsensgade, længere borte Hjørnet af Klareboderne og kort derefter Vajsenhuset og Kgl. Porcellænsfabrik. Til venstre Posthuset og Løvstræde. Farvelagt Litografi, Bymuseet

Købmagergade at the beginning of the 1870s. In the right foreground a corner of Kronprinsensgade, further away the corner of Klareboderne, and in the distance the Vajsenhus orphanage and the Royal Copenhagen Porcelain Factory. In the left of the picture the Post Office and Løvstræde. Coloured lithograph in the City Museum

RUNDETAARNNS UDENLANDSKE FÆLLER

I de foregaaende Afsnit har vi udelukkende bevæget os paa dansk Grund, oftest med en meget intim københavnsk Lokalkolorit. Men Rundetaarn var ikke specielt af dansk Oprindelse, det har som Type Fæller rundt om i Europa. Vi skal her opsøge en Del af dem.

Paa gammel dansk Grund havde vort runde københavnske Taarn med spiral-snoede Rampe en Forgænger. Det er Var-

originally placed under the second windows were moved to under the windows nearest the Round Tower and both these and the north-east door were given new mouldings of Portland cement. The walls were cleaned and repaired, the worn stones being replaced. The low, square windows of the old library were replaced by double windows with pointed arches. The Round Tower was given a new coat of plaster, and the "pepperpot" on the roof was erected. (See above page 25). In the interior of the church the

bergs Fæstning i Halland; i den sydøstre Bastion, »Graamunken«, blev der vistnok i 1620'erne (efter nogles Opfattelse: allerede i 1580'erne) indbygget en Spiralrampe, der gaar under Navnet Kokkenborg. Det er ikke et Taarn, men det modsatte: en snoet Gang, der fra Bastionens Top fører dybt ned til lavereliggende Kanonstillinger, beregnet paa bekvem Transport af Skyts og Ammunition. Om Kokkenborgs og Rundetaarns indbyrdes Sammenhæng er der ingen Tvivl; de er blevet til i samme Land og formentlig under samme Konge. Men hvor kom Idéen fra? De nævnte Paralleller er at søge i Tyskland, hvor Renæssancens Fyrster undertiden kunde more sig med ved deres Slotte at opføre bastante Taarne med indbyggede Spiralramper, for at man kunde ride eller køre fra Slotsgaarden op til Gemakkerne i Slotets Beletage.

Det viser sig da, at de nord- og mellem-tyske Slotte, der var forsynet med slige spiralsnoede Ridesneglegange, paa en eller anden Maade har været kendt ved Hoffet i København. De to af dem laa i Kursachsen, et tredie i Berlin. Det ene af de sachsiske Slotte, Hartenfels i Torgau ved Elben, var bygget i 1530'erne af Kurfyrst Johan Frederik; det er særlig kendt fordi Slotskapellet 1540 blev indviet af Martin Luther (som et Kuriosum kan det tilføjes, at Torgau var Stedet, hvor de amerikanske og sovjetrus-siske Hære først mødtes i 1945). Det andet Slot hed Annaburg, opført i 1570'erne af Kurfyrst August og opkaldt efter hans Hustru Anna, Søster til Frederik den Anden af Danmark og kendt som Sachsernes højtel-skede »Mutter Anna«. Hun har saaledes været Herskerinde paa hele to Slotte med

Baroque colours were rejected in favour of others. The pillars were decorated in patterns, the vaultings were painted blue; the altar and pulpit were decorated in darker colours, and the galleries, which had hitherto been painted in pale greyish shades were now given a dark oak colour. Whether this was an improvement is a matter of taste. In 1909, the church was again whitewashed, electricity was installed, and four new bronze chandeliers and two old late eighteenth-century chandeliers were hung up. In the course of the restoration of the church both gas (for the bracket lamps by the pews) and central heating were installed, the central heating plant being placed in Bolle Luxdorph's vault beneath the altar. Despite all these innovations, however, the interior as a whole was unchanged. The altar, the pulpit, and the pews from about 1730 are still in the church, and the organ front and the organ galleries are unchanged, although the organ itself has been renewed several times, most recently by Marcussen and Son in 1956. Until recently, the font was the old one that was placed there after the Great Fire. Together with the font rails it was moved up into the south side of the chancel in 1871, with a large painting by A. Dorph of some biblical scene as a back-cloth. In 1956, however, a new sandstone font was placed in front of the chancel, while Gercken's small white marble font has been banished to the attic.

As a living and vital organism in the life of the city Christian IV's Round Church will undergo changes in the future too. That is a law of life, and cannot be otherwise. As long as possible it will probably be allowed



Trinitatis Kirke og Rundetaarn, set fra Nord. Farvelagt Tegning o. 1830 af H. G. F. Holm, Bymuseet
 Trinity Church and the Round Tower from the North. Coloured drawing about 1830 by H. G. F. Holm. The City Museum

Ridesneglegange, og da hun hele Livet igennem stod i Korrespondance med danske Slægtninge, er det meget tænkeligt, at man i Hofkredse herhjemme havde Kendskab til Rideramperne. Hartenfels, der var bygget af Arkitekten Konrad Krebs, fik kort efter et Sidestykke i Berlin, hvor Slottet blev opført omkring 1540 efter Tegninger af samme Konrad Krebs. Her i Berlinerslottet var Ridesneglegangen indbygget i et mangelkantede Taarn, der oventil havde en flad Altan uden Spir. Det har en vis Lighed med Rundetaarn, og det mærkelige er, at Christian IV maa have set det, da han som ung

to remain as it stands today. The solid popularity which the Round Tower enjoys will, it may be hoped, protect it from harm. The strongest attack on the existence of the church will come from the business quarters that surround it. Behind the chancel in Landemærket lie a cluster of picturesque houses (p. 47), built after the fire of 1728 and undamaged in the bombardment of 1807. Today they form a charming approach to the Round Tower from the direction of the King's Garden, Kongens Have. But, by the inexorable law of development and change, these houses are doomed to demolition.

Fyrste rejste til Berlin for at bejle til Anna Catharina af Brandenburg.

Som Slægtskabsforbindelserne var mellem det danske Kongehus og Fyrsterne i Sachsen og Brandenburg, maa de have medvirket til at overføre Motivet til dansk Grund. Længere behøver vi derfor ikke gaa, naar vi skal søge Rundetaarns og Kokkenborgs nærmere Forbilleder. Men Sneglegangsmotivet er dog af meget ældre Dato. Den nærmeste Forudsætning for Konrad Krebs' Slotte – og desuden for adskillige andre mellem- og sydtyske Renæssancebygninger – var fransk Arkitektur fra Tiden omkring 1500. Loire-slottene har virket inspirerende paa Fyrsternes Byggeri i Mellemeuropa; Chambord og Blois blev de store Forbilleder, hvis Form-sprog laantes direkte. I Datidens franske Litteratur har Rabelais i sin *Gargantua* skildret et Idealslot med Ridesneglegange, og i haandgribelig Virkelighed fuldførtes Idéen ved Kong Karl VIII's Slot Amboise. Her er selve Typen rendyrket. Landevejene i Floddalen indsuges i to mægtige Rundtaarne, der lader Kørebanen rotere om en hul Spindel for derefter at munde ud i den øvre Gaardsplads foran det højtliggende Slot. Det er iøjnefaldende, at man her staar ved en virkelig rationel Løsning af det stillede Problem, som i Korthed gik ud paa at slutte den hurtigste og nemmeste Kontakt mellem Kørebaner i to Planer.

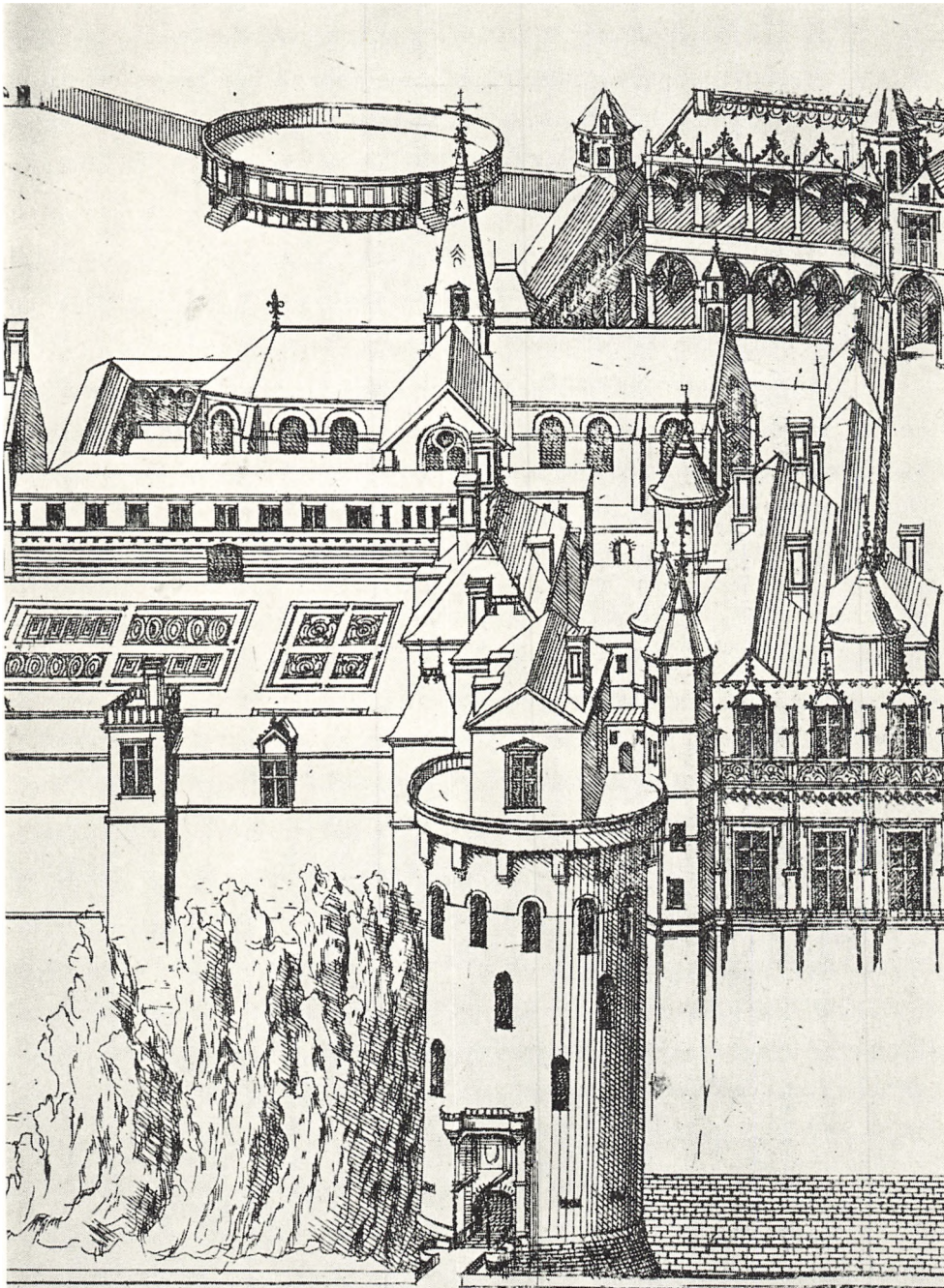
Det er velkendt fra det 16. Aarhundredes Historie, at det hastigt opbyggede habsburgske Verdensrige omklamrede Frankrigs Grænser fra Nederlandene til Pyrenæerne. De franske Konger saa sig nødsaget til at søge Allierede blandt Habsburgs Fjender og fandt dem til Dels blandt Nord- og Midt-

Nothing can be done about it. One must console oneself that the right approach to Trinity Church was from Købmagergade and Store Kannikestræde. The Round Tower still holds its head high, an emphatic Point de Vue, over the gentle curve of Købmagergade, and Christian IV's impressive riddle inscription still speaks out to the students and professors, high above the old abodes of learning in the Latin quarter.

EUROPEAN COUNTERPARTS OF THE ROUND TOWER

The previous sections have been exclusively concerned with a Danish piece of architecture, set against an intimate picture of the city of Copenhagen. But as a type, the Round Tower was not particularly Danish in origin, and it has its counterparts in other European countries.

The Round Tower in Copenhagen with its spiral ascending ramp had a predecessor within the old realm of Denmark; this was the fortress of Varberg in Halland, now a part of Sweden. Presumably in the 1620s, though possibly, in the opinion of some, as early as the 1580s, a spiral ramp by the name of Kokkenborg was built into the south-east bastion of Varberg, the "Grey Friar". This is not a tower, but rather the opposite, a spiral passage, which leads from the top of the bastion to some lower batteries. The purpose of this spiral passage was to transport guns and ammunition. There is no doubt about the connection between Kokkenborg and the Round Tower; they were built in the same country, presumably in the reign of the same king. But where did



Slottet i Amboise, i Forgrunden »Minimes«-Taarnet. Udsnit af Stik hos Du Cerceau: Les plus excellents bastiments de la France (1576)

The Castle of Amboise. In the foreground the Minimes Tower. From an engraving in Du Cerceau's Les plus excellents bastiments de la France (1576)

tysklands protestantiske Fyrster. Denne Dynastipolitik har da haft sit Sidestykke i en levende kulturel Vekselvirkning, og Resultatet kan i Dag ses tydeligt bl. a. i Konrad Krebs' Slotsbyggeri. Vi tør vist uden Frygt kæde de tyske Sneglegange med ind i denne Sammenhæng.

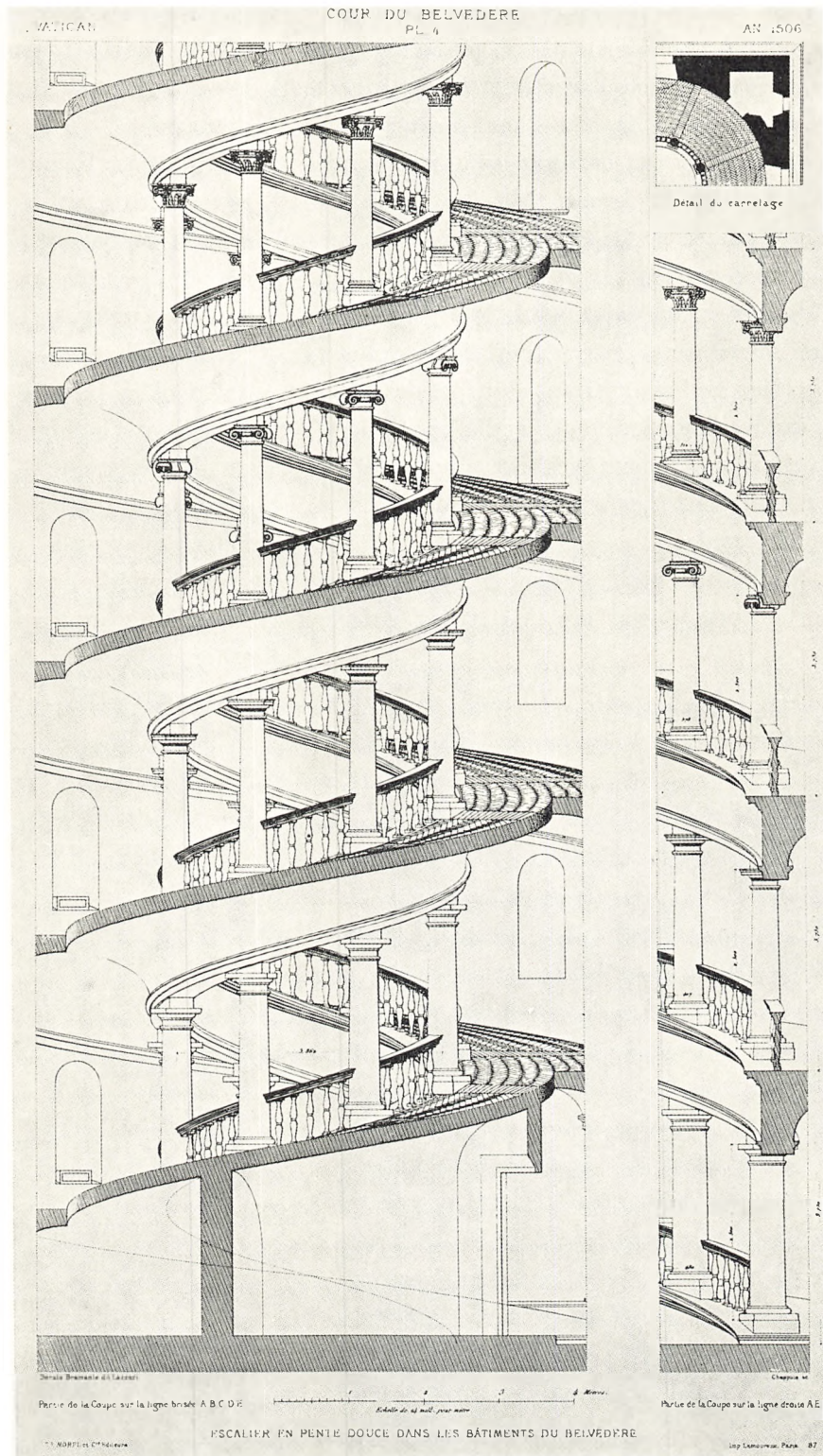
Men Motivet er ældre endnu, og det var ikke opfundet af de franske Slotsbyggere. Italien har ogsaa Eksempler at fremvise. Berømtest er vel Campanilen i Venezia. Her er dog den trinløse Rampe ikke spiralsnoet men indkorporeret i et firkantet Taarn og foretager Opstigningen i lige Løb. Derimod genfinder vi det runde Taarn med den proptrækkerformede Rampe i Slottet i *Urbino*. Dette var bygget i 1460'erne af Arkitekten Francesco Lovrana, som i et af de slanke Renæssancetaarne indlagde en spiralsnoet Rampe. Rummet er saa relativt smalt, saa man maa afstaa fra at tale om en Kørebane; Urbinotaarnet kunde kun bruges af Ryttere, og dets Udformning bærer Nyttarkitekturens beskedne Adelsmærke. Stor og prægtig i sin Arkitektur blev derimod en Aflægger heraf, Ridesneglegangen i Vatikanet. Her lod Pave Julius den Anden sin Arkitekt Bramante bygge et særligt Trappetaarn til det lille Lystslot *Belvedere*. Taarnet, der er bygget ved den lille Slotsbygningens østre Kortsider, er firkantet, men rummer indvendig en rund Trappeskakt med en trinløs, spiralsnoet Riderampe, der roterer – ikke som i de andre Slotsbygninger, vi har gæstet, om en rund Spindel, men om en aaben Søjlestilling, hvor Kapitælerne veksler fra toskansk Orden forneden over ionisk i Midten til korinthisk i det øverste Stokværk. Det er lidt af en Aabenbaring at staa

the idea originate? There are parallels to be found in Germany, where the Renaissance princes for their pleasure built stout towers in their castles with spiral ramps that they might ride or drive from the courtyard of the castle to their living rooms on the first floor.

It appears that by some means or other the court at Copenhagen came to hear of these North and Central German castles with their spiral riding ramps. Two of these castles were in Saxony, and a third was in Berlin. One of the two Saxon castles, Hartenfels in Torgau by the Elbe, had been built in the 1530s by the Elector Johan Friederich. This castle is particularly famous because in 1540 the castle chapel was consecrated by Martin Luther. As a matter of further curiosity, Torgau was also the spot where the American and Russian armies met in 1945. The second castle was Annaburg, erected in the 1570s by the Elector August, and named after his wife Anna, who was the sister of King Frederik II of Denmark, and known to the people of Saxony as their beloved "Mutter Anna". Thus the Electress Anna was the mistress of no less than two castles with spiral riding ramps, and as she kept up a lively correspondence with her family in Denmark throughout her life it is very possible that it was through her that court circles in Denmark heard of the spiral ramps. Hartenfels was built by the architect Konrad Krebs, and shortly after, in about 1540, Konrad Krebs built another castle in Berlin. In the Berlin castle the spiral riding ramp was built into a polygonal tower, which had a flat roof and no spire. This tower has a certain likeness with the Round Tower, and

Taarnet med Sneglegang i
Vaticanets Belvedere, Snit.
Efter Paul Letarouilly: Le
Vatican (1882)

The Tower with the Spiral
Ramp in the Belvedere of
the Vatican. Engraving
from Paul Letarouilly: Le
Vatican (1882)

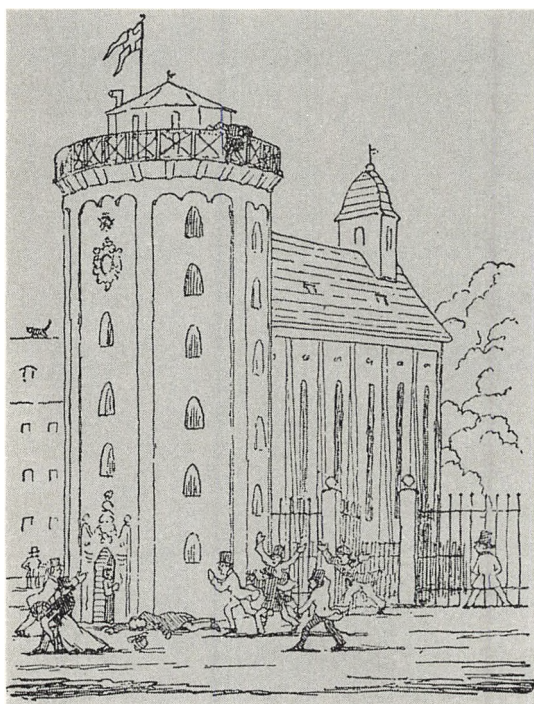


i Taarnets Akse og beskue Spiralen, der som en spændt Fjeder arbejder sig tilvejs, støttet af elegante Søjler. Indtrykket er saa meget mere overraskende, som Taarnet synes fuldstændig intakt og uændret, som om det aldrig er blevet brugt. Maaske Julius II virkelig har redet opad Rampen for at naa Belvederens Tag, hvorfra der var en vid Udsigt over den evige Stad. Men siden har den næppe været brugt efter sin Bestemmelse og staar endnu omtrent, som da de sidste Haandværkere forlod Byggepladsen. Baade Bygherren og hans Arkitekt stammede fra Urbino, hvilket er et Indicium, der vækker til Eftertanke.

Man kan maaske søge endnu længere bort. Vort Motiv har ikke været ganske

Selvmordsforsøgene ved Rundetaarn i Fritz Jürgensens humoristiske Gengivelse

Fritz Jürgensen's Rendering of the Round Tower about 1860



Christian IV can hardly have avoided seeing it when, as a young prince, he went to Berlin to pay court to his future wife, Anna of Brandenburg.

The close relationship that existed between the Danish royal family and the princes of Saxony and Brandenburg must explain how this idea came to Denmark. It is not necessary to delve any further to find the immediate models of the Round Tower and Kokkenborg. But the idea of the spiral ramp is much older. The inspiration of Konrad Krebs' castles—and of numerous other Central and South Germany Renaissance buildings as well—was French architecture of the period about 1500. The castles of the Loire have inspired the building plans of other princes throughout Central Europe; Chambord and Blois were the two great models, and the ideas expressed in them were borrowed direct. Rabelais has described an ideal castle with spiral riding ramps in “Gargantua”, and the idea was realized in Charles VIII's castle of Amboise, where we find the ideal spiral ramp. The main road from the Loire valley is, as it were, swallowed up into two enormous round towers in which the ascending ramp rotates round a hollow newel, and finally ends in the upper courtyard of the castle on the high ground above the river. This is obviously the ideal solution to the problem which in brief consists in connecting roads lying on two different levels in the quickest and simplest way.

It is well-known from the history of the sixteenth century that the rapidly expanding Habsburg Empire girded the boundaries of France from the Netherlands to the Pyrenees. The kings of France were forced to find

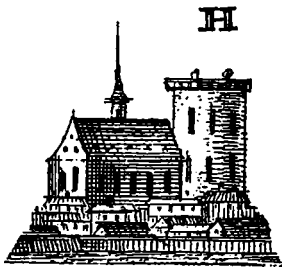
ukendt i Oldtiden. Hadrians Gravmæle i Rom, det saakaldte Engelsborg, har – hvad der vil være vore talrige Romafarere bekendt – en saadan trinløs Rampe, der følger den magelige Rotundes ydre Kurve fra Indgangen og opad. Men om der er nogen som helst Forbindelse mellem denne Sneglegang og de øvrige italienske, som vi lige har besøgt, skal her lades usagt. Derimod er der Grund til endnu en Gang at minde om Campanilen i Venezia. Den blomstrende Handelsby havde livlige Forbindelser med Orienten, og i den mauriske Verden leder man ikke forgæves efter Sneglegange. Hovedmonumentet synes at være det svære Taarn i Rabat (Marokko), et Levn fra det gamle Marokko fra det 12. Aarhundrede. Taarnet er firkantet, men i dets Indre leder en spiralformet Sneglegang den ridende Gæst op til Toppen. Usandsynligt er det ikke, at den nære Orient, der i Korstogstiden gæstedes af mange Vesteuropæere, kan være Arnestedet.

Motivet med Sneglegangen, den festligt roterende Rampe, maa saaledes have en lang Forhistorie. Blot var dette ikke Christian IV bekendt, da han formede det københavnske Rundetaarn. Hans Forbilleder var nære, baade geografiske og i Tid. Men trods den internationale Herkomst har Kongen og hans betroede Bygmestre naaet at give Rundetaarn et saa hjemligt Præg, at det nu uden videre er blevet godkendt som noget særligt for vor Hovedstad. En dansk Turist, der besøger de to Rundetaarne i Amboise, faar da ogsaa af Fremmedføreren fortalt, at vi jo herhjemme har et berømt Sidestykke til »la tour Hurtault« og »la tour des Menimes« – Navnene paa Tvilling-

allies among the enemies of the Habsburgs, and found some of them among the Protestant princes of North and Central Germany. This dynastic policy was matched by a lively cultural exchange, resulting among other things in the castles built by Konrad Krebs. There seems to be an undoubted connection between the French and German spiral ramps.

But the idea is older still, and was not the invention of the French architects. In Italy too, there are examples of these spiral ramps. The most famous is presumably in the Campanile in Venice. Here, the stepless ramp is not in the form of a spiral but is built into a square tower and is composed of short straight flights which follow the corners of the tower. In the castle of Urbino, however, there is a cork-screw ramp. This was built in the 1460s by the architect Francesco Lovrano, who built a spiral ramp in one of the slender Renaissance towers of the castle. The tower is so narrow that the ramp can hardly have been a driving ramp; it can only have been used for a horse and rider. The spiral riding ramp in the Vatican, a copy of the Venetian ramp, on the other hand, is magnificent in construction. Pope Julius II had a special tower built in his palace Belvedere by his architect, Bramante. Thousands of tourists pass this tower daily, but, as it is not part of the actual museum, only a few find their way into it, although it is well worth a visit. The tower, which lies on the short east wing of the palace, is square, but the spiral ramp inside it is cylindrical and rotates round an ascending colonnade, and not round a hollow cylinder or newel as in the other castles described. The capitals of the colonnade

taarnene paa Slottet ved Loirefloden. Det morsomt roterende og snurrende i Motivet harmonerer tillige paa skønneste Maade med Caspar Finckes Gitterværk, der er een eneste fortløbende Variation over Spiraltemaet. Christian IV havde ogsaa tidligere skænket sin Hovedstad et Monument med lignende morsomt Spiralmotiv: Fantasifigurerne paa Børsens Spir, aabenbart inspireret af Datidens Fyrværkeridrager, slynger deres Haler i roterende Bevægelser op mod den kronende Topblomst. Hundrede Aar efter Rundetaarns Fuldførelse byggede Thurah sit Spir paa Vor Frelses Kirke som endnu en Variant af det ældgamle Spiraltema; denne Gang var Motivet hentet fra Rom, S. Ivo-Kapellet ved Universitetet »Sapienza«, men han kunde virkeliggøre denne bizarre Idé uden at vække Anstød. København havde forlængst taget Spiralen til sit Hjerte.



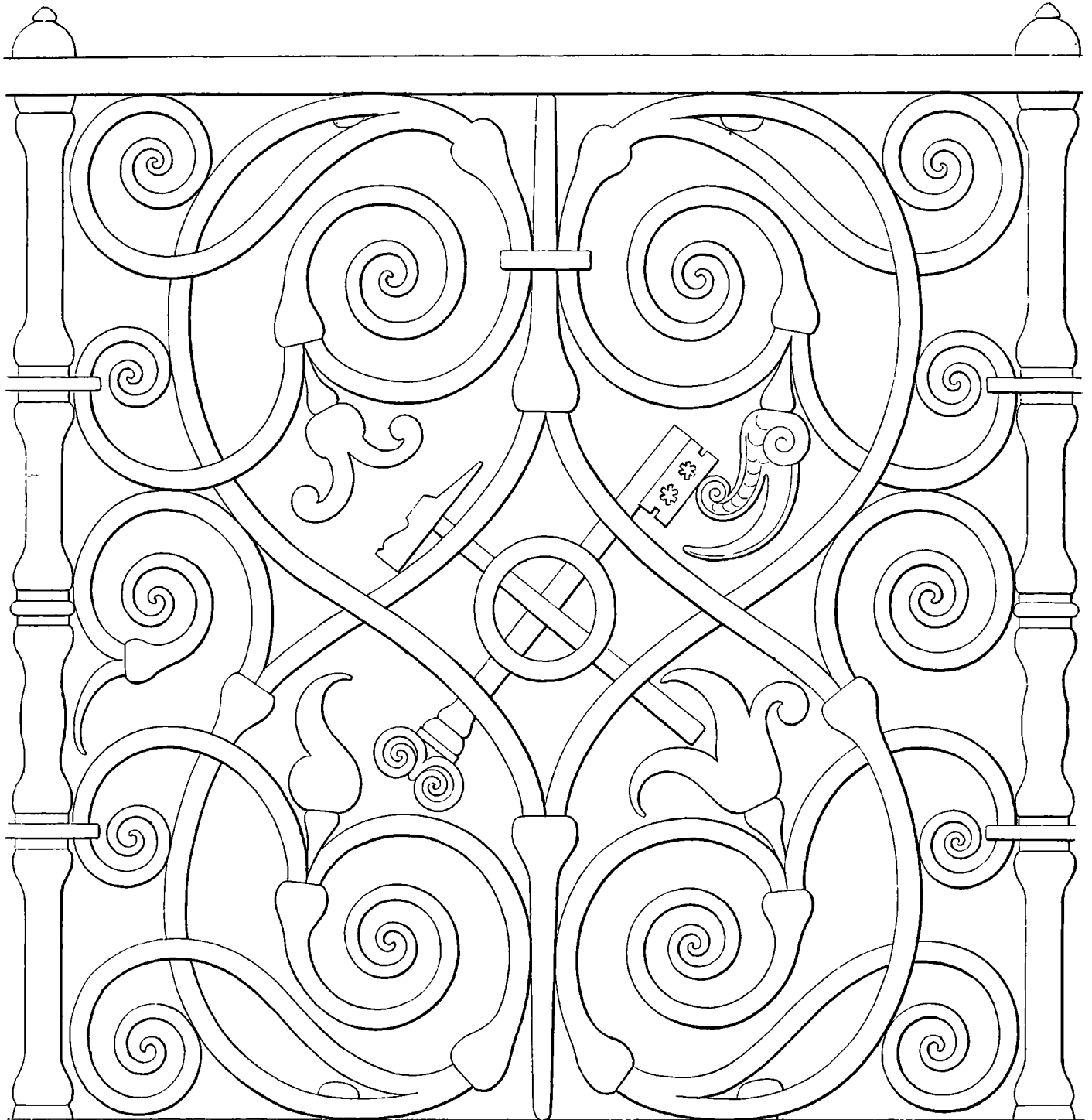
change from the Tuscan order at the bottom of the spiral ramp to the Ionic order in the middle, finishing with the Corinthian order at the top of the ramp. It is quite a revelation to stand at the axis of the tower and look at the spiral, which, like a tight spring spirals upwards, supported by these graceful pillars. The impression is all the more surprising because the tower is completely intact and unchanged, as if it had never been used. Perhaps Pope Julius II really did ride up the ramp to reach the roof of Belvedere, from where there is a magnificent view over the Eternal City. But since his day it has probably never been used for this purpose, and stands today nearly as it did when the last builders left their finished work. Both Pope Julius and his architect came from Urbino, which as a piece of evidence is unmistakable.

It is possible to find even earlier evidence. These ramps were not unknown in ancient history. As many visitors to Rome will know, Hadrian's Grave, the so-called Engelsborg, has just such a stepless ramp, which follows the outer curve of the mound from the entrance up. Whether there is any connection between this spiral ramp and the others in Italy shall be left unsaid. But to return to the Campanile in Venice: this flourishing town had lively trade connections with the Levant, and in the Moorish countries there are also many examples of spiral ramps. The finest examples seems to be the stout tower in Rabat in Marocco, a splendid relic of the old Marocco of the twelfth century. The tower itself is square, but within a spiral ramp takes the rider to the top. It is not improbable that the Near East, which was

known to many western Europeans from the time of the Crusades was the birthplace of the spiral ramp.

Thus the idea of the spiral ramp, this gay rotating rising slope, has a long history. But all this was unknown to Christian IV when he created the Round Tower in Copenhagen. His prototypes were closer, both in time and place. But despite its international ancestry, the King and his architect managed to give this Round Tower such a national touch that it has now become something of a hallmark of Copenhagen. A Danish tourist visiting the two round towers at Amboise will be told by the guide that Denmark has a famous counterpart to “La tour Hurtault” and “La tour des Menimes”, the names of the twin towers in the castle by the river Loire. The delightful rotating and spinning ramp also harmonizes beautifully with Caspar Fincke’s wrought-iron railings, which form a continuous variation on the spiral theme. Christian IV had once previously adorned his capital city with a monument with a similar lighthearted motif, the fantastic figures on the spire of the Royal Exchange, obviously inspired by the legendary dragons of his day, which fling their tails round and round up towards the crowned top.

A hundred years after the Round Tower had been completed, Thurah built his spire on Our Saviour’s Church as yet another variation on the ancient spiral theme; in this case his inspiration came from Rome, from the St. Ivo Chapel by the Sapienza University, but he was able to use this eccentric idea without causing offence. Copenhagen had long since whole-heartedly accepted the spiral.



**Omstaaende Stik af H. A. Greyss fra 1646
er det ældste Billede af Rundetaarn.
Paa det Tidspunkt
var Kirkegavlen bagved endnu ufuldendt**

Jan Steenberg : R U N D E T A A R N

I 325-Aaret for Nedlæggelsen af Grundstenen til Rundetaarn udsender Nationalmuseet Dr. Jan Steenbergs Bog, som handler baade om Rundetaarn og den »Runde Kirke«, som Christian IV lod opføre i Tilknytning til Taarnet. Resultatet af Kongens Byggevirksomhed blev et mærkeligt tredobbelt Komplex, en Kirke for Studenterne, derover en stor Sal for Universitetets Bogsamling og endelig et astronomisk Observatorium paa Toppen af Rundetaarn, saaledes udtænkt som et Hovedmonument i dansk Lærdoms Historie. Der blev opstillet Runesten baade paa Kirkegaarden og i Sneglegangen, og i Biblioteket grundlagdes for 150 Aar siden den første Samling Flintevaaben, der blev til Danmarks Nationalmuseum. Berømt af alt ved Runde Kirke var dog Taarnets Sneglegang, den trinløse Spiralrampe, der i spændstige Vindinger snor sig til Vejrs, og som har sin egen europæiske Forhistorie. Af mange forskellige Varianter er Christian IV's Version langt den morsomste og mest originale. Peter den Store var slet ikke saa tosset endda, da han kørte op i Rundetaarn, jo længere sydpaa vi finder Forbilleder til Rundetaarn, jo mere benyttedes Sneglegangene som Køreramper.

To mark the 325th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone of the Round Tower the Danish National Museum is publishing Dr. Jan Steenberg's book about the Round Tower and the "Round Church" which Christian IV erected by the Round Tower. The results of the King's enterprise was a curious building with a three-fold purpose, a church for the students, above the church a large hall to house the University's collection of books, and at the top of the Round Tower an astronomical observatory, the whole building conceived as a major monument to the advancement of Danish scholarship. Runic stones were placed in the churchyard and in the spiral ramp of the tower, and 150 years ago the first collection of flint weapons, the beginnings of the Danish National Museum, was exhibited in the library. The most famous feature of the Round Church, however, was the spiral ramp of the Round Tower, which winds its way in stepless, springy whorls to the summit of the tower, whose historical background can be traced to other European countries. Many variations of this architectural theme are found throughout Europe, but none more gay and original than Christian IV's version. In driving up the Round Tower, Peter the Great fulfilled the true purpose of the tower, for the further south counterparts of the Round Tower are found, the more usual was the use of the spiral ramps as driving or riding ramps.

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