Historical Dictionary of Kierkegaard's Philosophy

Julia Watkin

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To Christian Molbech and Ludvig Meyer
in gratitude for their wonderful dictionaries
that are as invaluable now as when they were
first written.

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Editor's Foreword

Many of the outstanding philosophers, including some in this series, have produced a clearly definable body of thought that can be schematized without too much difficulty. Contemporaries and especially successive generations may regard this as a system and even tag the suffix *-ism* to the philosopher's name, whereas those who study the philosophy have relatively little trouble in knowing what fits in and what does not. That is not the case with Søren Kierkegaard, who tended to reject self-contained systems and isms, including Hegelianism and institutionalized Christianity (dubbed *Christendom*), *in his day and age. Nor could his thought be fully encompassed by* existentialism, of which many regard him as an essential precursor. This has in some ways restricted any organized following, but it has also allowed countless persons in very differing contexts to find something of value in his writings. Thus, the interest in Kierkegaard has waxed and waned but never ceased, and it seems to be flourishing at present.

Still, without any clear system or ism and due to his use of pseudonyms, it is harder to know exactly what Kierkegaard was driving at. This makes the *Historical Dictionary of Kierkegaard's Philosophy* a particularly welcome tool. It places him in his historical and geographic context, introduces his writings, and explains many of the crucial concepts. It provides information on Kierkegaard and his contemporaries and also on other relevant thinkers through an informative introduction and dictionary as well as extremely useful appendices on the philosopher's background and works. Of no less importance is the extensive bibliography, which helps readers follow up aspects of special interest.

The author of this volume, Julia Watkin, has devoted nearly three decades to learning, teaching, and writing about Kierkegaard. She is senior lecturer in philosophy at the University of Tasmania, where she directs the Søren Kierkegaard Research Unit. Dr. Watkin has published several books and articles on Kierkegaard and has also translated one of his key works. In addition, she initiated the *International Kierkegaard Newsletter*. Of particular interest is that for several years she gave courses on Kierkegaard in

Danish as well as in English in Denmark and was assistant director of the Department of Kierkegaard Research at Copenhagen University. This makes her one of the leading scholars in the field and an excellent guide for both newcomers and the more advanced who want a compact source of information on Denmark's great philosopher.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

There should be a *Historical Dictionary of Kierkegaard's Philosophy* for a number of reasons. The most obvious one is the increasing awareness during the 20th century of his stature as a thinker, that he has much to say on issues of vital importance in many disciplines, not only in philosophy, psychology, theology, art, and literature but also, if more indirectly, in connection with questions in biology and physics. A second reason is the need for a handbook to help the reader get a grasp on what is highly complex material. As soon as one attempts to pin Kierkegaard down as a theologian, a philosopher, or a psychologist, his writings, through his stratagem of using pseudonyms and Socratic "indirect communication," defy such classifications. For someone encountering his writings for the first time, it is not immediately clear what Kierkegaard hopes that person will discover, and where philosophy is concerned, Kierkegaard, like Ludwig Wittgenstein, sticks out as an oddity. One will not find standard, objectively put arguments in defense of a specific case or tradition of thinking. This leads us to a third reason for a dictionary such as this one: Kierkegaard is important because of his emphasis on human subjectivity in relation to objective truth. Not only does he deal with a wide variety of ethical and religious questions, but he also includes issues that raise important metaphysical questions about the nature of the universe and our relationship to it.

Not surprisingly, then, an abundance of secondary material has followed in the wake of Kierkegaard's own prolific authorship. A report from the Royal Library Copenhagen in 1997 tells us that in Denmark from 1995 to 1996, Kierkegaard took the leading place where the amount of secondary literature on him was concerned, and he was among the top four Danish authors when it came to the translation of his work into other languages. In the past twenty years alone, the amount of material and reference to Kierkegaard has grown to enormous proportions. Not only are there many translations into other languages and a mountain of works on his thought from all possible angles, but innumerable book chapters and articles and a growing range of scholarly tools for studying his writings have also been

published. The study of Kierkegaard has thus become an area of scholarship in its own right. It is therefore important to provide a reference work that will enable scholars and students of Kierkegaard to find their way quickly to relevant sources of help. In addition, a person reading Kierkegaard's writings solely out of interest or for edification can be helped by such a work, given the complexity of the authorship and the need for an explanation of his central concepts.

Another reason for such a work is that Kierkegaard wrote in the context of the situation of his own day. Without some form of helpful reference book, the new reader of his writings may not always be aware that what Kierkegaard writes is also applicable to our own time. One example of this is the fact that Kierkegaard polemicizes against the influence of Georg W. F. Hegel's philosophy in the Denmark of his day. In his authorship, he makes insightful objections that, at first sight, seem limited to a problem no longer of interest after the advent of a plurality of 20th-century ideologies. Yet Kierkegaard's arguments are no less valid in regard to, for example, the modern search in physics for "a theory of everything." The reader can therefore be helped by the dictionary to locate secondary material that demonstrates Kierkegaard's direct relevance to the modern world on particular issues.

The *Historical Dictionary of Kierkegaard's Philosophy* begins with maps (these are printed with the kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen) to show where, in the 19th-century world, Kierkegaard came from. Next is a chronology of key events in Kierkegaard's life, followed by a short introduction to his life and authorship for those new to Kierkegaard. The dictionary deals with people whose lives had some bearing on Kierkegaard's in some way, and an attempt has been made to mention those who are hard, if not impossible, to find in other modern dictionaries because they have had to give place to other figures now seen as more important. Relevant 19th-century events and institutions are given some mention in the dictionary, as are obscure terms with historical reference to Kierkegaard's life as a citizen of Copenhagen. There are also, of course, entries on Kierkegaard's major works and on thinkers relevant to his authorship. Last, but not least, the dictionary also lists explanations of key concepts in Kierkegaard's authorship, including terms explained only in Danish lexicons or not explained very fully in the few English sources available.

On the bibliography and the principles used in selecting this material, I refer the reader to my introduction to it. Its current structure, as the table of contents indicates, is simply to avoid burdening the reader with too many categories. The new reader of Kierkegaard is particularly invited to con-

sider the material available in the "Introductory Works" section to be helped on the path to further reading, and a special section is included for those interested in Kierkegaard in relation to the thought of other thinkers. The section on "Bibliographical and Lexical Aids" is essential in that it provides further material for the study of Kierkegaard. Other handbooks are mentioned, while this section also, of course, specifically charts the history of bibliographical research in the details provided. Included, too, is a section on the growing area of electronic materials—both computer programs and Internet resources—available for learning more about Kierkegaard. The reader will therefore easily be able to access the entire spectrum of bibliographical aids for further research in a field in which, decades ago, the number of secondary works on Kierkegaard far surpassed his own prodigious production.

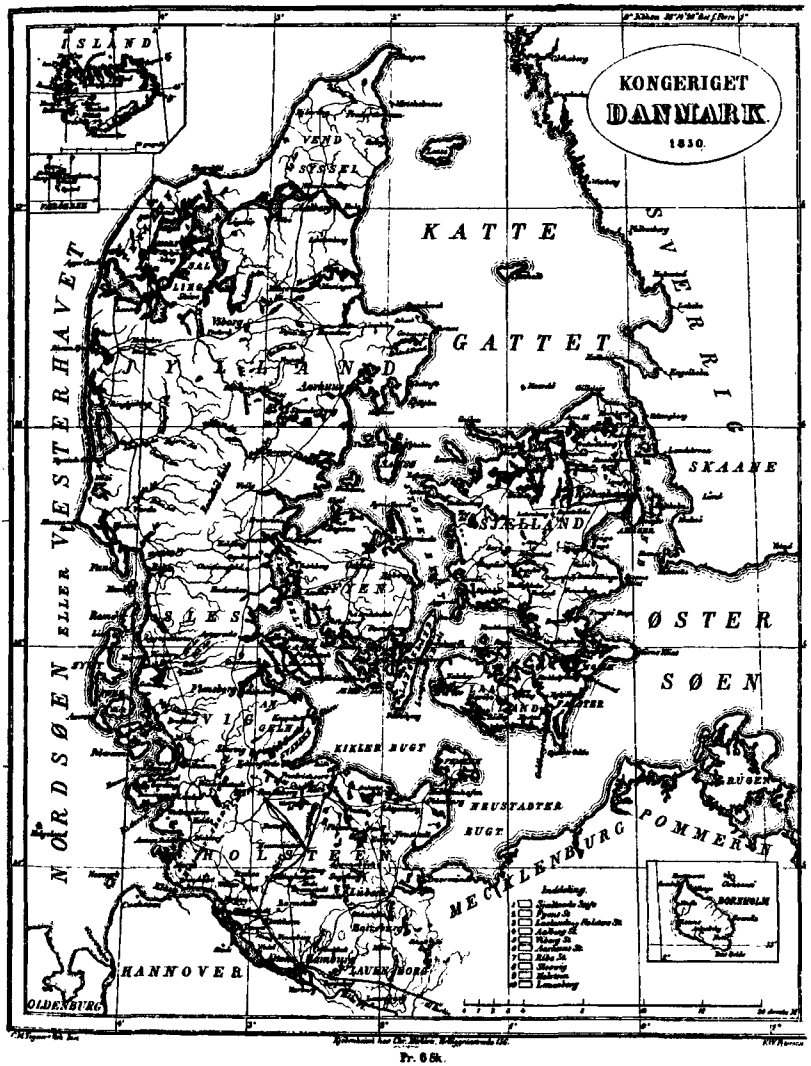
Appendix A gives a quick reference list of Kierkegaard's writings with extra and more detailed information about his authorship; appendix B, "Pseudonyms," is important in giving information about the meaning and usage of pen names in his writings. Appendix C, "Some Historical Notes," provides a short list of the monarchs relevant to Kierkegaard's life and times, a short reference list of key historical events, and a list of the places where Kierkegaard lived.

I hope that this dictionary will also enable the reader to come in contact with the living world of ongoing, interacting Kierkegaard scholars and Kierkegaard lovers. Although he despised the figure of "the professor" lecturing on him in a spirit of personal detachment from the issues raised, Kierkegaard respected those in every walk of life for whom such issues are a burning concern. The reader is invited to join their ranks.

I have been very conscious that to write such a dictionary without collaborators is a considerable project for one person, and an unavoidable loss of time originally planned for the project added to the challenge of writing it. I would thus like to express my warm appreciation of the support given by editor Jon Woronoff not only for his graciousness at that time but also for his most helpful critical comments in the process of creating this work. I would also like to express my thanks to the librarians at the University of Tasmania in Launceston and to Poul Lübcke in Copenhagen for some helpful suggestions. Thanks are also due to the Frederiksborg Castle Picture Collection at Hillerød for permission to include the drawing of Kierkegaard.

Finally, I am particularly glad to be able to acknowledge my gratitude to the authors of the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* and the *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* and to those responsible for an ancient edition of *Salmonsens store illustrerede Konversations Leksikon* in my possession. I am also profoundly

grateful to the authors of the many other dictionaries I have used and to 19th-century writers such as Claudius Rosenhoff, who had the wit to write guidebooks to Copenhagen with full geographic information down to the very last drainage details. In fact, the assistance from the many 19th- and 20th-century friends inhabiting my library has been invaluable. I therefore leave the dictionary in your hands in hope: I very much hope that its merits may serve to compensate for any unavoidable demerits.



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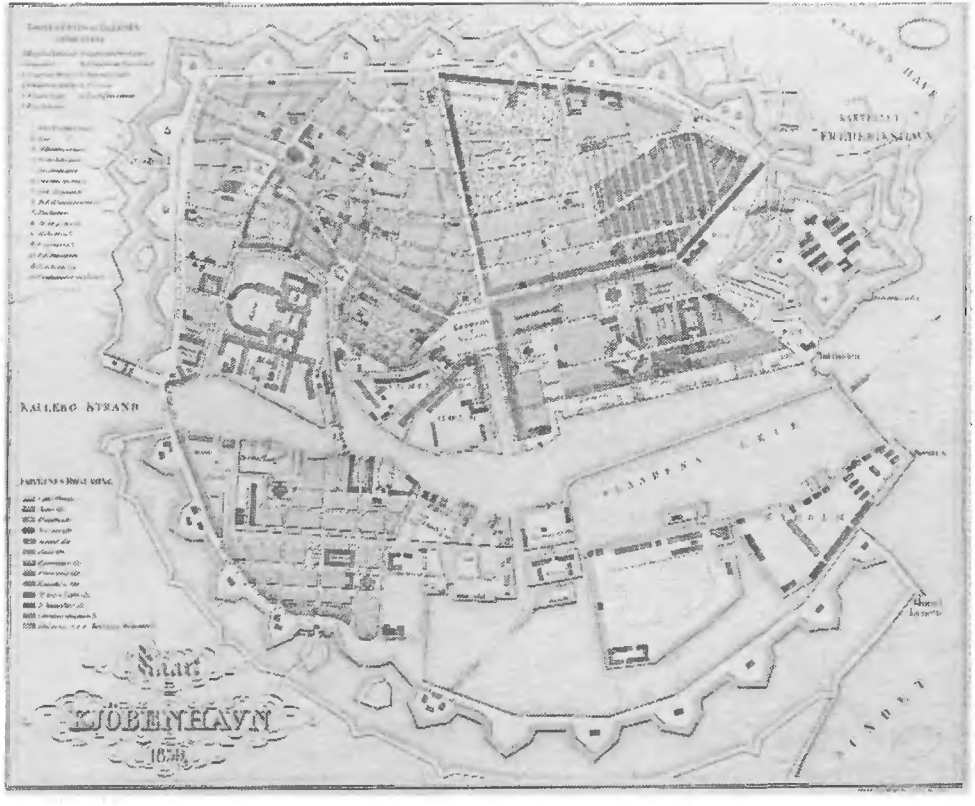
Map of 19th-century Denmark showing Jutland (*Jylland*) and the island of Zealand (*Sjælland*) with Copenhagen (*Kjöbenhavn*).



Map of 19th-century Copenhagen (*Kjöbenhavn*) with its system of fortifications and moats. The sound (*Sundet*) is the Øresund between Copenhagen and Sweden. The citadel of Kastellet Frederikshavn is located near the East Gate of the City.

Chronology

1813 **May 5:** Born at Nytorv, Copenhagen. **June 3:** Baptized in the Church of the Holy Ghost (now Spirit), Copenhagen.

1819 **September:** Death of his brother Søren Michael.

1821 Sent to School at Borgerdydskolen, central Copenhagen.

1822 **March:** Death of his sister Maren Kirstine.

1828 **April 20:** Confirmed by pastor Jakob Peter Mynster in Trinitatis Church, Copenhagen.

1830 **October:** Enrolls at Copenhagen University.

1832 **September:** Death of his sister Nicoline Christine.

1833 **September:** Death of his brother Niels Andreas in the United States.

1834 **July:** Death of his mother Anne Lund Kierkegaard. **December:** Publishes "Another Defense of Woman's Great Abilities" in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post.* Death of his sister Petrea Severine.

1835 **July–August:** Visits North Zealand and the fishing village of Gilleleie; trip to Sweden. **November:** Gives a paper to the University Student Union: "Our Journalistic Literature."

1836 **February:** Publishes "The Morning Observations in Kjøbenhavnsposten No. 43" in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post.* **March:** Publishes "On the Polemic of *Fædrelandet*" in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post.* **April:** Publishes "To Mr. Orla Lehmann" in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post.* **October:** His brother Peter Christian marries Elise Marie Boisen.

1837 **May:** Meets Regina Olsen for the first time. **July:** Death of his brother's wife Elise Marie Boisen.

1837–38 Teaches Latin at his old school Borgerdydskolen.

1838 **March:** Death of philosophy professor Poul Martin Møller. **May:** Religious experience of an "indescribable joy." **August:** Death of Kierkegaard's father Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard. **September:** Publishes his review *From the Papers of One Still Living*.

1840 **July:** Passes his university exam in theology. **July–August:** Visits Sædding in Jutland. **September:** Becomes engaged to Regina Olsen. **November:** Enters the Royal Pastoral Seminary for practical training as a pastor.

1841 **January:** Preaches his first sermon (Holmens Church) in connection with his pastoral training. **July:** His magister (= doctoral from 1854) thesis, *The Concept of Irony*, accepted by the university. **September:** Printed *The Concept of Irony*. **September 29:** Publicly defended *The Concept of Irony*. **October:** Engagement to Regina Olsen is finally broken off. Visits Berlin.

1842 **June:** Publishes "Public Confession" in *Fædrelandet*. **November:** His brother Peter Christian is ordained pastor.

1843 **February:** Publishes "A Letter" in *Berlingske Tidende*. Publishes "Another Letter" in *Berlingske Tidende*. Has another published letter in *Fædrelandet*. Publishes "Literary Quicksilver" in *Ny Portfeuille*. Publishes *Either/Or*. Publishes "Who Is the Author of Either/Or" in *Fædrelandet*. **March:** Publishes "A Word of Thanks to Professor Heiberg" in *Fædrelandet*. **May:** Publishes *Two Upbuilding Discourses*. Publishes "A Little Explanation" in *Fædrelandet*. Visits Berlin. **June:** Regina Olsen becomes engaged to Friedrich (Fritz) Schlegel. **July:** Kierkegaard learns of it. **October:** Publishes *Fear and Trembling*, *Repetition*, and *Three Upbuilding Discourses*. **December:** Publishes *Four Upbuilding Discourses*.

1844 **February:** Preaches final qualifying sermon (Trinitatis Church) in connection with his pastoral training. **March:** Publishes *Two Upbuilding Discourses*. **June:** Publishes *Three Upbuilding Discourses*, *Philosophical Fragments*, *The Concept of Anxiety*, and *Prefaces*. **August:** Publishes *Four Upbuilding Discourses*.

1845 **April:** Publishes *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* and *Stages on Life's Way*. **May:** Publishes "An Explanation and a Little More" in *Fædrelandet*. Visits Berlin. Publishes "A Cursory Observation Concerning a Detail in *Don Giovanni*" in *Fædrelandet*. Publishes the collected *Upbuilding Discourses* from 1843 to 1844 as *Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses*. **December:** Publishes "The Activity of a Travelling Aesthetician and How He Still Happened to Pay for the Dinner" in *Fædrelandet*.

1846 **January:** *The Corsair* paper starts a series of attacks on Kierkegaard lasting several months. **January:** Publishes "The Dialectical Results of a Literary Police Action" in *Fædrelandet*. Considers whether he should become ordained as a pastor. **February:** Publishes *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. **March:** Publishes *Two Ages: The Age of Revolution and The Present Age: A Literary Review*. **May:** Visits Berlin again.

1847 **March:** Publishes *Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits*. **September:** Publishes *Works of Love*. **November:** Regina Olsen marries Friedrich Schlegel in the Church of Our Savior. **December:** The Kierkegaard family home on Nytorv is sold.

1848 **April:** Has a (temporary) experience of personal liberation. Publishes *Christian Discourses*. **July:** Publishes *The Crisis and a Crisis in the Life of an Actress*. **August:** Encounters Regina Olsen's father at Fredensborg.

1849 **March:** Pays a short visit to Bishop Mynster when he is considering the possibility of a teaching post at the Pastoral Seminary. **May:** Publishes the second edition of *Either/Or*. Publishes (along with *Either/Or*) *The Lily of the Field and the Bird of the Air*. Publishes *Two Ethical-Religious Minor Essays*. **July:** Publishes *The Sickness unto Death*. **November:** Publishes *Three Discourses at the Communion on Fridays*. Makes a failed attempt to reestablish contact with Regina Olsen through Friedrich Schlegel.

1850 **September:** Publishes *Practice in Christianity*. **December:** Publishes *An Upbuilding Discourse*.

1851 **January:** Publishes "An Open Letter Prompted by a Reference to Me by Dr. Rudelbach" in *Fædrelandet*. **August:** Publishes *On My Work as an Author*. Publishes (along with *On My Work as an Author*) *Two Discourses at the Communion on Fridays*. **September:** Publishes *For Self-Examination*.

1854 **January:** Death of Bishop Mynster. Hans Lassen Martensen appointed Bishop. **December:** Begins in *Fædrelandet* the attack on the church establishment.

1855 Continues his polemic in *Fædrelandet* against the church establishment. **May:** Publishes *This Must Be Said, So Let It Be Said*. Publishes the first number of his polemical paper *The Moment* (*Øieblikket*). **June:** Publishes *What Christ Judges of Official Christianity*. **September:** Publishes his sermon *The Changelessness of God. A Discourse*.

Publishes the ninth issue of *Øieblikket*; number 10 is published posthumously. **September 28:** Collapses in the street. **October 2:** Admitted to Frederik's Hospital, Copenhagen. **November 11:** Dies at Frederik's Hospital, Copenhagen. **November 18:** Kierkegaard's funeral takes place in Copenhagen Cathedral. His brother preaches the funeral sermon. He is buried in Assistens Cemetery Nørrebro.

Introduction

It is likely that if Søren Kierkegaard had written in a major language and in a straightforward manner, his name would have achieved international significance even in his own time. Today, he is acclaimed all over the world as an important philosopher, religious thinker, psychologist, and literary figure. He is studied by people of many cultures, viewpoints, and disciplines, all of whom find that Kierkegaard has something essential to say about life or about their particular discipline. Kierkegaard called himself nothing more than a *Digter* or "creative writer." He made it clear he was entirely without divine or human authority to support his insights, he refused to label himself a Christian, and (despite a long university education spanning a wide range of subjects) he never held a position. Yet, he is now recognized as a genius who penetrated deeply into human psychology and spirituality, a man whose literary profundity alone would be sufficient to secure him international recognition. For many, he is the Shakespeare of Denmark.

KIERKEGAARD'S LIFE

Kierkegaard was the seventh and last child of Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard, who was taken into his uncle's cloth goods business in Copenhagen in 1777 after a poverty-stricken life as a shepherd boy in Jutland. His mother, Anne Sørensdatter Lund, had been a servant girl in Michael and his first wife's home. By 1835, only Søren, Peter, and their father were left alive, a fact that confirmed Michael Kierkegaard in his belief that God was punishing him for his cursing of God as a boy. Born on May 5, 1813, Søren Kierkegaard was educated at the School of Civic Virtue (Borgerdydskolen) from 1821 to 1830. He was then sent to study theology at Copenhagen University, but he studied widely in many other subjects, including literature. Like many other students, he indulged in the freedom of student life, running up debts his father had to help him pay. When his father died in 1838, however, he finished his theology degree, intending to follow the plan of becoming a pastor. In 1840, he completed his practical

pastoral training at the Pastoral Seminary. It was in this period that he became engaged to Regina Olsen—"Regine," as she was called.

Kierkegaard first met Regina when she was a very young girl visiting the home of the Rørdam family in Frederiksberg, and she already seems to have made a strong impression on him. Since the Olsens held a weekly open house for people, it was easy for Kierkegaard to pay visits to the Olsen home later on, where he took an interest in Regina's reading and piano playing. She was shocked speechless, however, when, during a visit one day, while she was alone at home (September 8, 1840), he proposed to her. Although she let him know that she and one of her former tutors, Johan Frederik "Fritz" Schlegel (1817–1896), cared a lot for each other, Kierkegaard appears to have swept her off her feet, since she became engaged to him on September 10.

Almost immediately Kierkegaard felt he had made a mistake, but not because he did not love Regina. When he first tried to end their engagement, Regina thought his change of heart was an expression of the deep spiritual melancholy from which she knew he suffered. Kierkegaard clearly saw his melancholy as part of the problem, but there also appears to have been some family and/or additional personal reason lying behind his decision. Although Regina held out for some time after his initial attempt, eventually Kierkegaard succeeded in getting her to break off the engagement (thus protecting her good name socially). Although in his journals and works Kierkegaard sometimes gives the impression that he hoped that their marriage might still be possible, there is also the thought that one must not marry and have secrets from one's partner. There is also a sense of his having a vocation that calls for the renunciation of marriage.

After Regina had gotten over the broken engagement, Fritz Schlegel again sought her company, and two years later they became engaged. They were married in Copenhagen on November 3, 1847. Schlegel had a legal training and, after a number of posts, became in 1848 head of the colonial office and then governor of the Danish West Indies in 1854. For health reasons, he was forced to give up this position in 1860, when he and his wife returned to Copenhagen. Both Regina and Schlegel are buried in the Olsen family grave in Assistens Cemetery, Copenhagen.

Schlegel appears to have been a very fine person. When Regina became engaged to Kierkegaard, he respectfully withdrew. When he became engaged to Regina, he shared her interest in Kierkegaard's writings, although some years later, after her father's death, he indignantly returned a letter Kierkegaard asked him to give her. Nor did Regina accept the few things Kierkegaard left her in his will at his death. Although she was deeply in

love with Schlegel, as an old lady Regina talked a great deal about her engagement to Kierkegaard, and it is clearly one of the romantic stories of a romantic age.

The affair of the broken engagement can be seen as indicative of a great tension in Kierkegaard's life between the elements of genius and religiosity in his character. This also led to a conflict about his choice of career, whether he should become a pastor in a poor country parish or continue as a successful author in the city. This problem is raised in a number of pages of his journals. One can also mark the same tension in his authorship, where it is expressed in the tension between the world-affirming Christianity of Judge William and the world-denying Christianity of the imitator of Christ.

After successfully finishing his doctoral dissertation, "The Concept of Irony," in 1841, Kierkegaard eventually reconciled himself to the life of an author, never leaving Denmark except for a few short trips abroad. He never took the final step of becoming ordained to a pastorate, though he considered the possibility for a long time. Instead, in a few short years, he managed to write and publish a large number of works of a religious and nonreligious nature, although the nonreligious works, in the main, point to his religious themes. His first major work, published under a pseudonym, was *Either/Or* in 1843, a year in which he also published several other important works. His public life was a very quiet one, except for two notable exceptions: his conflict with the satirical paper *The Corsair* in the 1840s and his open attack on the Danish Church for not preaching what, in his view, the Christian life really demanded. During this attack on the Church in the 1850s, he fell ill and died of a virus infection on November 11, 1855. He is buried at the Assistens Cemetery, Copenhagen, in the family burial plot.

KIERKEGAARD'S CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Kierkegaard came into a world that was full of paradoxes. He was born in Copenhagen in the year of national bankruptcy (1813). Many city buildings still lay in ruins after bombardment by the British in 1807. Denmark was still in the throes of transition from rural serfdom to the modern world. Yet, although King Frederik VI was forced to give up Norway in 1814 and crisis lay ahead concerning the dependencies of Schleswig-Holstein, it was still an empire of some significance, including not only Iceland, the Faroes, and Greenland but also (initially) Norway, a remaining tiny section of Sweden, and part of what is now Germany. It also had its possessions in the West Indies. Despite terrible crisis, it was the period of "the Golden Age"

(1800–70) for Denmark, when a great flowering of the arts and sciences occurred. Copenhagen was thus the capital of the Danish Golden Age, the time that produced wonderful paintings, sculpture, and discoveries in science, yet (like many other cities of the period) it was a capital city with poor civic facilities. Its housing, streets, drinking water, and sanitation left much to be desired in a great many respects.

Kierkegaard was also the product of poverty and wealth, in that his parents originated from peasant stock and poor circumstances, yet his father had become one of the wealthy businessmen of the city. The Kierkegaard home therefore reflected the influence of past poverty and present wealth. More important, it also exemplified the contrast between Pietist–Moravian anticlerical Christianity and the Christianity of the state church congregation led by Jakob Peter Mynster. Mynster warmly supported the state church, seeing it as assisting personal spirituality, but (like the Moravians) he opposed the rational Enlightenment influence affecting the state church in the early part of the 19th century. The Kierkegaard family attended the Moravian meetings and Mynster's services and so in a sense had a foot in two camps: the rural religion of peasant pietism and the urban religiosity of bourgeois city life.

One can view the situation as a contrast between a personal strict religiosity of self-denial and a world-affirming godly religiosity. From 1536, Lutheran Christianity was the official state religion of Denmark, and, until the constitution of 1849, only baptized and confirmed members of the state church could be Danish citizens. Only a few small groups (e.g., the Jews) could expect religious freedom. There was therefore no distinction between church and state in Golden Age Denmark. To be an evangelical Lutheran was part of being a Dane; the temporal and spiritual formed one realm of God in which the godly citizen was expected to enjoy earthly prosperity as well as spiritual well-being.

While Mynster represents one reaction to rationalism, emphasizing the personal spirituality of prayer and meditation, Nikolai F. S. Grundtvig represents another that took root as the Grundtvigian movement. Grundtvig was pastor in the state church from 1821 to 1839 and from 1839 of the state church–independent Vartov congregation in Copenhagen. Grundtvig's emphasis was on the continuing experience of the Christian community in sacramental fellowship from the time of Christ. Kierkegaard's brother, Peter Christian, became a life-long Grundtvigian. Søren Kierkegaard, who had found much help in Mynster's preaching, went on to emphasize the importance of a personal Christianity of self-denial and renunciation of the world. Eventually he was to break openly with Mynster and the Golden Age identification of the temporal and spiritual.

Finally, one can see dialectic, if not paradox, in the intellectual life of the Kierkegaard home. Like his father and elder brother Peter, Søren Kierkegaard had a talent for philosophical and theological discussion. He was exceptionally good at being able to put forth both sides of an argument, something that is clearly apparent in his writings. An element of his authorship is his polemic against the Danish Hegelians. Johan Ludvig Heiberg introduced Georg Hegel's philosophy into Denmark in the 1830s, but young theologians Adolph Adler and Hans Lassen Martensen also played their part in making it for a time the ruling philosophy in Denmark. Martensen hoped to unite religious belief and thought in a harmonious synthesis of all knowledge, centered on Christianity. He saw Hegel's philosophy as the tool for creating a speculative theology capable of bringing rationalism and orthodoxy together. Kierkegaard polemicizes against Hegelianism in a number of ways in his authorship. For example, he uses fictional figures to demonstrate the weakness of Hegelian philosophy, and he also parodies Hegelianism through reuse of its terminology to convey criticism. His chief objection is that Hegelianism confuses the realm of thought with the realm of daily human existence, trying to turn the latter into a metaphysical system.

KIERKEGAARD'S AUTHORSHIP

Because of his tactic of indirect communication, Kierkegaard's thought is not easy to follow. Kierkegaard admired Socrates' maieutic method of teaching through discussion. In this method, instead of asserting directly to people what one believes to be the truth, one engages others in discussion. Such a teacher puts up possible scenarios to be considered and further discussed. By this indirect path, people recognize truth for themselves. So the Socratic teacher is not the source of truth but only the occasion for someone seeing truth. He or she understands that truth for humans is not a once-and-for-all thing but a matter of process and progress toward truth. Furthermore, the Socratic teacher has no authority, neither divine nor human. By teaching in this manner, the Socratic teacher avoids falling into the trap of thinking he or she is the possessor of wisdom and truth. An individual who mistakenly thinks in this way may see him- or herself as a superior mediator of truth to others. Such a person may even reject the insights of others where these disagree with his or her ideas.

Kierkegaard thus aimed to follow this ideal of the teacher who causes truth to be born in another, but does not have any claim on truth. His dis-

cussion with others takes place through his authorship, which becomes Kierkegaard's version of Socrates' Athenian marketplace. To distance himself from the reader, Kierkegaard writes under different pseudonyms who each present and discuss different views of life. The reader is thus made to consider the truth of these different views and their relevance to his or her life. Yet, just as Socrates had his own view of life, believing that the truth was in a person, waiting to be recalled to mind, so, too, Kierkegaard had his own view, being not only a committed Christian but also one trained for the ministry. It is therefore not surprising that alongside the apparently nonreligious pseudonymous works, he published religious discourses under his own name. One can note that although he here writes under his own name, he makes it clear that he is one "without authority" and that although the discourse is directed to the individual reader, it is as much directed to himself. It must also be noted that when he wrote some larger religious works (toward the end of his life), he published nonreligious or "aesthetic" pieces alongside these, to ameliorate the impression of being a religious author. Works apparently written directly to the reader are by this means distanced from the reader; they take on a nonauthoritative aspect. Kierkegaard's authorship thus presents a "dialectic," a many-faceted mode of question-and-answer that resembles Socrates' method and ultimate goal of the good, the true, and the beautiful.

An apparent exception to this is his famous "attack on Christendom," on the Church establishment, or what one might call the official administration of Christianity. Toward the end of his life, in both the paper *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) and his own paper of 1855, *The Moment* (*Øieblikket*), Kierkegaard under his own name mounted an attack on the Danish Church that seems totally remote from his previous tactic of indirect communication and his modest insistence that he was without authority. This attack has been viewed by people in many ways, from the claim that Kierkegaard had now gone crazy, to the view that Kierkegaard at this point was making a pseudonym of his own name. That is, he put on the garb of a gutter-press journalist, of one writing for a *Corsair*-style paper. His previous authorship had made little impression on the Danish clergy. It had not caused them to preach that the world-denying Christianity of self-renunciation was genuine Christianity and, conversely, that the Danish identification of 19th-century civic life with the realm of God was but a shadow of the real thing. For Kierkegaard, the dangers of deifying a comfortable life in this world, however godly, were very real. If people could not see this for themselves, then maybe this called for a new style of writing—that of direct communication. Certainly Kierkegaard now seemed to feel the need to communicate

directly, especially given that he thought he would not live long and thus did not have much more time for a more indirect way of approach. On top of this was a very real difficulty presented by the practice of writing under pseudonyms.

A problem with pseudonymous writing in a Socratic manner is the risk of misunderstanding. Unlike the living discourse of a marketplace, an authorship as an arena of discourse suffers from the lack of physical presence of the author of the discourse. A Socrates, even indirectly, can continue to steer the conversation, to elaborate a line of argument. Once the word has become paper and the author is gone, there is no one to explain things that may prove perplexing. Kierkegaard realized the very real dangers of his type of authorship, and thus he attempted to prevent gross misunderstanding of his work by writing about his authorship. Although he published a small piece about his authorship in his lifetime, he left his fuller explanation of his authorship for the possibility of posthumous publication. A difficulty of a writer explaining what he or she is doing through authorship is that he or she nullifies the tactic employed, since the explanation has the effect of turning an indirect communication to the reader into a direct one.

A further problem with such an authorship, though, is that future readers may well suggest that the direct commentary on an authorship is really just another form of indirect communication. That is, just as one cannot take the previous pseudonymous works as direct expressions of what the author thinks, so, too, one cannot trust the commentary on the authorship as a genuine expression of the author's own view and aims. This problem (if it is a problem), and perhaps also the problem of the indirect pseudonymous authorship as a whole, is greatly ameliorated by a thorough study of the entire authorship, and especially of the pseudonymous material. Careful study of the authorship does reveal a number of underlying ideas Kierkegaard wishes us to grasp. For example, when (in *The Concept of Anxiety*) his non-Christian pseudonym Vigilius Haufniensis speaks about fate as object of the ancient Greek's anxiety but allows that only the Christian God, and not the Greek fate, has independent existence, the voice of Kierkegaard himself is clearly heard. Second, although different pseudonyms have different perspectives on life, they all work together to illustrate that the aesthetic life, the life lived for gratification of the senses, cannot ultimately work because it is against nature, against the fundamental structure of the human psyche. The right path is clearly that of ethical-religious existence. Johannes the Seducer is so clearly indicated as an example of one living wrongly, one bound to come to a bad end, spiritually speaking. The aesthete A is an unhappy if talented man. Judge William is the picture of civic contentment.

Even the struggling, suffering religious believer is on the right path; his or her sufferings in fact indicate that he or she is on the right path. Important aspects of human existence, notably the nature and structure of the human psyche, are expounded upon by all the pseudonyms, but instead of forming a contradictory picture, their views form a clear presentation of Kierkegaard's view of the nature and purpose of human life.

Finally, it should be noted that Kierkegaard's authorship contains different disciplinary types of material. His works are psychological works, dealing as they do with the psychology of human ideas and experience. His works are also philosophical works, containing profound philosophical analysis. He is besides an important literary figure, both writing what are literary works of genius and also presenting his own original analysis of the arts. Last but not least, he is what he states himself to be in his *The Point of View for My Work as an Author*: a religious writer. In addition to an unparalleled intellectual analysis of religious ideas, he presents us with a treasury of spiritual literature that remains of abiding value to people all over the world.

KIERKEGAARD'S THOUGHT

Like Socrates, Kierkegaard has his own private assumptions about the world. To understand the basic aim of his writings, it is important to show what these were, especially when his view of life is embedded in an authorship of such complexity. As we have seen, Kierkegaard believes that the Christian view of the world is the factually correct one, even though he emphasizes that one must hold the truth of Christianity by faith. Faith in the rightness of the Christian way of life is in light of the fact of not being able to be objectively certain that God exists. It is also even what Kierkegaard calls "against the understanding," where particular religious propositions seem opposed to what the human mind conceives to be possible. Despite Kierkegaard's untraditional approach to speaking about Christianity (e.g., in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript,* his defense of Christianity resembles an attack on it), he has a very definite understanding of the way things are. This is something that can be too easily overlooked, given that he presents the psychology of a wide range of views of life in his authorship.

In one sense, it is true to say that Kierkegaard is a dualist. That is, he believes the realm of existence to consist of the world of temporality (i.e., space–time as we experience it in our daily life) and the realm of eternity. Eternity is the realm of actual transcendence, the dwelling place of God, the goal of humans who can relate to God both in this world and after death.

Kierkegaard also speaks of the possibility of damnation in his authorship. Hell, however, is not a separate realm but the state of isolated personal despair of the person who willfully rejects God. Kierkegaard is not, however, a dualist in the sense of being a Cartesian body–mind dualist. On his view, the human self is one dynamically structured in terms of relationships.

Each human being is born into the world with the potentiality of becoming an authentic person. Humans are biologically part of the animal kingdom, but unlike animals, they have a God-created potentiality for spiritual eternal life. In his authorship, Kierkegaard describes the condition of the human self in "synthesis" language. Each human is a synthesis or combination of body (physical biology) and psyche and has in addition potentiality for eternal life. To the extent that a choice is made to actualize the potentiality, there can, and should, arise an already implicit second synthesis between the temporal and the eternal elements in a person's nature, between necessity (the factors of heredity and environment over which one has no control) and freedom (to act). This second synthesis develops through the exercise of moral choice, with the aid of self-awareness and self-knowledge. Because the individual is located in this bipolar situation with a foot in temporality and at least a potential foot in the eternal realm, humans can experience anxiety and despair. The phenomenon of despair is a feature of human misrelationship to the eternal.

The balanced human person is the one who centers his or her life on the eternal, on eternal values, on eternity, and on God. The immature person with problems is the one who makes the realm of temporality the goal of life. A person can do this by making temporal pleasures the most important thing in life. Or he or she may defiantly try to alter, and thus be master of, those elements of environment and heredity that cannot ultimately be changed. Self-centeredness lies at the heart of what Kierkegaard labels the "aesthetic" way of life. The movement toward spiritual life occurs only through choosing to live a moral existence. There can be no relationship with the eternal, or God, outside ethics, even if the person concerned is seemingly practicing some form of religiosity.

Kierkegaard presents us with a number of aesthetes or pleasure seekers, from the amoral person who has never reflected about the rightness of following instinct to the one who has deliberately chosen this way of life in despite of ethics. He describes various forms of morality in his writings. *Morality* (*Sædelighed*) is his term for any code of behavior based solely on temporal values. He does not regard "morality" as genuinely moral because personal egocentricity is replaced merely by purely materialistic codes for the self-preservation of the society in question. For Kierkegaard, real

morality must be based on some form of eternal value that transcends the community.

Kierkegaard's main ethicist is Judge William, a man who espouses a mild form of Christian altruism, in which a person lives a godly life in society, a life that builds up individual and community existence in terms of both temporal and spiritual goods. Although a Christian, the Judge is not allowed to represent a religious position, because (although he mentions the possibility of ethical dilemma and religious renunciation) he espouses a world-affirming religiosity, as opposed to a strict totally altruistic religious life of "dying to the world." Kierkegaard explores the difficulties surrounding life according to the demands of strict religiousness through other characters. Johannes Climacus and Anti-Climacus are examples of fictional figures who fathom the intellectual and psychological depths of religious and Christian religious life. In a nutshell, one can say that whereas Judge William explores ethical-religiosity in terms of fighting personal self-centeredness, the two Climacus pseudonyms explore an ethical-religiosity that, for the sake of the eternal, gives up even the morally good things of the world, such as marriage and prospering in the community.

Despite holding a traditional Christian view of existence, Kierkegaard, as we have seen, does his best to distance his person and views from his readers in the bulk of his authorship. Instead of pontificating in his works about how he understands the world, he explores the psychological and intellectual perspectives of a number of views of life. Common to all the views is the notion of goals in life and their effect on the human personality, as well as on the community and human society generally. The reader is invited by each of Kierkegaard's pseudonyms to consider whether Kierkegaard's description and assessment of the various possible goals, and the path to them, is correct. Finally, however, the entire authorship invites the reader to consider to what extent, if at all, Kierkegaard's assessment of the human predicament is correct. Also, if he is correct in his negative assesment of living solely for temporal goals, to what extent is Kierkegaard correct about the cure?

The Dictionary

Bold type indicates other entries. People are listed under surnames. The dictionary follows the Danish alphabet, so words beginning with Æ and Ø come after Z.

– A –

ABSURD. "The absurd" (*det Absurde*) is used to indicate the border between temporality and the realm of the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**), the point at which human **knowledge** reaches its limits and must give way to belief or **faith**. In particular, the term is used to designate what is foolish because it apparently contradicts or goes against what human **reason** perceives to be the case. Where the Christian faith is concerned, "the absurd" is applied to the claim that the eternal unchanging **God** underwent temporal change in being born as Jesus of Nazareth. *See also* PARADOX.

ACCIDENTAL/INCIDENTAL. The accidental or incidental (*det Tilfældige*) is what chances someone. It is an event that cannot be foreseen or planned in advance. Its cause and control lies outside it. In Kierkegaard's writings, the incidental can be how a person views an event, so that the same event can be viewed as occurring by chance or through, for example, divine purpose, according to the view of the one interpreting the event. The pleasure seeker often views events as being fundamentally incidental in nature. The incidental can also be the object of the aesthete or pleasure seeker's interest, in which incidental events are deliberately invested with an exaggerated importance. *See also* AESTHETIC, THE; FATE; SERIOUSNESS/INTEREST.

ACOUSTICAL ILLUSION. The acoustical illusion (*akustisk Bedrag*), or illusion of hearing, arises when a person hears about the claims to divinity made concerning the person of Jesus and is offended. The **offense** seemingly has its source in the rational scope and powers of the offended

person. However, the real source lies in the **Paradox**, or the event of Jesus as incarnate **God**. It lies in Jesus "the Word." Every offended reaction to the claims made comes from the claims themselves, which claims are not, of course, made by the offended person. Without the initiating factor of the claims made by Jesus, there would be no offense. The experience of offense thus points to something beyond the offended person. It can be said that the concepts of offense and paradox belong together in the same way that the concepts of noise and silence or light and darkness belong together.

ACTUALITY/REALITY. In his writings Kierkegaard makes a distinction between Actuality (*Virkelighed*) and Reality (*Realitet*). The latter can be said to be how things really are, how the universe really is. That is, reality comprises the ultimate state of affairs about the universe, and in Kierkegaard's personal Christian view of the world, this includes the existence of **God** and the realm of the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**), even though these can be objects only of **faith**. Actuality, on the other hand, has much to do with the becoming of things, and not least with the individual's relationship to the actual world in terms of living an **ethical-religious** existence. For an individual to achieve, for example, the reality of **repentance**, it is necessary for that individual to relate to the actuality of his or her situation repentantly. Actuality thus also contains conceptual material about life and **existence** according to which the individual conducts his or her life. As Anti-Climacus in ***The Sickness unto Death***, Kierkegaard is critical of speculative philosophers who treat all existence as the unity of possibility and actuality as "necessity"—that is, as an ongoing necessary process containing possibility and actuality. He sees this as eliminating the reality of **freedom**. Anti-Climacus thus declares actuality to be the unity of possibility and necessity, in that the individual does have real freedom to actualize possibilities, although the possibilities must, of course, be in relation to the necessity of the factors in the individual's life that limit his or her options. *See also* IDEAS.

ADLER, ADOLPH PETER (1812–1869). Danish pastor and theologian; a leading Hegelian in Denmark in the 1830s. Adler was born in Copenhagen in 1812 of a well-to-do family. Like Kierkegaard, he went to the **Borgerdyd School** in Copenhagen, then to **Copenhagen University** in 1832. After graduating in theology in 1836, he went abroad for a year to study Georg W. F. **Hegel**'s philosophy. On his return, he continued his Hegel studies (1838–40), and he defended a dissertation on the Hegelian

concept of subjectivity (*Den isolerede Subjectivitet i dens vigtigste Skikkelser*). Adler followed this up with a period of lecturing at the university in the winter of 1840–41, after which (1841) he became pastor for Hasle and Rutsker on the island of Bornholm. With him was his wife, Margrethe Kofod.

Initially, the Adlers and their congregation got on well together, and the bishop (**Jakob Peter Mynster**) was pleased. In December 1842, however, Adler, who was continuing his work on Hegel's philosophy, had some kind of personal experience that altered his entire outlook. He describes this in terms of a religious experience in the preface to a book of sermons, *Some Sermons* (*Nogle Prædikener*) that he published in 1843. Central to his description of the experience is his claim that Jesus dictated material concerning the origin of evil and was behind some of the sermons. He was also told to burn his Hegelian writings. Because of his heretical (neognostic) and rather odd statements, Adler was viewed as mentally disturbed. He was suspended from his pastorate in 1844 and finally honorably discharged on a pension in the autumn of 1845. Adler spent the rest of his life writing books, first in Hasle, then moving to Copenhagen in 1853, where he lived until his death in 1869. Adler made a strong contribution to Hegelian philosophy in Denmark in the 1840s. Until 1842, he remained a right-wing Hegelian, asserting the agreement of **Christianity** and philosophy.

Kierkegaard was fascinated by the Adler case because Adler initially stated the experience to be a divine **revelation**. Kierkegaard was currently (***Fear and Trembling*** [1843]) interested in the question of such experiences with reference to the Bible story of the sacrifice of Isaac. In 1843, Adler visited Copenhagen and also Kierkegaard. Despite the fact that Adler seemed rather worked up and behaved eccentrically, Kierkegaard waited before making an assessment of the alleged revelation. In 1846, he purchased four new works published by Adler and a copy of Adler's collection of documents (1845) concerning his suspension. It would appear that Kierkegaard wrote the first draft of his unpublished ***Book on Adler*** in May–September 1846. In his book, Kierkegaard assesses Adler only on the basis of Adler's own statements. He does end by rejecting Adler's claim to be the recipient of a divine revelation, but on the grounds that Adler reveals himself to be thoroughly confused, even though some parts of his writings are profound. Because of the personal nature of the content of the book, Kierkegaard found himself unable to publish it, except for his essay on "The Difference between a Genius and an Apostle" by his pseudonym H.H. in ***Two Ethical-Religious Minor Essays*** (1849). *See also* IDEAS.

AESTHETIC, THE. In Kierkegaard's presentation, the aesthetic (*det Æsthetiske*) has to do with the life of the senses; it thus encompasses not only ordinary human instincts and desires but also their expression through the arts, and through artistic creativity that at its highest achievement finds its expression in works of **genius**. The aesthetic suffers, however, from two weaknesses. First, it is intrinsically temporal (*see* **Eternity/Time**) unless it is taken up in the service of **ethical-religious existence**, the latter of which contains an element of what is eternal (*see* **Ethical, The; Religious, The**). Instincts and desires change with the passage of time, and the one who bases his or her life on the aesthetic—centers it, for example, on the cultivation of personal beauty or muscular strength—bases it on something that must disappear with the passage of time. Second, the aesthetic is, in its initial state, spontaneous and unreflective.

While there is nothing wrong with what is spontaneous, at the same time there is nothing right with it, in the sense that the aesthetic remains amoral, not yet subject to ethical considerations until it is subjected to moral reflection. The aesthetic element in a person is thus the spontaneous or immediate character of a person as it is, unpruned and undirected, unless, of course, like Johannes the Seducer in ***Either/Or,*** a person tries consciously to direct his or her life solely in aesthetic categories—that is, without reference to moral rightness of action (*see* **Demonic, The**). For Kierkegaard, it is thus impossible to live a purely aesthetic life in which the aesthetic itself is the steering feature of one's existence. Not only is the aesthete doomed to fail in his or her attempt to eternalize what is temporal, but from the point of view of ethics, it is also a life based unjustifiably on natural selfishness. From the point of view of the way the human psyche is actually structured (*see* **Self, The**), it means one in fact operates on the basis of only one side of the self, since the self in its proper functioning utilizes the possibilities of the ethical and religious life. Kierkegaard sees the factor of the aesthetic's amorality, even in works of **art**, as a limiting feature. While ideality can be expressed in and through works of art, it is only ethical and the ethical-religious ideality that can be actualized in personal existence. *See also* DEATH AND DYING; IDEAS.

ANDERS. *See* WESTERGAARD, ANDERS CHRISTENSEN

ANDERSEN, HANS CHRISTIAN (1805–1875). Poet, novelist, writer of fairy tales. He was the son of Odense shoemaker Hans Andersen and former servant girl Anne Marie Andersdatter. Both parents belonged to the

poorest class in society. Andersen's father died early of sickness. Andersen's mother (who remarried and was widowed again) earned a living as a clothes' and bottle washer but took to drink. Andersen's education was patchy and inadequate, and he was a failure at the jobs he took to help the family income. His interest lay in reading and in the theater. He was convinced he would become famous if he went to Copenhagen. On September 4, 1819, he left Odense with 13 rigsdollars in his pocket, arriving at the capital on September 6. Despite help received from benefactors, Andersen seems initially to have wanted to become an actor without the burden of first having to get an education. He was good at getting people interested in him but poor at living up to their expectations. An important benefactor was Jonas Collin, director of the Royal Theater, who succeeded in getting Andersen a free place in a school in Slagelse. Andersen, now 17, became depressed and worn down by his difficult school situation, so Collin removed him in 1827 and let him have private tutoring in Copenhagen. Andersen's literary gifts now began to flourish, and even before his end-of-school exam, he was writing his first major work: *Journey on Foot from Holmens Canal to the East Point of Amager* (*Fodreise fra Holmens Kanal til Østpynten af Amager*) (1829), a book that immediately made him famous and opened the way for the rest of his career as an author of poems, novels, and fairy tales. From 1831, he went on a large number of journeys abroad, including a visit to Charles Dickens in London. Despite his success and many firm friends, Andersen was a lonely man, one with great aspirations yet plagued by poor nerves and doubt about his abilities. From about 1870 his health was poor, and he died of cancer in the home of Copenhagen friends on Østerbro.

In 1838, Kierkegaard in ***From the Papers of One Still Living*** (*Af en endnu Levendes Papirer*) reviewed his novel *Only a Fiddler* (*Kun en Spillemand*) (1837). Andersen's thesis in this novel is that **genius** needs help if it is to develop. His hero Christian is himself as he might have ended if he had not found patrons. Kierkegaard, who may well have been impressed by Andersen's first two novels, *Improvisatoren* (*The Improviser*) (1835) and *O.T.* (1836), did not after all write the positive review of the book he had led Andersen to expect. His main criticism of Andersen is that genius does not need the help of others to be genius. A further underlying criticism of Andersen's book concerns a theme Kierkegaard also deals with later in his ***Book on Adler:*** to write, a person needs to have a basic view of life or basic **idea** with an intended book. Without this, the would-be writer projects undigested personal problems and other literary deficiencies on the public, has no emotional control over

the work, and is unable to point the book toward, or arrive at, any genuine conclusion.

ANIMALS. For Kierkegaard, animals (*Dyrene*) are creatures having only what in humans is the initial stage or element of the **self**. They have their physical nature and mental processes related to their instinctive life. Animals are therefore seen as creatures of spontaneous or unreflective instinct and habit. They lack the possibility of self-consciousness and the spiritual dimension of **existence**. For this reason, Kierkegaard views animals as numerical copies of their species and not as individuals, even though they follow the will of the creator in the natural unfolding of their existence. They also remain free from experiencing the **anxiety** and **despair** indicative of self-consciousness and spirituality, but this is seen as their lack. Kierkegaard in his authorship uses the term *"animals"* of humans in a pejorative sense whenever he sees people or groups failing to actualize their spiritual potentiality as thinking human individuals. The "**crowd**" is the animal category because it consists of people who are content to remain mere numbers in the group, like animals, copies of each other. Kierkegaard, however, respects the authenticity of animals in following their **God**-created nature. When humans act as if they are animals, he views them as having in fact become much lower than the animals. *See also* ANXIETY; SPIRIT AND SOUL.

ANXIETY. Kierkegaard describes the development of human consciousness (*see* **Self, The**) in terms of what he considers to be observable psychological facts. Since we are biologically part of the **animal** kingdom yet in his view also have a **God**-created potentiality for eternal life (*see* **Eternity/Time**), we will be conscious of psychological experiences that reflect a tension, first, between our biology and self-consciousness and, second, between biological and spiritual life. He describes these experiences particularly in ***The Concept of Anxiety*** (1844) and in ***The Sickness unto Death*** (1849). In *The Concept of Anxiety* the individual is shown emerging from unreflective egocentricity in childhood (though this may happen at any age in the case of those lacking mature self-reflection) to self-conscious awareness of the surrounding world and of the possibility of action. Humans are seen as possessing the capability of acting in **freedom** after reflection; that is, humans are not predetermined in any way, even though limiting factors are presented by heredity and environment.

Kierkegaard as Vigilius Haufniensis describes how the possibility of freedom, with its accompanying sense of responsibility for action, cre-

ates anxiety (*Angest*) in the individual. The individual undergoes a state of gradual awakening, described as a "dreaming," then "awakened" **spirit**, in which the possibility of freedom, choice, and action ambiguously attracts and repels the individual through the scope of action opened (as the individual gradually becomes aware of the object of the choice and that there is a choice) and the accompanying implication of personal responsibility. Kierkegaard sees the transition to concrete (good or bad) action as occurring in a "leap"; that is, concrete choices occur through free volition and are not an inevitable product or outcome of some previous state by some kind of natural transition, even though he accepts that individuals are burdened to a greater or lesser extent by the "necessity" of the factors of environment and heredity which are beyond their control. *See also CONCEPT OF ANXIETY, THE;* FAITH; SIN.

ART. Kierkegaard is extremely interested in the creative possibilities of art (*Kunst*), not least in connection with music, painting, and creative writing. His attitude to it is ambiguous, however, because he sees it as belonging to the sphere of the **aesthetic** and of what is given naturally as talent or **genius** to human nature. He greatly appreciated the various art forms, especially **music** and the theater, while he found works of art in the Danish churches (**Bertel Thorvaldsen**'s statue of Christ in Copenhagen Cathedral [Vor Frue Kirke], and the altarpiece in the Church of Our Savior [Vor Frelsers Kirke]) religiously inspiring. While he thus saw that the artist could use his or her talents in the service of the religious (as he did himself with his own literary genius), Kierkegaard was troubled concerning the question of how far art was defensible in its own right, when one considered it from the perspective of the **ethical-religious**. As Anti-Climacus in ***Practice in Christianity*** (1850), he is particularly scathing about the artist who earns money from painting a picture of Christ. He sees such a one as "admiring" Christ instead of imitating Christ (*see* **Imitation**). In ***Either/Or***, music is especially associated with the feelings and with the fleeting aesthetic **moment**. In his journals (1849), Kierkegaard is scathing about organ music in church accompanied by trombones (*Basuner*). Here, he is clearly referring negatively to the practice of having hymns at the major festivals accompanied by a trombone or trumpet in the gallery as well as by the organ. Yet Kierkegaard can also write in his journals of 1847 about the beauty of the antiphonal amen sung in the Church of Our Savior. In the journals of 1854–55, however, Kierkegaard goes as far as to refer to the church buildings as theaters for playing at **Christianity**.

Part of Kierkegaard's problem with art is its relation to ideality (*see* **Ideas**). The poetic **imagination** can help the individual in the direction of authentic ideality by providing a mental picture of the ethical-religious reality the individual ought to strive to actualize. Aesthetic ideality can even be seen as a triumph over the imperfections of daily existence, in that the artist is able to idealize existence through the art form in question, and point to something more perfect than the status quo. Yet even if the artist is able to actualize his or her artistic vision in some masterpiece, what is concretized is the vision in an art object. The vision cannot be actualized as personal ethical-religious **existence**. The poet and artist visualize, create, and experience ideals within themselves, but, as Judge William points out in *Either/Or,* the ideal requirements of art provide a person only with an imperfect reconciliation with life, because they do not relate properly to **actuality** and are not to be found independently in real life. Art can even be seen as divorcing a person from the actual world, if that person lets him- or her self be carried away too much from daily life by it.

The difference Kierkegaard sees between aesthetic and religious ideality is that, although the aesthetic ideal may be higher than the given actuality because of its picture of absolute perfection, it is only ethical-religious ideality that is capable of becoming higher than the actual world through being something individuals can realize in personal existence. As Kierkegaard points out in his writings, where one has a beautiful picture of something, however inspiring, it is an eternalizing of it, as, for example, the altarpiece of Christ in Gethsemane in the Church of Our Savior. Here, Christ is shown suffering in the garden, even though he is with the Father in heaven; in the picture Christ remains at that moment as long as the altarpiece lasts. With something like music, on the other hand, it is gone as soon as it is played, except in the memory of those able to recall it. Despite his reservations about art and his sharp distinction between the spheres of the aesthetic and the ethical-religious, Kierkegaard gradually came to see that his own literary talent was an essential gift given him to use in the service of Christianity, and this thought eventually reconciled him to the fact that he was living as a well-known writer in the center of Copenhagen instead of as a poor pastor caring for souls in some remote country parish. *See also CRISIS AND A CRISIS IN THE LIFE OF AN ACTRESS, THE;* IMITATION; MUSIC.

ASCETICISM. While Kierkegaard would appear to have found asceticism (*Askese*) attractive, he was careful always to maintain a balanced attitude

concerning its practice. Although he saw his entire religious **existence** as a penitential one and cultivated a strongly devotional private life, he does not appear to have attempted to live ascetically until 1853, when in his journals he reports trying it for several months to see how much he can manage to bear. He sees the dangers of asceticism as being those of sophistry and self-torture, so he is wary of anything that looks like a loss of the point of asceticism in a preoccupation with its external practice. The point of asceticism is to help deliver the individual from the clog of temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**), to free people into a truly religious dedication. Kierkegaard tends to think that the individual who tries to live a **religious** life in the world will find adequate ascetic trials occurring naturally, but he comes to emphasize this tougher side of **Christianity** in the period of his attack on the church establishment. *See also* DEATH AND DYING; RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL.

ASSISTENS CEMETERY. The cemetery (Assistens kirkegård) is bounded by Kapelvej, Nørrebrogade, Jagtvej, and Hans Tavsens Park in Copenhagen. It is filled with trees and bushes of all kinds, many brought by sailors from different countries. The oldest part of the cemetery is in the northeast area of the present site, and it is sectioned off to a great extent by a wall that was designed by architect Philip de Lange. The cemetery was taken into use in 1760 as a relief on pressure of space in the churchyards in the inner city. Each church was allocated a section of the new cemetery, but when St. Nicolaj Church burnt down in 1795, its space was distributed among the other churches. This is why the Kierkegaard family burial plot is sometimes described as belonging to St. Nicolaj and sometimes to Vor Frue Kirke (the cathedral Church of Our Lady).

Like many other burial plots, the Kierkegaard family grave site consists of a grassy area surrounded by a metal fence. At the back is a monument bearing a stone tablet to **Michael Kierkegaard**'s first wife and a cross. Two other tablets, with the names of other family members, lean against this monument. In the corners are four small roses. The right-hand tablet is to the memory of **Anne** Kierkegaard (née **Lund**) and her husband Michael. The left-hand tablet is to the memory of the children, **Søren Michael**, **Maren Kirstine**, and Søren Aabye. **Peter Christian**'s first wife, Elise Marie, is also buried in the plot but remains unmentioned.

Negative motives have been attributed to Peter Christian for the fact that Søren Kierkegaard's name did not get mentioned on the grave until 1874 (when the entire grave was set in order). A reason for Peter Christian's behavior in the matter of the burial plot can, however, be seen in

the fact that their father had originally planned the grave site. When new deaths indicated the need for redoing the grave, Peter, who seems to have found himself unable to act decisively in any dilemma, let the matter drag on, despite appeals to him to do something about it. Finally, one of his brothers-in-law, **Johan Christian Lund**, took charge of the matter, so that the grave was eventually ordered following the suggestions (probably from 1846) found among Søren Kierkegaard's papers 10 years after his death. The suggestions included some changes to the original layout of the plot. In June 1845, Kierkegaard mentions in his journals a visit to his father's grave in the cemetery, when he encountered two women, one talking noisily about a funeral. By choosing a different path to the grave, he managed to avoid their further presence. It is highly likely that Assistens Cemetery is the inspiration behind the scene in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, in which a grandfather, at the grave of his son, exacts a promise from his grandchild to follow Christianity truly and not be led away by speculative philosophy.

Kierkegaard was buried in the family plot on Sunday, November 18. At the committal in the cemetery, his nephew **Henrik Sigvard Lund** interrupted the start of the committal proceedings by rejecting the church establishment's appropriation of Kierkegaard through the funeral. He also read aloud from the Book of Revelation and from Kierkegaard's paper ***The Moment***.

ATHENAEUM. A private institution, a kind of literary club, founded in 1824, in the center of Copenhagen. It was situated at Østergade 68, a section of the famous walking street called Strøget, and was well used by Copenhagen intellectuals, since it had a good library. According to his journals, Kierkegaard used the Athenaeum book collection in 1834 and as late as 1854. In 1855 (according to literature historian and teacher Kristian Arentzen), Kierkegaard spent the period of morning church service reading in the Athenaeum Society's reading room. The Athenaeum was still running in 1894, with 40,000 books in its library.

ATTACK ON THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT. *See* CHRISTIANITY/CHRISTENDOM; *MOMENT, THE;* MYNSTER, JAKOB PETER; STATE CHURCH.

AUTHORITY. Kierkegaard sees ordinary authority (*Myndigheden*) as derived from the individual's social context; for example, the parent, the Judge, the firefighter, have the authority of their position. Where reli-

gious authority is concerned, the apostle is one specially called by **God** to preach the gospel, whereas the pastor derives his authority from ordination. Although the pastor can simply refer to his ordination as the source of his authority, the apostle cannot refer to concrete evidence but only to his claim to be called by God. Either people will believe him or they will not. In his essay "The Difference between a Genius and an Apostle" (1849), Kierkegaard views apostolic authority as derived from the sphere of the eternal or transcendent **eternity**. Authority appears to be something that makes itself felt, irrespective of the nature of the content of the message, so that when an apostle says "Go" and an ordinary person says the same thing, the difference is that the former possesses divine authorization and the latter does not.

Kierkegaard realized that his understanding of special **religious** authority such as the apostle's, was not without problems. Apart from the fact that it is not clear how Kierkegaard understands "the specific quality of ordination"—that is, what aspect of ordination gives authority to the act of pastoral ordination—Kierkegaard realized that the self-deceived or mentally unbalanced might mistakenly think they had a special call from God. In the writings of his final years, Kierkegaard also had a problem with the authority of ordination, since he was clear that this alone did not guarantee the truth and value of the preaching of the individual pastor. He thus came to think that only living authentically as a Christian gave the preacher authentic authority (something he seems to suggest already in the draft of ***The Book on Adler***, in which Christ's authority seems to be validated by how he lived in the world). Where Kierkegaard himself was concerned, as fully trained in theology but unordained, he emphasizes again and again in his authorship that he is "without authority" and follows a teaching strategy of **indirect communication** in his pseudonymous works.

– B –

BAKKEHUSET. *See* HEIBERG, JOHAN LUDVIG; OEHLENSCHLÄGER, ADAM.

BAKKEN. *See* DEER PARK.

BALLE, NIKOLAI EDINGER (1744–1816). Bishop of Zealand (1783–1808). Balle was born in Lolland on October 12, 1744, and received his schooling at Nakskov School. After his father died, he went to

Slagelse, where he was supported by some of the townspeople. In 1762, he was enabled to go to **Copenhagen University** supported by monetary grants. His initial period at university was overshadowed by the suicide of his mother in the same year. He was successful in his studies and graduated in theology in 1765, after which a study tour to several German universities brought him in contact with theological rationalism. He gave lectures in Leipzig after he acquired a Ph.D. and was offered a teaching post at Göttingen University. Balle accepted instead a post as dean of Borch's Hall of Residence at Copenhagen University, returning home in 1770. In 1771, he became a pastor in a country parish in Aalborg diocese, but the following year saw him a professor in theology. In 1774 he became doctor of theology and second court pastor, then in 1783 bishop of Zealand.

Balle became unpopular with the young because of his political conservatism and unpopular with government circles, when a close friend, cabinet minister Ove Guldberg, was removed from office. His reforming interest lay within the sphere of theology, especially where liturgy was concerned, but he refused to depart in any way from the teachings of the Bible, defending it ardently against the extreme rationalists. He was well known for his Bible reading groups in various churches in Copenhagen, and he was a busy author and editor. At the turn of the century the political tide again turned, and in 1800 Balle became royal court pastor. In 1808, he gave up his bishopric. He was deeply depressed in his final years by Denmark's misfortunes and misfortunes in his own home. He died on October 19, 1816.

Among Balle's many publications (which included hymnbooks and Bible commentaries) is to be found his catechism, which he constructed together with the royal court pastor Christian Bastholm. Balle, who was a strong adherent of Luther's Lesser Catechism, applied in 1785 to the chancellery for permission to write a new catechism that would replace the rather heavy pietistic catechism of Erik Pontoppidan. Balle's catechism (*Lærebog i den Evangelisk-christelige Religion*) was officially authorized in 1794, but already by 1793 it had sold 42,000 copies. It became a best-seller in many editions, the most widely read book of the time after the Bible and an alphabet primer. The popularity of the catechism continued until its sales' monopoly was revoked in 1856 and Carl F. Balslev's catechism appeared. The popularity of his catechism seems to have been due to the fact that it was structured in a clear and appealing manner. Also, although Balle was theologically conservative, he was still influenced by the rationalist spirit of the time, which is reflected in his catechism, following fashion in containing teaching on virtues and

duties. A large section of the catechism is devoted to duties: duties to God, duties to ourselves, duties to our neighbor, and duties in particular estates in life. The catechism was thus in widespread use in Kierkegaard's time. Children were expected to learn it and to study it in the schools (as Kierkegaard did at the **Borgerdyd School**).

A number of references to Balle's catechism appear in Kierkegaard's works, the most noteworthy being in ***Either/Or*** II, where Judge William uses it to assist his explanation of ethics to the aesthete A. The description the judge gives of how he had to learn the first 10 lines of the catechism as a little boy would seem to be a report of Kierkegaard's own experience. An important feature of the catechism where Kierkegaard is concerned is that in the catechism **God** approves of the temporal world. A person may enjoy life through proper use of what God has given, as long as there is fulfillment of **ethical-religious** duties. This is Judge William's attitude, and it is clear that Balle's exposition of the **ethical** code underpins the judge's view of ethics. What is lacking in both the judge's letters to the aesthete and in Balle's catechism, however, is a description of what it means to be a Christian in terms of self-renunciation and dying to the world. *See also* DEATH AND DYING; RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL.

BANG, OLUF LUNDT (1788–1877). Son of doctor Frederik Ludvig Bang. He became a student in 1804 and had to practice medical skills already during the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. In 1810, he was awarded a **Copenhagen University** gold medal and also attained a licentiate degree. In 1813, he received his medical doctorate. The following year he held a postgraduate teaching position in the Faculty of Medicine and was a lecturer for 60 years, becoming professor of medicine. From 1825 to 1841, Bang was head doctor at **Frederik's Hospital**. Bang was a leading doctor with a gift for diagnosis, though in his later years he relied too much on this ability at the expense of examining patients. He was also active on the teaching front in improving the way the teaching of medicine was done. He wrote a number of medical works that extolled nature's curative powers and cold water cures. He also wrote aesthetic works under a pseudonym. His wife was Sophie Bang. Oluf Bang was Kierkegaard's physician. In his journals of 1846 and 1847, Kierkegaard refers to Bang's opinion in connection with the unlikeliness of his overcoming his health problem that he describes as a discord between the psychical and the physical, his "thorn in the flesh" (*see* **Spirit and Soul; Melancholy, Spiritual**). In 1848, Kierkegaard tells us that he has again talked to Bang, who has been unable to help him.

BANKRUPTCY, NATIONAL. *See* NAPOLEONIC WARS.

BARTH, KARL (1886–1968). Famous German Swiss Protestant theologian. Barth was born in Basel, Switzerland, becoming a pastor of the Swiss Reformed Church in 1911. In 1921, he became professor of dogmatic theology at Göttingen University in Germany. Later he was to hold chairs in theology at Munster (1925–30), then at Bonn (1930–35). When Hitler came to power in 1933, Barth was uncompromising in his opposition to Nazism. In 1935, he was dismissed from his professorship for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Nazi authorities. In addition, his doctorate from the University of Munster was cancelled, and he had to flee the country. He therefore returned to his native Basel, where he was invited to accept the chair of theology (1935), which he held until his retirement in 1962. Barth was a leading exponent of neo-orthodoxy or dialectical theology (*see* **Dialectic**), which stresses a fundamental opposition between **God** and human beings, a great gulf that only God can bridge from his side. Barth was a pupil of the Lutheran theologian Adolf Harnack (1851–1930) and a passionate admirer of the romantic theologian, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). In the years after World War I, Barth began to shape his own theology. During the 19th century in Germany, theology had been liberal in nature, following the current trend of liberal opinion in politics, philosophy, and science. In particular, the theology had emphasized respect both for what reason can tell one about God and his world and for the authority of personal experience. Romantic theologians had advocated a passionate, unmediated relationship between God and the individual, while it was thought that **truth**, Christian truth, could be discovered through honest self-examination and investigation of the natural order of things. Against this, Barth restated the dogmas of the early Church. His picture of the human condition was thus one of humanity fallen from a primeval state of **grace** into its present state of wretched sinfulness. Remotely transcendent from the world, God in his mercy offered the one means of salvation, that means to be found through the Old and the New Testaments and especially in the words of Christ as interpreted by St. Paul. The individual must lay hold of forgiveness and grace by this path and cease to try to find further evidence of the existence and nature of this God whether in history, secular philosophy, anthropology, the arts, or even ordinary human love.

Barth revealed his basic position through his famous commentary *Der Romerbrief* (1919) (*The Epistle to the Romans*). For Barth, St. Paul was the authoritative interpreter of the Christian **revelation** to humankind.

Natural theology was an impossible task because human reason had been corrupted by the primeval fall. It was therefore impossible for it to arrive at divine truth or evaluate the credentials of revelation. Knowledge of God could only be through what God chose to reveal. Barth did not, however, reject historical critical Bible scholarship but saw this as merely a preparatory task for the work of theology, which was to preach the revealed word of Christ. As John Macquarrie points out, however, although it is the theology of the early Barth that made a huge impact on modern theology, Barth came to modify his view.

Barth was one of the first major Christian theologians to draw inspiration from Søren Kierkegaard's writings. He first encountered Kierkegaard in 1909 in a German translation of Kierkegaard's paper ***The Moment***. In the second edition of his commentary on *The Epistle to the Romans* (1922), Barth acknowledges his debt to Kierkegaard and places him among the really great ones: Abraham, Jeremiah, Socrates, Grünewald, Luther, and Dostoevsky. In a 1922 lecture, Kierkegaard appears in a list of Barth's spiritual ancestors, of whom the others are stated to be Luther, Calvin, St. Paul, and Jeremiah. Inspired by Kierkegaard, the early Barth emphasized the Kierkegaardian infinite qualitative distinction between time and **eternity**, the gap between God and humans, though, as N. H. Søe points out, Kierkegaard was not the only source of this important theme in Barth, while even in Barth's severe judgment of human **existence** there is a difference between him and Kierkegaard in that Kierkegaard attacks the phenomenon of a debased "Christendom," whereas Barth seems to pronounce a judgment on earthly **existence**. Yet Barth agrees with Kierkegaard in emphasizing the Lutheran *theologia crucis* (theology of the cross), as opposed to the *theologia gloriae* (theology of glory), and like Kierkegaard, he underlines the thought that God cannot be directly recognized. Following Kierkegaard, Barth's Christ is the lowly servant, source of "**offense**," and the human spiritual condition is one of struggle and forsakenness rather than peace. For both, the nonbeliever's situation is one of **despair**. Also in Barth is found **faith** as miracle and **paradox**, though Barth's interest is theological, whereas Kierkegaard emphasizes the psychology of faith.

On the publication of his *Christian Dogmatics* (*Die kirchliche Dogmatik*) in 1927, Barth still mentions Kierkegaard, together with nine other theologians to whom he is greatly indebted. Yet after this, Kierkegaard disappears more and more, and when he is mentioned, it is with a note of criticism. The early Barth had found points of disagreement with Kierkegaard. In *The Epistle to the Romans* commentary, he

was critical of what he saw as Kierkegaard's excessive pietism and of his "teleological suspension of the **ethical**." It is, however, the later Barth who makes a definite turn away from Kierkegaard. In his Sonning Prize speech on April 19, 1963, at **Copenhagen University**, Barth states his later disagreement clearly. He tells us that in his youth he was captivated by Kierkegaard's emphasis on taking the gospel's absolute requirement seriously and personally. He discovered in it an antidote to the liberal Protestant union of culture and **Christianity**. Yet he gradually found Kierkegaard's incessant proclamation of the practice of Christianity a threat to the gospel of God's free grace. He also came to feel that Kierkegaard's focus on the individual (*see* **Self, the**) was to the detriment of congregation and church community, of church missionary work and its social and political tasks. Finally, Barth said that the notion that subjectivity is truth made the sequel of an existential philosophy (*see* **Existentialism**) reasonable, for the emphasis on subjectivity can lead to a faith that finds its foundation in itself and becomes, in the mid–20th century, groundless and objectless.

Far from attacking the anthropocentric-Christian line of thinking of the time, in Barth's view, Kierkegaard had in fact greatly strengthened it. Barth concluded with his gratefulness to Kierkegaard for immunizing him against the theological situation at the beginning of the century and expressed respect for his life and works. Yet Barth thought that while Kierkegaard was essential reading for the theologian, the latter must not stop with him. Barth found Kierkegaard lacking with respect to Christianity as glad news of God's acceptance of humans. Kierkegaard's emphasis on the individual's duty to love omitted due weight on God's love to us. He also thought Kierkegaard devalued the role of the congregation (*see* **Crowd/Public**; **Social and the Political, The**) and the gospel in its aspect of being the news from on high. For Barth, it was necessary to do further work in these areas looking to teachers other than Kierkegaard.

What can finally be said about Barth and Kierkegaard is that although he grasped that Kierkegaard is not setting out to make a definitive theology of the Christian faith, Barth failed to understand the three-dimensional nature of Kierkegaard's writings. For Kierkegaard, the individual is to work out his or her own life within Christian concepts, if he or she so chooses, which will never mean setting up Kierkegaard's thinking as some kind of intellectual orthodoxy to which one returns. While the young Barth was possibly too quick to swallow the attack on the church establishment in *The Moment* (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**), the older Barth missed the scope of the Socratic element of

Kierkegaard's **indirect communication** that gives balance to the whole of Kierkegaard's authorship. The things the older Barth could not find in Kierkegaard are there to be found, in addition to a realistic grasp of the questions surrounding the individual's faith-relation to the objective content of Christianity.

BATTLE BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW SOAP CELLARS, THE. It is still unclear whether the draft of Kierkegaard's unpublished play, *The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars* (*Striden mellem den gamle og den nye Sæbekielder*), was written before or after ***From the Papers of One Still Living*** (1838) or even at the same time. It was clearly intended for performance in the academic world, highly likely for the **Student Association**, where students and professors would recognize all the characters and themes. The play deals with philosophy and politics, with some allusions to religion, the whole piece being a satire on the jargon of Hegelianism (*see* **Hegel**). The action of the play starts in the world of **actuality** and then continues in the realm of ideality. The chief character is Willibald, a Faustian doubter (*see* **Doubt**), who returns home from a party with serious identity problems, confused by all the reading he has done. He flees the world of actuality and himself (Echo) encounters some born-again Christians (**Jakob Christian Lindberg, Peter Christian Kierkegaard,** and **Andreas Gottlob Rudelbach**) but succeeds in avoiding religion and arriving in the prytaneum of the realm of philosophical ideality.

This realm is not free from a political element, and doubt has its home there in the philosophical debate. Holla Hurrison (**Orla Lehmann**) wants political activity and rejects philosophy; Hegelian philosophers von Jumping-Jack and Phrase discuss whether scholarship can be made understandable to people. Ole Wadt (**Jens Finsteen Giødwad**) thinks one should write for the educated middle class. Willibald arrives, wanting a cure for his doubt, but receives only a long lecture on philosophy from von Jumping-Jack (helped by Phrase) on doubt and Hegel, the only alternative seen as being Straussian (**David Strauss**) mythology. Willibald, the existential doubter, is scarcely helped by this discourse and proposes a question for discussion—namely, why the sun stands still in an eternal timelessness in that region, a question he regrets proposing after he has been sent for a brief spell to the unfinished world-historical college. There is great dispute concerning the answer to Willibald's question, and Willibald calms things by assuring everyone that he does not mean the physical sun stays still and meant his question only metaphorically

to indicate the state of affairs in that region. Willibald hails this state of affairs as the dawn of truth and proclaims his enthusiasm for the Hegelian realm. When a fly goes by uttering Hegelian propositions, Willibald thinks there is now a complete harmony of world history that includes the natural order of things. The final act of the play has Willibald proposing a new name for the learned association and a new time reckoning to indicate that peace is restored: "The New and the Old Prytaneum," a name indicative of "the myth of the battle between the old and the new **soap cellars**." The play ends with the erection of a commemorative monument amid enthusiastic toasts.

The serious theme underlying Kierkegaard's satire is the problem of human existence and the need for an authentic philosophy of life by which to live. His polemic is against inauthentic personal existence. Politics and philosophy are shown to fail unless individuals have an authentic personal **existence** (*see* **Self, The**). Willibald's search for a personal philosophy is not helped by the philosophical doubters in their ivory tower. The politicians talk unrealistically about the practical questions of life and thus are no better. Willibald finally lets himself be brainwashed by the philosophical jargon that does not doubt radically enough to doubt its own jargon. He fails to go home and face up to himself. His previous contact with the **religious** was unhelpful because it was with people preoccupied with nit-picking questions about personal sin. Yet at the beginning of the play, Kierkegaard has Martin Luther cutting switches for people who ask useless questions, and at the end the sinner Zacchaus looks down on Christ from his sycamore tree.

BIRD KING. In several works Kierkegaard mentions *Fuglekonge,* or "king of the birds," often translated as "captain of the hunt" or "captain of the shooting club." "King of the birds" comes from the practice of awarding this title to the best shot of the season. An example of such a shooting club in Kierkegaard's time is the shooting association founded in Ærøskøbing in Denmark in 1842. Only men were allowed in the association, but in modern times in such clubs, the "king of the birds" is accompanied by a "queen."

BLOCH, JØRGEN VICTOR (1812–1892). Pastor. Bloch was the son of the pastor of Lønborg, Ribe, in Jutland. He was taught at home until he was old enough to go to the **Borgerdyd School** at Christianshavn, Copenhagen. He went to **Copenhagen University** in 1829, graduating in theology in 1833. In that year he was given the post of teacher at Ran-

ders Grammar School, but in 1834 he returned to Copenhagen where he did a licentiate degree (1835) on the subject of Christ's ascension. He then took a teaching post for a couple of years in Horsens, becoming pastor at Borbjerg in 1837 and, in 1838, his father's successor at Lønborg. In 1851 Bloch became a rural dean. Later, in 1855, he was appointed pastor of Kerteminde and, in the period 1855–59, also member of the new parliament. In 1868, he was pastor at Vig and Asminderup, retiring in 1881 to Copenhagen.

During his political period, Bloch attempted to get a proposal for a church **constitution** accepted, and while he was pastor at Kerteminde, he worked with Christian Kold, supporting the latter's Free School in Dalby in a pamphlet that explained this method of education. He also became chairman of the Society for the Danish General School. As a pastor, he tended towards Grundtvigianism (*see* **Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig**). He was also ecumenically minded, hoping the Christian denominations would come together. He tried to get a group of Christians from different denominations to undertake a mission to Islam, and in 1867 he went to Athens to bring about cooperation between the Nordic and Greek Christian communities, something he thought was prophesied in the Book of Revelation. On his return, he continued his work on the idea of an interdenominational mission and went to an ecumenical conference in Bonn in 1874. To the end of his life he hoped that all Christians could become united on the basis of a shared creed. Although he wrote a few small pieces, his chief activity was that of an active pastor.

Kierkegaard, in his journals of 1855, mentions Bloch as an opponent with reference to the attack on the church establishment. In *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) of April 27, 1855, Kierkegaard goes to the attack mentioning Bloch, who, in an earlier issue of the same paper, had attacked Kierkegaard and spoken approvingly of someone's anonymous article against him. Bloch recommended that Kierkegaard be excluded from the church if he failed to reform. Also in his journals of 1855, Kierkegaard has the draft of a further article dealing with Bloch, who responded to Kierkegaard's previous article with another in the *Berlingske Tidende* (*Berling's Times*) of June 2. Bloch apparently saw Kierkegaard's article "What a Terrible Punishment" as a response to his article, whereas, as Kierkegaard makes clear in the draft, Kierkegaard saw himself as using Bloch's article as an occasion for saying more against the church establishment generally. Kierkegaard expresses his lack of interest in the content of Bloch's previous article and makes clear he has no desire to argue with Bloch. *See also* MYNSTER, JAKOB PETER; STATE CHURCH.

BOESEN, EMIL FERDINAND (1812–1881). Danish pastor, son of Councillor Johannes Boesen and Sophie Hamerich. Boesen's family, like Kierkegaard's, had links with the Moravian community in Copenhagen. Johannes Boesen was a friend of the Kierkegaard family, and he pleaded for **Michael Kierkegaard**'s daughters on several occasions concerning their father's use of them as servants. Emil Boesen came from a cultural as well as an extremely pious home. He became a student in 1829 and took his degree in theology in 1834. After this, he was a teacher at Westen's Institute in Copenhagen but continued his studies, particularly philology, philosophy, and early Church history.

Initially he seems to have been more interested in a scholarly life than in becoming a pastor, although he took a service fortnightly at an Orthopaedic Institute in Copenhagen, where he also did some teaching. In 1849, however, he became assistant pastor in Horsens, Jutland, then pastor of the parish in 1861. In May 1850, Boesen had married Lovise Holtermann. He became rural dean at Aarhus in 1863, resigning from this post in 1877. He was valued as a pastor by his parishioners, who found him good at spiritual direction. In his early years he was close to leading Grundtvigians (*see* **Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig**), yet he was always a close friend of Kierkegaard. When Kierkegaard was in **Frederik's Hospital** in the final months of his life, Boesen was one of the few Kierkegaard permitted to visit him. In 1845, Boesen had published *The Development of a Religious Life in Letters from Cornelius, Published by Z* (*En religiøs Livsudvikling i Breve fra Cornelius, udgivne af Z*), which reveals Boesen's own development in his search for an ideal for which to live but also shows traces of Kierkegaard's influence. On his retirement in 1877, he moved to Frederiksberg where he died in 1881.

Kierkegaard and Boesen corresponded a great deal, and it was to Boesen that Kierkegaard wrote in the period of his broken engagement. Boesen in turn wanted Kierkegaard to come to his wedding in 1850 at Copenhagen Cathedral (Vor Frue Kirke). Kierkegaard had strongly encouraged Boesen to seek a position as a pastor, though their correspondence ceased when Boesen's life became increasingly involved with pastoral activities and married life. When Kierkegaard fell ill in October 1855, Boesen went to Copenhagen and visited him nearly every day. Kierkegaard clearly felt that he could talk to Boesen. Boesen thought that perhaps Kierkegaard should ameliorate the stringency of his attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster; State Church**) but found Kierkegaard unbending on this point.

Apart from the correspondence between the two, some references to Boesen appear in Kierkegaard's journals. In 1836, Kierkegaard mentions Boesen in connection with his first article against **Orla Lehmann** in *Copenhagen's Flying Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*). In 1838, Kierkegaard mentions Boesen as the only one he feels he can talk to about his father Michael Kierkegaard, who had died that week. In 1841, Boesen and Kierkegaard's brother **Peter Christian** are reported as going on board when Kierkegaard departed by ship for Germany after the broken engagement. In 1849, Kierkegaard mentioned the letters he wrote to Boesen from Berlin at this time, that Boesen had later returned them to Kierkegaard to keep. Again in 1849, when he returned to the time of the final breach with **Regina Olsen**, we find that Kierkegaard went to the theater immediately afterward, to meet Emil Boesen and no doubt to share his trouble with him. *See also* OLSEN, TERKILD.

BOOK ON ADLER, THE. In *Some Sermons* (*Nogle Prædikener* [1843]), pastor **Adolph Adler**, a contemporary of Kierkegaard's, claimed he had had a **revelation** from Jesus Christ and thus implied his claim to divine **authority**. Kierkegaard, who had raised the issue of the individual (*see* **Self, The**) and **God** in ***Fear and Trembling*** and who (in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***) had undermined the ability of history and philosophy to provide certainty in matters of religious belief, now embarked on a study of this remarkable incident. In June 1846, Kierkegaard, who had been given a copy of *Some Sermons* by Adler in 1843, purchased four simultaneously published works by Adler on topics ranging from poetry to a logical presentation of **Christianity**. In August of that year Kierkegaard also purchased a copy of Adler's collection of documents to do with his suspension and dismissal from his pastorate (*Skrivelser min Suspension og Entledigelse vedkommende* [1845]). As far as we can tell from this interest in Adler's works, a lack of journal entries from May to September 1846, and an entry in which *The Book on Adler* (*Bogen om Adler*) is mentioned by name, Kierkegaard worked on the first draft of the book in this period.

Initially, the book had a long introduction making a distinction between "essential authors" with something to say and "premiss-authors" who have all kinds of assumptions but no conclusion through lack of a consolidated view of life, a distinction that echoes the young Kierkegaard's criticism of **Hans Christian Andersen** in ***From the Papers of One Still Living***. In 1847, however, Kierkegaard, in a fresh preface

to the draft, described it as an **ethical** investigation about the concept of revelation and authority and how a person with such a claim should relate to society concerning it. The first draft of *The Book on Adler* was divided into four chapters. In the first, Kierkegaard dealt with the difference between the ordinary and the (authentic) special individual in their relation to the ethical-religious establishment. In the second chapter, Kierkegaard returned to the problem of contemporaneity with a special divine manifestation, as dealt with previously in ***Philosophical Fragments*** and *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. In chapter 3, Kierkegaard demonstrated the incompatible claims made by Adler in his writings and that he was confused; in chapter 4, he endeavored to give a psychological explanation for what had happened to Adler, who, as an ardent Hegelian (*see* **Hegel**), had suddenly been plunged into a country pastorate where people treated religion as an intensely personal matter.

Kierkegaard, however, found himself unable to publish the book. Chief among his reasons was consideration for Adler and the fear, if he published the book without naming Adler, that people might think he was talking about a revelation experience of his own and see him as some kind of apostle figure. He was also nervous of getting mixed up with Adler in the latter's patently confused state. That Kierkegaard was right to be a bit nervous about the matter can be seen from Hans Frederik Helweg's review of Adler's four books in the *Dansk Kirketidende* (*Danish Church Times*) for July 1846, in which Helweg discovers a resemblance between Adler's writings and Kierkegaard's, a resemblance that Kierkegaard ascribes to Adler having plagiarized bits of Kierkegaard's writings.

From 1846 to 1848, Kierkegaard made several efforts to rewrite the book, which came, in the fourth draft of 1847–48, to consist of "A Cycle of Ethical-Religious Essays." Of the original draft, only "Of the Difference between a **Genius** and an Apostle" saw the light of day, as one of two essays by H.H. (***Two Ethical-Religious Minor Essays*** [*Tvende ethisk-religieuse Smaa-Afhandlinger*]) composed between August and December 1847 and published on May 19, 1849. As his journals indicate, Kierkegaard at one point considered calling the book *The Religious Confusion of the Present Age* (*Nutidens religieuse Forvirring*), in that after thinkers such as Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–72) and **David Strauss** had critiqued **Christianity**, Kierkegaard thought confusion was brought about by those who dangerously meddled with the **religious** by trying to start a new religion or by giving themselves apostle status. Kierkegaard labeled these two reactions to Christianity self-willed attempts to get rid

of religion, through a critique of Christianity (as in Feuerbach's case), or in aiming to set oneself up as a religious authority.

Of the two published essays, the first was a new one on the morality of putting oneself in a position where one might suffer martyrdom, "Does a Human Being Have the Right to Let Himself Be Put to Death for the Truth?" and in the short preface it is indicated that probably only theologians will be interested in the essays. The essay on the difference between the genius and the apostle had, in the third draft of *The Book on Adler*, been planned as an addendum. Kierkegaard deliberated whether the two published essays should be published under his own name or under a pseudonym before sending them to the printer on May 5, 1849, as composed by H.H. The book was printed in the usual run of 525 copies through Gyldendal. By 1842, 74 copies had been sold. Amusingly enough, Ludwig Nicolai Helweg (*Dansk Kirketidende*, IV, 43, July 22, 1849) spoke of the author of *Two Ethical-Religious Minor Essays* as a youngster who had borrowed his ideas from Kierkegaard, and his view of H.H. as a plagiarist was echoed by the reviewer in **Carl Emil Scharling** and **Christian Thorning Engelstoft**'s *Nyt Theologisk Tidsskrift* (*New Theological Journal*), I, 1850. In his journals of 1849, Kierkegaard (who wrote drafts of possible replies to the plagiarizing charges) states that his brother **Peter Christian Kierkegaard** at the Pastoral Convention at Roskilde (October 30, 1849) had given a lecture (printed as "Roskilde Præstconvent den 30te Oktober 1849," *Dansk Kirketidende*, number 219, December 16, 1849) in which he had spoken negatively about H.H. He was amazed when Kierkegaard told him that he was H.H. and in the printed lecture pointed out that the two ethical-religious essays resembled the work of Kierkegaard.

BORGERDYD SCHOOL, THE. The School of Civic Virtue (Borgerdydskolen) was to be found in Klareboderne, a side street off Købmagergade in the center of Copenhagen. One Søren Gyldendal initially purchased the property in 1788, establishing a bookshop and publishing house on the ground floor. A large part of the building was used for residential space, and in the first half of the 19th century, many rooms were rented out. In 1812, the two floors above the ground floor were rented to the Borgerdyd School, of which Michael Nielsen (1776–1846) was headmaster from 1811 to 1844 (sole director from 1813). The school had been started in 1787 on other premises. Kierkegaard went to school there (1821–30). Two of his brothers also studied there, **Peter Christian Kierkegaard** and **Søren Michael Kierkegaard,** who died in 1819 as a

result of a playground accident. While Michael Nielsen was headmaster, the school had an excellent academic reputation, and many later famous names appear in the list of pupils. In 1818, **Copenhagen University**, which apparently had some authority over the school, wrote a glowing report about Nielsen and the school. (In 1818, Nielsen was given the title of professor; in 1828, he was made a knight of the Dannebrog.) By 1832, the school had reached its peak with a total of 308 pupils.

From 1833 onward, the school seems to have declined in the number of its pupils. In 1838, its commercial classes were abolished. Although the quality of the education never declined under Nielsen, strict discipline became unfashionable, and newer, more modern schools were opened in Copenhagen. A final reason for the decline can be seen in the fact that Nielsen was getting old, and many parents who approved of Nielsen thought that he would not live long enough to see their sons successfully through school. They therefore chose schools with younger heads. Education at the school seems to have covered practical subjects as well as languages, and in Kierkegaard's time there was a major grouping into Latin and commercial classes.

In a letter of recommendation dated September 29, 1830, Nielsen lays weight on Kierkegaard's godly upbringing at home that has given him the proper moral qualities. In a sense the recommendation is more of a testimonial to Kierkegaard's father. In November 1840, Nielsen again wrote a recommendation, in which he goes into detail about Kierkegaard's intellectual abilities and capacities, also as a teaching assistant. Kierkegaard taught Latin in the top class but one at the school in the period 1837–38 and seems to have helped with teaching until 1840. Kierkegaard appears to have had a witty and sharp tongue in his schooldays but also to have been reserved about his home life. His clothing struck his school comrades as a sign of eccentricity.

In 1840, subjects listed in the school's curriculum included religion (with moral teaching) and the New Testament, Danish, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, German, French, history, geography, mathematics and arithmetic, natural history, writing, and gymnastics. There were also classes in song and dancing, bookkeeping, and English. Kierkegaard followed the main curriculum, also learning philosophy through study of the classics. That he was allowed to assist the headmaster in the teaching of Latin was seen as a great honor by the pupils. Several former pupils described him as an exceptionally able teacher, also amusing, though occasionally irritating in that direction. Sometimes he became lost in his own train of thought during the teaching hour. According to the headmaster,

he had an exceptional mastery of language and taught pupils so well that they developed beyond the expected level. In 1843, Kierkegaard gave the headmaster some dedication copies of his ***Upbuilding Discourses***. The school celebrated its centenary in 1887.

In fact, two Borgerdyd schools were located in Copenhagen stemming from the society that originally founded them. The original school split into two branches a year after its founding. A little after 1795, the connection between the two branches ceased. The branch of the school that moved to Christianshavn, and then to Vesterbro, continued into the middle of the 20th century.

BREMER, FREDERIKA (1801–1865). Finnish-born naturalized Swedish author and traveler who started the Swedish suffragette movement. Bremer was born in Tuorla in Finland. Her father was one of Finland's richest businessmen. He moved to Sweden (based in Stockholm) when Frederika was three. Bremer's home was one in which children were kept at a respectful distance from parents, and she grew up at private loggerheads with the world in which she found herself. A special difficulty lay in the fact that (unlike her sisters), she was rather an ugly child. As an adult, another difficulty lay for her in the fact that the world offered **women** only life in the home and empty socializing. Ladies of the upper class might not take employment outside the home. So she began to write, her first book appearing in 1828. Among her novels are *Presidentens döttrar* (1834), *Nina* (1835), and *Grannarne* (1837), the last of which was translated into several languages; also published were *Hemmet* (1839) and *Strid och frid* (1840). At about the same time as **Thomasine Gyllembourg** was writing about middle-class life, Bremer was also writing about it, but whereas Gyllembourg's ideals come from the previous century, Bremer wrote in a modern, unconventional manner that made her books highly attractive to readers. She was awarded the Swedish Academy's large gold medal in 1844. She also found that she developed her self and her thinking through her authorship, and after 1840 her writing becomes concerned with religious questions. She reacted to **David Strauss**'s *The Life of Jesus* (1835–36) with her *Morgonväkter* (1842), the first of her books with her name on the title page. Her religious outlook was clearly unorthodox, and her work was more successful in England and America than in Sweden.

When she was 48, Bremer began to travel abroad, spending a year in Copenhagen (1848), where she made friends with leading notabilities, including **Hans Christian Ørsted**, **Bernhard Severin Ingemann**, **Hans**

Christian Andersen, and **Hans Lassen Martensen**. She then went to America where she met Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry Ward Beecher. She returned via England to Sweden in 1851, publishing the fruits of her travels in 1853 in a three-volume work, *Hemmen i nya verlden*. She was especially interested in social conditions, particularly the position of women in society. In 1856, she wrote *Hertha*, in which she defends a woman's right to independent development. Although the book was harshly received (partly because of its style, but especially because of its subject), it set going social debate about women's place in society only a few years after **Mathilde Fibiger**'s book had done the same in Denmark.

Bremer took another journey in 1856, this time to Switzerland, Italy, the Holy Land, Turkey, and Greece, for a period of five years, where she studied their religions and spent time in various **religious** communities. Since her ideal was an international church that could include all religions, not surprisingly, she was not satisfied with what she encountered. In Italy, she wrote her last novel, *Far och dotter* (1858). On her return in 1861, she published an account of her travels, *Lifvet i gamla verlden*. Although she did some further traveling, she spent her final years essentially in Stockholm, where she involved herself in various philanthropic activities for orphans, people with disabilities, and the poor. She lived to see most of what she demanded for women fulfilled, especially their independent status and their achievement of access to higher education.

When Bremer visited Copenhagen in 1848, she requested Kierkegaard to call on her for the purpose of discussing "life's stages" but received a polite refusal. Kierkegaard found her ensuing comments about him in her book, *Life in the North* (*Lif i Norden*) (1849), unflattering. (She described him as a rather sickly, irritable, and inaccessible person; Kierkegaard also thought her presentation of him as a psychologist had brought him a female reading public.) In his journals for 1849, Kierkegaard describes her as a smug and silly spinster tramping around, jokes ironically about her "intercourse" with notables, and clearly thinks little of her friendship with Martensen. Bremer visited Martensen daily to discuss theology and had been allowed to read a prepublication copy of his *Christian Dogmatics* (*Den christelige Dogmatik*) (published July 1849). For Kierkegaard and many others of his time, such visiting would have been very unusual behavior for a single woman. Martensen seems to have regarded Bremer's interest in his *Dogmatics* as a useful test of his work's ability to attract the interest of not only theologians and other scholars but also of other cultured members of society. Martensen's tone toward her in his

autobiography is decidedly condescending, not least about her attempts to work out her own theological position (in fact, she asked him some particularly searching theological questions). In his journals and letters, Kierkegaard clearly indicates his lack of understanding and disapproval of women who publicly take an active intellectual interest in theology and other subjects.

BRORSON, HANS ADOLF (1694–1757). Danish bishop and hymn writer. Brorson was born in Randrup in West Slesvig. He was the youngest of three brothers and son of the pastor in Randrup. He went to Ribe School from 1709 to 1712. It was intended that he should study theology at **Copenhagen University**, but when he got a place at Borch's Hall of Residence, he lost it through failure to meet his scholarly commitment as a student. In 1717, he left Copenhagen for home without having taken his theology exam. In the same year, he became a house tutor at the home of an uncle in Løgumkloster. In this period, he concentrated on pulling his life together spiritually, and he was influenced by the pietism then coming from Germany. In 1721, he was offered the position of rector in Holstebro, but at that point his stepfather, pastor Oluf Holbek, died, and his uncle was able to acquire the living for Brorson. Brorson returned to Copenhagen to finish his theology degree. Soon after this he married his cousin Cathrine Stenbæk Clausen. In 1729, he became Danish deacon in Tønder. Both here and in Randrup, Brorson wrote his hymns. In Tønder, a special motivation was the fact that the congregation was singing German hymns. Brorson also had a gift for writing sacred verse to secular melodies, so that people would want to sing his hymns. The hymns were published in small booklets, until, in 1739, a collected edition appeared under the title of *The Rare Jewel of Faith* (*Troens rare Klenodie*).

In his hymns, Brorson depicts the struggle of the soul, its joy in **God**, and a longing for eternal life (*see* **Eternity/Time**). A number of his hymns are translations of German ones. In 1737, Brorson became diocesan dean of Ribe and, in 1741, he became the bishop. He appears to have been also gifted as a preacher. He became doctor of theology in 1760. In his later years, Brorson's health was weak, and he often suffered from depression. After his first wife died, he married Johanne Christiane Rise. In Ribe, Brorson continued to write hymns; after his death, these were published under the title of *Swan Song* (*Svanesang*) in 1765.

Kierkegaard mentions Brorson's hymns a number of times in his journals. In 1840, he considered how some lines of Brorson might be applied

to a poetic writer's life. In 1848, he cites lines of Brorson on heaven as a goal and in relation to **suffering**. Other references to lines from Brorson's hymns appear in journal entries for 1849, 1850, and 1851. In 1865, an undated fragment was found among Kierkegaard's papers with his proposal for the renovation of the Kierkegaard family grave at **Assistens Cemetery**. For his section of the memorial tablet, he had chosen a verse from Brorson to be placed under his name: "But a little while, Then I have won, Then is the entire strife Over and done. Then I can rest In Rose-filled halls; And perpetually, and perpetually, Speak with Jesus." (*Det er en liden Tid, Saa har jeg vunden, Saa er den ganske Strid, Med Eet forsvunden, Saa kan jeg hvile mig I Rosensale Og uafladelig :/: Min Jesum tale*; from Brorson's hymn "Halleluja, I Have Found My Jesus" [*Halleluja, jeg har min Jesu fundet*]).

BRØCHNER, HANS (1820–1875). Danish philosopher. Brøchner was the son of grocer Thøger Brøchner in the town of Fredericia. In 1836, he became a student at **Copenhagen University**, where he initially studied theology. Brøchner moved on to the study of philosophy, however, not least because the university authorities refused to let him take his theology exams because of his unorthodox views about Christianity. Along with philosophy he undertook the study of Oriental languages. Early on he translated **David Strauss**'s work on the Christian teaching on faith and, in 1843, published a polemic against **Hans Lassen Martensen**: *Some Comments on Baptism* (*Nogle Bemærkninger om Daaben*). His doctoral thesis was entitled "On the Jewish People's Situation in the Persian Period" (*Om det jødiske Folks Tilstand i den pers. Periode*) (1845).

Brøchner spent much of his time abroad from 1846 to 1853, but in 1849, he began to give lectures as a lecturer on a casual basis. When he finally settled in Copenhagen again after his years of travel, Brøchner was temporarily involved in political life but speedily decided he preferred to devote himself to a life of study. A particular interest was the history of philosophy. In 1857, he wrote a thesis on Spinoza, and in the same year he became casual lecturer at Copenhagen University. He was appointed professor in philosophy at the university in 1870. Despite his enthusiasm and idealism, his philosophy lectures were rather heavy because he used the abstract terminology of speculative philosophy and could not escape Georg W. F. **Hegel**'s methodology.

Brøchner's main works, however, had to do with religion. In *The Problem of Faith and Knowledge* (*Problemet om Tro og Viden*) (1868),

he presented a critique of the religious philosophy of Martensen, Kierkegaard, and **Rasmus Nielsen**. On December 1, 1855, he had written an article in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*): "On Søren Kierkegaards Activity as Religious Author" (*Om Søren Kierkegaards Virksomhed som religieuse Forfatter*). His own viewpoint he developed in *The Religious in Its Agreement with the Human* (*Det religiøse i dets Enhed med det Humane*) (1869.) The main idea in this latter work is that there is an impersonal spiritual principle penetrating and upholding existence in its individual manifestations that need to develop and conform to the harmony of the whole. Also in 1869, Brøchner published a philosophical work: *Contribution to the Understanding of the Path of Development in the History of Philosophy* (*Bidrag til Opfattelsen af Udviklingsgangen i Filosofiens Historie*). Brøchner's final (and unique) work was *Filosofiens Historie i Grundrids* (*The History of Philosophy in its Basic Outline*) (1873–74). It was in this period that his health deteriorated.

Kierkegaard was personally acquainted with Brøchner from 1836 to 1855. Brøchner was also a distant relation of the Kierkegaard family. A sister of his mother (Johanne Kjeldsen) was married to silk and cloth merchant Michael Andersen Kierkegaard (1776–1867), cousin of Kierkegaard's father. In his recollections of Kierkegaard, Brøchner tells us that the character Søren Kirk (soon changed by the author to Søren Torp), in **Jens Christian Hostrup**'s play *The Neighbors Opposite* (*Gjenboerne*), used ideas from Part I of Kierkegaard's ***Either/Or*** but was in no way meant to be Kierkegaard himself as Kierkegaard erroneously thought. (Brøchner played the part of Kirk at the first two performances in the university **Student Association** on February 20 and March 9, 1844, and once again probably in 1845.) Brøchner also relates conversations he had with Kierkegaard during walks together in Copenhagen.

BULTMANN, RUDOLF KARL (1884–1976). German theologian. Bultmann was born in Wiefelstede near Oldenburg, north Germany, to Lutheran pastor Arthur Bultmann and his wife Helene. After an education at the local Oldenburg gymnasium school (1895–1903), Bultmann took the typical path of a student of theology, reading for his degree at several universities in Tübingen, Berlin, and Marburg and emerging with a thorough grounding in his discipline, not least in New Testament studies and systematic theology. He studied under a number of eminent teachers from the liberal theological and biblical critical tradition emanating from late 19th-century Göttingen. Bultmann belonged to a liberal theology society that published the journal *Die Christliche Welt* (*The*

Christian World), frequently contributing articles to the journal in later years. Like **Karl Barth**, Bultmann's relation to liberal theology was one of critical dialogue, while his major area of specialization was that of New Testament studies. He trained in the history of religions and in 1910 finished a qualifying dissertation, "The Style of the Pauline Sermon and the Cynic-Stoic Diatribe" (*Die Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*), followed in 1912 by a final doctoral dissertation, "The Exegesis of Theodor of Mopsuestia" (*Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia*).

Bultmann was a junior lecturer at Marburg University (1912–16), an associate professor in Breslau (1916–20), where he married Helene Feldman (1917), and then a professor in Giessen (1920–21), after which he returned to Marburg (1921). Since Bultmann continued to live in Marburg, even after his retirement in 1951, his career as a New Testament scholar was undertaken through the chaos of the two world wars and the consequences of Hitler's Germany, including the loss of one brother in World War I and another in a concentration camp in 1942. During the 1930s, Bultmann was a member of the Confessing Church and thus involved in the struggle of the German church against Nazism. He also spoke against the persecution of the Jews. When he retired, he delivered lectures in the United States (1951) and Great Britain (1955). In his final years, he continued an active dialogue on theological issues with critics and former students.

Bultmann can be seen as leading many trends in 20th-century theology. He wrote a large number of books and articles, writing on biblical critical textual issues, as a Lutheran dialectical theologian, as an existentialist (*see* **Existentialism**), and last but not least, he propounded his view that in the modern world, one must "demythologize" the New Testament, eliminate through reinterpretation all elements of a 1st-century worldview that were incompatible with modern knowledge. Bultmann was therefore extremely skeptical about the New Testament as a source of historical fact, and he thought it impossible to get behind the myth to the historical Jesus. The task was thus to deal with the problem that Christianity was welded to ancient mythology and cosmology. In 1941, Bultmann published his famous essay "The New Testament and Mythology" ("*Neues Testament und Mythologie*").

Bultmann's demythologizing program immediately became the center of heated controversy, since he asserted that talk of a supernatural realm, miracles, angels, devils, hell, and so forth, had no place in the modern scientific world in which events are explained in terms of natural forces

and causes and not as the intervention of supernatural agencies. Such a primitive worldview was mythological because it attempted to depict nonobjective realities in terms of objective categories. Bultmann therefore claimed that myth must be translated into categories that have to do with human existence. He thought that there was a divine word or *kerygma* addressed to humans in the New Testament but that the mythical framework had come to obscure the message. Through the process of demythologizing or translating the divine word out of the myth, Bultmann believed that people would be enabled to hear the word again as something relevant to their own existence. The task, however, was not just to modernize the New Testament but to free its message from any one particular worldview, addressing human existence categories common to humans throughout history. Bultmann turned to the thought of **Martin Heidegger** to find an appropriate conceptual framework, since he saw him as dealing with such human categories. Thus, talk in the New Testament of an imminent end to the world and of "angels" and "demons" would now be replaced by the referring of the individual to the urgent need for choice between authentic and inauthentic existence in light of the fact of death as an inevitable personal experience. Bultmann pointed out that already in the New Testament there had been some demythologizing in Pauline and Johannine material. In the years following 1945, enormous debate ensued about Bultmann's view. In Germany the debate spanned a number of volumes of the journal *Kerygma and Myth* (*Kerygma und Mythos*), while in the 1960s Bultmann was involved in John Robinson's *Honest to God* debate. Where Bultmann's relation to Karl Barth is concerned, the breach between the two may well have roots in their different attitudes to Søren Kierkegaard. Barth's initial interest in Kierkegaard was as a critic of the Church of the 1920s, whereas Bultmann's interest was primarily in Kierkegaard's thought that Christianity had to do with personal existence and not objective **truth**.

Where Kierkegaard's influence on Bultmann is concerned, at the outset it can be said that parallels with Kierkegaard can be found in Bultmann's concept of **revelation**, in his distinction between thought and **actuality**, and in his view of the historic character of human life and the problem of approximation to objective truth. Especially important are ideas of revelation and **faith**. For Bultmann, faith is always something miraculous, not under a person's control but something to be continually appropriated existentially. A person in the moment of faith resolves to accept the word of **God** and live by it. It is a passionate inward venture (*see* **Inwardness**). There is the decisive **moment** in which a person hears

God's word and faith is created from God's side, but the believer responds. Only through the faith relationship can God be known to the individual through the divine self-revelation. Faith is thus the bearing idea in Bultmann's theology (see *Glauben und Verstehen: Gesammelte Aufsätze* [1933–65]), and one can recognize the parallels with the thought of Kierkegaard's Johannes Climacus. Bultmann's important commentary *The Gospel of John* (*Das Evangelium des Johannes*) (1941) reminds the reader of Kierkegaard's ***Philosophical Fragments*** with the emphasis on the **paradox** of Christ's incarnation, **offense**, and faith.

Unlike Kierkegaard, who rejoiced in the use of **irony** and **indirect communication**, Bultmann was a traditional theologian in his method of debate. Unlike Barth, Bultmann did not become Kierkegaard's critic, but it is important not to see Bultmann as basing his theology on Kierkegaard texts. His elaboration of Kierkegaard themes is creatively independent. He cites Kierkegaard when he wishes to refute theologians whom he sees as unjustifiably claiming Kierkegaard's support, but where he appears to have been influenced by Kierkegaard, he rarely mentions him. He seems to assume Kierkegaard perspectives in a direct interpretation of primitive Christianity and can be seen as taking over certain basic structures in Kierkegaard's thought, but often through Karl Barth, and to some extent perhaps through Martin Heidegger, though, as Jørgen K. Bukdahl points out, Kierkegaard probably already influenced Bultmann's reading and interpretation of Heidegger.

Clearly the question of influence is by no means a straightforward matter, but, as Eberhard Harbsmeier points out, it is possible to distinguish five phases of development in Bultmann's relation to Kierkegaard. In the 1920s, Kierkegaard can be seen as an ally in the polemic of dialectical theology against the bourgeois liberal theology. Then Bultmann moves to a deep interest in Kierkegaard's view of existence, his thought about God, paradox, and subjectivity and the individual's faith relationship. Kierkegaard's *Philosophical Fragments* is extremely important to him in his perception of the historical Jesus, not least the impossibility of providing direct proof of Jesus' claims. One might say that Kierkegaard's influence is strongest on Bultmann at this point, as can be seen from Bultmann's essay "What Does It Mean to Speak of God?" ("*Welchen Sinn hat es, von Gott zu reden?*") (1925). From about 1927, Heidegger (who is already influenced by Kierkegaard) becomes a major influence on Bultmann through his ontological thinking about existence and the terminology he uses. Bultmann now focuses on the idea of self-understanding. Gradually, however, Bultmann's interest in Heidegger declines,

one reason possibly being Heidegger's attitude to the Nazis in the 1930s. Bultmann now becomes more theological in his language, and in his work as a Bible exegete (cf. *The Gospel of John*), he uses Kierkegaard's **religious** discourses. Finally, we enter the period of the demythologizing debate, where Bultmann moves into his own clearly defined position. In common with Kierkegaard is still the thought that statements about faith have to do with how one lives, but with his demythologizing program Bultmann makes assumptions Kierkegaard would never have made—namely, that the ancient worldview is entirely out of date and a modern person cannot accept that miracles occur.

What one can say finally about Bultmann's relation to Kierkegaard is that he does in fact attempt to deal with the problem of objective truth. He tries to solve it by finding a position that transcends all conceptions of the ultimate reality undergirding the universe. The position he finds is that of the common subjective humanity of all humans. Yet already at the outset, with his realization that religions express themselves in culture and thus to an extent are colored by culture, Bultmann does not realize that he has taken along the assumption that the worldview of his time must be in all respects more objectively true than the worldview of the New Testament. The problem that Bultmann is unable to deal with adequately in his demythologizing program thus concerns the question of the extent of what is mythological in the New Testament.

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CAPTAIN OF THE SHOOTING CLUB. *See* BIRD KING.

CATHOLICISM. *See* PROTESTANTISM/CATHOLICISM.

CHILDREN. Kierkegaard in his psychological analysis of human existence also discusses the development of the child (*Barnet*). Paradoxically, he was able to draw on his own childhood experience because he was reflectively self-conscious about himself from a very early age (*see* **Melancholy, Spiritual**), when most children are still enjoying a spontaneous, unreflecting life. Although Kierkegaard could therefore see that he had, in a sense, never been a child, he was able to see back farther than many who had forgotten much of their childhood. Since he was a very sharp observer of human behavior, he did not fail also to note the activity of the children he encountered. Kierkegaard fully realized the need for care in the upbringing of children, not least in providing them with

material suitable to their stage of development. He was able, among other things, to see the psychological value of folk and fairy tales for children as a means of objectifying, and thus dealing with, childhood anxieties and fears. He makes a careful distinction in his writings between being childish and childlike, using the image of the genuinely childlike child to illustrate the individual's proper relationship with God. One consequence of Vigilius Haufniensis's view (***The Concept of Anxiety***) that some children do not manifest the initial anxiety experience, is that at least some initially share the situation of **animals,** which do not experience anxiety at all.

CHOICE. *See* AESTHETIC, THE; ANXIETY; DESPAIR; ETHICAL, THE; RELIGIOUS, THE; REPENTANCE.

CHOLERA AND DANGEROUS DISEASES. Kierkegaard refers to cholera in his paper about the **press** to the **Student Association** at **Copenhagen University**. In his analysis of *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*), cholera in Europe figures as a topic in the paper (in 1831). *Cholera morbus* came to Copenhagen in the period June 12–October 1, 1853, in an epidemic that killed 4,737 people out of about 130,000 inhabitants. Small epidemics also occurred in 1854, 1855, and 1857.

In his journals for 1854, Kierkegaard makes the point that whereas war and other calamities make people conscious of community, diseases such as cholera make people conscious of being individuals in their personal experience of sickness. He also makes reference to doctors attending patients with pest and cholera.

In his paper to the Student Association, Kierkegaard also names the existence of a smallpox service in 1829. In the summer of 1801, cowpox lymph was brought from Edward Jenner in England to Denmark, where the practice of arm-to-arm vaccination was made compulsory in 1810 for all children before they were allowed to attend school. A vaccination center was started in February 1802 to provide free vaccination in Copenhagen and to produce vaccination lymph. Kierkegaard was vaccinated when he was three and a half months old, on September 23, 1813.

Typhus also occasionally manifested itself in Denmark. Kierkegaard's brother **Peter Christian** was seriously ill with typhus in 1835. Poor sanitation played its part in the occurrence of many such illnesses. The city's water supply came chiefly from the lakes surrounding the city, and it was not unknown for drains to run into the water supply. To this factor must be added a lack of running water in houses, primitive forms of refuse dis-

posal (including human wastes), and a lack of adequate protection from industrial wastes. Kierkegaard was driven from his apartment in Rosenborggade in 1850 by the stench from a nearby tannery. From analogies Kierkegaard makes in his writings, it can be gathered that at least the well-to-do in the 1850s were able to have water piped to every floor instead of having to carry it up the stairs. In the 1840s, showers were available pumped up and then released by means of pulling a string or chain.

CHRISTIAN DISCOURSES. The year 1848 marked the beginning of Kierkegaard's overt collision with the **Christianity** of "Christendom." As with ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript,*** once again Kierkegaard planned to terminate his authorship with *Christian Discourses* (*Christelige Taler*) published that year. ***The Crisis and a Crisis in the Life of an Actress*** was also published that year as a nonreligious contrast to the religious work. As Kierkegaard noted in his ***The Point of View for My Work as an Author,*** it must not be thought that he was merely someone who had enjoyed a pleasure-seeking life and then converted late to serious Christianity. *Christian Discourses* was composed between the middle of August 1847 and February 11, 1848, and published on April 26, 1848. The title of the book indicates a change in Kierkegaard's writing of religious discourse material from emphasis on universal **ethical**-religiousness to a new emphasis on the **religious** life of Christianity. Unlike the earlier ***Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses,*** this work, while published under his own name, lacks a preface and a dedication but again does not use the term *"sermons"*. The first section deals with the theme of the cares of the world, the second treats of joy, whereas the third section contains an admonitory note. The final section contains discourses for the Friday communion at the cathedral Church of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke).

While Kierkegaard surely had this work printed in the usual run of 525 copies, and as far as we can judge from **C. A. Reitzel**'s accounts it sold well, no one appears to have reviewed the work, probably because of its religious nature. Yet from correspondence we learn that there were extremely appreciative readers, one of whom expresses gratitude for hearing his preached sermon on "The Unchangeableness of **God**." A second edition of *Christian Discourses* appeared in 1862.

CHRISTIANITY/CHRISTENDOM. Kierkegaard makes a sharp distinction between Christianity (*Christendommen*) and Christendom (*Christenheden*). Although he attempts to hide his personal viewpoint behind his pseudonyms, it is clear in his authorship that (like many of his time)

he regards Christianity as the highest religion to which the Greek world, as representative of **paganism**, and **Judaism,** as the forerunner of Christianity, point. In the light of Hegelianism (*see* **Hegel**), in which religion and Christianity are made to take a place subordinate to philosophy, it is particularly understandable that Kierkegaard emphasizes the Christian life as the highest. Kierkegaard urges the believer to look for the content of Christianity in the New Testament rather than in the institution of the Church, and the individual is urged to measure the Christianity of the church establishment by considering whether it measures up to what is called for by strict New Testament ideality. Christendom, on the other hand, is Christianity expressed as a historical sociopolitical institution. Especially in the writings of his last years, Kierkegaard is extremely hostile to the historical spread of Christianity as "Christendom" in which thousands have been, and still are, enrolled into the Church as institution without proper reference to living Christianly according to the New Testament. Not least in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, Kierkegaard makes particular fun of the tendency to identify nationality and Christianity in Denmark: the man who is suddenly worried that perhaps he is not after all a Christian, is laughed at by his wife who points out he must be a Christian since he lives in Denmark, and geographically Denmark is a Christian country. *See also* MYNSTER, JAKOB PETER; RELIGIOUS, THE; STATE CHURCH.

CLAUSEN, HENRIK NICOLAJ (1793–1877). Professor of theology at **Copenhagen University**. Henrik Nicolaj Clausen was the son of Henrik Georg Clausen (1759–1840), leading representative of the rationalist Danish theology of the early part of the 19th century and pastor and archdeacon at the Cathedral of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke) in Copenhagen. When rationalism began to fall out of favor with the advent of the antirational trends represented, respectively, by **Jakob Peter Mynster** and **Nikolai F. S. Grundtvig**, Clausen the elder was involved in bitter disputes. He resigned his position in 1838, when he was given an honorary doctorate in theology.

Henrik Nicolaj was his father's eldest son and from the age of four lived in Copenhagen. He graduated from the university in 1813 and had a doctorate in philosophy by 1817. Like many other theology graduates, he went abroad for a while (1818), where he was deeply impressed by the thought of Friedrich Schleiermacher. He returned home at the end of 1820, he became lecturer in theology at the university in 1821 and then professor of theology from 1822 to 1874. In 1825, he gathered together

the results of his study abroad in his book *Catholicism and Protestantism: Their Church Constitutions, Doctrines and Rites* (*Catholicismens og Protestantismens Kirkeforfatning, Lære og Ritus*).

In his theology, the younger Clausen attempted to achieve a middle position between rationalism and orthodoxy, which was apparent already at this point. Although his book on **Catholicism** and **Protestantism** represents an essentially rationalistic position, the influence of Schleiermacher made him want to get beyond rationalism. Grundtvig's violent published attack on Clausen's book, coming as it did within a few days of its publication, seems to indicate Grundtvig's hasty judgment and complete failure to understand Clausen's theological position. Clausen introduced modern historical-critical Bible exegesis into Denmark, believing that if Protestantism based its authority heavily on Scripture, then there was a need for expert interpretation of Bible texts. Clausen became doctor of theology in 1826 and was rector of the university six times. He also became a leading national liberal in politics. He was involved in the formation of the Society for the Freedom of the **Press** (Trykkefrihedsselskabet) in 1835 and in the 1840s became a member of the Roskilde Provincial Consultative Assembly. With the advent of the new **constitution,** he took an active role in affairs of government (1848–51) and was member of the Rigsdag until 1866. He died on March 28, 1877.

Since Kierkegaard was undergraduate and postgraduate when Clausen was professor of theology, it is not surprising that Kierkegaard made notes from his lectures. In his journals, Kierkegaard also criticizes Clausen for his rationalist presentation of Christ's Atonement and miracles. He further suggests Clausen should not have let himself be drawn into debate with Grundtvig about scriptural texts. Kierkegaard also indicates his preference of Clausen to Grundtvig because of the former's modesty of person, whereas Grundtvig let himself be treated as a special religious figure. Kierkegaard gave Clausen a dedication copy of ***Practice in Christianity*** in 1850, but Clausen, in his *Notes on the History of My Life and Times* (*Optegnelser om Mit Levneds og Min Tids Historie*) (1877), came to say he regarded Kierkegaard and Grundtvig as two "turbulent and storming voices," inspired by sickly excitement and eccentric idealism.

CLERGY. *See* MYNSTER, JAKOB PETER; STATE CHURCH.

COMIC, THE/TRAGIC, THE. In Kierkegaard's writings, the comic (*det Comiske*) and the tragic (*det Tragiske*) are perspectives on **existence**. In the comic perspective, the individual views a contradiction or contrast in

a situation from the outside, in its painless, laughter-provoking aspect, thus objectivizing it, distancing it from him- or herself with respect to the feelings of those involved or how one empathizes with the actual situation. For example, one can imagine the position of a deaf man who opens a door slowly because he is late and does not want to disturb guests already present. The door has a creak that he cannot hear because of his deafness, so that slow opening of the door creates more noise than if he had opened it quickly. This situation can be presented as a comic one in the contradiction between the effort of the deaf man to be as quiet as possible and his achievement of the opposite of his intention. If, however, one knows it is Beethoven opening the door, the viewer's feelings are involved as the incident becomes a tragic indicator of the composer's experience of living with his disability. In Quidam's diary in ***Stages on Life's Way***, Kierkegaard gives us the example of Quidam's girl saying she will die if he leaves her. Quidam chooses the tragic perspective in taking her assertion with extreme seriousness. Yet he could have chosen the comic perspective by viewing it as melodramatic overreaction on her part. Kierkegaard shows the comic and the tragic as the two paths by which the poetic writer tries to reconcile people to the contradictions the individual encounters in existence. In his review of Augustin Eugène Scribe's comic farce *The First Love* in ***Either/Or*** and later in his papers from 1846 in his piece on **Joachim Phister** as Captain Scipio (in the comic opera *Ludovic*), Kierkegaard does some detailed analysis of comedy. The comic and tragic are particularly explored in *Either/Or*, ***The Concept of Anxiety***, and ***Fear and Trembling***, as well as in his journals and papers.

CONCEPT OF ANXIETY, THE. This work was composed in the period from March to the end of May 1844, and published on June 17, 1844. Together with ***The Sickness unto Death***, *The Concept of Anxiety* (*Begrebet Angest*) forms part of Kierkegaard's deep psychological analysis of the nature of the **self**. As Kierkegaard makes clear from the title page, *The Concept of Anxiety* is a psychological discussion of the concept of **sin**. Kierkegaard's pseudonym (Vigilius Haufniensis) argues the inadequacy of traditional Christian definitions, not least with respect to the question of human **freedom**, before going on to a psychological analysis of the concept of **anxiety** as the presupposition for action. Although *The Concept of Anxiety* is presented as an impartial psychological analysis, Vigilius Haufniensis is not quite the impartial psychologist he appears to be, since his view of anxiety has deep roots in biblical concepts, in addition

Kierkegaard nearly published the book under his own name. In this work, innocence is described in terms of anxiety because humans have the potentiality for spiritual **existence** (*see* **Spirit and Soul**). The object of anxiety defines itself for the individual in accordance with growing self-consciousness. The individual experiences anxiety as an ill-defined something that simultaneously attracts and repels them.

Already in ***Either/Or*** Judge William dealt with the anxiety experience in his discussion of the destructive, immature Nero, who refuses to face up to himself and grow up. In *The Concept of Anxiety*, Haufniensis deals with anxiety (albeit with a Christian slant) and the problems of cultures in which objective freedom is subjectively lacking. He sees this as being the situation of **paganism**, in which the **Greeks** are presented as struggling in the situation of anxiety in relation to **fate**. Important is his insistence on freedom in **Christianity**, so that although people do inevitably sin, the weight of factors of environment and heredity can never be enough to remove all freedom and hence personal responsibility for action. It is this freedom that creates the possibility for the **demonic**. In a draft of *The Concept of Anxiety*, Kierkegaard refers to "the ancient idea that man is a synthesis of soul and body, which is constituted by spirit," and this assumption with its weight on the idea of transcendence (*see* **Eternity/Time**) underlies the writings of both Haufniensis and Anti-Climacus. As Johannes Møllehave has pointed out, both Vigilius Haufniensis here and Anti-Climacus in *The Sickness unto Death* examine the misrelationships in humans' relation to the divine (*see* **God**), a difference being that Haufniensis maintains that innocence is ignorance, whereas Anti-Climacus asserts that ignorance is sin as a fundamental human condition. Put another way, one can say that *The Concept of Anxiety* analyzes an initial human condition, whereas *The Sickness unto Death* has to do with the deeper dimension of spiritual life and the experience of **despair**.

According to the bibliographer Jens Himmelstrup, *The Concept of Anxiety* (published in a run of 250 copies) remained unreviewed by Kierkegaard's contemporaries, who concentrated their attention on other works Kierkegaard wrote at the time. One reason for this can be seen in the fact that this book is hardly light reading, and Kierkegaard's writing as a psychologist was easier to master in works such as *Repetition* (*see* ***Fear and Trembling and Repetition***) and even the lengthy diary of Quidam in ***Stages on Life's Way***. Yet in a letter to Friedrich Nietzsche in 1881, writer and critic Georg Brandes (1842–1927) wrote that he regarded Kierkegaard as one of the most profound psychologists who ever lived, while thinkers such as **Martin Heidegger** and **Jean-Paul Sartre**

drew on *The Concept of Anxiety* as a work of great importance. It is finally probably true to say that had Kierkegaard's language been French, German, or English, he would have taken the place in the history of psychology occupied by Sigmund Freud.

CONCEPT OF IRONY, THE. Before settling for the theme of **irony**, Kierkegaard in his journals notes his interest in a number of themes, including those of satire and suicide. After he had settled for the theme of irony, he wrote his 350-page thesis in the last years of his life at **Copenhagen University** in July–August 1840 to June 2, 1841. He applied to the king on June 2, 1841, for permission to submit his thesis in Danish instead of Latin, following the precedent set by Martin Hammerich (1836) and **Adolph Peter Adler** (1840). Kierkegaard's reason was that Latin was inappropriate for the discussion of irony in the modern period. The public defense would still be in Latin. The thesis was ready from the printers on September 16, 1841, and on September 29 Kierkegaard defended it publicly from 10 A.M. to 7.30 P.M., with a break from 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. The official opponents were **Frederik Sibbern** and professor of Greek Peter Oluf Brønsted. Among the unofficial speakers were **Peter Christian Kierkegaard**, the official advocate of the thesis, and Andreas Frederik Beck, who expressed criticism of it. Of the committee of higher degrees who approved it for defense, Dean of the Philosophy Faculty Frederik Sibbern advised a pruning of the style, a change of title to make Socrates more central, and the addition of a list of the main points of the thesis in Latin. **Hans Lassen Martensen** also criticized the style, but while Peter Brønsted seems to have agreed with the criticism, he thought it a matter outside the scope of the committee.

The style of the first part of *The Concept of Irony* as we have it is somewhat reminiscent of the heavy style in ***From the Papers of One Still Living***. On October 20, 1841, Kierkegaard received the *Magister Artium* degree, which in the faculty of philosophy was equivalent to a doctorate in the other faculties. In 1854, the discrepancy was changed, with all philosophy magisters being declared doctors of philosophy. Unfortunately, no record was kept of the sale of the thesis, though given the large audience at the defense and that people usually buy copies of theses so as to follow defenses at Danish universities, might indicate a large sale, though usually theses were printed in a run smaller than 525 copies (the usual number Kierkegaard had printed for his other works). The Latin list of main thesis points was included in copies for the university but not in copies for the general public, who had copies with a title page with a

Greek quotation from Plato's Republic instead of the phrase about the thesis's submission for the *Magister* degree and the date of the defense. The thesis cost just over 182 rix-dollars to print. Paperback copies were available at a cost of 1½ rix-dollars.

During Kierkegaard's life, only two Danish reviews of the thesis appeared: in *The Corsair* (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**) of October 22, 1841, in which an anonymous reviewer praised its language ironically and Meïr Goldschmidt added a postscript, and in *Fædrelandet* (*The Fatherland*), numbers 890 and 897, May 29, June 5, 1842, by Andreas Frederik Beck. Beck summarized the thesis, praised Kierkegaard's treatment of Xenophon and the fact that no heavy scholastic terminology had been used, but criticized Kierkegaard's witty use of allusions and references that were probably unclear to most people. Kierkegaard responded ironically to Beck in a postscript to an article "Public Confession" in *Fædrelandet* 904, June 12, 1842. In 1855, Hans Friederich Helweg wrote an article "Hegelianismen i Danmark" in *Theologisk Tidsskrift,* 2 and 6, December 16 and 23, 1855. In this article, he reviewed Kierkegaard's thesis as ending Hegelianism (*see* **Hegel**), although he thought Kierkegaard never entirely renounced it. He also noted that the thesis was not just about irony but *was* irony.

Kierkegaard says little about his thesis in his journals and papers, but in 1850 he regrets being a "Hegelian fool" in criticizing Socrates for neglecting the concept of the state in favor of the individual. In 1845, as Johannes Climacus in a draft of ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript,*** Kierkegaard objects that in his thesis he had discerned the Socratic idea but had not understood it. Finally, in 1854, he speaks negatively of a comment in his thesis where he had supported the idea that the state had moral significance and that true virtue appeared only in the state. Both in the published version of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* and in his books about his authorship (*see* ***The Point of View for My Work as an Author***), Kierkegaard ignores *The Concept of Irony.*

Part I of Kierkegaard's thesis deals with Socrates as the master of ironic ignorance in the three interpretations by Xenophon, Plato, and Aristophanes, with something on Hegel and Hegelian categories. Part II looks at the concept of irony in Kierkegaard's categories with examples from other philosophers. A. W. Schlegel's novel *Lucinde* is discussed as the high point of romantic irony. Part I follows the Hegelian pattern of possibility, **actuality**, and necessity (*see* **freedom**). In Part II, Kierkegaard presents his own pattern, showing the relation between possibility-actuality and the concept of necessity, where it is actuality that

contains possibility and necessity. Emerging from the thesis is Kierkegaard's understanding of irony as the satisfactory tool only of the writer who has matured from the initial spontaneous pressure of **genius** and has worked out an understanding of self and of the world. Basic themes of his thesis continue into his later authorship.

CONCLUDING UNSCIENTIFIC POSTSCRIPT. In ***Philosophical Fragments***, Johannes Climacus deals with the question of how one arrives at **truth** in Greek thought and **Christianity** in abstract philosophical language. Toward the end of that work he indicates that he might write a sequel with concrete historical reference. Kierkegaard worked on the sequel, *Concluding Unscientific (Non-scholarly) Postscript* (*Afsluttende uvidenskabelig Efterskrift*) in the period from the end of April to the middle of December 1845. The book was published on February 27, 1846. At the time, Kierkegaard intended this work to round off and end his prolific authorship; hence, he made Johannes Climacus undertake a literary review of the previous Kierkegaard works, and at the end he wrote his "Understanding with the Reader" and "A First and Last Explanation." In the latter, Kierkegaard officially acknowledges himself as author of his pseudonymous literature. In the former, he perplexes the reader by retracting *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* and pointing out that this is not the same as never having written a book. Clearly Kierkegaard hoped here to obtain the benefit of making his readers clear about the authorship, while at the same time staying with his tactic of **indirect communication** by officially retracting the book. The reader is to understand the entire work as concerned only with the author Johannes Climacus's question—namely, that of Christianity promising people an eternal happiness (*see* **Eternity/Time**)—and Johannes's interest in how to become a Christian and be able to appropriate that highest good. In his introduction to *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, Climacus had already raised that question, rooting it in the same further question that inspired *Philosophical Fragments* and was inspired by **Gotthold Lessing**: what is the relation between historical and eternal truth, and can one arrive at the latter via the former? Can, therefore, an eternal happiness be built on historical **knowledge**?

The book is divided into two main sections. Part I, which in comparison with the rest of the book is extremely short, deals with the objective problem of the truth of Christianity. Here, Climacus takes issue with those who view **faith** as less than knowledge and try to buttress their Christian faith with what they see as sure evidence. Those who seek this

through history seek proof from the Bible, from the existence of the Church and in the weight of evidence down the centuries. Climacus neatly holes all the arguments, including the "matchless discovery" of **Nikolai Grundtvig**, while the one who tries to work out the position of religious belief using speculative philosophy fares no better. In Part II, Climacus, using Lessing, now investigates the question of Christianity from the point of view of the striving individual. Just as the historical and philosophical investigation could never be finished, neither can a personal striving to become a Christian be finished. Intellectually, the individual must make a leap, since there is no transition from knowledge to a certainty about the intellectual aspect of religious belief. Intellectually, the believer has to contend with the objective uncertainty as to whether **God** exists, with the historical problems surrounding the claims of Jesus, including the **offense** of the **paradox** where the philosophical claim is implied that the eternal could undergo change. Most important, Climacus points to the impossibility of making a complete system of existence when humans must always be in the process of existing in the world and cannot view it comprehensively from a position outside it.

The emphasis is now on truth as subjectivity and what it means to be involved existentially (as opposed to only intellectually) with the world. The existing individual, struggling (as she or he should) with the intellectual obstacles to belief, must thus venture against the **understanding** that grasps the problems, while, at the same time, she or he discovers that the truth of the subjective striving is paradoxically the untruth of **sin**. Climacus, who also discusses the distinction between universal religiosity with its continuous and, in fact, unfulfillable **ethical** demand (Religiousness A) and the radical situation implied by Religiousness B (*see* **Religious, The**), endorses a standpoint of **humor** intermediate between the ethical and the religious. He does not pretend to be a Christian and presents his book humoristically, with many witty jokes about Hegelianism (*see* **Hegel**) as he strives to fulfill his task of "creating difficulties" for his readers.

Concluding Unscientific Postscript failed to net big sales. Three years later, Kierkegaard was to write in his journals that probably about 50 copies had been sold (as opposed to gift copies; in 1849, he reports that 60 copies were sold), and he let the remaining 341 copies of the original 525 go to **C. A. Reitzel**. There was also a paucity of reviews of the work, and nothing serious. *The Corsair* (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**) briefly noted on February 26, 1846, the book's publication (as being by Victor Eremita) during its attack on Kierkegaard's person and clothes. In 1849,

Kierkegaard in his journals complains that while he was caricatured and insulted in *The Corsair* (also in *Flyveposten* [*The Flying Post*]) and **Peder Ludvig Møller** insulted him and the book in *Kjøbenhavsnposten* (*The Copenhagen Post*), there was no serious review. Møller (as Prosper naturalis de molinasky; Møller, *Kritiske Skizzer fra Aarene 1840–47*, I–II [1847]) poked fun at the book, not least at concepts such as the **absurd** and the single individual (*see* **Self, The**), a review that provoked a critical response condemning Møller's crude comment in an article in *Nyt Aftenblad* (*New Evening Paper*) (numbers 75 and 76, March 30 and 31, 1846). Of other responses can be noted a review in rhyme that suggested one read the book a couple of pages at a time but said little about the work (*The Liberal Minded* [*Den Frisindede*], volume 29, March 10, 1846) and the response of Peter Vilhelm Christensen (1819–63). Christensen, Kierkegaard's secretary for a period in the 1840s, reviewed the book in *Danish Church Times* (*Dansk Kirketidende*, number 29, March 29, 1846), and wrote about it again in the same paper (number 52, September 20, 1846). Christensen concentrated on trying to refute Kierkegaard's discussion of the views of Nikolai Grundvig and **Jakob Lindberg** in the first section of the book and also criticized its concepts of truth, **inwardness,** and indirect communication. Kierkegaard's draft of a response to this, "An Unhappy Lover in *Dansk Kirketidende*," like an earlier draft of a response to the *Nyt Aftenblad*, remained among his journals and papers, just as did his drafted responses to **Magnus Eiríksson** and **Rasmus Nielsen**. While Eiríksson tried to use the book in his attack on **Hans Lassen Martensen**, Nielsen treated the book as if it were a piece of scholarly teaching.

CONSCIENCE. For Kierkegaard, the word *conscience* (*Samvittigheden*) indicates a person's **knowledge** of his or her motives and actions in the light of the **ethical** standards of his or her society. This means, of course, that people in different societies will judge their actions according to different criteria. In ***Either/Or,*** for example, when Judge William emphasizes good intention as constituting the moral value of an action, he has to recognize that this means accepting that with certain savage tribes their practice of killing aged parents (rather than letting them starve to death) has to be accepted as "good," even though in most cultures the duty of children to care for parents would exclude such a practice.

Conscience is thus something that can be seen as having a double development: first, in connection with the individual person's level of sensitivity toward, and desire to fulfill, the ethical code of his or her society;

second, it develops concerning the entire code as such, in terms of moving on toward a higher code. In the latter case, if a person happens to live in, for example, a pagan culture where the code is little more than community conventions and rules for the temporal survival of society, then Kierkegaard sees such a person as not being able to have a well-developed conscience in terms of the objective code, however desirous that person may be to fulfill it subjectively. For there to be talk of conscience in a higher, ethical sense, Kierkegaard indicates that the individual must have a sense of eternal values that transcend him- or herself and society (*see* **Eternity/Time**). For example, Socrates aimed to arrive at the eternal **truth** within himself and to live by it. In **Judaism,** the entire community is called on to live according to the divinely revealed Torah; in **Christianity,** Kierkegaard finds the highest possible ethic in the total altruism revealed by Christ in the New Testament. *See also* SIN.

CONSCIOUSNESS. *See* SELF, THE; SCIENCE.

CONSTITUTION, DANISH. From the time of Frederik III and the Law of November 14, 1665 (*Kongeloven*), the Danish monarchy was absolute. This guaranteed the royal family's right of succession to rule an undivided realm, made the **Protestantism** of the Augsburg Confession the religion of the country, and placed the king above all human laws, responsible only to **God** in all spiritual and secular matters. The king could thus change any law (except the *Kongelov*) and was regarded as being old enough to govern at age 13. This state of affairs lasted until 1849 and worked moderately well, in that one had the stability of a small-scale manageable monarchy, in which unity was implied by the fact of a Protestant Lutheran monarch in charge of a **religious** and politically united Protestant-Lutheran nation.

The weakness of this type of government manifested itself in Denmark chiefly through the factor of the quality of the king and his advisers. Christian VII (1749–1808) was totally unfit to rule because of his temperament and bad mental health. Yet Frederik VI, ruling first as crown prince (1784–1808) and then as king (1808–39), governed the country well at the beginning, so that Denmark saw economic progress and the flowering of cultural life. It was Frederik's reign that saw the creation of four Provincial Consultative Assemblies (Provinsialstænder). On May 28, 1831, he published a provisional ordinance concerning preparation for these assemblies, which were introduced with the ordinance of May 15, 1834. Although membership of these advisory bodies

was based on property ownership and left a lot to be desired, it was a first step from the absolute monarchy in the direction of greater political freedom. Pressure for change grew, however, and especially in the reign of Christian VIII (1839–48), increasing problems arose in connection with the Danish duchies of Sleswig-Holstein.

Christian died before these problems came to a head in terms of a change of constitution, but his successor Frederik VII (1848–63) had barely been on the throne a month when the February **revolution** broke out in the duchies. This led to a large civic meeting in Copenhagen on March 20 and to the petition to the king of March 21, in which the people requested a free, democratic constitution (led by liberals). On March 22, the king appointed the new government, thus ending the period of absolute monarchy. Toward the end of the year, the king appointed a National Assembly, three-quarters of the 150 members being democratically elected. This assembly drafted the Danish constitution that came into force on June 5, 1849. The new constitution allowed for a parliament called a Rigsdag, consisting of a Landsting and a lower house called the Folketing. Members (male only) of both houses were elected democratically by all men 30 years old and upward.

Kierkegaard mentions the introduction of the Provincial Consultative Assemblies in his paper to **Copenhagen University**'s **Student Association** (*see* **Press and Press Freedom**) and also the Twenty-Eighth of May Society, a society founded to commemorate the provisional ordinance that introduced the assemblies. He also alludes to the society in his sketch of a play, ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***. *See also* REVOLUTION; STATE CHURCH.

CONTEMPORANEITY. For Kierkegaard, contemporaneity (*Samtidighеden*) is a highly important concept that concerns how the individual relates to Christ. The first disciples might be seen as having an advantage in that they were present at the time, but for Kierkegaard the external historical factors of the life of Christ would be just as paradoxical (*see* **Paradox**) for the first disciples as for those later in history: in either case, the eternal element of Christ's divinity (*see* **Eternity/Time**) must be a matter for **faith** and not empirical or historical observation. To become contemporary with Christ thus requires that the individual sets the objections of the understanding aside (*see* **Reason and Understanding**) so that there can be a true contemporaneity, a relationship with Christ in faith. In his final years, Kierkegaard particularly emphasizes the relationship of contemporaneity with Christ as one in which the in-

dividual must consider how she or he would relate to Christ in his earthly existence. As Anti-Climacus in ***Practice in Christianity*** (1850), Kierkegaard goes through the various scenarios that might arise if Christ returned to 19th-century Copenhagen and was encountered by, for example, the cleric, the university professor, the philosopher, and the statesman. Although the individual looks to Christ as Savior in the relationship of contemporaneity, Kierkegaard also comes to stress the importance of the **imitation** of Christ if one is to be faithful in the relationship. *See also* ACOUSTICAL ILLUSION; OFFENSE.

CONTINUITY. *See* REPETITION.

COPENHAGEN UNIVERSITY. The university was opened on June 1, 1479. In the 19th century, a total of 40 professors and teaching assistants was spread over four faculties, and over 1,000 students attended each year. In 1840, there were five professors of theology: **Henrik N. Clausen** (1793–1877), Matthias H. Hohlenberg (1797–1845), **Christian T. Engelstoft** (1805–89), **Carl Emil Scharling** (1803–77), and **Hans Lassen Martensen** (1808–84). The teaching staff were expected to give lectures and hold examinations. The main university building was destroyed during the bombardment of Copenhagen by the British in 1807 but was rebuilt in 1831–36. It was officially reopened on October 13, 1836, although it took 20 years before it was completed with its vestibule paintings. The central part of the building consisted of the Great Hall, and there were 10 lecture rooms. In the Great Hall, a door to the University Senate House had escaped destruction. Adjacent to the Senate House was the old Community Building, which in Kierkegaard's time was used for offices for the rector and deans, scholarly collections (natural science) belonging to the university, and two professorial residences. Prior to the new building, small temporary lecture halls were used in the university's halls of residence and in the Community Building. In Kierkegaard's time students usually took their matriculation exam (*examen artium,* "artium" or student exam) in October. A year later they completed what was known as the second exam (*examen philosophicum* or "*filosofikum*"), after which they could begin studies in their area of expertise. These special studies took about three or four years.

Kierkegaard completed his matriculation on October 30, 1830, getting an excellent grade in the exam (*laudabilis* and *laudabilis præ ceteris.*). He took the first part of the second exam (the philological part) in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, history, and mathematics on April 25, 1831, again getting

laud. and *laud. p.c.* He completed the second part on October 27, 1831, in philosophy, physics, and mathematics (*laud. p.c.*). He received the final top grade of *summa cum laude* for his second exam. On June 2, 1840, Kierkegaard applied to take his theology exam, which he completed on July 3, 1840 (*laud.*). On July 16, 1841, his magister (doctoral) thesis (***The Concept of Irony***) was accepted by the university authorities for defense. He successfully defended it on September 29, 1841. Kierkegaard took a number of years over his studies at the university. He started with exegetical and historical studies in theology, but philosophical studies led him to become dissatisfied with theology and to study other areas such as aesthetics. It would appear that he completed his theological studies out of a sense of duty to his dead father **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard**.

CORSAIR, THE. *See* GOLDSCHMIDT, MEÏR AARON; MØLLER, PEDER LUDVIG; PRESS AND PRESS FREEDOM.

CRISIS AND A CRISIS IN THE LIFE OF AN ACTRESS, THE. Kierkegaard wrote *The Crisis* (*Krisen og en Krise i en Skuespillerindes Liv*) from the end of January through February 1847, having the final touches done by the summer of that year. His long article was published in parts in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) (numbers 188 and 189, July 24 and 25, 1848). This article was an evaluation of **Johanne Luise Heiberg**'s performance in the role of Juliet in January 1847, when, aged 34, she was again playing the role, 20 years after her first performance. "The crisis" refers to the question of whether the artist is going to be a success in the chosen career, given the tribulations the artist must experience from public reaction and at the hands of reviewers. "A crisis" has specific reference to the transition point in an artist's life from youth to middle age, since the instinctiveness of youthful **genius** is past. Heiberg survives this crisis by virtue of the mature conscious reflection she is able to inject into her role, thus continuing to actualize the potentiality of her early genius. *The Crisis* also indicates wider issues, however, going from the experience of the artist to a theory of **art**. Like Georg W. F. **Hegel**, Kierkegaard saw art as involved with timeless principles, with the actor expressing a lasting "idea." A difference, however, is indicated in Kierkegaard's thought between the actualization of the artistic idea and the actualization of the **ethical-religious idea**. The **aesthetic** in the abstract (as opposed to the vain temporal strivings of the aesthete) is

static as a purely intellectual artistic conception, and there can be only an aesthetic repetition of an idea into the artistic medium in question. The ethical-religious idea, however is one that has to do with the existential personal development of the person (*see* **Self, The**), and for Kierkegaard there is clearly a link between the one and the other, in that without maturity of person, the artist or writer will fail in his or her expression. (*See* ***From the Papers of One Still Living;*** **Hans Christian Andersen**).

The Crisis was to be the aesthetic literary counterpart of the publication of ***Christian Discourses*** when Kierkegaard again intended to conclude his authorship. In 1847, he even toyed with a (varied) return to the pseudonym of his first review, in that he thought of subtitling *The Crisis* "From the Papers of One Dead" but instead used the pseudonym "Inter et Inter," probably because he viewed his authorship as starting with ***Either/Or***. There is no material to indicate how the general public received Kierkegaard's long article, but **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** was pleased with it, especially with Kierkegaard's criticism of "current incompetent theater criticism." Johanne Luise Heiberg was delighted with it, reading it several times and feeling encouraged by it. She was very surprised that someone who was not an actor could possess such great insight into the actor's experience.

CROWD/PUBLIC. Since the goal of the individual human is to be a spiritual being, and this entails fulfillment of one's unique individuality, Kierkegaard condemns anything that tends to point the individual in the opposite direction. In particular, he condemns the **Philistine** (*Spidsborger*) as one who goes unthinkingly along with his or her social group. He also condemns what he terms "the crowd" (*Mængden*) or "public" (*Publikum*)—that is, groups of people forming irresponsible pressure groups. In his journals of 1850, he explains very precisely how he regards the distinction between "crowd" and "community." The crowd consists simply of people en masse, physical numbers, in which the group is formed by the unthinking and the irresponsible. A community, on the other hand, consists of a group of individuals in which each individual is attempting to live according to an **ethical-religious** ideality. The validity of the entire group is thus maintained when all are striving to do this. The individuals guarantee the group's status as an authentic community, just as the thoughtlessness of the crowd does the opposite. *See also* SELF, THE; SOCIAL AND POLITICAL, THE; SPIRIT AND SOUL.

– D –

DAMNATION. Although Kierkegaard personally saw **Christianity** as God's **revelation** of saving **truth** available to all human beings, he did not thereby see all as automatically saved from damnation (*Fortabelsen*) for eternal life with **God** (*see* **Eternity/Time**). Even though God might will all humans to be saved, Kierkegaard was skeptical about the scope of individual response. He thus sees it as possible that many may throw away the divine offer. Two major problems arose for Kierkegaard concerning the idea of damnation. First, did all Christians in Christendom need to try to live as far as possible in terms of the New Testament ideality, or was it adequate if most merely acknowledged the fact of strict New Testament ideality and did their best in terms of the sort of civic Christianity indicated in **Nikolai Balle**'s catechism and in "The Moral" in ***Practice in Christianity***? Second, there was the problem of those who had never heard about Christianity, a problem that **Johannes Climacus** mentions in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***. If personal salvation is to depend on hearing the gospel, then "countless ones" will be excluded through no fault of their own, simply because Christianity has not yet been proclaimed to them.

While Kierkegaard in his journals of 1854 suggests that it might be helpful to shake up the tepid bourgeois Christians in Christendom by reintroducing an emphasis on the possibility of hell, he also describes a conflict between the idea of probation and the idea of unlimited **grace** for all (in which even the minimum of social morality could be made to count as living religiously.) Kierkegaard resolves the conflict by pointing out that Christianity is not a matter of individuals fulfilling identical conditions and that everyone must therefore earnestly work out his or her own particular Christian commitment. Finally, he says that there needs to be a general proclamation of Christianity but that the particular conditions will be different for every single person. That is, one is obliged to try to live up to what one believes to be God's demand for one, but God is seen as adapting everything to the individual's capacities and possibilities. So Kierkegaard—who told Bishop **Jakob Peter Mynster** that if others were going to hell, then he, Kierkegaard, certainly would be going there, too—leaves the matter to God, although, in spite of certain misgivings on the subject, he feels that all are in fact ultimately saved.

Kierkegaard is thus in a sense optimistic, though as Anti-Climacus in ***The Sickness unto Death,*** he points out that God respects human freedom and that the individual who defiantly persists in isolating himself in

despair from God in this life will be permitted to remain cut off by himself in despair in the next. Kierkegaard's hell is thus manifestly one of an enduring personal psychological condition after death, while in the journals of his final years, he rejects the idea of a devil as an equal power God has to contend with and who makes life difficult for Christians by sending them problems. Although Kierkegaard as Anti-Climacus speaks of the devil as a spirit in defiance against God, he has difficulty as Vigilius Haufniensis (in ***The Concept of Anxiety***) of doing anything much with the idea of the devil as the snake in the Garden of Eden. Therefore, one can say of the idea of the devil in Kierkegaard's authorship that at best the devil's scope is extremely limited in the face of an omnipotent, omniscient, and good God. *See also* DEATH AND DYING; SELF, THE.

DAMPE, JACOB. *See* REVOLUTION.

DEATH AND DYING. Kierkegaard deals with death (*Døden*) in his authorship in two main ways: in terms of how people face the reality of physical death and as a personal psychological and religious experience. In his discourse "At a Graveside" in *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions,* he points out that the manner in which people regard death affects their view of life. For example, if I am totally convinced there is life after death I am likely to have another attitude to prolonging my life extensively in this world than if I see death as the total finish of my personal **existence**. Kierkegaard himself had to live with the thought of physical death as a close companion, not only because of the deaths in his family but also because of his own weak health and the thought he might die at any time. He views the fact of one's death as a thought that can be used positively, as in ***Works of Love,*** specifically "The Work of Love in Recollecting One Who Is Dead," in viewing a graveyard, where even the wealthy have only a small plot of ground, is a reminder of the real human **equality** of all in the last end and of the limited term of temporal goods and splendor.

For Kierkegaard, **Christianity** teaches that one should fear **God**'s final assessment of one's deeds in this life more than death, and in his journals of 1854, he describes the idea of Christianity as a necessary regulating weight because of its idea that one's eternal salvation after death is decided by how one lives in this life (*see* **Damnation**). While Kierkegaard speaks understandingly of how people may come to commit suicide in a situation of personal crisis, especially one of crisis of the meaning of one's existence, and while he sees that suicide will be regarded

differently in different cultures, in a Christian society suicide is wrong because it is seen as being against God's will. It is an impatient breaking out of temporality before one is called on to leave it, and it is a failure to endure patiently the temporal sufferings one is asked to bear. Kierkegaard was interested enough in the topic of suicide to consider in 1839 the possibility of writing his doctoral dissertation on the subject.

Kierkegaard's writings are also deeply permeated with the thought of dying as a psychological and spiritual experience. Especially as Anti-Climacus in ***The Sickness unto Death***, Kierkegaard points to **despair** as the deadly sickness from which the individual cannot die, even after death. This sickness expresses itself in life in various forms of misrelation to the eternal. On the other hand, the individual who is serious about making God the most important relationship in his or her life, is serious about the **imitation** of Christ, must die to (*at afdøe*) the world. To die to the world is the condition for encountering God. In other words, as Johannes Climacus explains in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, temporal existence must take a wholly second place in the life of the individual, who must die to his or her love of temporality and the temporal attachments that threaten to displace God in his or her life. A **paradox** thus underlies Kierkegaard's authorship in that the one who strives to live and prolong his or her life in an egocentric fashion in this world actually enters a permanent state of dying, in terms of the spiritual life, whereas the one who dies to the world discovers abundance of life, an **eternity** of spiritual life that continues after death. *See also* GRACE; POUL MARTIN MØLLER; RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL; SELF, THE.

DEER PARK. Jægersborg Deer Park (Dyrehaven), a fenced forest park north of Copenhagen, stretching from the coast where red deer were, and still are, kept. The park dates from the second half of the 17th century (1669) and is famous for its trees and parkland, not least its large beeches, oak trees, and white thorns. The park contains, among other things, the little royal hunting lodge Eremitagen, Kirsten Pil's Spring, and "Bakken," a summer fairground. In Kierkegaard's time, people drove out to the Deer Park for picnics, using either the inland route through Lyngby or the coast road called Strandvejen. Those who could not afford private transport used public carriages frequently called "coffee mills" with hard benches and metal-clad wheels that ground the gravel surface of the coast road.

Bakken offered all kinds of fairground entertainments: roundabout and swings, music and dancing, and sideshows that included Fortuna (a type of ball game), a peepshow panorama box, with various historical scenes

(the life of **Napoleon**, the French **Revolution**), Punch and Judy, a horsemanship display, waxworks, Pierrot, and acrobats. Mrs. Pätges, the mother of **Johanne Luise Heiberg,** ran a refreshment tent at Bakken. Kierkegaard refers to the Deer Park and Deer Park outings a number of times in his journals and works. He compares **Nikolai Grundtvig** (who frequently used "Ladies and Gentlemen" in his addresses) to a fairground crier at Bakken; Kierkegaard finds it preferable to be such a crier than to be a popular preacher and professor among the social elite in Copenhagen, like **Hans Lassen Martensen**. In a draft note for ***Either/Or*** (for "The Seducer's Diary"), Kierkegaard uses material from his visits to Bakken: a dance tableau and a young couple together, with the observation that at Bakken, picnicing servant girls wear hats, whereas they are hatless at the **Frederiksberg Garden**. That Copenhagers go to the Deer Park to escape city life Kierkegaard finds ironic, since they only transfer it to the Deer Park.

In 1855, he suggests that the way people take for granted the religious doctrine of justification by **faith** through **grace** can be likened to the way people go flocking on tours to the Deer Park and similar places. In ***The Concept of Anxiety*** (chapter 4, "Anxiety about the Good"), Kierkegaard's allusion to "with power and with pills" (*mit Pulver und mit Pillen*) comes from a verse regularly sung by an elderly guitar-playing Jew, sitting under a tree accompanied by a violin player. The Jew (Michel Levin) and his companion were well-known figures for 40 years at Bakken. In ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript,*** Kierkegaard uses the Deer Park as an example of the attempt to combine a strenuously religious life with a harmless *pleasure outing.*

DEMOCRACY. *See* EQUALITY.

DEMONIC, THE. In ***The Concept of Anxiety***, Vigilius Haufniensis gives a detailed description of forms of the demonic as the condition of **anxiety** about the good. One who is demonic experiences the same attraction and repulsion from the good as others do from a prospective evil action. The demonic (*det Dæmoniske*) is seen as manifesting itself clearly only when it comes in contact with what is good. The good is viewed by the demonic individual as bad and a threat to **freedom**. What is demonic thus wants to shut itself up in itself and isolate itself from the threat of the good. Kierkegaard characterizes the demonic in some of his pseudonymous figures. Johannes the Seducer in ***Either/Or*** is said to be demonic, since he has been brought up in a Christian culture and knows what the

good is but chooses to reject the **ethical-religious** in the attempt to create the world the way he wants it to be. Quidam in ***Stages on Life's Way*** is also demonic to the extent that he quibbles about whether he is guilty. His quibbling is a form of keeping **repentance** and **God** at bay. The worst instance of the demonic (***The Sickness unto Death***) is when it takes the form of intense despair as an active defiance aimed against God. *See also* DESPAIR.

DESPAIR. While Kierkegaard in ***The Concept of Anxiety*** describes the initial experience of human **freedom** in terms of its accompanying **anxiety**, in ***The Sickness unto Death*** he describes the further state of the individual who fails to develop a proper relationship to the eternal or **God** (*see* **Eternity/Time**). Kierkegaard as Anti-Climacus shows how an individual (*see* **Self, The**) can go astray in various levels of despair (*Fortvivlelse*), beginning with unconscious despair, in which a person is, for a time, superficially happy in a life directed solely toward temporal goals such as making money or achieving political power. When the goals begin to fail to satisfy, that person tries to deal with the problem as something external needing to be fixed. It is not until she or he begins to be really unhappy that the despair begins to manifest itself at a conscious level.

At the other end of the scale is a totally conscious despair, the despair of defiance, in which the individual deliberately makes temporal goals the be-all and end-all of their **existence** out of sheer self-will. Such a one is determined to control life by forcing it to fit personal egocentric desires. There is a conscious refusal to accept anything else. This is a **demonic** despair defiantly directed at God. *The Sickness unto Death* contains an in-depth, detailed analysis of various forms of despair. To take but two examples, there is the despair of "infinitude," in which a person loses contact with the real world. The **imagination** is essential in helping a person deal emotionally and intellectually with the world in an insightful way. Yet when it becomes fantastic, the individual may become distorted with respect to the emotions. An example of such a person would be one sentimentally involved in the abstract with, for example, the sufferings of others. This person gushes with emotion at the plight of whoever or whatever has caught their fancy but is unable to relate concretely and appropriately to the particular and real sufferings of others. The same is true when **knowledge** becomes fantastic. Here, the individual piles up all kinds of objective knowledge about the world without any increase in personal self-knowledge. Such a person is able to reel off facts by the yard at

the slightest opportunity yet cannot acquire any sense of how she or he is actually experienced by others in personal relationships. When the will becomes fantastic, a person is lost in great plans and designs without any corresponding increase of ability to carry out even a fraction of what is needed to start on one of them. Such a person may thus be full of plans for doing things without anything ever coming of them.

There is secondly the despair of "finitude," in which a person may seem to be thoroughly successful and well adjusted to the community but in fact lets the self be swallowed up by purely temporal values. Here, the problem is that the person entirely loses contact with the spiritual dimension of existence and thus suffers loss of individuality through an absorption in temporality. She or he may have apparently done all the "right" things: taken the job that offered a good pension, and married a partner approved of by the family. The problem is that that person has done what the world thought desirable. It is through constant adjustment to the purely secular conceptions of others that she or he has suffered a loss of the individuality of the self. The solution to the problem of despair is always, as is pointed out by both Judge William in ***Either/Or*** and Anti-Climacus in *The Sickness unto Death*, to face up to the despair, since the attempt to evade it only leads the individual more deeply into it.

DIALECTIC. This word appears many times in Kierkegaard's writings. Originally from the Greek meaning "to hold a conversation with someone," it is especially associated with the Socratic method of communication in which Socrates provokes his dialogue partner to see **truth** through question and answer in conversation. Kierkegaard's use of *dialectic* (*Dialektiken, det Dialektiske*) is thus different from that of Georg W. F. **Hegel**, who conceives *dialectic* to be the ongoing and opposing movements in the world-historical process. For Kierkegaard, there is still a sense of something opposing something else, but in this case it is in terms of one's taking a questioning and critical stance, striving to see all possible angles in a situation or with a problem, especially seeing what counts against one's own view. Kierkegaard also uses the word *dialectic* to indicate what is doubtful or ambiguous or presents contrasting perspectives to one. When Kierkegaard uses *qualitative dialectic*, he means two opposite kinds or categories. *Dialectic* may also mean that one is required to hold two at least apparently contradictory thoughts together, believe both by an effort of will, as when Abraham in ***Fear and Trembling*** believes that **God** requires Isaac's death and that God will let him keep Isaac.

DISCOURSES. *See EIGHTEEN UPBUILDING DISCOURSES.*

DISEASES. *See* CHOLERA AND DANGEROUS DISEASES.

DOUBT. Kierkegaard was unhappy with the use of doubt (*Tvivl*) (René Descartes, Georg W. F. **Hegel**) as a method of arriving at **truth**. He saw that, like **irony**, doubt was something that the individual had to decide to halt at some point, since in itself doubt cannot be overcome intellectually, not least because **existence** can be subjected to a wide variety of human, and necessarily limited, intellectual interpretations. In other words, the individual has to take an **ethical** decision of when it is right to cease doubting in favor of some form of personal decision. Another factor in the situation is that the reflective individual will be able to see many different possibilities, so that doubt might cause the individual to become lost in a labyrinth of speculation concerning the many possibilities, thus getting nowhere. Kierkegaard also sees it as unethical to arouse doubt in others unless one can give them the means by which they can work themselves out of their doubt. Once started, doubt might possibly lead to an acute skepticism. In his draft student play, ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***, Kierkegaard makes fun of Cartesian doubt, whereas in ***Johannes Climacus, or De Omnibus Dubitandum Est*** (1842–43), we are given the story of the eager young student Johannes, who attempts to follow the precept of modern philosophy and doubt everything. So for Kierkegaard doubt is not something to be used as a philosophical tool, especially when it may even paralyze a person in relation to action.

DRIVING ROUND THE HORSE. *See* HORSE, DRIVING ROUND THE.

– E –

EFTERSLÆGTEN (POSTERITY). A famous civic secondary school, the Posterity Society's School (Efterslægtselskabets Skole), started by the Society for Posterity (Selskabet for Efterslægten) in 1797. It was inspired by the same principles as the **Borgerdyd School**. The Society for Posterity was founded on March 4, 1786, at the instance of J. C. Tode, who had been associated with the Borgerdyd School. The society was philanthropically motivated, aiming to educate the young so that they became good citizens in every sense of the word. It speedily became a

thriving institution, with people like Bishop **Nikolai Balle** as honorary supportive members. The society provided Sunday and evening lectures in a variety of subjects such as science, history, geography, law, practical philosophy, and physical education. Eventually it started a school on January 3, 1797, with an Edward Storm as teacher and inspector. Under Storm's inspiration, the school did so well that in 1824 it was at the peak of its fame, providing an education that successfully rivaled that of the Grammar School. The poet **Adam Oehlenschläger** was among its pupils and particularly appreciated its emphasis on education of the whole person. The school was still going strong at the end of the 19th century.

In the draft of his student play, **The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars**, Kierkegaard makes his character Ole Wadt (= **Jens Finsteen Giødwad**) refer to rewards, both money and praise, as something he has experienced in his time as writing master at Efterslægten. In a letter to his brother **Peter Christian**, Kierkegaard in 1829 (then in his 8th year at the Borgerdyd School) writes that one of the masters, Diderik Vilhelm Friedenreich, has been appointed an assistant head at Efterslægten.

EIGHTEEN UPBUILDING DISCOURSES. As a balance to his pseudonymous material, Kierkegaard was in the habit of publishing edifying or upbuilding **religious** discourses under his own name. Thus, ***Either/Or*** (1843) was partnered by his *Two Upbuilding Courses*, composed between December 1842 and about March 1843 and published on May 16, 1843. ***Fear and Trembling and Repetition*** were published on the same date as *Three Upbuilding Discourses*, composed between June and August 9 and published on October 16, 1843. *Four Upbuilding Discourses* was composed between October and November and published on December 6, 1843. The year 1844 saw the publication of *Two Upbuilding Discourses* (composed between December 1843 and February 1844) on March 5, followed by *Three Upbuilding Discourses* (composed in the spring of 1844) on June 8, the month that saw the publication of ***Philosophical Fragments***, ***The Concept of Anxiety***, and ***Prefaces***. On August 31, 1844, *Four Upbuilding Discourses* (composed summer 1844, finished early August) appeared. ***Stages on Life's Way*** was to have *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* as its partner in 1845. Kierkegaard was to continue the practice of publishing discourses, even during his attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**), when he published on September 3, 1855, a discourse that he had delivered at the Citadel Church in Copenhagen on May 18, 1851, *God's Unchangeableness* (*Guds Uforanderlighed*). Kierkegaard called

his collections of discourses by that name and not "sermons" because (as he explains in the prefaces) he was not ordained and thus lacked the authority to preach. He dedicated his discourses to his deceased father **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** and addressed them to the individual reader (*hiin Enkelte*), not to a congregation. As he makes clear in his journals of 1849, he was no didactic teacher but aimed to work people, especially himself, maieutically into religious commitment through his writings. The discourses, which are on New Testament themes, sometimes repeat a title using different content, as with "Love Will Hide a Multitude of Sins" and "Every Good Gift and Every Perfect Gift Is from Above." This is somewhat similar to his method later in ***Works of Love***, in which he repeats the same theme with different emphases.

Since the discourses were edifying or upbuilding material, not surprisingly they could not be a suitable subject for reviewers, and there was scant reference to them. Bishop Mynster mentioned them in his article "Kirkelig Polemik" in *Intelligensblade* (4, January 1, 1844), but his emphasis is on Kierkegaard's father, who is seen as one who taught Kierkegaard well. The six volumes of discourses were not best-sellers, either. By January 1, 1845, sales of editions of 200 copies amounted to 139 as the most (for *Three Upbuilding Discourses* [1843]) and 92 as the fewest (for *Three Upbuilding Discourses* [1844]). Kierkegaard let P. G. Philipsen (forerunner of Gyldendal's publishing house) have what was left. Philipsen published the remaining copies together as *Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses* (*Atten opbyggelige Taler*) (1843–45). When Philipsen ran out of the first two discourses, he went on publishing what was left as *Sixteen Upbuilding Discourses* (*Sexten opbyggelige Taler*). Despite the lack of official reaction, many found themselves profoundly helped by Kierkegaard's discourses, though not many grasped their philosophical aspect. This had to wait for the 20th century. **Martin Heidegger** was to find more philosophy in this material than in the rest of Kierkegaard's writings.

Of Kierkegaard's other discourses these can be mentioned here his *Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* (*Tre Taler ved tænkte Leiligheder*) (1845), the occasions being confession, a wedding, and a funeral, composed between December 1844 and mid-January 1845 (published April 29, 1845). Then there is his *Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits* (*Opbyggelige Taler i forskjellig Aand*) (1847), composed between May 5 and mid-November 1846, containing "A Discourse for an Occasion," the occasion being confession and the theme being "Purity of Heart Is to Will One Thing" (the Good in Truth), three discourses on "What We Learn from the Lilies in the Field and from the Birds of

the Air," and "The Gospel of Sufferings: Christian Discourses," with seven discourses on suffering. Kierkegaard returned to the theme of lilies and birds, when, on May 14, 1849, came *The Lily in the Field and the Bird of the Air: Three Devotional Discourses* (*Lilien paa Marken og Fuglen under Himlen Tre gudelige Taler*), composed between March and April 1849. Kierkegaard was also responsible for a number of discourses held at "the Communion on Fridays," reminding us that Kierkegaard as a lay preacher held discourses in the cathedral Church of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke). Finally, it should be noted that Kierkegaard in 1847 first used "Christian" in the title of his discourses. Whereas the *Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses* concern the universal ethical-religiousness that Kierkegaard's Johannes Climacus in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** calls "Religiousness A," with the transition to "Christian" discourses, Kierkegaard marks his new emphasis on the specific religiosity of **Christianity**.

EIRÍKSSON, MAGNUS (1806–1881). Rationalist theologian; son of a peasant in northeast Iceland. When Eiríksson left Bessastad Grammar School in Iceland in 1829, he did secretarial work for a Councillor L. A. Krieger until (thanks to the friendly help of his employer) he moved to Copenhagen in 1831 to study theology at **Copenhagen University**. He became particularly interested in Bible scholarship. A particular influence on him was the rationalism of New Testament professor **Henrik Nicolaj Clausen**, whereas he nurtured a growing dislike of the speculative theology in Professor **Hans Lassen Martensen**'s lectures. After he received his degree in 1837, Eiríksson became a tutor to theology students and was extremely popular in this capacity. He was a good-hearted, honest man, despite being obstinately polemical concerning the rightness of his theological opinions.

On October 27, 1839, a German Baptist pastor, Johann Gerhard Oncken, rebaptized some Christians who had come to **doubt** the validity of infant baptism. Eiríksson sided with the Baptists, publishing a book called *On Baptists and Infant Baptism* (*Om Baptister og Barnedaab*) (1844). In this work, he asserted that there was no infant baptism in apostolic times and that it went against all common sense to treat the sacrament as if it had some kind of miraculous effect. Since Martensen defended the practice of infant baptism in the Lutheran-Evangelical Church, Eiríksson's further writing was particularly aimed at Martensen, and his publications were deeply polemical toward the latter.

The following years saw Eiríksson's *Faith, Superstition and False Belief* (*Tro, Overtro og Vantro*) (1846), *Dr. Martensen's Printed Moral*

Paragraphs Explained (*Dr. Martensen's trykte moralske Paragrapher belyste*) (1846), *Speculative Orthodoxy and Ecclesiastical Justice* (*Speculativ Retroenhed og geistlig Retfærdighed*) (1849), and *Modern Danish Theology's Cardinal Virtues, together with 75 Theological Questions to Dr. H. L. Martensen* (*Den nydanske Theologies Cardinaldyder tillige med 75 theologiske Spørgsmaal til Dr. H. L. Martensen*) (1850). Against Martensen's speculative theology Eiríksson objected that **faith** was based on **reason** and only what can be accepted by reason should be accepted by faith. Martensen remained silent in the face of Eiríksson's attack, and this so angered the latter that he wrote a letter in 1847 to Christian VIII, in which he denounced Martensen's silence as dishonest and demanded that he be deprived of his professorship. Since Eiríksson's letter was also critical of the government, the public prosecutor started a case against Eiríksson. The king, however, died in 1848, and proceedings were dropped because of the general amnesty proclaimed at the accession of Frederik VII. Unfortunately for Eiríksson, the students sided with Martensen in the entire affair, ceasing to use Eiríksson as their tutor. To help his precarious financial position, Eiríksson thought of taking an appointment offered him as a pastor in Iceland in 1856, but he decided against it because of his theological views.

The years 1850–63 were a period of spiritual crisis for him, and it is in this period that he claimed to have experienced visions in which **God** directly revealed to him the **truth** concerning major Christian doctrines. In particular, Eiríksson rejected the doctrine of Jesus as God incarnate. Eiríksson also enlisted the findings of German biblical criticism where the Johannine and Pauline theology of the New Testament are concerned. In several works from 1863 to 1871, Eiríksson took issue with the authenticity of John's gospel, while he viewed St. Paul as having distorted the message of Jesus. His final position was that Jesus had merely wished to restore **Judaism** to its original purity of message. (At the Fourth Nordic Church Meeting, held in Copenhagen in 1871, he spoke against the doctrine of Jesus' divinity.) Eiríksson, however, received scarcely any response to all this, and when he died in Copenhagen on July 3, 1881, it was as a theologically insignificant figure.

On October 1, 1847, Eiríksson wrote to Kierkegaard asking for financial assistance, saying that he had applied to him the previous year for help. His appeal to Kierkegaard reads somewhat unpleasantly: Kierkegaard needs to perform works of love, not just write about them; Eiríksson's work is the same as, or similar to, Kierkegaard's; people have been spreading the rumor that Kierkegaard is already helping Eiríksson,

so why not do it? Kierkegaard, who was asked to reply in a few words, wrote a polite four-line refusal on October 14. Unfortunately for Kierkegaard, Eiríksson saw him as a theological ally. Specifically, he viewed Kierkegaard's ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** of 1846 as supportive of his position. In the paper "*Adresseavisen*" of November 19 and 20, 1846, Eiríksson advertised his book (*Dr. Martensen's Printed Moral Paragraphs Explained*) with reference to Kierkegaard.

While Eiríksson and Kierkegaard agreed in viewing Hegelian speculative thinking negatively (*see* **Hegel**), that was about as far as their accord went. Eiríksson was clearly most interested in getting Martensen deprived of his professorship. Kierkegaard tells us in his journals of 1846 that he thought that the point of the whole thing was the advertisement against Martensen, and he deeply regrets the manner in which Eiríksson has tried to use *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* in his campaign. In his journal notes on the subject (which he thought of publishing as Johannes Climacus), Kierkegaard speaks of Eiríksson as a quarrelsome person, who, in a horrible manner, caresses him using the most appreciative and laudatory language. He considers Eiríksson's attack on Martensen to be of a most hateful kind, and especially he deplores the intentions Eiríksson reads out of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. He accuses Eiríksson of dishonestly and presumptuously misunderstanding the book.

In journal material of 1847, Kierkegaard denies that he either financially or in any other manner has supported Eiríksson's publications. In his book *Speculative Orthodoxy and Ecclesiastical Justice* of 1849, Eiríksson (in a footnote) claimed that Kierkegaard had ridiculed and insulted Martensen's theology in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. Kierkegaard again considered writing an article, the gist of which was that his book was by a pseudonym, that it was a Danish protest against modern speculation, but that it was German speculative philosophy that was in mind, and certainly not Martensen—who was not mentioned in the book. In 1850, Eiríksson published a (pseudonymous) work, *Is Faith a Paradox and by Virtue of the Absurd?* (*Er Troen et Paradox og "'i Kraft af det Absurde'"?*), a work that he linked with Kierkegaard's pseudonym from ***Fear and Trembling***, Johannes de silentio, by presenting his pseudonym (Theophilus Nicolaus) as the brother of Johannes de silentio. In this work, Eiríksson links faith with reason and rejects the making of faith into a paradox, even though he recognizes that Christian doctrine contains much that is absurd and paradoxical. Later, in 1866, in *God and the Reformer* (*Gud og Reformatoren*), Eiríksson picks up on the fact that

Kierkegaard was not against Church doctrine to indicate that this must mean Kierkegaard is confused on the issue of faith and doctrine.

In the work of 1850, Kierkegaard as Johannes Climacus drafts in his journals a possible reply to Eiríksson. He points out, among other things, that Climacus is not a Christian but that Eiríksson treats Climacus as if he is. Eiríksson recognizes absurdity in Christian doctrine, but it is odd that Eiríksson, a declared rationalist, attempts to get rid of absurdity and **paradox** by appealing to personal revelations and communications from God to support his arguments. He wants to get rid of the supernatural by appealing to the supernatural. Eiríksson also refers to absurdity and paradox as the higher (nonspeculative) rationality, without understanding that such concepts indicate the limits of human rationality. Eiríksson has also not understood *Fear and Trembling* at all but has engaged only with minor detail in the book. Kierkegaard's journals contain a fair number of references to Eiríksson in the same vein, all of which indicate his dislike of Eiríksson's polemic and his disgust at his misunderstanding of Kierkegaard's writings. *See also* ABSURD; REVELATION; SYSTEM, THE.

EITHER/OR. In his journals of 1846, Kierkegaard tells us that (except for a page of the Diapsalmata) he wrote *Either/Or* (*Enten-Eller*) in 11 months. The period of the book's composition can be dated from between October 11, 1841, and the end of November 1842. Before his journey to Berlin in 1841, Kierkegaard had done a draft of Judge William's "The Aesthetic Validity of Marriage," writing the rest in Berlin and back in Copenhagen. This two-part work consists allegedly of some mysterious papers discovered by the book's editor and publisher, Victor Eremita.

Part I consists of the writings of an aesthete who may or may not have written "The Seducer's Diary" at the end of the volume; Part II is made up of two letters from Judge William on love and duty and a sermon by a Jutland pastor. Part I begins with the Diapsalmata, or collection of poetic fragments expressing personal **despair**. This is followed by an essay analyzing Mozart's *Don Giovanni*; then come the papers read to the miserable Society of the Already Dead (Symparanekromenoi) on the question of human responsibility in ancient and modern tragedy, a theme further explored in the essay "Silhouettes" in its discussion of the guilt of the brides of grief. This material is followed by the essay that attempts to discover the identity of the unhappiest person. After this, there is a review of Augustin Eugène Scribe's Comedy *The First Love*, an essay about how to stave off boredom ("The Rotation of Crops"), and, finally, "The Seducer's Diary." Part I is deliberately fragmented,

reflecting the fragmented, meaningless nature of the aesthete's life, but it is unified by the underlying theme that life that follows only instincts and personal desires is a failure. Attempts to be happy based on things that must change with time cannot work, while the conscious attempt to live for oneself destroys others as well as ultimately oneself. The question of personal responsibility is explored against the background of a Hegelian (*see* **Hegel**) universe where there is no **freedom** and that cannot therefore be a source of advice for the individual concerning the making of choices in life.

In Part II, in which the two letters and the sermon are presented as coherent pieces, Judge William represents happy **ethical** life in society. He argues that one does not need to throw out the **aesthetic** life of pleasures as long as this is anchored to ethics. The aesthetic, ethical, and **religious** are three allies. When love is made a lifelong task in **marriage**, the aesthetic is retained and love eternalized. Similarly, duty is no destroyer of enjoyment but rather is what brings meaning and cohesion to one's life. On the question of personal responsibility, instead of deliberating about the question of human freedom as a cosmic problem, the individual is advised (the pastor's sermon) to choose the position that one is wrong in the sight of **God**, thus encouraging the individual to continue in his or her ethical striving. The individual who follows this path builds up the **self** and also the **social** whole. While Judge William is an example of the ideal Christian in society, a type indicated in **Nikolai Balle**'s catechism, this omits what Kierkegaard comes to present as the essentially Christian, namely the radical altruism of the New Testament (*see* **Death and Dying; Resignation and Self-denial**). In the preface, Victor Eremita tries to present the views of both volumes impartially as merely points of view confronting each other and leaves the reader to make a decision concerning who is right, the colorful aesthete or the stable judge.

Either/Or, published on February 20, 1843, was a best-seller, the first edition of 525 copies selling out in three years, while the second edition (1849) was printed in 750 copies. It was reviewed in eight Danish newspapers and journals, including in *The Corsair* by **Meïer Goldschmidt,** who was critical of **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**'s view of it. Heiberg, who plunged into Part I without reading the preface, vainly sought a vantage point for understanding the work, and although he expressed some enthusiasm for Part II and thought a second reading would prove profitable for the reader, in his review (*Intelligensblade*, 24, March 1, 1843), Part I filled him with dismay. Finding himself unpleasantly confronted by the two fat volumes (864 pages), he was confused by much of the material

and repelled by an author who wanted to present a figure like Johannes the Seducer.

In his journals and papers, Kierkegaard makes it clear that it is **Regina Olsen** who provided the impetus for the writing of *Either/Or*. In 1849, we are told that *Either/Or*, especially "The Seducer's Diary," was written for Regina's sake to free her of their relationship. Regina would guess he had written it and scorn him, and through his attempt to appear as an idle man about town, the public would view him as a heartless no-good that she was well rid of. (Alternatively, Regina might see Kierkegaard as the person mentioned by Judge William, unable to marry because of some personal secret.) In October 1853, Kierkegaard again speaks of the genesis of *Either/Or*, that he wished to succeed in completing the work including the (in both senses of the word) repellent Seducer's diary, and then take a position as a pastor in a rural parish as "a way of expressing renunciation of the world." What actually happened, he tells us, is that *Either/Or* was hailed as a success, and "a powerful creativity" awoke in him that he could not resist. He thus became a religious author instead.

ENGELSTOFT, CHRISTIAN THORNING (1805–1889). Danish bishop, professor and historian. Engelstoft was born in Næsborg parsonage near Løgstør. When his pastor father died, the eight-year-old boy was adopted by his uncle (Professor Laurids Engelstoft) in Copenhagen. Here he received a good private education and took a degree in theology in 1827. In 1832, he became licentiate, with a thesis on the history of the Jewish people. In 1833, he became lecturer in theology at **Copenhagen University** and then professor in 1834. In 1836, he did a doctorate on Reformation history, becoming a full professor in Church history in 1845. For a while he also taught Church law at the **Pastoral Seminary**. In the years 1847–48, he was rector of the university. In November 1851, he became bishop of Funen at Odense, a post he held for the rest of his life.

For a short while, Engelstoft was minister for ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction (*Kultusminister*) (1863–64). In 1845, he published the first part of a book on Church history (*Lærebog i Kirkehistorien*) and a new, improved edition of Kolderup-Rosenvinge's *Outline of the Danish Church Law* (*Grundrids af den danske Kirkeret*) in 1851. With Professor **Carl Emil Scharling,** he published a theological journal (*Theologisk Tidsskrift*) (1837–61), to which he contributed a number of articles on Church history. Engelstoft also published other articles, and in 1841 he wrote a history of liturgy and ritual (*Liturgiens eller Alterbogens og Kirkeritualets Historie*).

As a student, Kierkegaard appears to have made notes on Engelstoft's lectures and teaching (1833–34, 1838–39). In 1850, Kierkegaard mentions Engelstoft in connection with **Rasmus Nielsen**'s misunderstanding of Kierkegaard's authorial activity, and in 1851, he comments negatively in his journals on Engelstoft's heavy "scholarly" speech at the 50th anniversary of Bishop **Jakob Peter Mynster**'s ordination. Kierkegaard noted that Engelstoft's speech of congratulation keeps **faith** and scholarship together and emphasizes scholarship. Apart from a later brief note (1852) mentioning Engelstoft at the anniversary celebration, Kierkegaard made a sarcastic reference to Engelstoft in 1854 as an example of a clergyman producing children. (In 1837, Engelstoft had married Louise Holm, who bore him female triplets on April 29, 1854.) Kierkegaard also has references in his journals to Engelstoft and Scharling's Journal: *Theological Journal* (*Theologisk Tidsskrift*) (1837–49) and *New Theological Journal* (*Nyt theologisk Tidsskrift*) (1850–55). Both Engelstoft and Scharling examined Kierkegaard at his degree exam for theology on July 3, 1840.

EQUALITY. Kierkegaard aims to make a distinction between essential (spiritual) equality (*Lighed*) and temporal equality. The latter has to do with the temporal differences among humans concerning rank, wealth, health, education, and so forth. He sees these differences as being an intrinsic part of the temporal world (*see* **Eternity/Time**), so much so that it is not possible to create equality in such matters. At the same time, he insists that all are fundamentally equal before **God**; every human has the same initial potentiality for relating to God and developing his or her nature as a spiritual being. It is thus only religion that can develop human equality to its utmost limit, and in Kierkegaard's writings this appears to be achieved primarily through the Christian practice of neighborly love (see, e.g., ***Works of Love***), in which the beggar is urged not to envy the well placed in society and the ruler not to view himself as a superior being in relation to his subjects. As a Christian, one is to raise oneself above temporal distinctions in loving your neighbor.

In addition to Kierkegaard's pessimism about equality is his pessimism about democracy as a product of the unthinking masses. Thus, when he condemns emancipation for **women**, it is from the viewpoint that democracy and voting are bad enough when men are involved in such processes, without dragging women into them, too. Kierkegaard does not, however, entirely deny the possibility that democracy may be competent to decide purely temporal issues (***The Point of View for My***

Work as an Author), and it becomes unclear how far he recognizes that a Christian attitude in individuals could affect the democratic process positively, including the removal of unjust inequalities. The point at issue between Kierkegaard and practical reformers of his time would seem to be what equality is in temporal terms and which temporal distinctions are intrinsically unalterable. While Kierkegaard is right that one can never eliminate all inequalities in the world, this is no reason for not eliminating the ones that can be eliminated. It is highly likely that there never could be a situation where everyone had the same amount of monetary wealth, but, as reforms in health and education since Kierkegaard's time have shown, some temporal distinctions are not as intrinsically unalterable as Kierkegaard thought. *See also* SELF, THE; SPIRIT AND SOUL.

ETERNITY/TIME. Kierkegaard posits the existence of the two qualitatively different spheres of eternity (*Evigheden*) and time (*Tiden*), or the eternal (*det Evige*) and the temporal (*det Timelige*). While he views time as an infinite succession of discrete moments in its aspect of the passage of clock time (*en Gaaen-forbi*), since the individual is situated in time, the temporal moment becomes ambiguous. The **moment** (*Øieblikket*) is an atom of time, but it can also become an atom of eternity, in the sense in which the individual, situated in the temporal, but relating to the realm of the eternal, can use each temporal moment in striving to develop the initial potentiality of the eternal or spiritual **self**, through the ethical-**religious** choices she or he makes. The individual can also have a code of **ethical** values that is, by virtue of its transcendence of cultural contexts, which are eternally valid. So just as time can be viewed apart from the individual yet also as existentially connected to the individual, so, too, can the concept of the eternal.

Whereas "eternity" stands for the realm of **God**, absolutely transcending temporality and thus existing even if there were no humans, "the eternal," when it is not indicating ethics or individual ethical-religious striving, can indicate eternity (*det Evige*) (as opposed to the temporal or temporality) or God himself (*den Evige*). Not only can the character of the temporal moment be changed from humankind's side, however, but it can also be changed from God's side, as it is when the invisible, unknowable, eternal God startlingly intervenes in creation and enters time at the historical moment of the incarnation of the totally altruistic Christ, a moment that thus also becomes an eternal moment through which (by **faith**) the individual is redeemed not only for this life but also for life forever in eternity (heaven) after death.

The world, as part of the realm of time or the temporal, Kierkegaard therefore sees as possessing an inherent self-orientation. As such, it is the realm of the egocentric, extending itself in time and space, whereas eternity or heaven is the intensive realm of the God of perfect altruism and self-sacrifice. Time and eternity can, therefore, be viewed not just as realms opposite each other, but as in opposition to each other where self-centered human nature is concerned. While Kierkegaard does not encourage people to speculate about the precise nature of life after **death**, from a few comments he lets drop it can be seen that he thinks that, although in one sense eternity is changeless, the Christian can expect to encounter loved ones again after death, as well as God.

Kierkegaard contrasts the actual transcendent eternity of **Christianity** positively with the eternal as conceived elsewhere, particularly in Greek thought or in the contemporary speculative philosophy of his time (*see* **Hegel, Hegelianism**). In the Greek world, the eternal is seen as consisting of the realm of abstract ideas or forms accessible through **reason** and thus already present latently in the individual. Although Socrates actualizes the ethical ideals he recollects in this manner, Kierkegaard finds the Greek form of eternity lacking because of what he sees as its intellectual abstractness. In Kierkegaard's view, it is first with **Judaism** that one arrives at the notion of an eternal God transcending human history, a God that makes himself known to humankind, even though Judaism does not have the Christian concept of eternity and eternal life for the individual. *See also* DAMNATION; IDEAS; REPETITION.

ETHICAL, THE. In Kierkegaard's writings, the ethical (*det Ethiske*) path is explained both in terms of how one sets about it and also in terms of what types of ethical code can be followed. Especially in ***Either/Or***, Kierkegaard outlines what it means to move from a life lived in the light of what one finds pleasurable or otherwise and one lived in the light of what is right or wrong. The aesthete (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) is urged to start on the ethical path by the initial act of deciding to choose between right and wrong, between good and bad action. He is shown to be in **despair** through failure of the life of pleasure seeking and receives the surprising advice to choose despair. By this, however, Judge William means he should face up to and embrace his despair instead of mistakenly seeking the causes of his despair in the external world. This, in a sense, is already to make a distinction between good and bad, since it allows one to see that the condition of the **self** is not good as it is.

This choice is therefore also a choice of the self as guilty (*see* **Sin**), or identical with "repenting oneself" (*see* **Repentance**) or "absolute **resignation**"; that is, it is the abandonment of the self with respect to the validity of one's previous way of life. This is also to choose oneself in one's "eternal validity," in the sense that one is about to replace a false sense of **eternity** (the idea that temporal pleasures can be eternalized) with a true one. Judge William sees the initial choice of the ethical life as something that purifies, matures and unifies the personality. It even brings the individual into contact with what Bishop **Nikolai Balle** in his catechism calls the "Eternal Power" (*den evige Magt* = **God**) underlying all **existence**. Living in the light of what is right and wrong, the ethical person gains experience from the practice of living ethically. Judge William emphasizes the importance of good intention in the ethical life, and although he does not state explicitly the ethical code by which the individual is to live, it is clear that he lives by the ethics of the Bible, especially as presented in the Lutheran catechism of Bishop Nicolai Balle, the catechism all Danes learned as children and as members of the Danish state church.

Kierkegaard does, of course, realize that there are ethical codes other than those of the Bible and particularly of New Testament **Christianity**. In his authorship a distinction emerges between types of ethical codes. The lowest form of ethics is that of "morality" (*Sædeligheden*) in which the ethics of the community are based on customs or rules to enable society to function adequately. Since they are seen as lacking any eternal element, or an element that transcends the community, Kierkegaard does not view them as genuine ethics.

Genuine ethics need to contain some awareness of eternally obligatory norms. Kierkegaard sees this as occurring within the category of what he calls "first ethics," in which the ethics of the godly pagan are found. Socrates specifically comes into this category since he is trying to arrive at his moral norms through the recollection of eternal **truth**. In **Judaism,** the ethics of the law are received from an eternal, transcendent God, and the Christianity of Judge William fits in this category for the same reason, and also to the extent to which the Judge sees the ethical code as fulfillable demand.

Kierkegaard, however, also has the category of "second ethics," in which the mild altruism of Judge William is replaced by the acute New Testament altruism that calls on the individual to die to the world and forsake everything in the following of Christ (*see* **Death and Dying**). The individual also finds it impossible to fulfill the ethical demand and is referred to Christ in his capacity of Savior. Second ethics thus have to

do with Christianity, or "Religiousness B," as Kierkegaard calls it in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***. The individual's inability to fulfill the ethical demand requires God's saving **grace** and forgiveness.

Finally, Kierkegaard makes it clear that it is possible to relate to God only by way of ethics. Any attempt at religiosity divorced from ethics is, in Kierkegaard's view, simply not **religious** but a form of aesthetic enterprise. There is also the **paradox** that one goes through the ethical yet remains in it; that is, one develops in the ethical life and one's standards can become higher, but throughout, one always remains faced with the ethical demand to do what is right.

EXCEPTION, THE. In his authorship Kierkegaard deals with the predicament of the exception (*Undtagelsen*), of those unable to fulfill the **ethical** injunction or injunctions of their community. Already as Judge William in ***Either/Or*** he deals with the predicament of the man who is unable (for a good reason) to fulfill the community's expectation that he does his duty and gets married, while, in ***Stages on Life's Way***, the judge contemplates the situation of the person who might feel a call to the monastic life (*see* **Inwardness**). The reasons for the individual's not fulfilling a duty of this kind, when known (since a person might not be able to give a reason intimately private in nature), make perfect rational sense to other members of the community; that is, a reason can be given that others will understand, even though, for example, in the case of a call to the monastic life, the person might possibly be viewed by fellow citizens as mistaken in wanting to go in that direction. Even in the extreme example Kierkegaard gives in ***Fear and Trembling*** of the tragic hero (Agamemnon) having to sacrifice his daughter to placate angry gods, the hero has the community's understanding and support in the situation.

Where, however, community ethics derive their validity from ideas of an **eternal** world, divinity or divine **authority** transcending community, Kierkegaard sees another possibility manifesting itself—namely, that the divinity may require the individual to do something that goes against the ordinary ethics of the society, and the required action may not be viewed as understandable or justifiable by other members of that society. The supreme example of a person in such a situation is Abraham in *Fear and Trembling*. Abraham has been given Isaac miraculously by **God** in his old age and has been told that he will father a great nation. Apart from any natural love he bears toward Isaac, he is also fully aware (like Agamemnon) that a parent has a duty to cherish offspring. Yet he is apparently faced with God's demand that he sacrifice Isaac. Since both the ethics of the community and

this new command are seen as having their source in God, Abraham's dilemma is that of God's command versus God's command.

Even if he did try to explain the command to sacrifice Isaac to his family and the community, they would not understand but would think he had taken leave of his senses. Thus, in proceeding to take steps to sacrifice his son, Abraham makes himself an exception to the ethics of the community, and if the command does come from God, in his obedience to God's will Abraham is encompassed by a higher ethic through his continued obedience to God in the situation. Kierkegaard is, however, fully aware of the dangers of such a position, not least that of a terrible self-deception on the part of the individual. Therefore, in *Fear and Trembling* he discusses the problem of whether there can be a "teleological suspension of the ethical"—that is, a situation in which, for a higher purpose, here, for God's sake, the ordinary ethical demand can be ethically suspended by the individual.

Furthermore, in his ***Book on Adler,*** in which Kierkegaard investigates the **revelation** claims made by his contemporary, Pastor **Adolph Adler**, he arrives at criteria that might at least help other members of the community decide how far, in such a situation, they are or are not dealing with someone who is mentally disturbed, though this cannot help them decide the case where a rational and moral person makes claims concerning commands and revelations from God. *See also* TEMPTATION.

EXISTENCE. Kierkegaard uses the word *existence* (*Tilværelsen*) of the world as the sphere of human activity. In this sense it parallels the term **actuality**. Existence can also, however, refer to the fact of a person's **ethical-religious** striving and personal development in life (where "to exist" is expressed by the Danish word "*existere*") as opposed to the fact of a person's concrete physical existence in the world, where to say that a person exists simply means she or he is there in the world (in Danish this is expressed by the verb "*være til*"). The distinction between "*existere*" and "*være til*" is an important one, in that the one English word has to do for both Danish verbs, which are normally kept for their appropriate meanings in Kierkegaard's writings. Thus, when Johannes Climacus says in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** that "God does not exist, he is eternal," he uses "*existere*" and does not mean that there is no God, only that God does not unfold himself in temporality in the sort of pantheistic manner described in **Hegelian** philosophy. Because Kierkegaard's thought concentrates on how the individual does and ought to exist in the world, as opposed to trying to describe the world in

totally objective terms, he has often been taken to be a precursor of **existentialism**. *See also* SYSTEM, THE; TRUTH.

EXISTENTIALISM. Kierkegaard has often been labeled an "existentialist" and "the father of existentialism." There are two major difficulties in giving him such labels. The first has to do with what is to count as "existentialism." If one posits a category of thinkers under the label of a specific European movement started by Kierkegaard, awkward problems arise, such as the question of the relation of Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–81) to Kierkegaard, when there was no contact between them; or of Albert Camus (1913–60), who by no means "followed" Kierkegaard and does not appear to have understood him terribly well; or of **Jean-Paul Sartre**, whose philosophical viewpoint is one Kierkegaard would not have recognized as a bedfellow with his own. Given that such divergent thinkers have been put in the existentialist category, it has proved difficult to pin down what existentialism is. Some common themes appearing in the writings of "existentialist" thinkers, however, are, first, that **existence** comes before essence; that is, the process of existing is what makes the individual essential nature of a person, rather than the person having a particular essence from which his or her life results. Second, the individual is seen as having no essential nature or self-identity apart from what is involved in the act of choice. Truth is emphasized as having a primary importance with respect to the life of the individual: it is seen as having to do with subjects, not objects. Third, objective abstract categories and conceptualizations are seen as incapable of encompassing or communicating the reality of individual existence. Thus, fourth, philosophy's task has to do with the question of what it means to exist, even though the universe is irrational, has no purpose, and is absurd. Humans therefore have to import moral meaning into the universe. It is not there already. Fifth, there is much emphasis on the absolute **freedom** and thus responsibility of individuals and on the burden of that freedom. The individual must make choices in life and is responsible for shaping him- or herself.

These themes cannot all be ascribed to thinkers traditionally placed in the category of "existentialism," however, although someone like Jean-Paul Sartre goes in an atheistic direction, others (e.g., **Karl Jaspers**) are highly **religious** (but also highly critical of Kierkegaard). The second difficulty is, of course, that Kierkegaard himself was theologically a traditional Western Christian, and if one is to pinpoint parallels in his thought with one or two of the aforementioned themes, then one must

immediately do the same with many other traditional Christians never placed in the "existentialist" category.

So while it is clear that Kierkegaard was affected and influenced by thinkers such as **Gotthold Ephraim Lessing**, Georg W. F. **Hegel**, **Friedrich Schelling**, and **Poul Martin Møller** and also made a definite impact on the thought of Jaspers, Sartre, **Karl Barth**, **Rudolf Bultmann**, and **Martin Heidegger**, it is probably unwise to think too much of Kierkegaard as one with a specific position in the stream of the history of ideas.

He refused to let himself be categorized as belonging to any one discipline, insisting that he was only a "creative writer" (*Digter*). Also, while Kierkegaard read the writings of many philosophers, theologians, and other thinkers, his intellectual development also owed much to his contact with his contemporaries in all walks of life and to his insightful psychological perceptions concerning those he encountered. When it comes to his influence on others, in terms of having an effect, a large number of diverse people could never be restricted to the one category of existentialism when they were also affected by thinkers other than Kierkegaard.

– F –

FAITH. For Kierkegaard, faith (*Troen*) preeminently has to do with **religious** belief and religious commitment, especially, of course, in the context of **Christianity**. In his authorship, however, he explores the concept from different angles, not least in the context of the popular assumption that faith is somehow inferior to **knowledge**. Kierkegaard aims to show that faith has two important elements: the subjective element of personal commitment to a particular path in life, that path is indicated by the intellectual content of the idea or philosophy in question, and the objective element presented by the content of the idea or philosophy. Kierkegaard shows that belief, in the former sense of following a path in life, does not necessarily follow from intellectual commitment to propositions about things, however wholehearted the commitment to their **truth**.

Yet while Kierkegaard therefore emphasizes the need for personal **ethical**-religious commitment as a necessary corollary of intellectual commitment to religious (dogmatic) propositions, he does not avoid facing the problem of how one can know that truths expressed in the dogmatic propositions are in fact true. In ***Either/Or***, he shows the aesthete (who has long ago lost faith in the doctrines of religion) still capable of an

emotional response (which he calls faith) to poetic ideas that can have no foundation in actuality. While it is patently obvious that the aesthete is mistaken if he seriously thinks a beautiful nymph is in the forest, Kierkegaard is ready to face the difficulties presented by statements of religious doctrine that are far less open to verification.

When, in his journals of 1848, he speaks of faith as "immediacy (or spontaneity) after reflection," he makes a clear distinction between an unreflective faith commitment to **ideas** and a faith commitment in which the believer has chosen to follow the religious path despite full knowledge of the intellectual problems presented by particular doctrinal statements. Initially faith lies in the certainty of one's persistence in a faith commitment to **God**, even though it is impossible to prove that God exists. Where Christianity is concerned, there is the added burden of the fact that personal salvation is linked to claims made about a historical person, Jesus, of whom it is stated that he is the eternal God now become temporal in the human life of Jesus.

Thus, the objective uncertainty extends to being also an uncertainty in historical terms, while from the point of view of philosophy, one appears to be claiming in a contradictory manner that God is both eternal (thus unchangeable) and temporal (thus subject to the changes of mortal life). For Kierkegaard, personal faith commitment to the Christian way of life becomes a persistence on that path, even though one is, and ought to be, clearly aware of the intellectual difficulties involved. Faith is thus a "leap" in that finite human thinking cannot create a bridge of intellectual conviction to whatever is the eternal state of affairs. The individual must choose the Christian way of life as an **existential** venture.

Since a deep level of ethical commitment is already presupposed in the universal religiosity of "Religiousness A" (described by Kierkegaard in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***) in which the individual has already been striving to live an honest and upright ethical-religious life, the kind of intellectual faith called for does not mean that the prospective believer can or would believe any old nonsense, while the "faith against the understanding" or the "crucifixion of the understanding" mentioned by Climacus indicates a letting go of finite attempts to rationalize religion into an ordered human, and thus limited, framework of intellectual concepts. Where the individual does this, Kierkegaard sees the faith relationship as initiated from God's side. *See also* AESTHETIC, THE; ETERNITY/TIME; *PHILOSOPHICAL FRAGMENTS;* REASON AND UNDERSTANDING.

FATE. Fate is what happens to a person, viewed as something either occurring outside their personal control or directed decisively by some higher power or cause. The aesthete or pleasure seeker (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) may thus view fate (*Skæbne*) as being on a par with the incidental (*see* **Accidental/Incidental**): it is what chances such a person beyond his or her control. The individual may, however, view events in predeterministic terms: all that chances him or her, however unexpected, is directed decisively by the workings of **existence** in an inevitable process. The aesthete or pleasure seeker may therefore be a fatalist, one understanding him- or herself to be powerlessly in the grip of a blind, determining power, however much he or she struggles to influence the course of events. Kierkegaard seems to treat fatalism as if it is the same thing as determinism, in that the position of the determinist is indicated to be one where a person is powerlessly predetermined along with everything else and thus not able to act as a causal factor within the chain of causes. Fate in Kierkegaard's thought is thus ambiguous, because it can be understood as the necessity over which one has no control; yet it can also be understood as incidental in its character of events unprovoked by the individual. *See also* FREEDOM; GREEKS, THE.

FEAR AND TREMBLING AND REPETITION. Kierkegaard composed *Fear and Trembling* (*Frygt og Bæven*) in the period from the end of May to mid-July 1843 and published it on the same day as *Repetition* and three of his **eighteen upbuilding discourses**, October 16, 1843. On his second visit to Berlin in May of that year, he had worked on *Repetition* (*Gjentagelsen*) from May to mid-June and then on *Fear and Trembling*, both of which works, like ***Either/Or***, also owed their inspiration from his broken engagement with **Regina Olsen** and were intended, like *Either/Or*, to explain her out of the relationship with him. *Repetition* has two main literary themes. The first is that of the young man who is so poetic by nature that he is overinspired by his girl, poetizing his entire relationship to her into a completed past event, the object of poetic **recollection**. The young man is thus unable to settle down to a relationship with her in the **actuality** of **marriage** because he cannot rise to the reality called for by the **repetition** of **ethical** life in marriage. In the first draft of the book, the young man shoots himself in **despair**, because he also cannot justify on ethical grounds his inability to marry, but in July 1843, Kierkegaard learned of Regina's engagement to Johan Frederik Schlegel and was thus inspired to change the ending. The suicide was removed and replaced by the young man finding himself liberated (by his

girl's marriage to someone else) to the life of a poet, thus obtaining aesthetic repetition through an external contingency. His older friend, the aesthete Constantin Constantius, tries to achieve aesthetic repetition by endeavoring to repeat the joys of a previous visit to Berlin. Since he finds all the things that previously enthralled him have now changed, he discovers that such repetition is impossible. Even his home is not the same, since the servants have availed themselves of his absence to turn out the house in a thorough spring cleaning.

In *Fear and Trembling*, Kierkegaard as Johannes de silentio examines the Old Testament story of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac. There are two poles to the analysis: the objective state of affairs in the universe and how individuals view their situation. The objective angle concerns the implications of Georg W. F. **Hegel**'s philosophy. If there is no actual transcendence of the world of temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) and everything is to be understood as the immanent absolute *Geist* unfolding itself in and as the historical, then Hegel cannot praise Abraham as the father of **faith**. Abraham is only a potential murderer. If there is such a transcendence, then the individual has a problem, because where the transcendent **God** calls for something that apparently goes against the God-given ethical code, that individual is presented with the conflict between the demand of the ethical code and the demand coming directly from God. Johannes de silentio thus finds Abraham's unswerving faith inspiring but beyond his comprehension. It is in *Fear and Trembling* that Kierkegaard therefore raises the question of whether there can be a "teleological suspension of the ethical" and an absolute duty to God. By comparison with other situations, such as the situation of Jepthah and his daughter in the Old Testament and Agamemnon and Iphigenia in the world of the ancient Greeks, Abraham is in a different category, since whereas the former can justify their deeds understandably to the community on the basis of a higher claim within community ethics, Abraham is unable to do so. Also in this work, which presents the suffering struggle entailed by ethical conflict, Johannes de silentio is made to examine the question of faith and the notion of repetition in a **religious** context. The individual may well find him- or herself able to make a great sacrifice for God and give up something permanently. This is **resignation**. Yet Abraham went a step further. He is the knight of faith par excellence, because he believed he would get the sacrificed Isaac back again to be the father of the nation God promised. Thus, on the one hand, Abraham totally lets Isaac go; on the other, he totally believes that God will give him Isaac back again. He affirms possibility where the situation patently

declares impossibility. Johannes de silentio explores the double movement of faith through the situation of the two knights of resignation and faith in which the former, detached from the world, has peace and rest, remaining with his sacrifice, and becoming conscious of his eternal validity. The latter knight, however, has the further belief that what is given up, the "princess" (= Regina), will be restored to him "by virtue of the **absurd**" that for God all things are possible.

Kierkegaard himself felt that he had written in *Fear and Trembling* an outstanding masterpiece, but in four years after the publication of this work and *Repetition* in editions of 525 copies, only 321 copies had been sold of *Fear and Trembling* and only 272 of *Repetition*. Kierkegaard remaindered the 204 and 253 remaining copies of the two works to **C. A. Reitzel**. A year after publication, there were four published responses to *Fear and Trembling* and three to *Repetition*. The first (anonymous) review by a Hegelian (J. F. Hagen in *Theologisk Tidsskrift, Ny Række*, 8, February 2, 1844), points to the **dialectic** and **paradox** in *Fear and Trembling* but is critical of the emphasis on transcendence and the absurd, preferring to see faith viewed as a higher wisdom. The second (anonymous) review in *Den Frisindede* (129, February 11, 1843) is positive but regards both books as somewhat of a collection of ideas, paradoxes, metaphors, and the like—unsuitable for light readers or circulating libraries. The third response to *Fear and Trembling* came in an article by Bishop **Jakob Mynster** ("Kts" in "Kirkelig Polemik," *Intelligensblade*, volume 4, numbers 41–42, January 1, 1844), who saw it as a remarkable book expressing the existential horror for the individual facing a terrible task set by the eternal. In the journal *For Litteratur og Kritik*, II, 1844, a pseudonym ("-v") writes a long, insightful review of *Fear and Trembling* and *Repetition* that grasps the anti-Hegelian thrust of Kierkegaard's writings. **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** in his *Urania Aarbog for 1844* reviewed *Repetition* but, to Kierkegaard's annoyance, concentrated his discussion on the idea of cyclical repetitions in nature.

In 1850, Theophilus Nicolaus (*see* **Magnus Eiríksson**) discussed *Fear and Trembling* and ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, concentrating his assessment of the former on the notion of faith as a paradox and on the idea of the absurd. Eiríksson made a connection between faith and **reason**, rejecting the idea of faith as a paradox, to which Kierkegaard drafted a number of possible replies, none of which he published.

FIBIGER, ILIA (1817–1867). Daughter of Johan Adolph Fibiger (Danish officer and military author) and sister of **Mathilde Fibiger**. Ilia was the

oldest daughter in a large family of children whose parents were divorced. Their father married again. For these reasons, Ilia left home early to earn a living in different ways: teaching, sewing, and decorating pottery. She fell in love with a young naval officer who died in 1849, deeply saddening her life. Like her sister Mathilde, she was intensely concerned with social issues. Ilia became a volunteer nurse during the **cholera** epidemic of 1853, something educated **women** did not usually do. She was so successful at this work that after the epidemic she was offered a place as senior nurse at Copenhagen's **Frederik's Hospital**. She gave up her work at the hospital after six years (1854–60) to take personal care of the children of the poor, something that was to inspire others to found children's homes, just as her example caused other educated ladies to go into nursing. Although she wrote a number of books, these did not possess great merit, and her significance is to be seen in her practical social work. The harshness of this work, under the limited facilities of the time, drew heavily on her resources, so that her powers failed early in life and she died in 1867.

Kierkegaard was one of Ilia's patients in 1855, and we learn from Kierkegaard's friend, **Emil Boesen**, that she took a personal interest in Kierkegaard's situation, sending him flowers to brighten his room. She had also written to Kierkegaard in November 1851, asking him to give an opinion on some of her manuscripts. Ilia was extremely impressed by Kierkegaard's critical ability as an author and much taken with his writings of 1852, especially ***For Self-Examination,*** which she thought surpassed all else she had read except for the New Testament.

FIBIGER, MATHILDE (1830–1872). Danish author and sister of **Ilia Fibiger**. Unlike her sister, Mathilde was more interested in social theory than practice. Because she was driven by a desire for personal freedom to seek an independent status, she became a teacher in a family on Lolland where she wrote a book published in December 1850 through **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** that caused a sensation: *Clara Raphael, Twelve Letters* (*Clara Raphael, Tolv Breve*). Mathilde also possessed a strong patriotic sense, and, like many others, she had been inspired by the national political awakening of 1848. Yet the new **constitution** of June 5, 1849, gave the vote to men, not to **women**, whose position was thus unchanged. While this seemed unjust to many men and women strongly committed to democracy, it was Mathilde Fibiger who put the problem of women into words.

In *Clara Raphael*, Clara is a young, talented woman, fighting against social and ecclesiastical narrow-mindedness. She asserts that each woman

has a right to full, personal development in accordance with personal ideals, and the book ends with the prospect of Clara achieving this with the help of a husband in a platonic **marriage**. For a while, Mathilde found herself at the center of social life in Copenhagen. The book was discussed for several months in cultured circles, with warm partisans for and against it. (**Magnus Eiríksson** made a positive contribution to the discussion in his *Letters to Clara Raphael by Theodor Immanuel* [*Breve til Clara Raphael*] [1851]). Mathilde Fibiger tried to explain her views further in another book called *What Is Emancipation?* (*Hvad er Emancipation?*) (1851). In this book, she cautiously explains that she is not campaigning for the vote or better employment possibilities for women but for liberation where personal development is concerned.

The book on emancipation attracted little attention, however, and her family resisted her plan to speak at a public gathering. Thus, the debate surrounding Mathilde Fibiger's book had little lasting effect on the cause of women's liberation in Denmark. For the remainder of her life she lived in acute poverty in poorly paid jobs (e.g., sewing and decorating china). For a time she tried her hand at teaching privately but found she could not bear losing her independent existence through having to live in someone else's home. Eventually she secured a position as the first woman telegraphist in Denmark. Although this job helped her situation considerably, she died at the age of 41 as a result of her previous privations, thus demonstrating how difficult it was for women who wished to live independently outside the traditional roles assigned to them.

In an unpublished review of *Clara Raphael* (journals of 1850), Kierkegaard indicates his lack of sympathy with the cause of women's emancipation in general and with Mathilde Fibiger as Clara Raphael in particular. He assumes that the character in the book is merely seeking a way in which to "be original," views Clara's conception of women's emancipation as "exceedingly abstract," and is ironic and negative, especially about the heroine's renunciation of the world for the sake of her ideas about personal freedom. Kierkegaard sees Mathilde, alias Clara, as confusing the **aesthetic** and the **religious** spheres of life, but in his preoccupation with the book's demerits (and his dislike of any political emancipation movements), he fails to see the validity of Mathilde's protest. Clara clearly lives in a man's world in which women generally were deprived of the intellectual opportunities offered to men. Because women were thus kept in a subordinate position, the only intellectual work open to them was extremely limited in nature, especially if they did not belong to the moneyed classes. In addition, many well-educated men

felt themselves to be superior to women, which led to a situation whereby women generally were excluded from the sphere of intellectual discourse. In Kierkegaard's time, although women with some means could become well read and well tutored privately, they lacked the opportunities a university education would have given them.

Unlike the suffragettes, Mathilde did not directly seek the vote or better employment possibilities for women. Her target was the cultural atmosphere that was so limiting. This point is something that **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** (and also **Frederik Sibbern**) understood and is reflected in his effort in 1838 to offer public lectures on philosophy to women. Young **Peter Lind**'s reaction to the idea as comic well indicates the scope of the problem. Although Heiberg was initially supportive of Mathilde's novel, writing a preface for it, he refrained from getting too involved in the hot debate that followed its publication (probably because of his wife's annoyance at his enthusiasm for Mathilde). In 1851, **Johanne Luise Heiberg** wrote an article on women's liberation accusing liberated women of "wanting to be men." So while Mathilde Fibiger was a pioneer in the cause of women's liberation in Denmark, her pioneering was ineffective, because without political change, the cultural climate could not be altered, and her goal of personal **freedom** could scarcely be realized.

FOR SELF-EXAMINATION. From June to August 1851, Kierkegaard composed his final **religious** work before the commencement of the attack on the Church establishment in 1854 (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**). *For Self-Examination* (*Til Selvprøvelse*) was published on September 10, 1851. A companion work, *Judge for Yourself!* (*Dømmer Selv*) (composed in 1851–52), remained unpublished until 1876. During his second religious authorship, Kierkegaard had twice before this intended to cease writing (with ***Christian Discourses***, then with *On My Work as an Author*). Like ***Practice in Christianity***, *For Self-Examination* was calculated to stir things up, as its subtitle "Recommended to the Present Age" indicated, and it was the first series of discourse material, of which *Judge for Yourself!* was to be the second. *For Self-Examination* was in three parts, shaped around Bible texts appropriate for after Easter and for Ascension and Whitsun, beginning with the encouragement to the reader to look in the mirror of the word of **God**. *Judge for Yourself!* was in two parts with texts developed into discourses on becoming sober and using Christ as the prototype. With *For Self-Examination*, it is clear from material in Kierkegaard's papers that he was tempted

to critique the established Church but in the end refrained, whereas *Judge for Yourself!* was supplied with a "moral" for possible use, with a stringent critique of the **Christianity** of Christendom, the content reminding one of the critique in *Practice in Christianity*. In the early 1850s, Kierkegaard's reluctance to publish the stronger *Judge for Yourself!* can be seen in connection with his continuing respect for Bishop Mynster and his vain hope that the bishop might admit at some point that official Christianity was not the real thing.

It is not known how many copies of *For Self-Examination* were printed, but it rapidly sold out and a second edition had to be printed in 1852. *For Self-Examination* received several reviews, only a couple more than *Judge for Yourself!* Frederik Engelhardt Boiesen as "B" in *Dannevirke* ("Master of Arts Søren Kierkegaard's Final Work" ["Magister Søren Kierkegaard's sidste Skrift"]) (October 15, 1851), praised Kierkegaard extravagantly before going on to discuss the question of a state or free Church. The *Berlingske Tidende* (*Berling's Times*) had an anonymous brief announcement of the book (number 213, September 13, 1851), noting particularly its different style and its suitability for the serious reader. *The Flying Post* (*Flyveposten*, 215, September 16, 1851), like the *Berlingske Tidende,* mentioned (anonymously) that Kierkegaard was again taking his leave of the public and then listed the contents of the book.

Two years later, an anonymous writer (in *Nyt theologisk Tidsskrift* [*New Theological Journal*], 4, 1853) in his review found Kierkegaard's writings challenging rather than calling for praise, although he asserted Kierkegaard also deserved the latter; the writer here also quoted **Frederik Ludvig Bang Zeuthen**, who also found Kierkegaard's writings challenging and conscience stirring. In 1851, however, Ludvig Jacob Mendel Gude wrote his anonymous *On Master of Arts S. Kierkegaard's Author Activity: Observations by a Country Pastor* (*Om Magister S. Kierkegaards Forfattervirksomhed: Iagttagelser af en Landsbypræst*) (Copenhagen, 1851) in which he criticizes Kierkegaard's writings and makes mention of *For Self-Examination* in an appendix. Despite acknowledging some fruitful observations, he criticizes Kierkegaard's use of the mirror analogy and thinks Kierkegaard is comparing himself to Mynster. **Rasmus Nielsen** not surprisingly wrote a positive review of the work (*The Fatherland* [*Fædrelandet*], 303, December 29, 1854), while the anonymous Niels Johansen, in *Letter Carrier between Christians* (*Brevbærer mellem Christne,* 2:4, 1856), produced a negative assessment full of quotations from the text. In 1885, **Jørgen Victor Bloch** was to in-

clude *For Self-Examination* for review along with ***The Point of View for My Work as an Author.***

FREDERIKSBERG GARDEN. The Palace Garden (Frederiksberg Have) at Frederiksberg Palace, west of Copenhagen, with a canal, groups of trees, bridges, and pavilions. It was laid down originally by Frederik IV in formal French style but relaid in English style in 1794–99. The Frederiksberg Palace was used the most by Frederik VI, who preferred this residence to all his others. The garden was opened to the public by the king, who thought that the residents of Copenhagen needed to get out of the unhealthy and cramped conditions of city life and into the country. On Sundays, city residents came to the garden to enjoy the surroundings and hear music played by the royal band. A regular event was the king, his daughters, and courtiers being rowed round the canal to the Chinese pavilion for tea. The king himself took the tiller. Also in the garden was the Pheasant Farm, where the poet **Adam Oehlenschläger** spent a number of years, and the famous tearoom Josty's, which began in 1813 as a refreshment tent in the garden and came into the Josty family's hands in 1825. It gradually developed into a fine café, patronized also by the royal house, and still exists. Kierkegaard used to walk out to the Frederiksberg Garden as one of the tours he took, and both the garden and Josty's appear in his works. Johannes the Seducer spots pretty girls at the Frederiksberg Garden, and, notably, Johannes Climacus went there when he was planning the writing of ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript.***

FREDERIK'S HOSPITAL. This hospital, built by Frederik V, lies between Bredgade and Amaliegade Copenhagen, with entrances from both streets. (It is now the Museum of Decorative Design/Applied Arts [Kunstindustrimuseet]). It was opened in 1757, having up to 500 beds in 49 wards and 18 private rooms. The hospital's aim at its foundation was the care of sick people without means. It was staffed by three head doctors and three senior residents. There was also a chaplain, a hospital inspector, a matron, and other junior staff, including eight medical students. Kierkegaard collapsed in the street on September 28, 1855, and on October 2, he was admitted to Frederik's Hospital to the care of head doctor Seligman Trier. **Ilia Fibiger** (the pioneer in nursing work and child care and sister of **Mathilde Fibiger**), assisted with the nursing. Kierkegaard's nephews, **Henrik** and Michael **Lund**, were both doing medical work at the hospital. Kierkegaard died on Sunday, November 11, that year in the Trier ward (situated in the northern wing of the hospital

on the Mynster floor). It is not clear precisely what Kierkegaard died of. It could have been some kind of viral infection. His basic illness seems to have been tubercular in origin, or he may have had a pulmonary abscess.

FREEDOM. When Kierkegaard posits the individual as being a combination or synthesis of freedom (*Friheden*) and necessity (*Nødvendigheden*), he insists that however much a person may be burdened by factors of heredity and environment that limit personal freedom, that person still does have freedom to act and is thus not a victim of predeterministic forces. For Kierkegaard, the process of becoming an individual is closely connected with the idea of freedom, in that the person concerned who chooses to order his or her life under the category of doing right as opposed to wrong action causes his or her unique individuality to come into being in the process. Judge William in ***Either/Or*** calls this the process of "choosing oneself" instead of "creating oneself." Freedom is also equally linked with the concept of possibility, in that freedom implies the **existence** of what is possible. Hence, absence of possibility where a person can see none and prefers merely to follow what others do indicates failure to use the initial possibility of freedom that Kierkegaard sees as given to every self-conscious being. *See also* ANXIETY; FATE; IDEAS.

FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY, THE (Det Venskabelige). A Danish social club founded in 1783. It arranged annual balls through officials known as ball inspectors. A number of groups met together for socializing—for example, the Group of Friends (Vennekredsen), previously known as the Civic Club (Den borgerlige Forening). These groups had club song books. Kierkegaard refers to such groups in connection with his criticism of the cozy life of the bourgeois citizen in "Christendom." *See also* CHRISTIANITY/CHRISTENDOM.

FROM THE PAPERS OF ONE STILL LIVING. On November 22, 1837, **Hans Christian Andersen** published his novel *Only a Fiddler* (*Kun en Spillemand*) about a boy violin genius who never came to anything through lack of financial and social assistance. Although Kierkegaard initially gave Andersen the impression that he would be writing a positive review of the novel (viewing Andersen as generally misunderstood by the critics), on August 30, 1838, Andersen noted in his calendar his agony of mind about what it was going to contain. Kierkegaard's review, *From the Papers of One Still Living* (*Af en endnu Levendes Papirer*), was composed between late April or early May and mid-August 1838, and

was published on September 7, 1838. Andersen received his copy hot from the press, but just at that point he was deeply wounded by an unjust accusation made by his friend and benefactor Commander Wulff, so that whatever he felt about the review at the time, by contrast it is likely to have paled into insignificance. The review was also highly incomprehensible for the average reader. **Hans Peter Holst** in his memoirs claims he helped Kierkegaard with it, translating it from an extremely latinized Danish to Danish proper. Andersen reports in his autobiography *The Fairy Tale of My Life* (*Mit Livs Eventyr*) that Kierkegaard's review was difficult to read because of the heavy **Hegelian** language used and that for this reason it was said that only Kierkegaard and Andersen had read it. Andersen understood from the review that Kierkegaard did not think much of him as a poet and writer. Kierkegaard also heavily attacked Andersen's view of a **genius**. **Bernhard Ingemann** wrote to Andersen to console him for the review's one-sided emphasis on his book's demerits, but he stressed that the review was not malicious and did in fact end on a friendly, if strange, note. What seems clear is that for Kierkegaard, Andersen's novel became the departure point for a discussion of the individual and what makes a successful novel, and the friendly conclusion written in "sympathetic [invisible] ink" had to rescue his analysis of what he saw as Andersen's failure.

There has been some debate concerning Andersen's reaction to this review. In *The Fairy Tale of My Life*, Andersen gives the impression that he soon got over it, but Bruce Kirmmse has argued that Andersen resented it for at least 24 years and that this comes to an expression in Andersen's tale of "The Snail and the Rosebush" written in 1861. Certainly Andersen revenged himself on Kierkegaard through the character of Dalby in his *A Comedy in the Open Air* (*En Comedie i det Grønne*) (1840), in which Dalby, disguised as a hairdresser, parodies sections of Kierkegaard's review. Kierkegaard was keenly annoyed by this but did not publish his intended reply (1840), "Just a Moment, Mr. Andersen!" (*Et Øieblik, Hr. Andersen!*). The reception of *From the Papers of One Still Living* was extremely quiet, not least because few cared to battle through Kierkegaard's convoluted prose. Kierkegaard had originally intended the review for **Johann Ludvig Heiberg**'s journal of speculative philosophy *Perseus*, and one can suspect him of wanting to demonstrate his grasp of Hegelian principles, yet parodying Hegelianism through lengthy syntax and exaggerated, obscure language.

It is possible that *From the Papers of One Still Living* was initially published in the usual edition of 525 copies, but evidence about this is

totally lacking. From June 1839 to March 1850, 121 copies were sold, and of course a number of gift copies were available to Kierkegaard. Not surprisingly, a second edition of this review did not appear until 1872, while the third edition of 1906 was an offprint of the first edition of Kierkegaard's collected works. For the second edition of the review (along with second editions of *Repetition* and ***Prefaces***), **Peter Christian Kierkegaard**, representing the heirs to Kierkegaard's estate, received 66 rix-dollars.

– G –

GENIUS. For Kierkegaard, genius (*Genie*) is something the individual in question is born with, in the same way humans are born with more ordinary capacities and talents. Each human being is a part of **God's** creation because God has created the world and the humans in it. For this reason, both ordinary talents and genius are a part of this creation. The difference between the genius and other individuals is that she or he is born with some exceptional gift—for example, the ability to make great works of art or to compose music. What the genius produces is also so different to what has gone before, that it can be seen in terms of something entirely new in its originality. Yet because Kierkegaard makes a sharp distinction between the realm of immanence or temporality and the sphere of eternal transcendence (*see* **Eternity/Time**), the genius is always within, or a product of, temporality by virtue of being born a genius. Since genius is born, the genius is also initially solely within the nonethical category of the **aesthetic**, unless, and until, he or she chooses to devote his or her genius (as Kierkegaard himself did) to the service of ethics (*see* **Ethical, The**) and the **religious**. In fact, as Vigilius Haufniensis points out in ***The Concept of Anxiety***, the position of the genius is often one of **anxiety** in relation to the idea of a **fate** or destiny ruling his or her life; because of this, he may (e.g., like **Napoleon**) try to deal with destiny directly by interpreting external signs and omens to see whether a particular day is propitious to a proposed action.

Although Kierkegaard associates genius with having some deep-seated personal problem that makes the genius suffer and need to isolate him- or herself from others (thus giving space for the development of genius), he has no patience with the idea expressed by **Hans Christian Andersen** in the latter's novel, *Only a Fiddler* (1837), that genius is like an egg that cannot hatch or come to flower without care and patronage. In Kierkegaard's picture, the genius is by nature a powerful, titanic figure.

In his review, Kierkegaard castigates Andersen for passing off a passive sniveler as a genius in his novel *Only a Fiddler,* where the hero succumbs to his unfortunate environment through lack of help. Kierkegaard sees this somewhat passive understanding of genius as being anything but genius. Real genius, as Kierkegaard puts it in his journals, is encouraged rather than discouraged by adversity. The genius is one with the consolidated and consolidating power of the personality of genius and cannot help but be a genius in any situation. Thus, the genius has the force one associates with a thunderstorm in its power to go against what opposes it. Finally, Kierkegaard thinks that whereas the message of an apostle will always remain something paradoxical in relation to the realm of temporality (*see* **Authority**), the product of genius is eventually assimilated in temporality as part of human history.

GIØDWAD (or GJØDWAD), JENS FINSTEEN (1811–1891). Journalist and editor in the early days of the Danish liberal movement. He was born in Aalborg, Jutland, where he went to the Cathedral School, becoming a student in 1828 and completing a degree in law in 1832. Strongly influenced by the ideas coming from the French **Revolution** of July 1830, he became in 1834 a journalist on the paper *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) together with **Orla Lehmann**. In 1835, Giødwad and Lehmann came to an agreement with **Andreas Peter Liunge**, editor of the paper, that they would edit political material for him. Giødwad was editor of the paper from April 1837 to April 1839. His liberal leanings led him to become one of the founders of *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) in December 1839. After a tour abroad to Paris, he took on the role of editor of *The Fatherland*, with Lehmann, **Carl Parmo Ploug,** and others, when the paper became a daily in 1840. From July 1, 1844 to June 28, 1845, he was chief editor with legal responsibility.

Giødwad was knowledgeable, hard-working, and extremely idealistic in his concern for **freedom** and justice. He was very much a man of principle, one who put everything he could into his endeavors, with a deserved reputation for being honest and unselfish. As an editor, his main strength lay in being an inspiration to others, especially his fellow editors, in the production of articles for the paper. Giødwad did his best to run the paper within the limits of the censorship prescribed by the law, but occasionally he defied the **press** censorship legislation if he felt the truth demanded it. Already as editor of *The Copenhagen Post*, he was prosecuted several times for infringing the press laws, and although he was acquitted, in 1838 he was required to pay some of the costs of the

court case. In 1868, his eyesight, which had never been strong, deteriorated to a condition of partial blindness. This led him to restrict his editorial activity to the role of adviser to the paper until he left the editorship in 1877. Strangely enough for the editor of a paper, Giødwad disliked personal publicity and therefore avoided being present at the celebration of *The Fatherland's* 25th Anniversary in December 1864. Similarly, he retired quietly from his editorial post.

Giødwad was a friend and great admirer of Kierkegaard, acting as intermediary between Kierkegaard and the printer and bookseller of the pseudonymous works. In his journals of 1838, Kierkegaard jokingly refers to the case currently in process against Giødwad, while his character Ole Wadt, in the draft play ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***, is very probably modeled on Giødwad. Kierkegaard refers to Giødwad in his journals in connection with his writings, including Giødwad's desire to publish ***The Crisis and A Crisis in the Life of an Actress*** and his interest in the publication of Kierkegaard's article against *The Corsair* (*Corsaren*) (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**). In the 1840s and 1850s, Kierkegaard a number of times refers to Giødwad as a personal and good friend, something Kierkegaard himself finds amazing, even given Giødwad's good nature and qualities, since Giødward as a journalist belonged to a profession Kierkegaard despised. Kierkegaard tells us he had talked with Giødwad daily for several years, and only the fact of the latter's profession prevented the friendship from becoming a really close one. Kierkegaard thus clearly appreciated Giødwad, but there was an element of distrust concerning his activity as a journalist. He also had mixed feelings about *The Fatherland*. On the one hand, it was the paper that published his articles and treated him with respect as a person; on the other, it was the paper that failed to follow his lead and speak out against the *The Corsair*. In 1855, Kierkegaard decided that he now needed his own paper, to show he was not involved with, or supported by, any political group. In 1850, Kierkegaard noted that Giødwad suggested that Kierkegaard's emphasis on ideality of life might well prevent some young theological student from being ordained as a priest.

GOD. Kierkegaard posits the existence of a God who has created the world out of nothing. In this he is firmly in the tradition of Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, and the Protestant Lutheran catechism of his own time (i.e., **Nikolai Balle**'s catechism). Implicit in this view is the thought that God could well have created the world by divine choice from **eternity**: the idea of creation (*see* **Nature**) is independent of a temporal beginning.

Still following the Christian tradition, Kierkegaard in his writings depicts God as Spirit, eternal, almighty, all-knowing, all-wise, omnipresent, good, merciful, holy, just, and truthful. Kierkegaard's God is also unchangeable, personal, and the father of humankind. God is love, loving all people equally and wanting people to love him, having created humankind in his image. Since God's nature is that of perfect altruism and self-sacrificial love (as is manifested in the life and death of Christ), for the individual to realize the image of God, become like God, means to give up human egocentricity and die to the world. A human is thus a "derived **spirit**," intended for a personal relationship with God if there is a willingness to realize the God-given potentiality.

Kierkegaard also says of God that he is a "poet" in the sense that God is lord of all possibilities, watches carefully over, and is involved in, creation, and includes himself in it and fulfills it as Christ. Where a person seeks God, Kierkegaard thinks that, from the point of view of intellectual speculation about God, at best a person can come only to some abstract idea of him, while putting forward arguments for God's existence cannot bring a person a step nearer God's reality. It is only through commitment of oneself as person, to God as person in an **ethical-religious** relationship, that the individual can achieve a real relationship to an equally real God. Thus, **reason** cannot transfer the person to a God relationship; only the "leap" of **faith** commitment can do this. While Kierkegaard speaks much of God as Father and of God as Christ, he says little about God in his identity of Holy Spirit, although the concept of God as Spirit appears abundantly in Kierkegaard's writings. Finally, God for Kierkegaard is "Providence" (*Forsynet*) and especially "Governance" (*Styrelsen*): it was Kierkegaard's conviction that if the individual really committed him- or herself to God in faith, God would lend a hand in helping that individual live the Christian life and do his or her task in life.

GOLDSCHMIDT, MEÏR AARON (1819–1887). Danish writer. Son of Jewish parents (his father was a merchant), Goldschmidt experienced personal tension between his Jewish background and his intense Danish patriotism. (Jews had acquired legal equality through an Ordinance of Frederik VI [1814] but had also experienced the anti-Jewish rioting of 1819–20.) Until he was six, Goldschmidt lived in the town of Vordingborg but then came to live in different areas in and near Copenhagen until 1833, when the family moved to Næstved where his father bought a brewery.

Although Goldschmidt had a good education at the Westen Institute in Copenhagen and his parents expected much of him, he did not get top

marks in his student exam, and despite taking a further exam, he lost interest in studying. In October 1837, he started the *Næstved Weekly* (*Næstved Ugeblad*), a paper that became the *Zealand Post* (*Sjællandsposten*) in 1839. Goldschmidt fell foul of the censorship laws and sold the paper at the beginning of 1840. Inspired by the wind of political change, Goldschmidt started the weekly paper *The Corsair* (*Corsaren*) in October 1840. *The Corsair* became a powerful and widely circulated paper that specialized in anonymous political satire. Its original aim was to serve the cause of political liberalism, but it degenerated into a publication that exploited facts, rumors, and gossip, to the detriment of its victims' personal reputations.

Goldschmidt edited the paper with the secret help of **Peder Ludvig Møller** until 1846. Although Goldschmidt was officially the chief editor, Møller came to have a great influence on what was published. Goldschmidt was again fined under the censorship laws and given censorship for life, but he continued his ownership of the paper until it clashed with Kierkegaard. Goldschmidt was a great admirer of Kierkegaard's pseudonymous works that had been praised in the paper. For a number of reasons, however, Kierkegaard felt he should make a stand against *The Corsair*, and he did so in an article published under the name of Frater Taciturnus in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) on December 27, 1845. Kierkegaard here stated publicly Peder Møller's involvement in *The Corsair* and not surprisingly became another victim of the paper in a series of satirical and trivial attacks that lasted many months.

Kierkegaard admired Goldschmidt as a writer of promise, and he made a distinction between Goldschmidt, novelist, and Goldschmidt, owner of *The Corsair*. Toward the end of 1845, Goldschmidt published his first novel, *A Jew* (*En Jøde*), a work that caused offense to Jewish orthodoxy but was well received by literary Copenhagen. In a second article by Kierkegaard as Frater Taciturnus (*The Fatherland*, January 10, 1846), Kierkegaard, among other comments, made a clear distinction between the Goldschmidt who had published an excellent book and the Goldschmidt who edited *The Corsair*. Goldschmidt, who had initiated the response of his paper to Kierkegaard because he felt a reply ought to be made, was none too happy about it. After Kierkegaard passed him on the street one day with an indignant glance, Goldschmidt decided to give up the paper. On the proceeds of the sale of a volume of short stories, he went on a tour in Europe in October 1846 and did not return until the autumn of the following year.

On his return, Goldschmidt started the political-literary paper *North and South* (*Nord og Syd*) (1847–59). With the new monarchy in 1848, his

sentence of life censorship was repealed, so he could now publish under his own name. In 1861, he attempted to start a periodical, *Home and Away* (*Hjemme og Ude*), but then went to England for a while instead. In 1863–73, Goldschmidt developed further as an author, writing a number of realistic novels and short stories such as *The Heir* (*Arvingen*) (1865), *Love Stories from Many Lands* (*Kærlighedshistorier fra mange Lande*) (1867), *The Raven* (*Ravnen*) (1867), and *Maser: An Episode from Simon Levi's Life* (*Maser, en Episode af Simon Levi's Liv*) (1871). In 1877, Goldschmidt published his autobiography *Recollections and Results of My Life* (*Livserindringer og Resultater*), a work that is more a philosophy about his life than an autobiography.

In 1848, Goldschmidt was married, but the marriage broke up after a short while. He spent his final years in the home of his sister Ragnhild and died in Frederiksberg.

Kierkegaard and Goldschmidt first met at a party in 1838 and then in 1841 in connection with a review of Kierkegaard's doctoral dissertation. They also, of course, met on the street. In his journals, Kierkegaard, not surprisingly, refers chiefly (and many times negatively) to Goldschmidt concerning the Corsair affair. For example, he suggested in 1848 that Goldschmidt in his activity had been like a cholera fly. He also, however, spoke of a better element in Goldschmidt, of talent misused, and he is insightful about Goldschmidt's psychological motives for running *The Corsair* at all. In 1849, Kierkegaard suggested that he had entertained the thought of a closer contact with Goldschmidt but that the latter failed to live up to Kierkegaard's expectations. Kierkegaard, in a more conciliatory tone, here blamed himself for having placed too much faith in Goldschmidt. In other journal entries, Kierkegaard sums up the Corsair affair a number of times, his own motives, and the results. There is a note of irritation (in 1851 and 1852) that Goldschmidt is now respectable in cultural circles, spoken well of by Bishop **Jakob Peter Mynster**, and apparently accentuated at Kierkegaard's expense in a book by Mynster: *Further Contributions to Negotiations about Church Affairs in Denmark* (*Yderligere Bidrag til Forhandlingerne om de kirkelige Forhold i Danmark*) (1851). Kierkegaard seems to feel that Goldschmidt should have publicly recanted his activity with *The Corsair* or that the bishop should have reproved him.

GRACE. Grace (*Naaden*), understood as the free, undeserved favor and love of **God**, and a central concept of Danish Lutheranism, is important in Kierkegaard's thought concerning the concept's use and abuse.

Kierkegaard, like his fellow Lutheran Christians, understands people to be saved by **faith** through grace and not by the number of good works they do. Yet he refuses to take grace as a once-and-for-all transaction on the part of God, such that, if one is but baptized into the Christian community, the believer's eternal welfare is dealt with in the manner of some kind of life insurance policy. Kierkegaard sees such an attitude as an abuse of the idea of divine grace, one likely to cause a person to be casual toward what **Christianity** requires of the individual. While he acknowledges that Martin Luther's reaction at the time of the Reformation was a needed corrective to the abuse of the sale of indulgences, he considers that Luther's reaction has in turn been abused in the contemporary Danish **state church** where too many individuals are content with a bare minimum of good works.

Kierkegaard therefore ties the idea of grace firmly to that of the need for the individual to strive to fulfill the Christian demand. Grace and good works are inextricably linked, in that grace makes up for what the individual cannot do him- or herself to fulfill the demand, but it is not something that can be taken unrelated to individual effort. Especially in the writings of his final years, Kierkegaard emphasizes that grace is to be seen in connection not only with the **ethical** content of Christianity but also with the stronger New Testament injunction to forsake everything in the following and **imitation** of Christ. In this connection, Kierkegaard speaks of grace in the first place and grace in the second place; that is, he sees that not all will be able to follow the stricter demands of New Testament Christianity. The individual thus does not abuse the idea of grace by doing the best she or he can to follow the milder injunctions contained in the New Testament, as long as the individual is aware of the stricter demand and humbly acknowledges their inability to tread such a path. Grace in the second place is for those who are attempting to forsake everything in the following of Christ, since even those are seen as in need of grace to perfect their work.

GREAT DAY OF PRAYER. The Great Day of Prayer (*Store Bededag*) in the Danish Lutheran Church is the fourth Friday after Easter. It is a special day (dating from 1686) dedicated to penance and prayer. The tradition, which could be used for days of general penance or for special problems such as prayer for relief from the plague, comes from the time of the early church. During the Reformation, such days were dropped, though it was not long before the Protestant Church reintroduced them in an altered form. In Denmark, new Days of Prayer were introduced in the middle of

the 16th century, and usually every year (until 1682), extra special Days of Prayer were held throughout the land. When Christian IV was involved in the Thirty Years War, in 1626 and 1631, a weekly Day of Prayer was introduced for market towns and a monthly Day of Prayer for country congregations. All Days of Prayer were originally adhered to with strict penance and fasting. By a special ordinance of March 27, 1686, the annual extra special Prayer Days were replaced by a general day of fasting and penance, the Great Day of Prayer. Gradually the weekly and monthly prayer days disappeared, too, leaving only the Great Day of Prayer.

In Kierkegaard's time, the Day had taken on a social element, in that on the evening before the Great Day of Prayer (in Denmark festivals tend to get celebrated on the evening before the day), Copenhagen citizens went for a walk on the city ramparts beneath the trees to hear the church bells ring (Danish church bells ring to mark sunrise and sunset). The custom arose from the days when the old cathedral had a carillon that was played on special festivals, but it had developed into an opportunity for the citizens to air their new spring and summer clothes. The Great Day of Prayer still continues. Wheat muffins are eaten the evening before.

Kierkegaard refers to the Great Day of Prayer in his journals in the draft of his student play, ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***. In his journals of 1850, Kierkegaard suggests that an annual Day of Penance and Prayer should be introduced, when it would be specially recollected that people had permitted themselves to make **Christianity** a great deal milder than it really is. In the draft for a piece in 1854, Kierkegaard again recommends the introduction of such a day, instead of instituting synods and commissions to discuss things. He suggests that the text for such a day should be (from John 8:39) on the theme of the need for those who claim to be Abraham's children to do the works of Abraham.

GREEKS, THE. In Kierkegaard's thought, the Greek world, when it does not consist of references to Socrates and Plato and a few others, is peopled mainly by Greeks in happy, sensuous naiveté or by characters in extreme situations in Greek tragedy. The life of the Greek cannot be reproached for being lost in the moment, says Vigilius Haufniensis in ***The Concept of Anxiety***, because (unlike the aesthete in Christendom; *see* **Christianity/Christendom**), the Greek conception of the world is in terms of a temporality that lacks the Christian category of spirit. Even in his doctoral thesis (***The Concept of Irony***), Kierkegaard believes that the Greeks are a natural, happy, uninhibited people who need **irony** (and, one might add, the tragedy that sometimes occurs) to make them reflect about

life. It is therefore not surprising that Vigilius Haufniensis is made to depict the naiveté of the Greeks, while emphasizing **anxiety** and **fate** and the sadness underlying their happy life. (***Either/Or*** and *The Concept of Anxiety* provide a picture of the anxiety-ridden, ambiguously guilty/not guilty, oracle-seeking Greek.) According to Vigilius Haufniensis, it is in the pagan situation that anxiety can be shown as gradually coming to the surface with the advent of reflection about what he sees as the inadequate Greek view. Lee Capel, in a note in his translation of *The Concept of Irony* (1966), points out the strangeness of hearing the word "*happy*" regularly applied to 5th-century Greece. He puts this down to the inertia of classical scholarship in Kierkegaard's time, an inertia he sees as dating back at least to the Enlightenment. *See also* IRONY; PAGANISM.

GRIB FOREST, THE. Denmark's largest forest in the northern half of Zealand, measuring approximately 12 kilometers from south to north and about seven kilometers east to west. The eastern part is the original Grib Forest (Grib Skov), other forest regions having gradually been included. The forest is sited on rolling land with several small lakes, the largest of which is the Great Grib lake. The forest itself is a mixture of beech, fir, pine, and other trees in which especially fir and beech predominate. Deer are still to be found in the forest, which is criss-crossed with many sandy tracks. (In the period 1880–96, the Grib Forest Railway was laid down between Hillerød in the south and Gilleleje on the coast in the north.) The name appears to be derived from *Grib* in the sense of common land not yet marked out to owners.

Kierkegaard used to enjoy driving out to the Grib Forest, where he took walks. Usually he hired a carriage from Søren Lassen in Lille Helliggeiststræde in Copenhagen when he went on drives to Hillerød, Hørsholm, Fredensborg, and the Grib Forest. Yet often on his drives to Fredensborg and the Grib Skov, Kierkegaard drove with a charcoal burner who was returning to North Zealand after selling charcoal all day on Kultorvet square in Copenhagen. In his journals of 1835, Kierkegaard expresses great joy at the lakes and terrain of the Grib Forest, the eastern edge of which abuts Lake Esrum. One of his old schoolmates from the **Borgerdyd School**, Frederik Welding, comments on Kierkegaard's visits to him at Fredensborg on the charcoal burner's cart.

Kierkegaard mentions the Grib Forest in his writings, not least in the character of William Afham in the introductory piece to ***Stages on Life's Way***. In particular, he mentions the Nook of the Eight Paths, a junction of eight ways in the forest. In 1913, a memorial stone to Kierkegaard was

put at an eight-path junction called Rødepæl Star in the Grib Forest, but strong arguments (especially in connection with the situation of the area known by the name of Ill-Luck) have indicated another eight-path junction (connected with the first) lying to the south. This second eight-path junction is intersected by the road from Gadevang to Nøddebo. Oral tradition, originally coming from an elderly woman living by the southern eight-path junction, possibly provides further information. The woman's elderly relative remembered Kierkegaard's visits to the forest, and the description suggests that Kierkegaard drove to the southern eight-path junction and struck off on different walks in the forest on different occasions. On one of these walks he might well have gone to the northern eight-path junction at Rødepæl Star. Kierkegaard owned a copperplate print with a scene (by S. H. Petersen, 1820) from the Grib Forest. It was a gift from his brother-in-law **Henrik Ferdinand Lund**.

GRUNDTVIG, NIKOLAI FREDERIK SEVERIN (1783–1872). Pastor, poet, hymn writer, philologist, theologian, historian, later politician; also the inspiration behind the Danish Folk High School movement. Grundtvig came from a family of pastors. His father was pastor of the parish of Udby, Denmark, where Grundtvig was born. Grundtvig took a degree in theology in 1803 at **Copenhagen University**, after which he took up a private tutorship to a wealthy family in Langeland. On his return to Copenhagen in 1808, he devoted himself to the task of bringing about the rebirth of religion and culture. In the period 1810–11, however, he went through a time of spiritual crisis, after which he was to move during his life through the position of viewing **Christianity** as distinctive from culture to his final position of espousing a higher synthesis of Christianity and culture. He became pastor at Præstø in 1821 and at the Church of Our Savior (Vor Frelserskirke) in Copenhagen in 1822.

Grundtvig's pastoral career was interrupted by the lawsuit with professor of theology **Henrik Nicolaj Clausen**. Grundtvig objected to Clausen's view of Scripture as the basis of **Protestantism**. He also opposed Clausen's emphasis on the need for modern Bible exegesis. Although he realized there was a need for it, Grundtvig saw that scriptural specialists would perplex the laity through their disagreements. Grundtvig's search for a brief definition of Christianity, one suitable for those not Bible scholars, ended with his "matchless" or "unparalleled" discovery. This was his distinction between the written word and the "living word" of the sacraments and creed. The Christian community in fellowship through the sacraments, and in the confession of Christ as

Lord, formed, in Grundtvig's view, an apostolic succession, as an unbroken chain of baptized believers in a community that stretched back to the time of Jesus. When Clausen published in 1825 his book *Catholicism and Protestantism: Their Church Constitutions, Doctrines and Rites* (*Catholicismens og Protestantismens Kirkeforfatning, Lære og Ritus*), Grundtvig attacked Clausen a few days after its publication in his *The Church's Reply* (*Kirkens Gienmæle*). It was this libelous attack that led to the lawsuit. Clausen won, and because police censorship was consequently imposed on all his publications, Grundtvig lacked authorial freedom until December 1837. He resigned his pastorate in 1826, disappointed that the **state church** failed to support him against Clausen, but from 1839 he became pastor of the state church's independent Vartov congregation in Copenhagen. The lawsuit and bouts of ill health did not prevent Grundtvig exercising his **genius** as pastor and writer and in a number of other fields. He died at Vartov on September 2, 1872.

Kierkegaard expresses a poor opinion of Grundtvig's approach to Christianity. As early as 1835, he makes some shrewd criticisms in his journals of Grundtvig's theory of the Church. His pseudonym Johannes Climacus (in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***), criticizes Grundtvig's emphasis on the Church as the historical and contemporary "Living Word;" he demonstrates the difficulties of using this approach as a means of providing secure objective evidence for the truth of Christianity. In his journals of 1855, Kierkegaard is critical of the fact that Grundtvig claims the state church is destructive of Christianity, yet he happily continues in Vartov, one of the most advantageous pastorates in the state church, because there is less work to do there. For his part, Grundtvig made clear his disagreement with Kierkegaard's attack on the church establishment in the sermons he preached at the time. He made clear his support of the idea of gradual growth in the life of the **spirit**, as opposed to Kierkegaard's extreme emphasis on other-worldliness, even though, like Kierkegaard, he disliked the official religiosity of the Golden Age Church.

GUILT. *See* SIN.

GYLLEMBOURG, THOMASINE (1773–1856). Author of *Stories of Everyday Life* (*Hverdags Historier*) and the mother of **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**. She was the eldest daughter of broker and inspector of weights and measures Johan Buntzen. Peter Andreas Heiberg (playwright, political writer, and translator) assisted Buntzen at times with translation

work and was also language tutor to his five daughters. After tutoring Thomasine for two years, Heiberg asked for her hand in marriage. The marriage took place in 1790, when Thomasine was 17. Their son Johan Ludvig was born in 1791. Tensions and misunderstandings occurred in the marriage chiefly because Heiberg (who was 15 years older than Thomasine) was at heart very much of a rationalist. Thomasine, on the other hand, responded to the appeal of romanticism. After Heiberg's exile from Denmark in 1800 for a politically offensive publication, a passionate attachment developed between Thomasine and a friend of the family, exiled Swedish nobleman Carl Frederik Gyllembourg (né Ehrensvärd.) On her divorce from Heiberg in 1801, Thomasine and Gyllembourg were happily married until Gyllembourg's death in 1815.

The literary period of Thomasine's life started in 1827, when she began to write stories (anonymously) for her son Johan Ludvig, in his paper *Copenhagen's Flying Post* (*Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*). This became the beginning of her *Stories of Everyday Life*, her stories appearing in book form from 1834. She also wrote some plays in the 1830s, and her final, and most popular, book, *Two Ages* (*To Tidsaldre*) appeared in 1845. Thomasine Gyllembourg can be seen as a precursor of realistic novelists. The ideas for her stories are drawn from her own experiences and from her observations of the world around her. She never gave up her anonymity as an author, being of the opinion (strangely enough) that **women** should not be involved in such an activity. She shared her son Johan Ludvig's home when he married Johanne Luise Pätges, making it an important center of Copenhagen's cultural life.

Kierkegaard mentions her authorship in 1838, in his review of **Hans Christian Andersen**'s novel *Only a Fiddler*. He praises her authorship because it is inspired by a view of life that, in dealing with the reality of daily life, contains a spirit of moral ideality calculated to inspire readers. In 1846, Kierkegaard wrote a book-long review of ***Two Ages***, his *A Literary Review* (*En Literair Anmeldelse*). In it he praises the social and political dimension of the novel, particularly Gyllembourg's analysis of the recent political and social development that led to a leveling of values. *See also* HEIBERG, JOHANNE LUISE.

– H –

HAGE, JOHANNES (1800–1837). Danish political journalist who became a pioneering figure in the movement towards a liberal **constitution**. He was born in Stege and received a good education, first at

Nykøbing Grammar School and then at Roskilde Grammar School, where he completed his studies in 1817. By 1824, Hage had graduated in theology, and 1830 saw him a graduate also in philology. In 1827, he had become a teaching assistant in history and geography at Roskilde Grammar School, becoming a senior teacher in 1830. Hage's education was so broad that he was capable of teaching in all subjects at the school. He had a strong sense of social concern that led him to start in Roskilde a savings bank, a sea bathing institute, a society for improving the town's environment, and an institution for support of the needy. The French July **revolution** of 1830 deeply influenced Hage, and he became extremely interested in the idea of the Provincial Consultative Assemblies (Provinsialstænder) (*see* **Press and Press Freedom**). Yet first and foremost, he thought that practical social questions needed immediate attention.

In 1833, Hage contacted Professor Christian G. N. David with the idea of publishing a political weekly. This idea was realized in September 1834, with the paper *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*). By September 1835, he was coeditor of the paper. Hage was not afraid to write sharp, critical attacks on existing administrative and social conditions in Denmark. In particular, an article he wrote on nepotism in *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) in 1835 proved to be a landmark in relations between the political establishment and the liberal opposition. Hage was extremely polemical in his political writing, and sickness and personal sorrows assisted this tendency. His wife Charlotte died in July 1834. He resigned his position as teacher in October 1836, the same year in which he was prosecuted for the publication of an article on the current European political situation, in which he was extremely critical of various governments. In June 1837, Hage was fined and sentenced to life censorship, which meant he had to give up editorship of *The Fatherland*. This, coupled with the loss of his wife, proved a blow too great to bear. He had also injured a leg in a carriage accident, an incident that compelled him to remain indoors and must have added to his depression. He committed suicide in Copenhagen on his wedding anniversary, September 16, 1837.

Kierkegaard engaged with Hage in his student years when Hage responded to Kierkegaard's article against **Orla Lehmann** ("The Morning Observations in *The Copenhagen Post* No. 43," in *Copenhagen's Flying Post* [*Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*], February 18, 1836). Hage wrote an article "On the Polemic of the Flying Post" (*Om Flyvepostens Polemik*) in *The Fatherland* of March 4, 1836. Hage's long article deals with several problems that touch only indirectly on Kierkegaard's polemic, and

Kierkegaard in his response to Hage ("On the Polemic of *The Fatherland*," *Copenhagen's Flying Post*, number 82, March 12, and number 83, March 15, 1836) was clearly uninterested in these (economic) issues. In the final part of his article, however, Hage characterizes Kierkegaard's attack as lacking factual information and having a polemic built on a ridicule of specific words and phrases used by Lehmann. Kierkegaard's long reply to the Hage article is, however, in exactly the same style as his article against Lehmann. It is not easy to see how far Hage is justified in his criticism of Kierkegaard. Kierkegaard certainly avoids any form of serious debate about the practicalities of political and economic conditions. Yet his witty response may indicate a healthy contempt for flowery political rhetoric (Lehmann) and a suspicion of attempts to correct externals (Hage). Even as a young student, Kierkegaard may have been convinced that personal **ethical-religious** reform was the path to correction of external ills. In his paper to the **Student Association** in 1835, Kierkegaard makes positive reference to Hage as "a frank and honest editor."

HEGEL, HEGELIANISM. The main interest of the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) was in historical truth and the history of ideas. He was born in Stuttgart, Germany. His father was a minor civil servant at the court of the Duchy of Württemberg. Other relatives were teachers or Lutheran ministers. After doing extremely well at school, Hegel won a scholarship to a seminary in Tübingen where he studied philosophy and theology. After completing his studies there, Hegel took a post as family tutor with a wealthy family in Switzerland, a position followed by a similar one in Frankfurt. During this period, Hegel kept up his reading and thought much about philosophical questions. He wrote essays on religion for his own private use, to clarify his thoughts.

When his father died in 1799, Hegel inherited enough to enable him to give up tutoring. He joined his friend **Friedrich Schelling** at the University of Jena in Weimar. Hegel, as an unknown figure, had to lecture privately for small fees from the few students who came to hear him. At Jena, Hegel published a long pamphlet on the differences between the philosophies of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Schelling, and for a time he worked with Schelling on a *Critical Journal of Philosophy* (*Kritisches Journal der Philosophie*), for which he wrote several essays. In 1803, Hegel began to prepare his first major work *The Phenomenology of Geist* (*Phänomenologie des Geistes*). His inheritance was now used up, and he lacked money at this point. Thus he accepted a publishing contract and found he had to rush the final sections of the book to meet the October

13, 1806, deadline. The book appeared the following year, receiving a respectful if not enthusiastic reaction. Since Jena was now occupied by the French, the university was closed, so Hegel worked for a year as a newspaper editor, and then accepted the headship of the academic high school at Nuremberg, a post he retained successfully for nine years. He also taught philosophy to the schoolboys. Hegel married (1811) the daughter of an old Nuremberg family, and the marriage seems to have been a happy one.

In the following years, Hegel published *Science of Logic* (*Wissenschaft der Logik*) (1812–16) and found he was beginning to make a name for himself. In 1816, he was invited to be professor of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg, where he published his *Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences* (*Encyclopädie der philosophisches Wissenschaften*) (1817). He was now asked to take up the prestigious chair of philosophy at Berlin University, and he taught there from 1818 until he died in 1831. In this final period, Hegel wrote *Philosophy of Right* (*Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*) (1821) and lectured on the philosophy of history, the philosophy of religion and aesthetics, and the history of philosophy. Several of Hegel's works—the lectures on the philosophy of history, aesthetics, the philosophy of religion, and the history of philosophy—have come down to us only through his lecture notes. In 1830, Hegel was elected rector of the University of Berlin, but he died suddenly of **cholera** in 1831.

Although **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** was the first to introduce Hegel's philosophy into Denmark in the 1830s, two other figures are significant in this direction. **Hans Lassen Martensen** was profoundly influenced by Hegel and attempted to develop a form that subordinated philosophy to **faith**, thus making room for the Judeo-Christian **God** of **revelation**. **Adolph Adler**, however, also seems to have played a part in the enthusiasm for Hegelianism in 1840 among young theologians, and he was an ardent Hegelian at least until the time of his personal crisis in 1843.

In his philosophy, Hegel, who was keenly interested in historical **truth** and the history of **ideas**, attempted to make a fresh start in philosophy by using as his preliminary assumption the bare concept or idea of being—that is, the bare fact of the existence of the world. He regards this also as starting with nothing, in that when we start from our empirical experience that the world is, we start with no intellectual presuppositions about it. In the process, Hegel used the philosopher René Descartes's (1596–1650) method of **doubt**, that we should accept only what cannot be doubted. Hegel sees truth as a unique, complete **system** of reality, de-

veloping in an ongoing logically inevitable process. "**Existence**" is thus all existence, a system that is historical because it has a space–time development (as opposed to a closed static system like Euclid's geometry). Hegel is also a philosophical idealist; that is, he thinks that the external world is not independent of mind and that all that exists is a form of one mind, of "Absolute *Geist*" (*Geist* = mind or spirit). His system is thus monistic, and he thinks of mind and matter together in that there is no split or gap between thought and existence. There is thus movement in the system because it is existential and not merely a system of intellectual concepts. The web of events and ideas as movements in the system work their way forward historically by means of **dialectic** (the process by which a thought or an existing thing necessarily leads to, or changes into, its opposite or contradiction, thereby resulting in a new unity or synthesis). Dialectic is the logical pattern the thought of this absolute mind system must follow. There is an encounter of opposites and further development as a result of the meeting between the two. All cultural movements and philosophical trends can be so viewed. It is not clear how far Hegel's system is pantheistic (identifies God and the world) or panentheistic (everything seen as part of God, but God is more than the universe). Although Kierkegaard, especially in his early authorship, is not without a certain respect for Hegel, he attacks Hegelianism. *See also* SYSTEM, THE.

HEIBERG, JOHAN LUDVIG (1791–1860). Poet, aesthetician, playwright, critic, translator, and director of the Royal Theater Copenhagen. Heiberg was born in Copenhagen, the son of **Thomasine** Buntzen (later **Gyllembourg**) by her first marriage (1790) to Peter Andreas Heiberg. When Heiberg's father was exiled in 1800 for a politically offensive publication, Thomasine obtained a divorce from her husband in 1801, so she could marry Carl Frederik Gyllembourg (né Ehrensvärd). A condition of the divorce was that Johan must not be brought up by his mother, so, after a short period with an aunt, he was sent to live at the home of Knud Lyne and Kamma Rahbek, at Bakkehuset in Frederiksberg. The boy was unhappy there, so he went back to his aunt, where he received private tutoring until he could matriculate as a student (1809), taking his second university exam in 1810. After this, he was allowed to live in his mother's home, which was a meeting place for intellectuals and notables of all kinds. Heiberg pursued all kinds of studies for a long while: Greek, Spanish, and French literature; modern German literature; mathematics; astronomy; entomology; and more. He seems to have been unable to

make up his mind what he should do. He thought of becoming a doctor, a surveyor, a diplomatist, a poet, and an aesthetician. He wrote a few sporadic pieces in his early years and a dissertation on Spanish dramatic literature in 1817, all of which were enough to secure him a three-year royal travel scholarship.

Heiberg spent most of the three years studying in Paris, where he could be with his father. He also enjoyed Parisian life, which he financed by working as a journalist and teaching the guitar. After his studies, he was successful in his application for a lectureship in Danish language and literature at Kiel University, which then belonged to Denmark. Heiberg was not especially happy during his three years at Kiel (1822–25), missing the exciting life of Paris, although his mother came to live with him. Apart from writing further works such as his *Nordic Mythology* (*Nordische Mythologie*) (1827), Heiberg now turned his attention to philosophy. Since he was visiting Berlin (1832) and had been given an introduction to G. W. F. **Hegel**, he attempted to study Hegel's *Encyclopedia* before meeting the great man.

During the two months he spent in Berlin, Heiberg read Hegel's work and discussed Hegel with Hegel and with eminent Hegelians. On leaving Berlin, however, Heiberg found he was still rather confused about Hegelianism. Yet Heiberg tells us that one day when staying at Hamburg on the way home, while he was still reading and pondering over Hegel and listening to some hymns from a neighboring church, he suddenly experienced a moment of profound, sudden enlightenment, in which Hegel's **system** became entirely clear to him. On his return to Kiel, Heiberg wrote a dissertation *On Human Freedom* (*Om den menneskelie Frihed*) (1824), as a contribution to the philosophical dispute on the subject going on in Copenhagen. He also tells us that Hegel's philosophy was instrumental in his settling finally for a career in writing especially for the theater, particularly vaudevilles or romantic comedies. Hegel's philosophy also had great influence on the formation of Heiberg's aesthetics.

In the summer of 1825, Heiberg returned to Copenhagen, and in November of that year his *King Solomon and Jørgen Hatter* (*Kong Salomon and Jørgen Hattemager*) was performed at the Royal Theater. This was followed by similar works, though his *Reviewer and the Beast* (*Recensenten og Dyret*) (1826), which had to do with the summer fairground at Jægersborg **Deer Park**, was seen as going a bit too far. The fairground as a topic was regarded as deficient in dramatic seriousness, even for vaudeville. Heiberg then wrote a defense of vaudeville as dramatic poetry in 1826: *On Vaudeville as a Form of Dramatic Poetry and Its Sig-*

nificance in the Danish Theatre (*Om Vaudeville som dramatisk digtart og om dens Betydning paa den danske Skueplads*). Heiberg made his case, and his later vaudevilles were warmly received, including *The Inseparables* (*De Uadskillelige*) (1827), *An Adventure in Rosenborg Garden* (*Et Eventyr i Rosenborg Have*) (1827), *Køge House Cross* (*Kjøge Huuskors*) (1831), and *The Danes in Paris* (*De Danske i Paris*) (1832).

In 1827, Heiberg founded *Copenhagen's Flying Post* (*Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*), a paper that (except for 1829) ran until the end of 1830 with several issues a week and then as an interim paper from 1834 to 1837. This paper started his mother's career as a writer, and it became viewed as an important aesthetic paper for established intellectuals and poets, as well as for young budding writers. Heiberg himself also naturally contributed articles to the paper, not least against the aging **Adam Oehlenschläger**, whom he criticized for his inability to write good tragedy in his poetical works. Heiberg continued writing works for the Royal Theater. Among these can be named especially the patriotic piece *Elf-Hill* (*Elverhøi*) (1828), which was so successful that he was appointed theater writer and translator. In 1829, he was given the position of professor with the task of lecturing (1830) in logic, aesthetics, and Danish literature at the new Military Academy, which prompted him to write some nonfictional work on literature and philosophy (e.g., *On the Significance of Philosophy for the Present Time* [*Om Philosophiens Betydning for den nuværende Tid*] [1833]). He married actress Johanne Luise Pätges (*see* **Johanne Luise Heiberg**), who had taken a juvenile role in his vaudeville *The April Fools* (*Aprilnarrene*) (1826), in the summer of 1831.

In 1837, Heiberg started a new philosophical periodical, *Perseus*. He also attempted to bring philosophy into the theater in his *Fata Morgana* (1838), but this was unsuccessful. At Christmas 1840 (publication year given as 1841), Heiberg published his major work, *New Poems* (*Nye Digte*), containing his satirical piece *A Soul after Death* (*En Sjæl efter Døden*), in which hell consists of the culturally illiterate. In his publications of the 1840s, *Intelligence Papers* (*Intelligensblade*) (1842–44), *Denmark, a Picturesque Atlas* (*Danmark, et malerisk Atlas*) (1842), and *The Nutcrackers* (*Nøddeknækkerne*) (1845), Heiberg presents himself as a superior intellectual, somewhat looking down on his contemporaries. Also in this period Heiberg's interest in astronomy reawakened. In the family home on Christianshavn, he had a little observatory, and he published an astronomical yearbook, *Urania* (1844–46). In 1847, Heiberg did another play at the Royal Theater, *Valgerda*, and in 1849 he became director of the Royal Theater (until 1856). The new liberal times,

however, were against his conservative stance, which showed itself in his choice of theater material as well as in his political outlook and led to friction between Heiberg and the liberals and also between Heiberg and the actors at the Royal Theater. Some of the latter moved to another theater because of him. Not surprisingly, Heiberg was a deeply disappointed and broken man on his resignation from his position. Despite this, however, and despite the curious household of three (himself, his wife, and his dominant mother), his home was the leading intellectual salon in Copenhagen, rivaling that of Knud and Kamma Rahbek at Frederiksberg. With its select gatherings of three to nine people, it became the pattern of cultural living for the intellectual elite. While detailed reasons can be given for weaknesses in his literary production, one important reason can be seen in the source of his initial success—namely, Hegel's philosophy, which was too uncritically woven into his personal inspiration.

Kierkegaard's early point of contact with Heiberg comes with the articles he wrote in his student days: "Another Defense of Woman's Great Abilities," "The Morning Observations in *The Copenhagen Post* No. 43," "On the Polemic of *The Fatherland*," and "To Mr. **Orla Lehmann**," all of which appeared in Heiberg's *Copenhagen's Flying Post.* In particular, Kierkegaard permits himself in his article on **women** to make teasing reference to Heiberg's attempt (in 1833) to give a series of lectures on philosophy that were open to women as well as men. The lectures never took place because not enough men, and only two women, signed up.

In his journals, Kierkegaard in his various references to them shows his familiarity with Heiberg's vaudevilles. He also mentioned, and to a certain extent went along with, Heiberg's order of the three stages of poetry as lyric, epic, and drama, rather than Hegel's of epic, lyric, and drama. In 1836, he was delighted that people thought his article "The Morning Observations" had been written by Heiberg.

Heiberg reviewed Kierkegaard's ***Either/Or*** in his paper *Intelligensblade* in March 1843. His impression of the book (which he found too long) was somewhat negative, not least because he found Johannes the Seducer repellent, and he clearly did not really understand the work. He did find things to praise about the book's insights in Part II, but his glowing praise of the "speculative insights" ended with his placing it within a Hegelian framework. Kierkegaard replied to Heiberg in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) as Victor Eremita, blaming Heiberg for not reading the preface, which would have given him the key to the work. Kierkegaard (in his journals of 1843) also makes ironic comments about Heiberg's knowledge and intellectual abilities. When Heiberg reviewed Kierkegaard's *Repetition* in

Urania for 1844, Kierkegaard planned some possible replies in his journal, since he saw himself again misunderstood concerning the crucial meaning of the work. In particular, he was aggrieved that Heiberg thought that cyclical repetition (*see* ***Fear and Trembling and Repetition***) in nature was a key element of the book. Many further ironic comments on Heiberg appear in Kierkegaard's journals. In 1843, there is an ironic note about Heiberg's conversion to Hegelianism. In 1846, Kierkegaard blames Heiberg for not speaking out against *The Corsair* (*Corsaren*) (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**). Kierkegaard also views at least the male members of Heiberg's circle as being prudent careerists without an **ethical** attitude to life. However, despite further snide remarks about Heiberg, indicating him to be a self-seeking egoist, Kierkegaard also (1848) mentions the thought of dedicating his ***The Crisis and A Crisis in the Life of an Actress*** to him. Here, he indicates that he has always meant well toward Heiberg, but that he does not think that Heiberg has treated him terribly well. Heiberg seems to have viewed **Christianity** with respect as an intellectual support against the materialism of his age but to have lacked personal commitment to it; thus, when Kierkegaard attacked the church establishment in 1854 (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster; State Church**), Heiberg's shock at the attack seems to have had its ground in Kierkegaard's offending cultured good taste.

HEIBERG, JOHANNE LUISE (1812–1890). Danish actress Johanne Luise Pätges was born in Copenhagen of immigrant parents. Her father was a German Catholic from Cologne, her mother was German Jewish, from Frankfurt am Main. From her parents Johanne ("Hanne") inherited her father's imaginativeness and her mother's persevering nature. She was the next-youngest in a family of nine children. Her parents, who had been totally ruined by the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, fought to keep going. Since the father was an impractical and fantastic dreamer, it was left to the mother to solve their problems, which she did through starting up catering activities. In 1812, the Pätges family was running a public house and dancing booth on Nørrebro in Copenhagen, but in 1816, the family (which also catered for a military regiment) moved with the regiment to Aalborg in Jutland, where Johanne was taught dancing. In 1820, when the family returned to Copenhagen, this training helped her application for entrance to the Theater Dancing School. Johanne also learned from her experience dancing with one of her sisters in their parents' public house and from experiencing artistic life at the **Deer Park** Summer Fair, Bakken, where their mother had a tent in the summer.

Johanne did well at the school—so well that she secured the role of the child Giovanni in *Corregio* when this piece was performed in May 1823. In this period, she was helped considerably by an assistant at the theater, Johan Gebhard Harboe, who, was devoted to her, and also helped her cultural development through gifts of books. Her success brought her six child roles in 1824, and she also danced in the ballet, winning the audience's admiration for her performance. She excelled as a ballerina, so she might have continued her career in that direction, except that on February 12, 1826, she happened to be asked to play the part of Trine at the Court Theater, in **Poul Martin Møller**'s *Hans and Trine* (*Hans og Trine*). **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** was present at the performance, and he was so impressed by her acting that he wrote the vaudeville *April Fools* (*Aprilsnarrene*) which had a leading role for Johanne. The vaudeville was given its premiere on April 22, 1826, and Johanne did so well in the part that the Theater Management, which had given her pupil status (1825–26) on a small salary, now promoted her to "dramatic pupil" with a salary raise. Since she was now only 14, it was hard to find suitable roles for her apart from boy roles, but Heiberg wrote more vaudeville roles for her: Christine in *An Adventure in Rosenborg Garden* (*Et Eventyr i Rosenborg Have*) (1827) and (in the same year) Caroline in *The Inseparables* (*De Uadskillelige*).

Johanne thus continued to find opportunities to develop her considerable abilities, and 1828 saw her as Juliet in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, a role that she could play with some experience from life, in that from an early age she had been exposed to erotic advances from men. Heiberg's interest in Johanne's theatrical talent became a personal one, since he fell in love with her, and shortly after her performance in *Elverhøi* (November 6, 1828) he proposed to her. She refused him, however, because Johan Harboe was in love with her, even though she did not return his feelings. Luckily, a good friend, theater director Jonas Collin, helped her to a freer situation by getting her a better-paid appointment as royal actress (July 1829) and a place in the home of the Wexschalls, so that she could now leave home. When this establishment broke up a year later, **Thomasine Gyllembourg** gave her a place in the Heiberg home. When Harboe committed suicide, and after Johanne broke off a short engagement to actor Christoffer Hvid, she found herself drawn more and more to Heiberg, and they were married on July 31, 1831.

Initially, the Heiberg home was in Brogade, but later, for about 19 years, it lay in Christianshavn and was a leading cultural salon in Copenhagen. Johanne rapidly developed culturally in such an atmosphere and

became a leading figure in the city's cultural life. Her acting talent was so great that she could master close to 300 different roles. In 1842, **Adam Oehlenschläger** wrote his *Dina* for her, and the scope of her talent can be seen in that she played Lady Teazle in *A School for Scandal* and Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth*, although she did best in lighter roles. When Heiberg took over the directorship of the Royal Theater in 1849, her position became difficult. His conservative attitude made him unpopular in the new liberal atmosphere, and the attacks on him provoked by his loss of popularity also affected her popularity. She supported her husband throughout, and when he resigned his position at the end of the 1855–56 theater season, she craved leave of absence from the theater and resigned in 1858. In 1859, however, with a new theater director, she returned to the stage as Lady Teazle and to a jubilant public.

Heiberg's death in 1860 saddened her deeply, and she felt that her talents belonged to the disappearing age of romanticism. She gave her last performance as an actress as Elisabeth in *Elverhøi* on June 2, 1864. From 1867 to 1874, she worked as a producer at the theater but went abroad to Italy for a while when the old Royal Theater building was to be closed. In January 1875, she finally resigned. Feelings about her in this period were mixed. Some saw her as having hung on too long to theater work; others still admired her. It would seem that although she had taste and sound theater experience, she was not especially gifted as a producer, although she encouraged the new dramatic trends, among which was the work of Henrik Ibsen. In the 1840s, Johanne Heiberg had also written (anonymously) good articles on the art of acting and bad ones on the domestic arts. She also wrote *A Sunday on Amager* (*En Søndag paa Amager*) (1848), *Monkey* (*Abekatten*) (1849), and *A Summer Evening* (*En Sommeraften*) (1853). In 1855, she began work on her memoirs, *A Life, Reexperienced in Recollection* (*Et Liv, Gjenoplevet i Erindringen*). After her husband died, she published Heiberg's collected works, and in 1882 a book about Peter Andreas Heiberg and Thomasine Gyllembourg. Her memoirs, which are not terribly reliable factually, developed into a four-volume work and appeared posthumously in 1891–92. She died on December 21, 1890, at her final home in Gothersgade, Copenhagen.

Kierkegaard has provided her with a literary monument in his ***The Crisis and A Crisis in the Life of an Actress*** (1848). This work evaluates her on the occasion of her performance as Juliet in January 1847, when, aged 34, Johanne Heiberg was again playing the role, some 20 years after her first performance. In this work, Kierkegaard interprets her as initially youthful **genius** that instinctively flowers into the role of Juliet. When

she again plays the role, he sees her as bringing to bear on it the maturity of self-conscious reflection on the recollection of her first youth, a reflection that she is able to inject into the role, thus consciously bringing out its various nuances. Kierkegaard also refers to her several times in his journals. For example, in 1846, he comments on her masterly performance in *The School for Scandal*, which surpassed that of the rest of the (good) cast. In 1848, he mentions that he intends for several reasons to publish *The Crisis* and also notes that an article on Mrs. Heiberg makes a greater sensation than the publication of great books. For her part, Johanne Heiberg admired Kierkegaard but, like her husband, seems to have found his attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**) deeply offensive and not to be generally spoken of.

HEIDEGGER, MARTIN (1889–1976). German philosopher, often, but wrongly, regarded as the founder of **Existentialism**. Heidegger was born in Messkirch, Baden to a Catholic family, his father cellarman and sexton for the local church. Heideggers's education initially was for the priesthood. While at high school in Konstanz, he became interested in philosophy, and although he became a Jesuit novice in 1909, he gave up after a month because of health problems and probably his lack of vocation. He went to Freiburg University, studying theology and scholastic philosophy. In 1911, he experienced a crisis that led him to drop the idea of the priesthood entirely. Instead, he devoted himself to philosophy and the natural sciences. In this period, he encountered the work of Edmund Husserl, and in 1913 graduated with a dissertation on *The Theory of the Judgement in Psychologism*. This was followed by his qualifying thesis on *Duns Scotus' Theory of Categories and Meaning*. Heidegger was conscripted for the army in 1915 for non-combat duties. In 1917, he married Protestant Elfried Petri and broke with Catholicism (1919). From 1918, he was an unpaid lecturer at Freiburg University, assisting Husserl, and soon gained a name as an outstanding teacher of philosophy. His career then took him to an associate professorship at Marburg, and in 1927 he published his major work *Sein and Zeit [Being and Time]*, which enabled him to become professor in philosophy at Freiburg. In the early 1930s, Heidegger was sympathetic to Nazism. In 1933, he became rector of the university (until his resignation, 1934), joining the Nazi party the same year. There has been much debate as to how far Heidegger was involved with Nazism, but it would seem that he was ready to co-operate only to a limited extent with the new regime. He clearly rejected anti-semitism, and it is reported that his lectures were harassed by visits from the Gestapo. In his 1941 lec-

tures, Heidegger was overtly critical of aspects of the Hitler ideology. In 1944, Heidegger was drafted into the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) to dig trenches. After the war, Heidegger was forbidden to teach (1945–1951), but was granted the status of emeritus professor by his university and continued his career as a lecturer and scholar (on a regular basis in the period 1951–1958). He published his *Letter On Humanism* (1947) in which he distinguishes his own philosophy from French existentialism. His other publications were mostly revisions of his lectures for book publication and by 1997, there was still a large amount of material waiting to be published. When Heidegger died in 1976, he was buried at Messkirch, a catholic mass being held in his memory.

Of Heidegger's works can be mentioned (apart from the doctoral theses and *Sein und Zeit*), *Kant und das Problem der Metaphysik* (1929), *Was ist Metaphysik?* (1929) and *Vom Wesen des Grundes* (1929). Much material also came from his lectures, the publication of which runs into a large number of volumes of the *Gesamtausgabe* published from 1975 onwards. It is impossible here to do justice to the scope of his writings or the nuances of his thinking, but the following sketch will indicate some key features of his thought. Heidegger's main philosophical interest is in the problem of being. Humans have a key into this problem because a human "exists," whereas a non-conscious object such as a stone does not, but is merely what Heidegger calls "presence-at-hand." Heidegger thus thought that to examine this *existential* being philosophically (as opposed to analysing objects) could help to elucidate the basic problem of being, namely, what does it mean to be a being or an entity? Heidegger *(Sein und Zeit)* defines a threefold structure of human **existence** as "care." This entails the possibility in which humans can deal with entities as "ready-to-hand" to meet instrumentally unfolding human needs. The second element entailed is "facticity," in this the human finds him or herself thrown into a concrete situation that already defines what possibilities are open to the human in question. "Anxiety" is seen as a key indicator of this human predicament. The third element of care lies in the human's capacity to relate to an open future. For Heidegger, although humans have the capacity of self-transcendence, and can plan the way ahead, there is a tendency to flee from the burden of this situation, either seeking refuge in the crowd or group or diving into a preoccupation with the material goods of the world. This introduces the notion of "forfeiture" of authentic existence, since this flight constitutes an inauthentic, fragmented, existence and any apparent security is illusory. To arrive at authentic existence, the human must pay heed to **anxiety** and grasp the

possibility of the future. Human existence understood as "care" covers the whole of one's temporal existence until death. For the one living authentically, death is included within the scope of human possibility by virtue of being something to anticipate. All human possibilities have to be seen in the light of the fact of death, and the one who faces up to death, accepts it, instead of running away from it in various ways, lives a unified life of peace and joy. This facing up to death is not, however, a mere biting of the bullet, accepting it stoically or negatively as the "nothing" that is going to wipe out one's life with its aims and goals. It is rather a psychological experience when purely temporal goals lose meaning. The inauthentic person is dissipated in all kinds of activities to do with living, defining the importance of each according to the amount of time and energy she or he devotes to them. Through these activities the person also attempts to define him or herself. When death is seen as putting paid to it all, an end is put to the self-defining through the activities and to the weight of importance put upon them. Suddenly everything is reduced to the fact of the nothing that death proposes, and attention is now directed away from the activities and things of the world to the fact and amazingness of there being being itself. Further called for is a change of psychological attitude in which submission is made to being (*Was ist Metaphysik?*), a letting-go instead of clinging to things. Here, it should be noted that "being" for Heidegger seems also to possess active godlike attributes. The "nothing" the individual goes through in letting go of the finite world makes space for the fundamental being of the universe to give or open itself to the individual, but the being of what is, is not something passive. While Heidegger rejected Christian conceptions of **God** as some kind of entity lurking at the back of the universe, and the concept of being becomes highly elusive in his later writings, being seems to share some of the characteristics of the Christian God as the disposer of the individual, transcending history. Finally, it should be noted that whereas in *Sein und Zeit* language and thinking had a subordinate position, in the later Heidegger, language is prominent as the "abode of being," and art and poetry are seen as of vital significance.

Kierkegaard can be seen as inspiring and liberating for Heidegger who made an extensive study of him but was no slavish follower. Clearly, Heidegger's ideas about existence, anxiety, and the **moment** owe much to the inspiration of Kierkegaard, but he drew on sources that Kierkegaard drew on and on themes in contemporary writers (e.g. William Dilthey, Edmund Husserl). Kierkegaard's concept of anxiety, for example, was important for Heidegger, but Heidegger also finds this concept in Luther, Pascal,

and St. Augustine. Thus the question of influence on Heidegger is a complex one. We do find, however, both appreciation of Kierkegaard and criticism. In his *Sein und Seit* (1927), Heidegger refers to Kierkegaard in three footnotes. In the first, he tells us Kierkegaard is the one who has gone farthest in the analysis of anxiety (I, 6, 190, fn. iv). In the second, he notes that Kierkegaard thought through the problem of existence as a personal existential [*existenziell*] problem but not as an existential [*existenzial*] set of problems, remaining dominated by Hegel's ontology and Hegel's view of ancient philosophy. He thus finds more philosophical help from Kierkegaard's discourses except for ***The Concept of Anxiety*** (II, 45, 235, vi). In the third footnote (II, 4, 338, iii) (in which he patently misunderstands Kierkegaard), Heidegger again notes the value of Kierkegaard as a penetrating thinker about the personal existential phenomenon of the moment of vision, but finds him unsuccessful in interpreting it existentially because Kierkegaard clings to the ordinary conception of time and defines the moment of vision with the aid of "now" and "**eternity**." For Heidegger, Kierkegaard's view of temporality deals only with the individual's "Being-in-time," knowing only the "now" and never a moment of vision. Such a moment needs to be experienced in a personal existential manner, thus presupposing a more primordial temporality. Heidegger ends the note by referring the reader to **Karl Jaspers** on the subject. Later, Heidegger is to view Kierkegaard's work as entangled in metaphysics. What emerges from all this is Heidegger's approval of Kierkegaard's psychological insights, but his rejection of the adequacy of Kierkegaard's ontological explanation. While it has been claimed that *Sein und Seit* owes much more to Kierkegaard than Heidegger acknowledges, a key issue of difference between the two men is that Kierkegaard includes a transcendent personal God as the presupposition of his psychology and ontology, whereas Heidegger is interested in the question of human being against the background of the nature of being. **Death** figures prominently in the authorship of both men, but for Kierkegaard there is the goal of eternal life beyond the grave, and on this basis he can make, unlike Heidegger, a distinction between the inauthentic (**aesthetic**) and authentic (**ethical-religious**) way to that goal. Heidegger would free philosophy from having God as a presupposition. He declares that his epistemology and theory of being entail nothing about God's existence or otherwise, and makes it clear that only authentic existential involvement in his or her existential context can enable the individual to reach a point where she or he can think or say "what the word 'God' is to signify" (*Letter on Humanism*).

HERTZ, HENRIK (HEYMAN) (1797–1870). Danish poet. Hertz was the son of a wealthy Copenhagen baker who died when Hertz was a child. His mother continued the business, but the bakery was destroyed during the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. Through great economy and sacrifice, she managed to send Hertz to the Metropolitan School in Copenhagen before she, too, died. Fortunately Hertz found a new home in the family of Mendel Levin Nathanson, where he met many of the leading figures of the time. He also developed an unrequited love for Nathanson's daughter. In 1817, Hertz became a student and studied law unwillingly at the **Copenhagen University**, since his interest lay strongly in the direction of aesthetics. He found the study of law hard, because his benefactor lost his money and Hertz had to struggle on his own to finance himself. He was also more interested in reading about aesthetics and history. In 1824, he won a university gold medal for a prize essay on law, but it was on the basis of his historical, rather than his legal, application. In 1825, he managed to earn his law degree, but this was the conclusion of his legal career.

In 1826, Hertz again won a university gold medal, this time for answering a prize question on the subject of the mutual interaction between nations and poets. He began to write plays, with *Mr. Burchard and His Family* (*Hr. Burchard og hans Familie*) produced anonymously at the Royal Theater in 1827. His next piece was less successful, but with his *Moving Day* (*Flyttedag*) in 1828, he showed his talent in the depiction of Copenhagen bourgeois life. He wrote 54 plays in all but is particularly famous for his *Ghost Letters* (*Gengangerbreve*) *or Poetic Letters from Paradise*, which he published under the pseudonym used by ("the ghost") the late poet Jens Baggesen (Knud Sjællandsfar). This work caused a stir, not least because of its pseudonym and also because it borrowed from and continued **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**'s idea that attention needs to be paid to form as well as style of content. Heiberg was delighted to find such a supporter and responded to Hertz's work with a poem, to which poem Hertz responded with four new poetic letters in *Anonymous New Year's Gift for 1832* (*Anonym Nytaarsgave for 1832*).

Until 1832, Hertz had been anonymous because of his Jewish background and the treatment of Jews in 1819–20, when literary polemic against them ended in their becoming the victim of riots in Copenhagen. He now converted to **Christianity** and went public in his writings. He was warmly welcomed as a guest in the Heiberg home, spending the summer with Heiberg and his wife at their country residence in 1832. Mrs. Heiberg became extremely significant to Hertz's poetic inspiration.

In the period 1830–64, he wrote all his major female roles for her. In 1833, Hertz received a public scholarship for a study tour abroad, where he spent a year in Germany and Italy. The rest of his life he spent quietly in Copenhagen, marrying late a granddaughter of Mendel Nathanson.

Hertz was very much an imitator of the style of others, his 1836 play *The Money Box* (*Sparekassen*) being one exception to this. His authorship encompassed plays, poetry, and a novel. The plays were either about Copenhagen life or had romantic themes. His poems are partly historical narrative and partly lyrics. Some are products of personal reflection. In his novel *Moods and Conditions* (*Stemninger og Tilstande*) (1839), Hertz was extremely critical of the liberal movement and the liberal press. His character in the novel, the Translator, is Kierkegaard, who is made to describe the **aesthetic** period of *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) prior to 1835. It is unlikely that any historical reality is indicated in Hertz's novel where the events of Kierkegaard's life are concerned. Hertz appears to have derived his material from talking with Kierkegaard. In his journals of 1839, Kierkegaard lets us understand that Hertz was eager to talk with him ostensibly for the purpose of getting material for his novel. (It is not entirely impossible that the character of Echo in Kierkegaard's draft play, ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***, is meant to be Hertz). Otherwise Kierkegaard's journals make allusions, both positive and slightly critical, to Hertz's works. In 1849, Kierkegaard notes he has sent Hertz a copy of the new impression of ***Either/Or*** and that he regards Hertz as a lovable person of some significance.

HOLBERG, LUDVIG (1684–1754). Norwegian Danish author. Holberg was born in Bergen in Norway and died in Copenhagen. He never married. His father died when he was a year old, and his mother died, leaving six children, when he was 10. He came from a background of careful economy and ability to cope, given that the family had lost property during one of the city's fires. His father had worked his way up from a private soldier to lieutenant colonel, and the social status given by his position was transferred to his children. On the death of Holberg's mother, the family was split up among relatives, Holberg and a brother coming to a merchant uncle. Holberg, who was small and thin and always looked years younger than his age, developed an ironic and satirical side to his nature. At the Grammar School at Bergen, he received a good education and developed considerable debating skills. In 1702, he became a student at **Copenhagen University**, receiving a degree in theology in 1704.

Instead of settling down to the career of a teacher or pastor, Holberg decided to travel abroad, and, selling the small bit of inheritance left to him, he did so until 1716, spending 1708–14 in Copenhagen, where he was well received by the city's leading men and given financial support to continue studying. After some further travel, Holberg became a professor at Copenhagen University in 1717, first in metaphysics and logic, then in Latin literature, and finally in his special subjects of history and geography. He also became rector of the university. From the time Holberg had gotten a place at the university, he was overtaken by poetic inspiration and gave up all scholarly work for 10 years, producing instead literary satirical works (also engaging in polemical writings against a scholar called Andreas Hojer). Holberg wrote works such as *Peder Paars* (1719–20), *The Tinker Turned Politician* (*Den politiske Kandstøber*) (1722), and 27 other comedies from 1722 to 1728, when he was encouraged to write pieces for the new Danish theater. He wrote a total of 33 comedies, but difficult theater conditions in the 1720s eventually forced him back to scholarly work. He became, however, consultant and writer for the Danish theater when it was moved to Kongens Nytorv in 1748 after its 1747 reopening.

Holberg's comedies typically have to do with situations from daily life. He reuses names in different comedies—for example, Jeronimus and Pernille—so that the characters represent particular types. After a further overseas journey, Holberg wrote his *Memoirs* (1727–28). In the 1740s, Holberg became interested in moral and philosophical questions that appear in his *Niels Klim's Underground Journey* (*Niels Klims underjordiske Rejse*) (1741), *Moral Thoughts* (*Moralske Tanker*) (1744), and *Letters* (*Epistler*) (1748–54). He became a wealthy man through his writing and careful investment of his income in property. In 1746, he let it be known he would leave his estate and money to Sorø Academy, a testamentary bequest that brought him the title of baron from the king.

Kierkegaard's books and journals are permeated with references to Holberg's comedies, references that help him make various points and comparisons. In his journals, Kierkegaard points out how near the comic lies to the tragic in his comedies (e.g., *Jeppe on the Hill* [*Jeppe paa Bjerget*] [1723], the peasant who is tricked and confused about his identity by the aristocracy). Other plays frequently mentioned by Kierkegaard are *Erasmus Montanus* (1731) and *The Restless One* (*Den Stundesløse*) (1731).

HOLST, HANS PETER (1811–1893). Danish poet. He was the son of a coach manager and driver. Holst finished his education at the **Borgerdyd**

School in Copenhagen in 1829 and became a private tutor in the home of a Count Schulin at Petersgaard in 1830. He competed for the literature prize offered by the Society for the Promotion of the Beautiful Sciences (Selskabet for de skjønne Videnskabers Forfremmelse) with his four romances, for which he received the society's commendation. On his return to Copenhagen he published the romances and then a number of poetic works. Holst made his name in literature, however, through his memorial poem on the occasion of the death of Frederik VI in 1839, managing to capture and express the national feeling. The poem was printed in various editions all over Denmark. In 1840, Holst was able to travel abroad for two years on a scholarship to Italy, where he met important fellow countrymen such as **Bertel Thorvaldsen** and **Hans Christian Andersen**. The results of his tour appeared in his *Away and at Home* (*Ude og Hjemme*) (1842), a collection of poems, short stories, and descriptive pieces that was well received by his contemporaries. It contains pieces such as "The Traveling Companion" (*Rejsekammeraten*) and "You Are Rich, You Are Lovely, O South" (*Du er rig, Du er dejlig, O Syd*). When the Three Years' War broke out in 1848, Holst volunteered for the Northern Jutland Army Corps, and at Lerbæk in September 1848 he wrote another patriotic poem: "Well Met Again, King Frederik, by the Army" (*Vel mødt igen, Kong Frederik, ved Hæren*). In 1849, he wrote his famous epic poem *The Little Bugler* (*Den lille Hornblæser*) and "Sleep Sweetly in the Soil of Slesvig" (*Slumrer sødt I Slesvigs Jord*).

Holst spent most of his time teaching, at the Land Academy and the Sea Academy. In the period 1864–68 and from 1875 until his death, he was stage manager at the Royal Theater Copenhagen. In 1844, his romantic play *Gioachino* had been presented at the theater and, in 1846, the vaudeville *William and Emma or the Water Cure* (*William og Emma eller Vandkuren*). In 1868, he wrote for the theater *You Have a Daughter* (*De har en Datter*) and in 1877, *A-ing-fo-hi.* From 1859 to 1860, Holst was editor of the paper the *Berlingske Tidende* (*Berling's Times*). The year 1873 saw his cycle of poems *From My Youth* (*Fra min Ungdom*). From 1868 to 1890, Holst was at work again as an editor, this time of the monthly periodical *For Romanticism and History* (*For Romantik og Historie*).

Kierkegaard mentions Holst in 1843, when the latter was finishing a period as editor of *New Portfolio* (*Ny Portfeuille*). In his journals, Kierkegaard is critical of Holst's style, though not entirely unappreciative of Holst as a man of limited ability. He refers to Holst in 1846 as a lyrical poet. In 1854, Kierkegaard has a somewhat negative note on

Holst, an ironic reference to Holst's versification and Frederik VII. In his recollection of Kierkegaard, Holst for his part claims to have "translated" Kierkegaard's ***From the Papers of One Still Living*** from an extremely latinized Danish to Danish proper. He says that he wrote Kierkegaard's Danish essays for him and that Kierkegaard wrote Latin ones for Holst, during their schooldays at the Borgerdyd School.

HORSE, DRIVING ROUND THE. Kierkegaard uses this phrase as a metaphor in the draft of his comic play, ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***. It comes from a custom whereby, on the last day of school examinations, Danish gymnasium school graduates in Copenhagen wear student caps and are driven in a horse-drawn cart (today in a van) to the equestrian statue of King Christian V in the square, Kongens Nytorv. There, they go hand-in-hand around the statue. In Kierkegaard's time, it was common to drive around the statue in the horse carts. In **Hans Christian Andersen**'s *Only a Fiddler* (1837), Andersen describes the practice of renting sledges in winter on Kongens Nytorv, so people could entertain themselves by driving around the statue in the snow.

HOSTRUP, JENS CHRISTIAN (1818–1892). Danish poet and pastor. His father was an inspector of weights and measures in Copenhagen. Although he did not come from a wealthy background, Hostrup benefited from a close-knit family life in which **music** and literature were appreciated. He therefore read good literature from an early age. When his father died, it was taken for granted that Hostrup should study, and he acquired a scholarship at the Metropolitan School. In 1837, he became a student at **Copenhagen University**, where **Hans Lassen Martensen**'s theology lectures impressed him to the extent that he decided to earn his degree in theology. In the meantime, his literary interest developed, and while a student, he wrote a number of vaudevilles performed privately. Since Hostrup lacked funds to be a member of the **Student Association**, he joined the Academic Reading Association (Academicum), founded by **Carl Parmo Ploug** and others in 1837. He also enjoyed a good social life at the **Regensen** hall of residence. Despite the fact that Hostrup had a quiet and retiring nature, his student songs and literary pieces made him popular.

In 1843, Hostrup received a degree in theology, though at that point he felt he would not be using it. After his exam he wrote his famous student comedy *The Neighbors Opposite* (*Genboerne*) to celebrate the union of the two student associations. The comedy was performed at the Court

Theater in 1844 but did not become a part of the Royal Theater's repertoire until 1848. In 1844, Hostrup also became a house master in Kokkedal (north of Copenhagen). Here he was inspired to write his play *Adventure on a Walking Tour* (*Eventyr paa Fodrejsen*), performed in 1848. In 1846 came his *A Sparrow in a Crane Dance* (*En Spurv i Tranedans*), performed at the Royal Theater in 1849, as was his *Soldier Pranks* (*Soldaterløjer*). A journey to Norway inspired Hostrup to write an operetta, *A Night amid the Peaks* (*En Nat mellem Fjeldene*) (1852). Apart from many lighter works, Hostrup also wrote heavier pieces such as *Thunderstorm* (*Tordenvejr*) (1851), *Master and Apprentice* (*Mester og Lærling*) (1852), and *Dream and Deed* (*Drøm og Daad*) (1854).

In 1854, for various reasons, Hostrup underwent a spiritual crisis, refusing the lucrative directorship of the Casino Winter Garden (*see* **Tivoli**) in Copenhagen to become a pastor. In 1855, he married Elisabeth, a daughter of the poet Carsten Hauch. He became pastor of Silkeborg and Linaa, Jutland, in 1856. From 1862 to 1881, he was the castle pastor at Hillerød in Zealand. Hostrup as pastor proved to be an enthusiastic Grundtvigian and a warm supporter of the Danish Folk High School movement. In his later years he returned to writing plays, surprising everyone in 1880 by writing *Eva,* a modern problem play that engaged with the position of **women** in society. In 1881, Hostrup retired from his pastorate to Frederiksberg but remained extremely active. In the 1880s, he became keenly interested and involved in politics.

Kierkegaard mentions Hostrup in his journals with particular reference to Hostrup's play *The Neighbors Opposite,* which contained references to his contemporaries, including **Nikolai Grundtvig** and **Hans Christian Andersen**. There was reference to material from Kierkegaard's ***Either/Or*** through the figure of theologian Søren Kirk, initially played by the philosopher **Hans Brøchner**. In 1846 (when the play was performed at the Royal Theater with Søren Kirk, now "Søren Torp," played by actor Pätges), Kierkegaard expressed annoyance in his journals at being drawn into a student comedy by "a rag of a poet." He believed that "Kirk" was really "Kierkegaard." In 1847, he noted indignantly that the play was being performed in Norway, where the **press** were associating the role with his name. Later (1847–48, also 1849), he expressed irritation at the use of his name in comedies, Hostrup being a prime offender.

HUMOR. Kierkegaard speaks in his writings about the standpoint of humor (***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***). Like **irony**, humor can

also be used as a tool, both validly and invalidly, according to whether it is appropriately applied to its object. For example, in one of Kierkegaard's **eighteen upbuilding discourses** called *The Lily in the Field and the Bird of the Air*, it is humorous that humble lilies and birds can teach humans anything, yet the humorous element is the incognito of the **religious** message. Humor goes far beyond the **comic** in that in laughing at (not ridiculing) the evil he sees in the world, the humorist comprehends the **suffering** to be found in **existence**, particularly moral evil, although he does not feel that this has the last word, in that existence has a spiritual element.

The one who is a humorist is therefore ethically involved in existence and has striven him- or herself ethically, but while accepting the validity of the ethical demand, he or she sees that the demand cannot be fulfilled by humans. Thus, the humorist may have a great comprehension of human failings in terms of guilt (*see* **Sin**), yet at the same time stays existentially at the point of failure to fulfill ethics, only intellectually speculating about the Christian religious position. At this point, then, the humorist is like the ironist in having a purely intellectual stance toward that to which he or she does not commit him- or herself existentially. Despite this, Johannes Climacus views humor as the last stage of **inwardness** before **faith**, and as pointing toward **Christianity**.

Where Kierkegaard deals with humor as an intermediate stage in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (as Reidar Thomte points out in his book *Kierkegaard's Philosophy of Religion*), there is a problem as to where humor fits in as such a stage. Johannes Climacus speaks of the **aesthetic** stage, and of the **ethical**, with the universal Religiousness A, and Christianity as Religiousness B. While humor is said to be "not yet religiosity" but on the boundary, it is also seen as the last *terminus a quo* or starting point in defining Christianity.

Thomte sees two possible explanations: either that humor is the intermediate stage before Religiousness A and then again before Christianity as Religiousness B (although Climacus speaks of only one intermediate stage of humor), or Religiousness A is within the category of humor because the religious stage culminates in Christianity and not Religiousness A. Thus, on this explanation, humor would be a boundary area between ethics and Religiousness A, but Religiousness A would be a continuous part of the ethical in the sense that the ethical is also the ethical-religious (i.e., the ethical and authentic religion are not divorced from each other).

– I –

IDEAS. The term *idea* (*Idee*; cf. *Idealer*, *Idealitet*) for Kierkegaard, first, indicates especially the abstract conception of value, particularly ideas of what can be held to be of eternal worth. While he was fully aware of the Platonic conception of eternal "ideas" or "forms," Kierkegaard sees these as lacking through the fact of their abstraction from **existence**. So, a second, "idea" for Kierkegaard, particularly has to do with what can be used in existence in the sense of an idea or ideal by which one can live and that one can actualize in one's personal life. This is why he speaks of living for an idea and of serving the idea. While he particularly views the idea of **Christianity** as embodying the essential for which the individual should strive, he also allows that ideas can be followed in other cultures; for example, in **Judaism** the individual would strive to fulfill the ethics of the Torah, and Socrates is seen as striving to actualize the idea of the good in his personal existence. Kierkegaard also refers to ideas that represent a total **system** of ideas as a "life-view" (*Livs-Anskuelse*). Christianity or Judaism could be seen as examples of "life-views." He points to the need for the individual to live concretely by or for an idea. Without this there can be no maturity of person (*see* **Hans Christian Andersen**). The individual also needs to be able to make a clear choice of an idea or course of action after sensible consideration of the various possibilities. Kierkegaard mentions the difficulty of the person who never gets to following a distinct course of action because she or he is lost in a sea of deliberation concerning the various possibilities. He additionally makes clear that it is not possible for the individual to carry out ideas that have no relationship to the real possibilities contained in a person's life and world. Finally, in his journals of 1854, Kierkegaard notes that **women** can function in the same manner as an idea through having the same inspiring force in the lives of men.

IMAGINATION. Kierkegaard makes no attempt to provide a scientific definition or description of the imagination, but he clearly sees it to be an important aspect of the human psyche. He speaks about the imagination in many ways in his writings, for example, as "wings" humans are given to elevate themselves. The capacity of the imagination is thus important concerning the conceptualization of how the individual may live an **ethical-religious existence**. As Johannes Climacus (in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***), however, Kierkegaard makes it clear that the

imagination is coordinate with thought and feeling; that is, it needs to be in a proper relation to rational common sense (*see* **Reason and Understanding**) and the emotions if it is not to get out of control and become fantastic. Also, while his pseudonym Anti-Climacus (in ***The Sickness unto Death; Practice in Christianity***) urges the importance of the imagination in putting **ideas** and ideals into practice, he underlines that the will is finally the decisive element of our personality. So while the imagination can be used to present a picture of how one's life might be, will power is essential for doing something about it. The will is thus not purely a mental process, such that one might wish or will that a situation were other than it is. It is the volitional determination or activity of the entire **self**.

IMITATION. Although Kierkegaard emphasizes the importance of **grace** as a Christian concept, he strongly attaches this to the duty of striving to do what one can to fulfill the Christian demand and, in particular, of admitting that one has not fulfilled the strictest injunctions of **Christianity**. Where a person is genuinely attempting to live a Christ-like life, that person is justified in looking to divine grace to make good his or her deficiencies. Kierkegaard comes to emphasize the **imitation** of Christ in his authorship because of his pessimism about his fellow citizens' attitude to Christianity. Those who do not regard the call to imitation seriously, he sees as taking grace in vain. The individual must strive to go as far as she or he can in the direction of imitation, but as a thanks offering for grace and not as an attempt to earn it. *See also* SUFFERING.

IMMEDIACY/REFLECTION. *See* AESTHETIC, THE; ETHICAL, THE; FAITH; REASON AND UNDERSTANDING; RELIGIOUS, THE.

INDIRECT COMMUNICATION. For Kierkegaard, objective **knowledge**, such as mathematics or how to cook an egg, is capable of being directly communicated to people. Something to do with how to live one's life, however, he sees as not capable of direct communication, because it involves a personal relational engagement with life; it concerns something in process. Already in ***Either/Or*** as Judge William, he describes the limitations of trying to portray, for example, a happy **marriage**, as this is something that has to be worked out by the couple throughout a lifetime. Since ethics and the **ethical-religious** have to do with personal choice, then the one communicating what the choice is also needs to step back to make room for the other person to make a real choice. Kierkegaard

sees this task as something to be done Socratically; that is, like Socrates, he proceeds maieutically by the method of **dialectic**, in Kierkegaard's case, setting up contrasting **aesthetic**, ethical, and ethical-religious positions in his authorship as a kind of dialogue, so the reader can, untrammeled by the presence of Kierkegaard, consider what is put forward and make the decision to choose or not to choose the ethical and ethical-religious path. *See also* TRUTH.

INDIVIDUAL. *See* CROWD/PUBLIC; FREEDOM; SELF, THE.

INGEMANN, BERNHARD SEVERIN (1789–1862). Danish poet, born at Torkildstrup Vicarage on Falster; died in Sorø, Zealand. Ingemann had a happy, idyllic childhood that carried over into a happy and childlike nature as an adult. He showed a preference for the world of fantasy instead of the real world and thus disliked both the advent of the railway to Sorø as much as political change. His life was not, of course, free of problems. His father died when he was 11, and he moved with his mother and an elder brother to Slagelse, where the boys went to the grammar school. The school in this period was particularly bad in terms of both teachers and social climate. When Ingemann was 17, he left to study at Copenhagen and thus came to experience the bombardment of the city by the English in 1807, when he did duty on the ramparts as a member of the Student Corps. During the bombardment, the house where he lived was burnt to the ground, taking with it the manuscripts of his first poems. The following year he took his second student exam (*see* **Copenhagen University**) and unwillingly began to study law, a subject he hated. Then his mother died of tuberculosis, and he was convinced that he, too, would soon get the disease and die of it.

This atmosphere of **death** gives the poetry of the young Ingemann a particular etheric, sentimental, and heaven-oriented tinge. It is also colored by the type of literary romanticism that emphasized the night, moonlight, and ghostly figures. He published his first volume of poetry in 1811, the year he was given a scholarship residence at Valkendorff's Hall of Residence. His poetry was in tune with the times and thus well received. It also won the heart of Lucie Mandix, who married him after a 10-year engagement. In 1812, Ingemann published a volume containing poetry, romances, ballads, and a drama, but most acclaimed was his poetic romance *Varner's Poetic Travels* (*Varners poetiske Vandringer*) (1813). Varner (Ingemann's other self) dreams of pure, spiritual love, removed from the world, and the work oozes sickly sentimentality.

Ingemann followed this up with other works and dramas of a sentimental nature, these were well received by the public, but not by those with good literary taste. **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** satirized Ingemann, who was defended by **Nikolai Grundtvig**. Grundtvig loved Ingemann's work because of its mild and fine **religious** tone.

In 1816, Ingemann published three more dramas and also managed to write a national song: "Wave Proudly on Codan's Billow" (*Vift Stolt paa Codans Bølge*). As a dramatist, Ingemann was weak in his delineation of the characters, and his works of 1817 and 1820 indicate that this is not his genre. He received a royal stipend to travel abroad in Europe in the period 1818–19, but his travels did nothing to develop his poetic style. After more works in the same vein, Ingemann was appointed lecturer in Danish language and literature (1822) at Sorø Academy in Zealand and was thus now able to marry. He remained in Sorø, even after the academy was closed (1849), finding it in tune with his childhood in the country. The peaceful surroundings inspired him to write his historical works—for example, *Valdemar the Great* (*Valdemar den Store*) in 1824. These works were heavily criticized on historical grounds when they were published, but their imagination and national feeling gave them lasting popular status, despite their lack of genuine historicity. Several poems from a poetic work, *Holger Danske* (1837), became folk songs. In 1831, in the tale of *The Wood-Nymph Gifts* (*Huldregaverne*), Ingemann attacked the life-view of his critics. In the 1820s and 1830s, he was extremely productive. He published new volumes of stories (1827, 1835) and, in 1833, *Pages from the Notebook of Jerusalem's Shoemaker* (*Blade af Jerusalems Skomagers Lommebog*), a work with a (unusual for Ingemann) bitter contempt of the world. Of his other works can be mentioned *Morning and Evening Songs* (*Morgen- og Aftensange*) (1839), with its mild religious tone of childlike innocence.

Ingemann also wrote hymns. In 1825, he had published *Hymns for High Mass* (*Højmessepsalmer*), and in the final decade of his life he wrote religious poetry. In 1854, he was given the task of revising the hymnbook of the Roskilde Pastor Convention. When political change manifested itself in the 1840s, Ingemann spoke against the new times through works such as *The Four Rubies* (*De fire Rubiner*) (1849) and *The Dumb Young Lady* (*Den stumme Frøken*) (1850). With the closure of Sorø Academy, Ingemann had more time to write. In 1852 he wrote *The Country Children* (*Landsbybørnene*), a work that was entertaining and appealing. In his later years, Ingemann was preoccupied with religious questions, *Philosophical Letters from One Deceased* (*Tankebreve fra en*

Afdød) (1855) and *The Golden Apple* (*Guldæblet*) (1856). In his final years he also wrote his memoirs, which were published posthumously. With the upsurge of nationalistic feeling in the 1840s and 1850s, Ingemann's historical novels increased in their popularity and appeared in edition after edition. The average person regarded Ingemann as one of Denmark's great poets.

In his journals of 1836–37, Kierkegaard mentions *Pages from the Notebook of Jerusalem's Shoemaker*, a book he bought from **C. A. Reitzel**'s bookshop in 1836. He also mentions Ingemann as one reproducing the old legends. In 1854, however, Kierkegaard complains of Ingemann's sentimental view of immortality that includes every insect. In Kierkegaard's view, Ingemann trivializes the concept, since logically every louse must be immortal. Kierkegaard clearly indicates his poor opinion of Ingemann for such a thought, referring to him rather contemptuously by a name given him by Heiberg: *No man* (*Ingenmand*).

INTEREST. *See* SERIOUSNESS/INTEREST.

INWARDNESS. *Inwardness* (*Inderlighed*) is the word Kierkegaard uses to indicate the spiritual potentiality of the human soul (*see* **Spirit and Soul**) experienced from the inside (as opposed to conceptual definition of the structure of the **self**). It is thus essentially a hidden personal religiosity, unlike the clearly manifest religiosity of monks and nuns in a community. Kierkegaard tended to think that the individual should express personal religiosity in the context of the world; that is, one should refrain from going into such special communities. Second, he thought it incorrect that religious dedication should be made manifest in the wearing of special clothes advertising religious commitment, especially when this seemed to suggest that one practiced a superior form of **Christianity**. The Christian life for Kierkegaard would thus be best expressed by living as a monk or nun in the world. Yet Kierkegaard sees a difficulty with the idea of hidden inwardness—namely, that it may not be there at all. That is, people may be living a thoroughly worldly oriented life within the context of apparently living as Christians in the world. Ideally, if one were really living the life of hidden inwardness, the actions of one's life should indicate this. Kierkegaard realized that many of his contemporaries were patently living in comfortable worldliness as respectable bourgeois citizens in the Danish **state church**. So in the writings of his final years, Kierkegaard calls for a return to the monastery, though not in the sense of bringing back special communities of monks and nuns.

IRONY. Irony in Kierkegaard's authorship is dealt with both as a standpoint and as a tool the individual (*see* **Self, The**) can use in his or her encounters with others. When Socrates takes the standpoint of irony (in the form of assumed ignorance), his meaning is contrary to what he says. His irony is positive, however, in the sense that when he uses irony to undermine the position of the Sophists, it is because he wishes to arrive at **truth**. The danger of irony, however, is its potential to undermine everything through uncontrolled skepticism. Irony is also an agent by which the individual sets him- or herself at a distance from the object of the irony and thus from the surrounding world. When the pleasure-seeking aesthete in ***Either/Or*** discovers the futility of his way of life, he takes an ironic stance as a way of retreating from the world around him. Here, irony becomes negative, and it can run away with the individual so that in the end he or she merely succeeds in undermining all values through its use, without having anything to put in its place. Kierkegaard investigated irony in depth in his doctoral thesis (***The Concept of Irony***). For Kierkegaard, Socrates is master of irony as a tool, and his entire standpoint is that of irony in his direction of it against the values of his culture. In this case, though, Socrates' irony is justified because the culture is seen as in decline. The use of irony is appropriate as a way of trying to bring about renewal. In the case of the aesthete, though, the latter has failed to validate his **existence** on the basis of the **aesthetic** way of life. He also directs his irony against the **ethical**, because he sees it as a threat. It is a possible alternative he is unwilling to embark on. For this reason, Kierkegaard in his authorship also speaks of irony as an intermediary stage or position between the aesthetic life and the ethical. *See also* HUMOR.

– J –

JASPERS, KARL (1883–1969). German psychiatrist and philosopher, often seen as the second greatest existentialist after **Martin Heidegger**. Jaspers was born at Oldenburg, the son of a bank manager. He initially studied law at Heidelberg and Munich, before spending the next five years studying medicine at Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. Specializing in psychiatry, he became a scientific assistant in that subject at the psychiatric clinic in Heidelberg. After five years of teaching at Heidelberg, however, he was appointed professor in philosophy at Heidelberg University (1920). With the advent of Hitler's Germany, Jaspers was dismissed from his professorship (1937), being reinstated in 1945. He went on to become professor in philosophy at the University of Basel in

Switzerland (1948). His first book was *General Psychopathology* (*Allgemeine Psychopathologie*) (1913). In 1919, he published *The Psychology of the Worldview* (*Die Psychologie der Weltanschauungen*), which introduced his philosophy of **existence**, and, in 1932, came the elaboration of his philosophy in *Philosophy* (*Philosophie*). His *The Perennial Scope of Philosophy* (*Der philosophische Glaube*) (1948) again expounds his philosophical position. Jaspers's work as a philosopher is clearly informed by his early training as a psychiatrist, but the thought of both Søren Kierkegaard and Friedrich Nietzsche was also a major influence. Like Kierkegaard, Jaspers saw philosophy as a discipline related to the tensions and polarities of personal existence and not as a tool for achieving a total **system** of existence. Also like Kierkegaard, he took account of the irrational features of life but stressed the importance of reason, whereas Kierkegaard balances the use of reason in its proper place with his concept of "the **absurd**." In his philosophy (see *Philosophy*), Jaspers speaks of three areas of being: (1) a realm of what can be objectified—physical objects but also anything that can be conceptualized as an object, including human ideas; (2) the realm of personal existence that from the subjective perspective cannot be objectified; and (3) the transcendent area of **God** or being in itself. The individual can thus relate to the objectivity of the world and to transcendence. If the individual relates only to the world, then she or he loses the spiritual dimension of existence, available only through a relation to transcendence. The individual then has what Jaspers calls "life without existence" (see *Man in the Modern Age* [*Die geistige Situation der Zeit*] [1931]).

What arouses the individual to the possibility of relation to the transcendent is what Jaspers defines as the "limit situation" in which extreme situations such as sickness or death make the individual acutely aware of his or her powerlessness and conscious of being a **self**. In such an acute situation, the individual can encounter the **revelation** of transcendence subjectively and the call to become an authentic self. It is thus not the case that the individual looks for the transcendent as if it were an object to be discovered. Nor does the individual invent God. The subjectivity of approach to the transcendent is based on recognition of what is there already in the now. Since the individual in the Christian tradition has his or her roots in it, Jaspers thinks that the tradition needs to be made relevant to the present so that it can help the individual in his or her life of faith. Having said that, Jaspers sees revelation and transcendent **grace** as something present and universally accessible. They are not tied to one particular exclusive revelation. The individual there-

fore needs to respect the diversity of religions but relate to the transcendent through his or her own creed. Implied by all this is that the individual finds him- or herself in a human context there already but is free to choose with respect to the future.

It can be noted here that Jaspers makes a distinction between the discipline of philosophy, and those of **science** and scholarship, **art**, and religion. It is through science and scholarship that things are objectivized. Science and scholarship can uncover relative **truth** and deal with measurable objects but can say nothing about other things. Art, on the other hand, provokes an immediate **aesthetic** response in the subject, but no decision is called for about it. With religion, the problem is that each religion has its dogmatics and the tendency to claim to be the only right path to the transcendent. Yet this closes off the possible roads to the transcendent outside the religion in question. With philosophy, however, there is an openness in which one can think through the situations of limit; one can arrive at the self as an existing individual with possibilities calling for decision. The self can be defined as *Existenz*, having no fixed nature but possibilities that can be realized. The individual exists only in communication with other existences but can act in **freedom** and thus shape the self when it has faced up to it in limited situations, which, like the various other clues to the transcendent in the world, point to the transcendent. Philosophy is thus not an abstract thinking about things but rather the art of learning to die, coming to encounter the ultimate being of existence through the finiteness of life.

Unlike Martin Heidegger, Jaspers includes Kierkegaard's notion of the transcendent God (*see* **Eternity/Time**), and one reason for his pointing to Kierkegaard as significant for the modern era is that he sees Kierkegaard grappling as an individual with a historical crisis situation. Kierkegaard critiques his time, but his is a critique applicable to our time. With his emphasis on the cultural meaninglessness that has permeated everything and a turning away from system building, Kierkegaard drives the individual back to the discovery of personal existence, to personal **inwardness**. In his *Man in the Modern Age* (*Die geistige Situation der Zeit*), Jaspers refers approvingly to Kierkegaard. For Jaspers, although philosophy is a personal, free affair, it still engages in a **dialectic** between critique of the person's time and the fact of personal responsibility. Kierkegaard is thus the inescapable, essential corrective. In his *Philosophical Faith versus Revelation* (*Der philosophische Glaube angesichts der Offenbarung*) (1962), Jaspers refers to Kierkegaard many times, thus indicating the importance of Kierkegaard's thought to his own.

Yet like **Karl Barth**, Jaspers also distances himself from Kierkegaard. Already in *Man in the Modern Age*, Jaspers seems to favor the religiosity of Judge William and the life of community. His mixed reaction to Kierkegaard is probably best expressed in *Philosophy* in the section "Epilogue 1955." He tells us that he adopted Kierkegaard's concept of existence, but he did not become Kierkegaard's disciple because he could not go along with Kierkegaard's **Christianity**, his "Religiousness B," with its emphasis on utter self-denial (*see* **Resignation and Self-denial**) and martyrdom as essential to Christian truth. Neither could he accept Kierkegaard's emphasis on **faith** as the absurd. One can add to this, too, that Johannes Climacus's exclusive picture of the road to salvation as only through Jesus does not fit well with Jaspers's emphasis on there being other roads to the transcendent. Moreover, although Jaspers also agreed with Kierkegaard about the importance of **indirect communication** (thus leaving room for personal **religious** freedom), his own concept of "communication" seems to work against this and belongs with his preference for the world of Judge William.

JOHANNES CLIMACUS. Kierkegaard's unpublished manuscript, *Johannes Climacus, or De omnibus dubitandum est* (everything must be doubted; composed most probably in November 1842 and April 1843), is the draft of a piece written as the biography of one Johannes Climacus, a university student who was exploring the implications of René Descartes's method of doubt. Descartes attempted to meditate his way to **truth** via doubt in *The Meditations*, so Johannes Climacus attempts to follow Descartes's injunction to pursue the same path. The manuscript ends with a short discussion of "interest" (*see* **Seriousness/Interest**) or the consciousness that **doubt** presupposes. Consciousness (*see* **Self, The**) is viewed as the relation of opposition between **actuality** and ideality (*see* **ideas**). There can be no authentic **repetition** in actuality divorced from consciousness; similarly, ideality remains abstract, divorced from **existence**. It is essential for ideality to be brought into contact with actuality through the existing self. Kierkegaard is critical of Descartes's attempt to use doubt to establish the existence of the self, since it is already presupposed in the *cogito ergo sum*. G. W. F. **Hegel** is also similarly criticized for using Cartesian doubt as a way of starting philosophy in a presuppositionless manner. Also, as Judge William puts it in *Either/Or*, doubt is a "**despair** of thought." Doubt (like **irony**) cannot be overcome by thinking, since thought and knowledge increase the number of possibilities. It thus requires an act of will (*see* **imagination**), an

act of **faith**, to break away from doubt and decide for a particular option. *Johannes Climacus* can also be seen in relation to the young Kierkegaard's **Copenhagen University** lecturer and tutor **Hans Lassen Martensen**, who agreed with Descartes that philosophy should begin with doubt and stressed this in his lectures.

The name Johannes Climacus came from the name of a monk (ca. 570–649 A.D.), abbot of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai and author of the *Scala Paradisi* or *klimax tou paradeisou* (*The Ladder of Paradise,* usually called *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*). Kierkegaard took up the name "Climacus" (ladder) to stand for the logical sequence in *Johannes Climacus* and also as his pseudonym for ***Philosophical Fragments,*** to which the later ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** became the postscript.

JUDAISM. Kierkegaard has sometimes been seen as anti-Semitic, but this view misunderstands his approach to Judaism. For Kierkegaard, Judaism has **ethical-religious** authenticity in that it receives the Torah from an actually transcendent and eternal **God**. The Jewish people are also God's chosen people, walking with God and possessing paradigms of the religious life, such as Abraham, the father of **faith**. The problem of Judaism for Kierkegaard, however, is the strong ethical demand of the Torah, which finite humanity cannot meet. This leads, in Kierkegaard's view, to the Jewish people being caught in an unbearable tension between **sin** and the law. Like many other Christians of his time, Kierkegaard also therefore sees Judaism as a preparation for **Christianity**, in which the tension between sin and law is relieved through the advent of forgiveness through Christ. Yet when Kierkegaard comes in his later writings to emphasize the other-worldliness of Christianity and the Christian view of **eternity**, he contrasts Judaism negatively with Christianity. In particular, he rejects the idea of the immortality of the community of the Jewish people in their God-given land. He sees this as an emphasis on community and temporality that ignores the significance of the individual and omits the idea of an eternity of life with God after death. At his most extreme, and coupled with an attack on **marriage** in his final years, Kierkegaard comes almost to equate the temporal aspect of Judaism with materialism, as a preoccupation with physical continuity of the human race and its social well-being. Despite his negative critique, however, his view of Judaism is still to be seen as tempered by what he praises in it, while his negativity in his last years concerning "Christendom" (*see* **Christianity/Christendom**) and the Church establishment (*see* **Jakob**

Peter Mynster; **State Church**) is as abrasive (if not more so) as anything he says about Judaism or **paganism**.

JUDGE FOR YOURSELF. See FOR SELF-EXAMINATION.

– K –

KIERKEGAARD, HANS PETER (1815–1862). Kierkegaard's cousin. He went by the name of Peter. His father was Michael Andersen Kierkegaard, first cousin of Kierkegaard's father. Hans Peter was brother of another cousin of Søren Kierkegaard, **Julie Thomsen**. He was lame from birth down one side of his body and thus extremely disabled. Intellectually he was very lively and alert. He never married. Søren Kierkegaard visited him and wrote him letters. Hans Peter also visited Kierkegaard. Hans Peter may have been the inspiration for the chapter in Kierkegaard's **Works of Love** on compassion as a work of love.

KIERKEGAARD, MAREN KIRSTINE (1797–1822). The eldest (unmarried) child of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** and **Anne Sørensdatter Lund**. She was born on September 7, 1797, not five months after the marriage of the parents on April 26, 1797. She died on March 15, 1822, of an illness labeled "cramp," very possibly tetanus. Like her younger sisters, she was probably expected to do servants' work in the home.

KIERKEGAARD, MICHAEL PEDERSEN (1756–1838). Cloth merchant and one of the nine children (five sons and four daughters) of Peder Christensen Kierkegaard and Maren Andersdatter Steengaard. The Kierkegaards were poverty-ridden serf–tenant farmers on the church farm (*Kirke gaard*) in Sædding near Ringkøbing in Jutland. Michael left home initially to work as a shepherd boy for a relative in another parish. The terrible working conditions for such boys led Michael one day to curse **God**, an incident he never forgot and that occurred not long before an uncle (Niels Andersen Seding [1720–1796], who had moved to Copenhagen) sent to the family for an apprentice in his cloth goods business.

Michael thus went to Copenhagen in 1768, where he was apprenticed to his uncle. Later he became a journeyman, acquiring citizenship in 1780. Also in the 1780s, along with some other merchants, Michael extended the scope of his trade, which finally included the sale of silk and cotton from China and the East and West Indies. Michael became rich, doing so well that he was an independent businessman at age 24. In

1796, he also inherited his uncle's estate. The money he earned he invested in property, and for a decade until 1802, he rented property out in several different places in the city. In 1794, he married **Kirstine Nielsdatter Røyen**, sister of his business partner Mads Nielsen Røyen. After her death, he married (1797) **Anne Sørensdatter Lund**, by whom he had his seven children in the years 1797–1813 and of whom only Søren and his elder brother **Peter Christian** survived. Just before his second marriage, he was rich enough to retire, a retirement that was probably chiefly inspired by his acute **spiritual melancholy**.

Michael Kierkegaard passed on his business to Michael Andersen Kierkegaard and Christen Agerskov in April 1797 and bought (together with his partner Røyen) the properties of Slotskro and Petersborg in Hillerød, moving into Slotskro in 1803. The family moved back to Copenhagen (Østergade) in 1805. In 1809, Michael bought the house on Nytorv, where he lived for the rest of his days. He devoted the remainder of his life to the study of theology, philosophy, and aesthetics. Whereas he lost most of his immediate family, Michael Kierkegaard retained his material prosperity. His property had escaped the Copenhagen fires of 1794 and 1795 as well as the bombardment of the city in 1807. His monetary situation remained sound during the national bankruptcy of 1813 (*see* **Napoleonic Wars**). He died a wealthy man on August 9, 1838.

Kierkegaard's writings contain many references to his father through the dedications of the **eighteen upbuilding discourses** to him. His father also figures many times in his journals. Kierkegaard speaks of how shaken he was by his father's **death** and how he misses him. Michael Kierkegaard is also named in connection with **Jakob Peter Mynster** as Michael's pastor. Particularly he appears in connection with Kierkegaard's mention of his strict (but beneficial) religious upbringing and in connection with a family secret or secrets, "the great earthquake."

KIERKEGAARD, NICOLINE CHRISTINE (1799–1832). Second daughter of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** and **Anne Sørensdatter Lund**. She was born on October 25, 1799. On September 24, 1824, she married **Johan Christian Lund**, brother of **Henrik Ferdinand Lund** and the famous naturalist **Peter Wilhelm Lund**. She died on September 10, 1832, in connection with childbirth. Søren Kierkegaard mentions in correspondence her three sons Henrik, Michael Frederik, Carl Ferdinand, and a daughter, Sofie Vilhelmine. She gave birth to a stillborn son on August 30, 1832. Her husband was a wholesaler and draper in Copenhagen. Like her sister **Petrea**, Nicoline appears to have done servants' work in the home

and taken care of the needs of her brothers. Michael Kierkegaard clearly did not think the girls needed much education.

KIERKEGAARD, NIELS ANDREAS (1809–1833). Third son of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** and **Anne Sørensdatter Lund**. He was born on April 30, 1809. He went, like his brothers, to the **Borgerdyd School**. He seems to have had a natural inclination to study, but his father decided he had to be a businessman because his elder brother, **Peter Christian**, was studying for the ministry. Michael Kierkegaard seems, at least at that point, to have been of the opinion that the sons of the family should, as far as possible, have different careers. Niels Andreas felt thoroughly out of place in the business world, although he opened a shop in Copenhagen together with Christian Agerskov when he was 19, and in the same period he visited Hamburg looking for business connections. He then seems to have been inspired to try his fortune in America, armed with letters of recommendation from his relative **Peter Wilhelm Lund**.

Niels arrived at Boston on November 17, 1832, after a long and difficult journey. Despite a friendly reception, Niels seems to have been lacking in confidence in the new situation and did not meet with much practical success. He followed advice to try New York but found this even less helpful, so he returned to Boston to try again for a position there. Here, he met Mr. Frontin, a Dane, who encouraged him to help him run a shop he proposed to open in Boston. In the meantime, Niels heard from some other contacts he had made through his letters of recommendation. He went to Providence, Rhode Island, where he stayed with members of the Richmond family and apparently had prospects of help to obtain a good position. By February 1833, however, he was back in Boston, and we learn from a letter to his brother **Peter Christian Kierkegaard** that his efforts in Providence were unsuccessful and he was now trying to get a position in an office.

Niels then seems to have found an opening in Paterson, New Jersey, near New York. He claimed that without good initial funds, outstanding references, and an initial knowledge of English, it was extremely difficult to get a mercantile position. Yet he did at this time manage to get an excellent grasp of the English language in a very short time, and he also started to learn Spanish to help his efforts to get a position. Unhappily, by the time the summer came, Niels fell ill and was sick all summer, especially in August. A letter (September 17) to Peter Christian from an Episcopal pastor Ralph Williston warned that Niels Andreas was fatally ill. A week after the receipt of this letter, a letter from another source told of Niels's **death** from typhus fever on September 21, 1833. Pastor Williston

(in a second letter) reported that 200 people had attended Niels's funeral. Niels thus seems to have become popular and to have settled down well in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, with whom he had boarded. It is perhaps noteworthy that his final thoughts were especially directed to his mother rather than to both parents. He died unmarried.

KIERKEGAARD, PETER CHRISTIAN (1805–1888). Eldest son of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** and **Anne Sørensdatter Lund**. He was born on July 6, 1805 in Hillerød and from 1816 to 1822 attended the **Borgerdyd School** in Copenhagen. He then went to **Copenhagen University** to study theology and finished his studies there in 1826, after which he did tutoring until 1828 as a teacher of classical languages, especially Greek (which at one stage he taught also to his brother Søren). He also associated with Grundtvigians (*see* **Nikolai Grundtvig**). In 1828, his father paid for him to study abroad for two years. One of the places of study was Berlin. At the University of Göttingen, in 1829, he defended a licentiate dissertation on "The Concept and Morality of Lying." In the summer of 1830, Peter was in Paris, but he had to leave the city quickly to avoid the July **revolution**.

On his return to Denmark toward the end of 1830, he hoped to gain a professorial position but had to return to tutoring and teaching at his old school. Spells of bad health, coupled with a deep spiritual crisis and the effect of deaths at home, prevented him from being taken as a serious candidate for such a post. The fact of his Grundtvigianism was also against him in applications for such posts in Denmark. He also considered ordination as a possibility but withdrew from a parish offered to him in Jutland and instead tried to go back to academic life. In 1836, to qualify himself as a *privatdocent* (lecturer on a casual basis), he defended a Danish dissertation on Christian theology through the eyes of a Grundtvigian. He then lectured at Copenhagen University from 1836 to 1838 but became a pastor at Pedersborg with Kindertofte near Sorø in 1842 (until 1856) after a failed attempt with some friends to run a theological journal.

In 1849, he was elected to the upper house of the national governing Rigsdag. He was bishop of Aalborg from 1857 to 1875 and minister for ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction (Kultusminister) (*see* **State Church**) from 1867 to 1868. Peter had married Elise Marie Boisen on October 21, 1836, but she died before the birth of her child, on July 18, 1837. Later he married Sophie Henriette Glahn (December 6, 1841). She lived until June 1, 1881, but suffered from ill health for 38 years of their 39-year marriage. They had one (unmarried) son, Pascal Michael Poul (1842–1915). At age 70, Peter Christian resigned his bishopric, plagued

(to a much worse extent) by the same kind of spiritual trouble that had afflicted his father. He died in Aalborg on February 24, 1888. Apart from his dissertations and other published writings (also some unpublished diaries), he was also responsible for the publication of unpublished works and papers by his brother.

KIERKEGAARD, PETREA SEVERINE (1801–1834). Third daughter of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** and **Anne Sørensdatter Lund**. She was born on September 7, 1801. On October 11, 1828, she married **Henrik Ferdinand Lund**, brother of **Johan Christian Lund** and the famous naturalist **Peter Wilhelm Lund**. She died on December 29, 1834, in connection with childbirth. She had a daughter, Anna **Henriette Lund**, and three sons, Vilhelm Nicolai, Peter Christian, and Peter Severin. Henrik Lund was first bank assistant and then head of department in the National Bank. Like her sister **Nicoline**, Petrea appears to have done servants' work in the home and taken care of her brothers' needs. Søren Kierkegaard appears to have been especially fond of his sister Petrea.

KIERKEGAARD, SØREN MICHAEL (1807–1819). Second son of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** and **Anne Sørensdatter Lund**. He was born on March 23, 1807, and went to the **Borgerdyd School** in Copenhagen. He died aged 12 on September 14, 1819, as the result of a playground accident. During play he received an accidental blow on the head, which appears to have provoked some kind of a brain fever or sickness affecting the nervous system (described as "nerve sickness") and resulting in death.

KNOWLEDGE. In Kierkegaard's writings there are two terms translated as "knowledge" *Erkjendelsen* and *Viden*. Knowledge as *Erkjendelsen* tends to be connected with how one lives life. He discusses Socrates, for example, for whom the knowledge by which one can live is to be "recollected," since it is within one. Knowledge as *Viden*, scientific and scholarly knowledge, can be positive or negative, depending on the context. It is positive to know all kinds of scholarly and scientific matters in the course of one's profession, provided one's life is founded on a strong core of ethics. It is also positive not to think one has much knowledge (and consequently that one has control of everything). The individual needs to recognize the limits of finite human knowledge. Knowledge is negative if one amasses it without some kind of **ethical** or ethical-**religious** foundation to one's life. It is especially bad if one can reel off facts by the yard yet cannot navigate relationships with others

as a mature person. Finally, it is negative if one treats knowledge and certainty as superior to a **faith** relationship to **God**. Knowledge of God through the existential relationship of faith is the highest a human can hope to obtain. *See also* RECOLLECTION; SCIENCE; TRUTH.

KOFOED-HANSEN, HANS PETER (1813–1893). Danish pastor and author. He matriculated as a student from Roskilde in 1832 and graduated from the **university** in theology in 1837, the year in which he became a teacher at Odense Grammar School. In the years 1839–48, he went abroad on several occasions, to England, Germany, France, and Italy. In 1849, he became a pastor at Copenhagen's Church of Our Savior (Vor Frelsers Kirke) (he was inducted by **Eggert Tryde**). In 1850, he became pastor of Mary Church in Haderslev. Kofoed-Hansen went on to become a rural dean in 1854 and was pastor of Gammel Haderslev in 1855. On being removed by the Prussian government from a post he held in Flensborg in the 1860s, he moved in 1864 to Copenhagen, living privately until he again became pastor and rural dean in 1867 on Lolland. He retired in 1883 and lived until his death in Copenhagen.

Under the pseudonym Jean-Pierre, Kofoed-Hansen published in 1840 and 1842 some short novels in which he presented his psychological and religious observations. In Kofoed-Hansen Kierkegaard had an independent and understanding reader. In a review of Kierkegaard's ***Either/Or*** (1843) in *The Funen Quarterly for Literature and Criticism* (*Fyenske Fjerdingaarsskrift For Litteratur og Kritik*), Kofoed-Hansen engaged with Bishop **Jakob Peter Mynster** for the first time in the attack that would break out fully at the bishop's death. When Kierkegaard mounted his attack, Kofoed-Hansen remained silent until after Kierkegaard's death, when he wrote some significant articles: "Dr. S. Kierkegaard and Dr. H. Martensen" (1856) and "S. Kierkegaard against the Establishment" (*S. Kierkegaard mod det bestaaende*) (1857).

Kierkegaard's influence can be seen in Kofoed-Hansen's 1846 novel: *Flesh and Spirit or the Two Ways, History of a Soul* (*Kød og Aand eller de to Veje, en Sjælehistorie*). As Jean-Pierre, Kofoed-Hansen published aesthetic works (e.g., *Dead in Life* [*Død i Liv*] 1887) alongside which, like Kierkegaard, he published religious pieces, *The Sign from Heaven* (*Tegnet fra Himlen*) (1856) and *Here and Hereafter: Letter to One Deceased from M. Oriente* (*Her og Hisset: Breve til en afdød fra M. Oriente*) (1872). In 1864, he published a work that criticized the national liberals and democrats from the perspective of the "single individual" versus "the mass."

Kofoed-Hansen came to think that the people needed the reintroduction of the sacrament of confession to help their problems, and he published a work in its support in 1881. In 1884, when he had retired, he moved nearer and nearer to the Roman Catholic Church, his publications more and more reflecting an increasingly negative assessment of the Reformation. On July 7, 1887, he converted to Catholicism (*see* **Protestantism/Catholicism**) and then defended confession in an "Open Letter" to a Danish pastor (1889).

Kierkegaard's journals for 1844 contain a draft of an article concerning reviewers, an article that mentions, among others, an anonymous one in *The Funen Quarterly*—that is, Kofoed-Hansen's review of *Either/Or*, signed K-H. In his journals of 1850, Kierkegaard mentions a conversation with Kofoed-Hansen in which the latter told him about a person who said he had sinned against the Holy Spirit through betraying his conviction in a difficult moment. Kierkegaard pointed out that his pseudonym Anti-Climacus indicated that the **sin** against the Holy Spirit lay, rather, in not accepting that he was forgiven for the sin. In 1850, Kierkegaard mentions a Whitsun sermon by Kofoed-Hansen with a comment on the contrast between the dispersion of Babel and the unity of Whitsun. Kierkegaard was struck by its application to what he was trying to do in his work—namely, break up the mass so that the individual could find unity of personality (*see* **Crowd/Public; Self, The**). In 1850, Kierkegaard mentions that Kofoed-Hansen at the Service in Our Savior had chosen a favorite hymn of Kierkegaard's and that this especially fitted the fact that he had just arranged the publication of *On My Work as an Author* (*see* ***The Point of View for My Work as an Author***).

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LEAP. See ANXIETY; FAITH.

LEHMANN, PETER MARTIN ORLA (1810–1870). Danish politician. Son of German-born councillor M. C. G. Lehmann and a Danish mother, Lehmann was born in Copenhagen, where German was the main language spoken at home, and he received his initial education at St. Petri's German School. Despite this, he identified himself with the Danish culture. In 1827, he completed his education at the **Borgerdyd School** and graduated in law from **Copenhagen University** in 1833. Lehmann combined an appealing personality with oratorical talent that made itself felt

even in his student years, when politics became his essential interest, thanks to the inspiration of the French July **revolution**. His first public appearance was in 1832 when he led a student torch-lit procession to the home of Professor **Henrik Nikolaj Clausen**, giving a speech on behalf of the young liberal movement. Lehmann pursued the profession of advocate, hoping in vain to get a senior position in the courts. In particular, he was interested in public affairs and became, not surprisingly, a leading light of the liberal opposition through the **press**.

Together with **Jens Finsteen Giødwad,** he headed *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) and became one of the founders of *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) in 1839. In the Society for the Proper Use of Press Freedom (Selskabet for Trykkefrihedens rette Brug or Trykkefrihedsselskabet), he was a leading member, and on the death of Frederik VI, it was Lehmann who called together a student meeting at the Hotel d'Angleterre and got the students to approve an address to Christian VIII calling for a new democratic **constitution**. Lehmann himself led the deputation to the king. While many were enthusiastic for the liberal cause, it was Lehmann's oratorical talent that turned it into a live issue. In 1841, he gave a speech in Falster on the virtues of a democratic constitution, which led to his prosecution and imprisonment in 1842 for three months. Not surprisingly, this incident, giving Lehmann the glamour of the righteously persecuted hero, was of great assistance to the liberal cause. Lehmann similarly involved himself in agitation for other national causes, such as the support of the threatened position of the Danish language in Slesvig.

A speech at the meeting of Scandinavian students in Copenhagen in 1845 led to yet another prosecution, though this time he was acquitted. Lehmann was also involved in practical political activity. Already in 1840, he had become a Copenhagen city councillor. He followed this up by involvement with the work of the Provincial Consultative Assemblies (Provinsialstænder) in the Roskilde region, still aiming toward the goal of achieving a democratic constitution, though his attempt in 1846 to get the Roskilde assembly to support an appeal to the king for a democratic constitution failed. Also in 1846, his interest in improving the conditions of the Danish peasants led him to become a member of the first committee of the Society of the Friends of the Peasants (Bondevennernes Selskab). On the legal front, Lehmann was also successful, being appointed a high court judge in 1844. In 1848, on the death of Christian VIII, Lehmann (now with a wife and daughter) was again in the forefront of the appeal for a democratic constitution, giving the leading speech at the

famous Casino (*see* **Tivoli**) meeting on March 20. Two days later, after Frederik VII had agreed to a democratic constitution, Lehmann became minister without portfolio in the new government, where he had considerable input in the formulation of the new constitution. By November 1848, however, he resigned his post along with other colleagues who were unhappy about the political solution of the problem of Slesvig's situation. When he failed to get back immediately into politics after this, he devoted himself to his work as county councillor for Vejle in Jutland, to which post he was appointed in December 1848. He continued in this position for 13 years (apart from a short period in 1849 as a prisoner at Rendsborg, during the invasion of Jutland by the German troops).

In 1851, Lehmann was back in mainstream politics as member of parliament for Vejle, a post he resigned in 1853, only to become member of the upper parliamentary chamber in 1854, a position he retained for the rest of his life. On top of this he became a member of the government council. Like most politicians, Lehmann found it necessary to follow the path of compromise in the hope of achieving his goals by other political routes. In the 1850s, he played a leading part in the work of the upper chamber, though in this period relations between Lehmann and the Friends of the Peasants turned sour, and in 1860–61, Lehmann often created difficulties for the Hall government through his plain speaking. At this time, it seemed as if a number of Lehmann's political goals concerning Scandinavia were going to be realized, but the course of events after Frederik VII's death deeply disappointed his hopes in this direction. When, in December 1863, he resigned along with the rest of the Hall ministry, his physical health was no longer what it had been, and from 1864 he was a broken man, no longer of any political significance.

Apart from a reference to Orla Lehmann (journals of 1845–47) in a draft fragment about the Provincial Consultative Assemblies and votes, Kierkegaard's encounter with Lehmann was in the press. In 1836, Lehmann wrote a five-part article in *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) under the heading "Press Freedom Affair" (*Trykkefrihedssagen*), his main concern being the proposed tightening of the press censorship laws. Lehmann viewed the press as a remedy for the country's political stagnation by making the people politically aware. The young Kierkegaard attacked (in *Copenhagen's Flying Post* | *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*]) the final part of Lehmann's article through his article "The Morning Observations in *Kjøbenhavnsposten* No. 43." His chief objection was that Lehmann had indicated a previous state of cultural decay, whereas Kierkegaard saw the period in question as one of

aesthetic richness. Kierkegaard also could not resist making fun of Lehmann's oratorical style of writing. The liberal **Johannes Hage** replied to Kierkegaard's attack in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*), seeing it as lacking substantial political content. Lehmann also replied to Kierkegaard, chiefly pointing out that he was talking about the country's political situation. Kierkegaard, who had responded to Hage, replied to Lehmann's "Reply to Mr. B. of the Flying Post" with his article "To Mr. Orla Lehmann." Unlike Lehmann, who had been conciliatory in tone, Kierkegaard continued his style of witty rejoinder and had the last word by tripping his opponent up on details rather than talking about the political situation. Not surprisingly, this made it impossible for either Hage or Lehmann to succeed in serious attempts to discuss the country's political situation with him.

LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM (1729–1781). German thinker, historian, dramatist, and critic. He was born in Kamenz, Oberlausitz, the eldest son of an orthodox Lutheran pastor. In 1746, he was sent to Leipzig University to study theology but found classical philology, mathematics, and art history far more interesting. A theater in Leipzig also attracted his attention, so he devoted himself to learning everything about drama and the theater. Initially, his father permitted him to change his studies from theology to medicine, but when Lessing persisted in his devotion to the theater and even got into debt as a result, he ended up rejected by his father, penniless in Berlin in the home of a friend who managed to find him some short-term librarian and secretarial work. After this, Lessing had to live by whatever bits of literary work came his way. In 1749, he started with his friend a journal, *Contributions to the History and Reception of the Theater* (*Beiträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*). Later in 1751 he became editor of a serial section in *Berliner Zeitung*. He worked for this paper until 1755, his critical impartial reviews promoting the good standing of it. He also worked on a number of plays such as *The Misogynist* (*Der Misogyn*) (1748), *The Skeptic* (*Der Freigeist*) (1749), and *The Treasure* (*Der Schatz*) (1750). In 1751, he published his first collection of poems, *Lyrical Trifles* (*Lyrische Kleinigkeiten*), which was well received.

Lessing pursued his literary career despite periods of financial difficulty. In 1760, he accepted an offer made by the governor of Breslau to be government secretary, using his improved monetary situation to acquire a large library. It was at this time that he wrote his play *Minna von Barnhelm* and an aesthetic dissertation, *Laocoon: On the Limits of Poetry*

and Painting (*Laokoön, oder über die Grenzen der Malerie und Poesie*), the latter attempted to define the laws governing the literary and the visual arts and was acclaimed by leading literary figures such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). Lessing left his position in Breslau in 1765 after an illness and went back to Berlin, where he again had to live by his literary productions for a couple of years until he became consultant and drama critic for the new German theater in Hamburg. Here, he wrote his collection of papers on drama, *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (*Hamburgische Dramaturgie*) (1767–69).

In this period, Lessing experienced problems with his position at the theater, coupled with his involvement in literary feud and monetary loss, but he also became acquainted with a Mrs. Eva König, to whom he later became engaged. In 1769, Lessing accepted the post of librarian at the Duke of Brunswick's Library at Wolfenbüttel, a position that also gave him time to do research, publish material from the library, and complete his play *Emilia Galotti* (1772). After further periods of hardship, such as when he took responsibility for his deceased father's debt, Lessing finally married his fiancée in 1776, a short-lived joy, since she died of childbirth in 1778.

As librarian at Wolfenbüttel, Lessing, who had studied the works of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza, and the early Church fathers, published items from the library on theology. His strategy was to seek controversial material and try to secure it an impartial hearing through his presentation of it. In 1773, he started a series called *Contributions to Literature and History from the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur*); in 1774, he began publication of fragments from a large, unpublished, and extremely controversial manuscript given to him by the daughter of professor of Oriental languages Hermann Reimarus (1694–1768). The first fragment, *Fragment from an Unknown: Defense of the Rational Worshipper of God* (*Fragment eines Ungenannten. Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes*) contained Reimarus's declaration that Jesus had disappointed his followers through failing to bring about a political kingdom and that his followers had turned Jesus into a universal savior. Reimarus's Jesus was a teacher of a rational, practical religion, and Reimarus claimed that any who followed his practical ethical teaching could use the label "Christian" of themselves. In 1777, Lessing printed five more fragments and in connection with their publication stated that one could find a lot to reply to in all the objections and problems presented by the fragments, but even if one could not, the Christian

must remain unaffected because for the believer Christianity is "simply a fact." It is the Christianity that the Christian feels to be true and in which he feels blessed. Lessing also asserted that the letter was not the spirit, and the Bible was not religion. Christianity existed before the evangelists and apostles wrote the New Testament material. Thus, the entire truth of the Christian religion could not depend on it. Lessing's comments provoked a strong reaction from orthodox Christians such as pastor Johann Melchior Göze in Hamburg. J. D. Schumann of Hanover replied to Lessing in a pamphlet that restated traditional arguments about miracles and prophecy as proving Christian truth.

This pamphlet caused Lessing to write his famous essay "On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power" (*Uber den Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft*) (1777), which led his opponents to say Lessing was attacking Christianity through publishing the fragments. In this essay, Lessing, following Leibniz, makes a distinction between necessary truths that cannot be otherwise and contingent or historical truths that can be otherwise. Lessing also argues that there is a difference between personal, empirical experience and historical report. If one experiences a miracle-performing religious leader, one can believe anything he says that does not gainsay one's previous indisputable experience and knowledge. If present followers of such a leader do miracles, one can accept this as evidence of the divine. Secondhand historical testimony cannot, however, be accepted as absolutely certain. The truths of history can thus never be translated into the category of necessary truths: "accidental truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason." If one does have sufficient historical evidence to show that, for example, Jesus rose from the dead, one will not automatically be obliged to accept the metaphysical claim that Jesus was of one substance with God the Father. The claim that particular writers are inspired is also a historical assertion. Lessing ends his essay with the statement that the teachings of Christ stand on their own value and that the source does not matter.

In 1778, Lessing published more, and equally controversial, material from the Reimarus manuscript, but as a result of the clerical outcry against Lessing, the Duke of Brunswick now intervened, putting all Lessing's future writings under censorship. Lessing's response was to write a theological play, *Nathan the Wise* (*Nathan der Weise*) (1779), in which he attempts to tell the public indirectly his view on the matter of divinely revealed truth and asks for the toleration of all religions. Through the play, Lessing argues that the only absolute is the universal "natural religion" of humanity as a whole. What is required is not dogma but sincerity, toler-

ance, and brotherly love. For Lessing, therefore, Christianity is simple ethical teaching about love to one's neighbor, and he moved eventually to a theological position in which God is a benevolent destiny unwinding within the course of nature and history. At the same time, he thought the quest for truth is something that never can be finished. Just before his death, his approval of Spinoza's philosophy did much to revive interest in that philosopher. In 1780, Lessing wrote *The Education of the Human Race* (*Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*), in which he attacked religious dogmatism as destructive of true religion. He died of a stroke in Brunswick the following year.

Kierkegaard expressed his great appreciation of Lessing's clear and impartial views on important questions of all kinds. In ***Either/Or***, Lessing is praised for his *Laokoön*. In ***Fear and Trembling***, Lessing is thanked for what he says about **Christianity** and poetic productions. Most of all, Lessing is highly praised in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** for, among other things, what he says about historical and eternal **truth** (*see also* **Eternity/Time**) in his essay "On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power." In his later years, however, Kierkegaard was more critical of Lessing, especially concerning one of the Wolfenbüttel fragments, *On the Intentions of Jesus and His Disciples* (*Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger*) (1778), in which Reimarus presents Jesus as a fanatical Jewish peasant of limited intelligence with no intention of establishing a worldwide church linked to his death and resurrection. Despite admiration of Lessing's bold treatment of the material, Kierkegaard thinks Lessing ridicules Christianity without being sufficiently developed in **dialectic** to know what he is doing. Finally, Kierkegaard, who previously had praised Lessing (in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*) for his emphasis on the importance of striving infinitely after the uncompletable task of finding truth, in his later Journals criticized Lessing for this because of the danger of the striving for truth being treated as more important than the truth itself.

LEVIN, ISRAEL SALOMON (1810–1883). Danish language and literature specialist. Born in Randers, his father was a merchant. Levin became a student in 1829, but, since he never finished his degree, he never qualified or got a permanent position. In 1863, when he could have had a position as an untenured tutor in Nordic philology, he withdrew his application when he found he was required to complete his university examination. He lived by translating novels, and he became a literary critic for the daily **press**. In the period 1841–42, he edited the literary critical

section of the paper *The Day* (*Dagen*). Apart from his primary area of literary specialization (covering the period from Christian III to modern times), Levin was interested in, and wrote about, a number of practical matters, such as the position of **women** servants and the fate of fallen women. A great number of his writings are polemics against opponents on linguistic and literary matters. For many years he was a boisterous element in the Society for the Promotion of Danish Literature (Samfundet til den danske Litteraturs Fremme) and the **Student Association**, where his sharp wit and exciting powers of discussion were much appreciated. He published editions of **Ludvig Holberg**'s works and the Danish poet Johan Wessel's poetry; he also contributed a volume to an edition of the Danish historian Saxo.

Levin's most important work was his *Danish Phonetics and Danish Gender* (*Dansk Lydlære og dansk Kønslære*) (1844), intended as the first part of a never-finished grammatical work. He worked for many years on a Danish dictionary (from 1858, he received a state scholarship for the task and for a long time a free place of residence at Frederiksberg Palace), but nothing ever came of it, although the thousands of notes he made became an important part of the subsequent *Dictionary of the Danish Language* (*Ordbog over det danske Sprog*). He married Hilda Køhne in 1865, but the marriage was dissolved. Levin seems to have been extremely polemical by nature, always attacking something or somebody, and not terribly constructively, even though he was extremely knowledgeable and his criticism was insightful at times. In his final years (from 1870), Levin published almost nothing. He died in Copenhagen.

In the 1840s, Levin did secretarial work for Kierkegaard. He assisted Kierkegaard with the preparation of final manuscript copy for the printer, especially of Kierkegaard's pseudonymous works. He also read and corrected proofs for Kierkegaard. Kierkegaard, in a draft for the beginning of ***Stages on Life's Way***, has a brief allusion to Levin's invitation in 1845 to about 130 people to give him samples of handwriting for his *Album of Contemporary Men and Women's Handwriting* (*Album af nulevende danske Mænds og Qvinders Haandskrifter*) (1846) for exercising the young in reading handwriting. Kierkegaard owned this book, also *Neologisms and the Foreign Words* (*Neologerne og de fremmede Ord*) (1849) and *En Brevvexling* (*An Exchange of Letters*) (1850). In 1846, Kierkegaard mentions Levin in his journals as an example of someone not in terribly good standing among people. One or two of Kierkegaard's contemporaries report Levin's observations about Kierkegaard, though it is made clear that his judgments about Kierkegaard are not to be ac-

cepted without some reservations. Among other things, Levin tells how Kierkegaard was moved to tears by the New Testament and that it was hard to keep up with Kierkegaard when the latter was dictating to him. He reports that Kierkegaard was extremely afraid of fire, that he ate fine food and wines, and (most irritating to Levin) when it came to coffee time, he made Levin choose a cup and saucer out of 50 sets and then asked him why he made the choice he did.

LIND, PETER ENGEL (1814–1903). Bishop of Aalborg. Lind was born in Christianshavn, Copenhagen, and studied theology at **Copenhagen University** (1831–1837). Lind was a schoolmate of Kierkegaard's at the **Borgerdyd School** as well as a fellow student at the university. In 1839, he received his licentiate degree in theology for a dissertation on celibacy in the early Church. In 1840, he had a post as an untenured tutor at the university where he gave lectures. Lind traveled abroad (1843–44), studying foreign prison systems. In 1844, he became pastor of the reformatory at Christianshavn and also of the prison section of the Kastellet fortress. He held these positions until 1855, when he became pastor for Sæby and Hallenslev. In 1875, he became bishop of Aalborg after Kierkegaard's brother, **Peter Christian**, resigned his bishopric in 1888, when he retired to Copenhagen, where he died. He received an honorary doctorate in 1879. Lind published some theological works, especially *Christianity's Influence on the Social Situation from Its Founding to Justinian* (*Christendommens Indflydelse paa den sociale Forfatning fra dens Stiftelse til Justinian*) (1852), and a continuation volume up to the time of Charlemagne (1858). He also wrote some novels and contributed articles to a number of papers and periodicals. He was coeditor of a paper *The Citizen's Friend* (*Borgervennen*) (1850–54) and of *The Evangelical Church in Denmark Weekly* (*Ugeskrift for den evangeliske Kirke i Danmark*) (1853–54).

On December 4, 1834, Lind wrote an article, "In Defense of Woman's Higher Origin" for *Copenhagen's Flying Post* (*Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*). At that time, **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** had replaced **Adam Oehlenschläger** as the arbiter of literary style, especially among the young, so an article in Heiberg's paper was an achievement to be wished for. Since the idea of **women**'s emancipation was one of the French revolutionary ideals of the period, it is not surprising that he should have chosen this topic. Feelings about women's emancipation (*see* **Equality; Fibiger, Mathilde**) were mixed in Copenhagen, and in his article Lind is ironic and comic at their expense. It is not clear whether Lind directly provoked

Kierkegaard's follow-up article on women, "Another Defense of Woman's Great Abilities" in *Copenhagen's Flying Post* (December 17, 1834), but it was Kierkegaard's pseudonymous literary debut. His article is more witty and humorous than Lind's, but women scarcely receive better treatment at his hands. In particular, he makes comic reference to a series of introductory lectures on philosophy offered to men and women by Heiberg in the spring of 1833.

In 1847, Kierkegaard writes an ironic journal entry on Pastor Lind's activity as pastor of the reformatory at Christianshavn, seeing his position as highly suitable for one with the instinct for reforming people. In 1850, Kierkegaard again makes a comment on Lind, saying that the latter is going to hold lectures on "Proofs of the Truth of Christianity" for the Society for the Culture of Artisans (Haandværker-Dannelses-Forening). Kierkegaard considers that Lind has no idea what he is doing, because in such a situation, the speaker puts himself in a subordinate role to the gathering and, in this instance, puts **Christianity** on the defense. Kierkegaard considers that pastors should keep to speaking with **authority** from the pulpit.

LINDBERG, JAKOB CHRISTIAN (1797–1857). Danish theologian and orientalist. Lindberg was born in Ribe, Jutland, and died in Lille Lyndby, Zealand. He took up the study of theology at the **university** in 1815 but at the same time embarked on the study of Oriental languages, numismatics, and epigraphy. He took his degree in theology in 1822, after which he published a Hebrew grammar (1822), which appeared in a number of Danish and Swedish editions. He also published some Hebrew commentaries. In 1822, Lindberg had been appointed teaching assistant at the Metropolitan School in Copenhagen. His publications, especially ones on numismatic topics, and including his doctoral thesis (1828), were well received abroad as well as in Denmark. Yet Lindberg had always been profoundly engaged with **Christianity** from his youth upward, and this was dominant in his life. He became closely involved with **Nikolai Grundtvig** and his ideas, and he was active with Grundtvig and **Andreas Rudelbach** in the *Theological Monthly* (*Theologisk Maanedskrift*), a journal started in 1825. Lindberg engaged in its pages in polemic against a number of clergy influenced by Rationalism. In 1829, he attacked professor **Henrik N. Clausen** in an article "Is Dr. Prof. H.N. Clausen an Honest Teacher in the Christian Church?" (*Er Dr. Prof. H. N. Clausen en ærlig Lærer i den kristne Kirke?*). The article immediately attracted the attention of the **press** censor, and he was suspended

from his post at the Metropolitan School pending a court case. Lindberg was acquitted on January 13, 1830, after which he applied for an honorable discharge from his post at the school.

For the next 14 years, Lindberg lived as a private person in Copenhagen, engaged in language studies (in 1835 he published an analytical Hebrew-Greek dictionary) and numismatics and still polemicizing against pastors on a number of Christian themes. He also held regular religious meetings in his home. In 1844, Lindberg was appointed pastor of the parish of Tingsted on Falster, where, in 1853, he completed a new translation of the Bible (*Bibelen eller den christne Kirkes hellige Skrift*), which he had started to publish in 1837. In the latter part of his life, Lindberg became an ardent supporter of democracy (*see* **constitution**), and in 1853, he became a member of parliament until 1855 and then a member of the government council until his death.

It has been suggested that the three revivalists appearing in Kierkegaard's draft student play, ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***, are **Peter Christian Kierkegaard**, Andreas Rudelbach, and Lindberg. The reference to "persecution" may well be to the fact that the **state church** authorities tried to put a stop to the religious meetings in Lindberg's home. Kierkegaard mentions Lindberg a number of times in the journals of his early years. In 1835, he is critical of Lindberg and Grundtvig concerning the Grundtvigian "matchless discovery." He points out that if Christ's words are to be taken as the original solid basis for **faith**, then it makes more sense to use the words of institution at the Last Supper and not the words of the later Apostles' Creed. Critical comment about Grundtvig and Lindberg and the Grundtvigian standpoint occurs again in 1846, in the first part of ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***. Kierkegaard made student notes in his journals on Lindberg's scholarly works, however, and possessed three of Lindberg's grammatical and textual Hebrew works. He also owned some of Lindberg's published Bible translation.

LIUNGE, ANDREAS PETER (1798–1879). Liunge initially had commercial and legal training but went into the literary arena, where he published several papers, such as "The Harp" (*Harpen*) (1820–24) and the "Literature, Art and Theater Paper" (*Litteratur-, Kunst- og Theaterblad*) (1821–24). In 1827, he began *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) together with Ove Thomsen (1801–62). This paper aimed to depict current Copenhagen news and events overseas. Initially it was literary in character and came out twice a week, acting as an opposition paper

to **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**'s *Copenhagen's Flying Post* (*Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*). In 1835, **Orla Lehmann** and **Jens Finsteen Giødwad** made an agreement for the regular publication of political articles, thus turning *The Copenhagen Post* into the first (liberal) opposition newspaper. In 1837, Liunge retired to the role of only publisher of the paper, with Giødwad becoming editor until 1839. However, prior to that period, Lehmann and Giødwad had been the real power behind the throne. Liunge gave up acting as publisher in 1845. The paper finally closed in 1859. Liunge was cordially hated by Johan Heiberg.

Kierkegaard mocks Liunge in his first polemical newspaper article against Lehmann. Liunge also took the official blame for the paper's infringement of the current **press** laws, being fined and censured in 1837. In 1839, Johan Peter Grüne (1805–78) took over as editor from Giødwad. In 1844, Liunge became treasurer and accountant of an establishment for hydrotherapy and sea bathing at Klampenborg, north of Copenhagen. Although he had been chief initiator of the venture, he was involved in a number of disputes about it, being fired at one point and then reinstated. He retained his post until two years before his death. In January 1849, he again tried his hand at publishing, this time of a daily paper called *Danmark*, of which only a few issues appeared.

LORDSDAY, RIDE IN THE. A gathering of the lords spiritual and temporal, together with the king, to pass judgments and confer on matters of state. In Kierkegaard's time, this ceremonial was retained in the opening of the High Court at the City Hall and Court House, which was next to the Kierkegaard home on Nytorv. Kierkegaard's niece, **Henriette Lund**, in her book *Recollections from Home* (*Erindringer fra Hjemmet*), describes viewing the ceremony from her grandparents' house. Two heralds in velvet cloaks on horseback were accompanied by horseguards, the herald proclaiming the opening of the High Court the next day. The king drove to the opening of the High Court in a golden coach, accompanied by a stately procession. Kierkegaard in his authorship refers to "blowing in the Lordsday" (i.e., the activity of the herald in blowing a trumpet before the proclamation) and to "riding the Lordsday in" (*at ride Herredage ind*) (the opening procession), to indicate a pomp and circumstance in connection with activity that can seem, or is, ridiculous and unnecessary.

LOVE. Danish has two terms for love: *Elskov* and *Kærlighed*, the former being erotic love and the latter nonerotic love, though the one does not

necessarily exclude the other. For Kierkegaard, since erotic love necessarily has its origin in mutual attraction and the emotions, nonerotic love is seen as safeguarding what was begun on the basis of the erotic. Nonerotic love is thus non-self-regarding love for another person or object. In ***Philosophical Fragments***, Johannes Climacus speaks of the **paradox** of erotic love, in which natural self-love or self-centeredness awakens to the need for another. Self-love is thus seen as the initial natural (i.e., instinctual) basis of all love, and it can either remain the governing factor in human relationships or be destroyed by love's further development. That is, initial desire of the other for one's self can stay that way or become love of the other for the other's sake.

In his discussion of the life of the pleasure-seeking **aesthete**, the **ethical** citizen, and the person of **religious** dedication, Kierkegaard delineates how love can function in practice. In ***Either/Or,*** while the unreflective aesthete (Don Juan) is shown as following instinctual passion, Johannes the Seducer is one who has chosen to live a totally self-regarding life. For Judge William, on the other hand, the erotic passions must be subordinated to the ideal of duty. While it is perfectly consistent with the Christian command of neighbor love that one have the good things of this world, it must never be at the expense of one's neighbor. For the religiously dedicated person, such as the one described as taking **Christianity** seriously in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript,*** temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) is to be renounced in a radical dying to the **self** and to the world. This still does not mean that one does not participate in the world and its relationships, but one is to do so in a far more unselfish manner. In ***Works of Love***, where Kierkegaard explores the second New Testament commandment concerning love of neighbor, he sees loving the neighbor as one's self as being the situation in which the love of self is replaced by love of neighbor as if the neighbor were one's self. This puts an end to self-love in that the neighbor is now the object of the love one previously directed to one's self. This also causes one to love one's self in the right way, in that the exercise of loving one's neighbor as one's self has (ideally) caused one to root out self-love. In Kierkegaard's thought, then, perfect love is thus totally altruistic and a far cry from the initial self-love with which the natural human starts out in life.

LUND, ANNE SØRENSDATTER (1768–1834). Second wife of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard**. Anne Lund was a daughter of tenant farmer Søren Jensen Lund of Brandlund in Jutland. Søren Lund was married to Maren Larsdatter, and Anne was one of six children, two sons and four

daughters. Her father seems to have supplemented the family income for a time by taking on the duties of parish clerk and schoolteacher. Anne first went into service in Øster Høgild, in the home of Jutland cloth merchant Janus Pallesen Thorning. She was confirmed in 1786 and received the character reference of being "honest, faithful and hard-working." She then moved to Copenhagen, where her eldest brother, Lars, was already working. She was a servant first to Birgitte Justesen Faurholt for six and a half years, until Birgitte married her brother Lars in 1789. After this, she took service in the home of cloth merchant Mads Røyen (possibly because Janus Thorning knew the Røyen family as neighbors in Øster Høgild).

On the marriage of **Kirstine Røyen** to Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard in 1794, Anne took service in the Kierkegaard home. She married Michael Kierkegaard on April 26, 1797, a year after the death of his first wife on March 23, 1796, from pneumonia. Since their first child, **Maren Kirstine**, was born on September 7 that year, it would appear that Michael had to marry Anne because of the pregnancy. From his first attempt at a marriage settlement, it would appear initially as if he thought they might be separated or divorced at some point, but the marriage appears to have been very happy. Five years later Michael had drawn up a will with good provision for his wife, and the epitaph he put on her grave indicates great affection.

Anne Kierkegaard appears to have been a loving and motherly woman of cheerful disposition, totally absorbed in looking after her family. Although she never learned to write, she could read, and there is nothing odd in the fact that she continued to serve the family. A combination of motherly instinct, her previous occupation, and what was considered normal for Jutland peasant families would lead her to retain elements of her previous service role. Although a rich man, Michael Kierkegaard regularly did the shopping, while his daughters were expected to do the work of servants. Despite Michael Kierkegaard's rise to wealth, the family retained their peasant origins and culture. On July 31, 1834, Anne Kierkegaard died after five weeks of painful sickness. She is described as having died of "nerve fever," an old name for typhus. Kierkegaard does not mention his mother directly in the authorship, but his mother's words and a happy childhood anecdote appear in his writings. When his mother died, Kierkegaard was heartbroken.

LUND, HENRIETTE (1829–1909). Daughter of Kierkegaard's sister, **Petrea Severine**, and **Henrik Ferdinand Lund**. She was author of *My Relationship to Her* (*Mit Forhold til Hende*) (1904), on Kierkegaard and

Regina Olsen, and *Recollections from Home (Erindringer fra Hjemmet)* (1909), a significant source book concerning Kierkegaard's family life. Kierkegaard kept close relations with his young nieces and nephews, as can be seen from his letters. Henriette was sent to school (as opposed to receiving home tutoring) through Kierkegaard's influence.

LUND, **HENRIK FERDINAND (1803–1875)**. Bank assistant, later head of the loan department at the National Bank. He became the custodian of Kierkegaard's assets. He was married to Kierkegaard's sister **Petrea Severine** and his brother was **Johan Christian Lund** and the famous naturalist **Peter Wilhelm Lund**. He may possibly be the model for Kierkegaard's Judge William.

LUND, **HENRIK SIGVARD (1825–1889)**. A son of Kierkegaard's sister **Nicoline Christine**. Henrik was a physician and gentleman farmer. He was an intern at **Frederik's Hospital** during Kierkegaard's final sickness there. He made an impassioned speech at Kierkegaard's burial at **Assistens Cemetery**, attacking the established church.

LUND, **JOHAN CHRISTIAN (1799–1875)**. Grocer and clothier in Copenhagen. He was married to Kierkegaard's sister **Nicoline Christine**. Kierkegaard notes in his journals of 1849 that Christian, as his brother-in-law was called, teased him as a boy for having to wear old-fashioned clothes. In 1850, Kierkegaard not too seriously expresses the fear that his brother **Peter Christian** may become Christian's ideal in his involvement with many matters. *See also* LUND, HENRIK FERDINAND.

LUND, **PETER WILHELM (1801–1880)**. Famous Danish naturalist, born in Copenhagen to silk merchant and draper Henrik Hansen Lund. Peter Lund graduated from the **Borgerdyd School** in Copenhagen in 1818 and passed the philosophy exam at **Copenhagen University** the following year, after which he began to study medicine. He gave this up four years later to study natural history, a subject that had interested him at school. He wrote two successful essays in response to prize questions, one set by the university and the other by the Academy of the Sciences (Videnskabernes Selskab) in 1824. The subjects were the system of blood vessels in the ten-legged crayfish and the latest results achieved in physiology through vivisection. Lund won both prizes, and the latter essay was translated into German and Italian, thus establishing his name abroad. Lund, however, showed signs of the beginnings of tuberculosis,

and he was advised to go to a warmer climate. This led him to go to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in September 1825, where he remained until January 1829.

Lund spent his time carrying out meteorological investigations for the Academy of the Sciences. He also undertook natural history expeditions, sending collections of insects and birds back to Denmark. He returned to Copenhagen in 1829, working at the Museum of Natural History, where he produced a number of essays with the results of his scientific observations in Brazil. He was awarded an honorary doctorate by Kiel University for a dissertation on Brazilian finches. In the winter of 1829, Lund went to Italy, again for health reasons, on a botanical expedition in Sicily. News of his mother's death saddened him so much that he felt he could never live permanently in Denmark again. When his current travels were over, he returned to Copenhagen in July 1831, only to leave in October of that year. He arrived in Rio in January 1833. There he became acquainted with a German botanist, with whom he went on a number of expeditions studying plants. In 1833, they undertook a large botanical expedition to the heart of Brazil.

When they reached Curvelo in October, Lund met a Dane, Peter Claussen, who drew his attention to the limestone caves in the area, which contained prehistoric animal remains. This contact aroused Lund's interest in paleontology, but it was not until 1835 that he was able to return to Curvelo. Here, he studied the caves for a year and a half, before moving to the town of Lagoa Santa, where there were many caves, and here he remained until his death. His investigation of nearly a thousand caves led to many important paleontological discoveries and scientific reports. Since he was also a pupil of the famous Frenchman Georges C. L. Cuvier, he applied Cuvier's theory of the fixity of species and natural catastrophe to his paleontological findings. His large collection of material was sent to Copenhagen, where, after a number of years neglect, they eventually became the basis of Copenhagen's present Zoological Museum and of the research of those after him. After 1844, Lund suddenly stopped working and sank into a profound depression. In his final years, he had extremely poor mental and physical health, and death came as a release. He was buried in Lagoa Santa. Lund's is a great name in paleontology, but mystery surrounds his sudden cessation from work. Danish author Henrik Stangerup in 1981 posited the theory that Lund found his paleontological discoveries contradicted his acceptance of the biblical divine plan of creation.

Among Kierkegaard's journals and papers from 1835 is a letter to Peter Lund, which may or may not have been actually intended to be

sent. It refers to Kierkegaard's interest on hearing Lund speak in Copenhagen about his discoveries in Brazil and leads on to Kierkegaard's interest in the sciences and speculation about his own choice of career. He also refers to one of Lund's scientific reviews (1837), and in 1850, Kierkegaard speaks of the likeness between his life and Lund's: Lund investigating antediluvian fossils and Kierkegaard investigating Christian concepts. *See also* LUND, HENRIK FERDINAND; LUND JOHAN CHRISTIAN.

LYNGBYE, HANS CHRISTIAN (1782–1837). Lyngbye was born at Blenstrup in Jutland. His father was a schoolmaster and then a parish clerk. After an education at Aalborg Cathedral School, Lyngbye became a student in 1802, passing the philology and philosophy exams in 1803, after which he became a private tutor in Vendsyssel, where he also started to study botany. In 1812, he finished studies for his degree in theology, again becoming a private tutor on the Hofmansgave estate by the sea on the recommendation of the botanist Jens Wilken Hornemann. The owner of this estate, Niels Hofman-Bang, was a keen botanist with a special interest in seaweeds, and he appointed Lyngbye as tutor particularly because of his botanical interest. Lyngbye thus also became keenly interested in seaweeds. In 1816, **Copenhagen University** put up as a topic for a prize essay a systematic overview of all the seaweeds found in Denmark. Lyngbye, who had in 1816 gone on a botany trip with Hofman-Bang to collect seaweeds in Norway, wrote an essay that went beyond the requirements of the question and won the prize in 1817, the year in which he went on a similar botanical mission to the Faroes. In 1818, he won the Academy of the Sciences (Videnskabernes Selskab) silver medal for a work on whales and whale catching in the Faroes, after which he published in 1819 (with support from royal funds) his famous illustrated work on seaweeds.

In 1819, Lyngbye became pastor for Gesing and Nørager, where he also got married. The pastorate was a poor one, however, which made it difficult for him to do botanical research. Luckily his botanical patrons helped him become a member of the Academy of the Sciences in 1826 and helped him get the better pastorate of Søborg and Gilleleje in 1827. There he had ample opportunity for further research. In 1836, he was encouraged to submit a work for a doctorate, and he wrote a botanical and zoological work in which he attempted to divide seaweeds into categories according to their depth of growth. Unfortunately a carrier mislaid his manuscript, and by the time his work was recovered it was too late

for the doctorate. Lyngbye died on May 18, 1837, at Søborg. Kierkegaard visited Lyngbye at Søborg (*see* **Søborg Lake**) in 1835. He also went on a little tour to Sweden with Lyngbye's cousin, where he collected a few plants that Lyngbye later dried and wrapped in paper for him.

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MADVIG, JOHAN NICOLAI (1804–1886). Danish philologist and politician, at one period minister of church and education. Madvig was born in Svaneke and died in Copenhagen. The Madvig home was a poor one, since Madvig's father had to support a large family on a town clerk's salary. After a poor primary education, Madvig, in 1817, a year after his father's death, was enabled to continue his studies through private support. In 1820, he matriculated from Frederiksborg Grammar School to **Copenhagen University** with an excellent grade. He studied classical philology so well that he was able to take his examination with a top grade and in 1826 to defend a doctoral thesis. In 1828, he received a doctorate for a thesis on Cicero, and his scholarly work demonstrated a complete mastery of modern text critical methods. The same year he was appointed to a lectureship in classical philology at the university and, in 1829, became special professor in philology, especially Latin. Madvig retained this post until 1848 along with (from 1832) the position of university librarian. He edited the periodical *The Literature Monthly* (*Maanedskrift for Litteratur*) from its beginning in 1829; in 1833, he became a member of the Academy of the Sciences (Videnskabernes Selskab) and the society's president from 1867 until his death. He worked intensively and productively as an academic, lecturing chiefly on textual criticism and interpretation. He published classical critical commentaries, especially on Cicero, and in 1841 a Latin grammar, followed in 1846 by a Greek syntax. Both were landmarks in their field. Madvig was also active concerning educational reform, and from 1845 to 1848 he was inspector for the schools where the 1844 teaching reform was to be tried out.

In November 1848, Madvig became minister of church and education as a moderate liberal. He remained in the government until December 1851, having made a solid contribution to the various problems that came his way. After this, he returned to Copenhagen University as professor in classical philology and inspector of the grammar schools, although he still retained some contact with political life. In 1853, he was elected (in Copenhagen) to the parliament, resigning in 1854 after a clash with **Anders Ørsted** only to return in 1855. In 1874, he resigned

permanently because of his failing eyesight. At the university's 400 Years Jubilee in 1879, he was the university's representative, regarded as Denmark's greatest scholar and the most outstanding philologist of his time. Shortly after this, he resigned his professorship but still continued his work as a scholar and also held important administrative positions, until his death.

Kierkegaard praises Madvig's scholarship in his journals, for example, in 1844. Later, in 1849, he makes mention that he went to see Madvig (then minister for church and education). Kierkegaard wished to test the waters about the possibility of some pastoral or theological teaching post, but Madvig was out. Since Kierkegaard had also tried to see **Jakob Peter Mynster** on the same errand but had experienced an extremely discouraging reception, he writes in his journals that he understands it to mean that divine Governance (*see* **God**) did not wish him to pursue this direction. In 1851, Kierkegaard tells us that Madvig became very strange toward him, and he ascribes it to Mynster's displeasure with Kierkegaard at this point.

MAGISTRATE'S MOONLIGHT. In Kierkegaard's time, street lighting in Copenhagen was controlled by the Copenhagen city magistracy. The regulations said that street lamps must not be lit on nights when the moon was full (as indicated by the almanac). Not surprisingly, given the large number of nights when the moon was full but not visible because of clouds, city residents had to make their way through the streets in darkness, a state of affairs complained about bitterly in the Copenhagen paper *The Policeman's Friend* (Politivennen) (e.g., number 1145, December 9, 1837). Kierkegaard uses the phrase (in ***The Book on Adler***) to indicate something allegedly real that lacks substance. As late as 1857, Copenhagen used about 2,000 oil lamps for street lighting, though plans were afoot to move from oil to gas.

MARRIAGE. According to Kierkegaard, since humans have potentiality for eternal life (*see* **Self, The**), tension is experienced between the conflicting demands of biological and spiritual life. Initially this is not apparent in the world of Judge William in ***Either/Or***, since marriage forms the essential presupposition for human community both physically and socially. It secures the passion of first **love** in a lasting relationship and helps form the spiritual fabric of society, since the institution of marriage is in a Christian context. Judge William (as did many of Kierkegaard's contemporaries) sees marriage as a duty, unless there are exceptional circumstances that hinder it. Yet even though it is therefore possible to

make sexuality a task, an underlying problem is caused by the very nature of temporality. Judge William can live unselfishly and encourage his children to do likewise, but he cannot avoid the intrinsic egocentric orientation attached to the fact of family and community. Judge William must make his family his prior commitment, just as politicians must ideally be committed first and foremost to the interests of their own country. The judge could not avoid paying for his **children's** education to give food to other starving children; the politician cannot follow a policy that would be morally to the good of another country if it would disadvantage his own. The human **animal**, striving to actualize the perfection of divine life, must therefore encounter struggle and conflict, not just through fighting personal selfishness but also in the experience of the instinct to preserve race or community.

Kierkegaard thus sees the realm of temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) to be by its very nature egocentrically oriented to self-preservation, whereas the divine realm is oriented to the perfect, loving altruism described in the New Testament. For this reason Kierkegaard makes connections between **sin** and sex, and sex and history in his writings. While he does not suggest that temporality and having sexual relations are sinful, he does say that since humans sin and thus bring sin into the world, sin makes temporality and sexual intercourse sinful. Kierkegaard's line of thought is that no activity or perception of the world in humans can remain instinctual as it can with animals. Humans become conscious of time and sexuality. These become intrinsically linked to human purposes, not least in the tendency to assert self-centered goals or to emphasize the superior significance of one's nation or the human race generally. Sexuality is bound up with human history since history obviously presupposes the physical community. Sinfulness is propagated through the physical continuation of the human race as a historical web of sinning individuals and the consequences of their actions. So ultimately, sexual relations, marriage, and attachment to membership of a state or country become objects for self-renunciation because they participate in what Kierkegaard calls a "higher egoism," or egocentricity above the level of purely individual interests. Ultimately, the highest level of altruism and the egocentric are at loggerheads with each other.

This view helps explain why Kierkegaard in his final years attacked the institution of marriage so savagely. Initially, he explores the relationship of people to **God** within the context of community; in his final writings he strongly emphasizes **Christianity** as self-renunciation and dying to the world. So there is a movement to be found in the way Kierkegaard

speaks about marriage, particularly in his journals. At first, marriage is the institution that sanctifies the temporal under God, later, marriage comes to be viewed not just as something one may give up under certain circumstances, or as something one has no time for if one intends to serve God absolutely, but as something that one must normally give up to fulfill the divine demand totally, especially where society comes to overemphasize marriage and the value of temporality and distract the individual from the spiritual dimension of life. Kierkegaard's diatribes against marriage in the last years of his life must therefore be seen in the context of a society that tended to view marriage as the only respectable form of life and single people with suspicion. *See also* DEATH AND DYING; RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL.

MARTENSEN, HANS LASSEN (1808–1884). Danish theologian and bishop. Martensen was born in Flensborg, where his father was a ship's captain until he had to give up the sea for health reasons. In 1817, the family moved to Copenhagen in the hope of improving their condition, but five years later Martensen's father died, leaving his widow in straitened circumstances. Thanks to the help of benefactors, Mrs. Martensen managed to get her son through his studies. Martensen did extremely well in his examinations, becoming a theology student in 1827. Brought up as he was in a Christian but old-fashioned home, he not surprisingly felt himself inspired to seek a harmonious modern worldview that had **Christianity** at its center. His thinking was much influenced by **Henrik N. Clausen**, **Andreas Rudelbach**, **Anders** and **Hans Christian Ørsted**, **Frederik Sibbern**, **Nikolai Grundtvig,** and **Jakob Mynster**. Initially, Grundtvig appealed strongly to Martensen, but he found himself more and more attracted to Mynster's way of thinking. Martensen also studied Friedrich Schleiermacher (whom he met in Copenhagen in 1833) and G. W. F. **Hegel**. In 1832, he graduated and then won the university's gold medal.

In 1834, Martensen was awarded a travel scholarship to Berlin, where he studied and was especially inspired by Hegel. Suddenly, however, he fell ill and went through a spiritual crisis in which he experienced great desolation of spirit. His explanation later was that he had concentrated far too much on the intellectual aspect of Christianity at the expense of **faith**. When he recovered, he continued his travel and studies, studying in particular speculative and medieval theology, especially Dante and Meister Eckhart. He visited a number of important theologians, but it was Franz Baader who was of decisive significance in this period. In Vienna, Martensen undertook studies in aesthetics and became friends with Nikolaus Lenau. In Paris he

encountered and became a life-long friend of **Johan Ludvig Heiberg,** with whom he could share his enthusiasm for Hegel. He returned to Denmark in 1836, defending in 1837 his licentiate thesis: "The Autonomy of Human Self-consciousness in Modern Dogmatic Theology."

Martensen's thesis won immediate recognition in Denmark and abroad, and in 1838, he became a lecturer in **Copenhagen University**'s theology faculty. He was also given the task of lecturing in moral philosophy to young students. Before lecturing on what he called speculative dogmatics, he gave a lecture on modern philosophy to lead his audience through philosophy into theology. Hegel was naturally a major theme, and his lectures were enthusiastically received. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, Martensen thus helped introduce Hegel's thought into the intellectual world of Copenhagen. In 1840, he received a doctorate in theology from the University of Kiel and published a number of important theological works that secured his reputation as a leading theologian both at home and abroad. Among these are *Meister Eckhart: A Contribution to Shed Light on the Mysticism of the Middle Ages* (*Mester Eckart: Et Bidrag til at oplyse Middelalderens Mystik*) (1840), *Outline to a System of Moral Philosophy* (*Grundrids til Moralfilosofiens System*) (1841), *Christian Dogmatics* (*Den christelige Dogmatik*) (1849), *Orientation on Dogmatics* (*Dogmatiske Oplysninger*) (1850), and *Christian Ethics* (*Den christelige Etik*) (1871 and 1878). In 1845, Martensen was appointed court preacher, and in 1854, he became bishop of Zealand after Mynster. During Kierkegaard's attack on the Church establishment (*see* **State Church**), Martensen kept out of the conflict and concentrated on his functions as a bishop. In 1865, he became royal chaplain. He applied to resign his bishopric in 1883 but died in office in February 1884.

Kierkegaard as a student was tutored by Martensen (who seems to have found him rather trying) and made notes of his lectures. Not surprisingly, Kierkegaard mentions Martensen many times in his journals and papers and indirectly in his authorship in ***Practice in Christianity*** (1850), of which (according to Kierkegaard's journals, 1850, 1852) Bishop Mynster said that half the book was an attack on Martensen. When Kierkegaard launched his attack on the church establishment in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*), attacking Martensen's description of Mynster as "a **witness to the truth,**" Martensen wrote a reply in the *Berlingske Tidende* (*Berling's Times*) (December 28, 1854). Here, Martensen defends Bishop Mynster's status as "a witness to the truth," a status he had given Mynster in a memorial sermon for him. Interestingly enough, in his memoirs *From My Life History* (*Af mit Levnet*) (1882–83),

Martensen recalls Kierkegaard's attack as being chiefly on himself. He speaks negatively and rather patronizingly of Kierkegaard's mental health at that time but does consider that in the future people will find something worthwhile in his writings.

MELANCHOLY, SPIRITUAL. Apart from other family secrets and problems he might have, Kierkegaard in his journals speaks of his spiritual melancholy (*Tungsind*), a problem that burdened his life. He calls it his "thorn in the flesh" (*Pæl i Kødet*), even consulting his doctor **Oluf Lundt Bang** about it. This problem should not simply be identified with the clinical condition of depression (*Depression*). While Kierkegaard as a young man could, of course, like other adolescents, also experience depression in the sense of being deeply cast down at times, and his condition clearly is also related to hereditary factors in his father's character (*see* **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard**), it should be seen as having its roots especially in his upbringing and also perhaps to some extent in his extreme awareness of the contrast between the frailty of his physical health and physique and the pressure of his intellectual genius. He also seems to have had some permanent spinal damage after a fall from a tree as a child. On entry to **Copenhagen University**, he was found unfit to be a member of the Royal Life Guards (Kongens Livkorps). His journals indicate that, combined with a natural precocity of reflection about life, Kierkegaard lacked the possibility of an ordinary, untroubled childhood (*see* **Children**.) Apart from the heavy emphasis in the home on duty (*see* **Ethical, The**) and avoidance of **sin**, it may even be possible (as Grethe Kjær thinks) that his father extracted some kind of a promise from him specifically to serve the cause of **Christianity** as described in the story of the child and the grandfather in the cemetery (*see* **Assistens Cemetery**) in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***. In ***The Point of View for My Work as an Author***, Kierkegaard mentions how his troubled father made him from his earliest years into a deeply burdened old man, while the fact that he was able to disguise his unhappiness from others left him only to his own resources apart from his relationship to **God**. Spiritual melancholy, unlike depression, consists, as Grethe Kjær points out, of a deep **seriousness** and sense of duty concerning the fulfillment of heavy, even seemingly impossible, obligations. This deep seriousness and sense of duty is experienced as a permanent burden.

Kierkegaard found himself, however, able to analyze his condition in relation to human psychology, and his insights express themselves especially in his reflections about **anxiety** in ***The Concept of Anxiety*** and

about **despair** in ***The Sickness unto Death***. In **Either/Or,** Kierkegaard describes spiritual melancholy as "hysteria of the spirit." Those who live a spontaneous, unreflective life (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) come, through the fact of the psychological structure of the human **self**, to experience such melancholy because the life of the **spirit** wishes to express itself in a way of life that is a transcendence of purely instinctive living. This movement toward a higher form of life, toward the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**), is, at the same time, the development of the person as an individual.

MEN AND WOMEN. *See* WOMEN AND MEN.

MOLBECH, CHRISTIAN (1783–1857). Danish historian, philologist, and literary critic. Molbech was born in Sorø, where his father was a teacher at Sorø Academy. His health proving too weak for a career in the merchant navy, Molbech was enrolled at **Copenhagen University** in 1802, where he speedily gave up studying law; in fact, he never finished a degree in any subject. Luckily, he was offered a small post at the Royal Library Copenhagen in 1804, where in 1805 he became a secretary and, by 1823, first library secretary, a post he retained until his death. He married Johanne Langberg in 1820. Among other things, Molbech became a member of the board of directors of the Royal Theater Copenhagen and professor in the history of literature at the university (1829). In 1829, he also became a member of the Academy of the Sciences (Videnskabernes Selskab).

The main interest of Molbech's life, however, was literature, and he published an enormous number of works and articles, often producing as much as a 1,000 pages of material a year. His home life as a child had been difficult, and this, coupled with his tendency to be wrapped up in himself and melancholy, caused him to want to impart his sorrows to others again and again—for example, through his letters to Kamma Rahbek with whom he was in love for a time. He found relief for his innate sadness in his authorship, however, rather than in writing letters. The work that first brought his name to public notice was *Tours in My Youth in My Native Land* (*Ungdomsvandringer i mit Fødeland*) (1811). Like many others, Molbech also traveled abroad in Europe and, not surprisingly, wrote about his travel experiences on his return. Prior to his travels, he had become editor of the periodical *Athene* (1814–17), and he took a leading part in the dispute between **Adam Oehlenschlager** and Jens Baggesen. On his return from his travels, he also began to study older Danish literature and work on dic-

tionaries he planned to publish. Of his work in this period can be mentioned his *Introduction to Lectures on the Danish Language and the History of Danish Literature* (*Indledning til Forelæsninger over det danske Sprog og den danske Nationallitteratures Historie*) (1822) and *Lectures on Danish Poetry* (*Forelæsinger over den danske Poesi*) (1831). He was also heavily involved in editorial work for the *Nordic Periodical for History, Literature and Art* (*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Historie, Litteratur og Kunst*) (1827–36) and the *Monthly Periodical for Literature* (*Maanedskrift for Litteratur*) (volume 3 onward).

Unfortunately, Molbech lacked a philosophical dimension to his personality that might have developed him as an aesthetician or as a profound literary critic. Even more unfortunately, he lacked personal insight and mistakenly assumed he had abilities he did not possess. This quality led him to judge the work of others one-sidedly. It also led him to go on the board of directors at the Royal Theater where he stayed for 12 years, even though he disliked theatergoing and knew nothing about it. His skills lay in the areas of history and particularly philology, although he had never acquired the necessary scholarly foundation. Of especial significance in the area of philology are his *Danish Dictionary* (*Dansk Ordbog*) (1833, second edition 1859), *Danish Dialect Dictionary* (*Dansk Dialektlexikon*) (1833–41), *Danish Proverbs* (*Danske Ordsprog*) (1850), and *Danish Glossary or Dictionary of Disused Danish Words from 12th–16th Century* (*Dansk Glossarium eller Ordbog over forældede danske Ord fra 12. til 16. Aarhundrede*) (1853*ff.*). He was made councillor of state in June 1845.

In his journals of 1836, Kierkegaard mentions Molbech's *Lectures on the Newer Danish Poetry* (*Forelæsinger over den nyere danske Poesie*) (1832). Kierkegaard's interest in aesthetics, especially in the idea of the romantic, begins after his reading of this work. Kierkegaard's comments suggest that he finds Molbech's presentation illuminating rather than new, but it stimulates him in the development of his own **ideas** on the subject. He also refers in 1844 to Molbech's *Danish Poetic Anthology* (*Dansk poetiske Anthologie*) (1840). In 1846, Kierkegaard mentions a visit from Molbech who praised Kierkegaard's strange and eccentric way of life as conducive to work but regarded Kierkegaard's advice to him for resisting the pressures of social conviviality as antisocial. Kierkegaard also mentions in his journals a note (April 29, 1847), in which Molbech informs Kierkegaard that ***Either/Or*** is sold out. Of interest in Kierkegaard's journals are his references to Molbech's *Danish Dictionary*, where he notes (1846) that he and Molbech spell some words

differently. In 1847, however, he says that while he unconditionally accepts Molbech's authority concerning spelling, with punctuation it is another matter. He follows his own style and understanding.

MOMENT, THE. The concept of "the moment" (*Øieblikket*) is sometimes translated "the instant." The Danish word means literally "the blink of an eye," thus indicating that the moment is something instantaneous. Kierkegaard views the temporal moment (see **Eternity/Time**) as merely an indistinguishable part of the ongoing asymmetry of time until there is contact between time and eternity. This occurs in the context of individual **existence** when a person consciously relates to the eternal in life, ideally on a moment-by-moment basis, thus creating a combination or synthesis between the eternal and the temporal (*see* **Self, The**). Johannes Climacus in ***Philosophical Fragments*** also uses "the moment" to indicate Christ as the incarnation of the eternal in time, an event he sees as the **paradox** of "the eternalizing of the historical and the historicizing of the eternal." Kierkegaard also used "The Moment" as the title of the paper he published at the end of his life in the attack on the church establishment. Kierkegaard initiated his attack on the official **Christianity** of the **state church** through his articles in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) with his attack (December 18, 1854) on **Hans Lassen Martensen**'s description of the late Bishop **Jakob Mynster** as a "**witness to the truth**." Twenty-one articles later, Kierkegaard started his own paper *The Moment*, publishing the first issue on May 24, 1855, the last published issue appearing on September 24, 1855. The very last issue (the 10th) lay ready for publication on his desk at the time of his collapse and admission to a hospital. *The Moment* is characterized by Kierkegaard's violent polemic against the official Christianity and the clergy. Through taking this tone, Kierkegaard not only stung at least some of the clergy into response but also did his utmost to ensure that he did not acquire a train of followers or supporters.

The Moment and the previous attack in *The Fatherland* drew considerable negative response and shocked members of the cultural elite such as **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** and his wife, **Frederik Sibbern**, **Henrik Nicolai Clausen,** and **Anders Ørsted**. Hans Lassen Martensen, now bishop, responded once, challenging Kierkegaard's definition of a witness to the truth in *Berlingske Tidende* (*Berling's Times*) (number 302, December 28, 1854, "On the Occasion of Dr. S. Kierkegaard's Article in *The Fatherland*, No. 295" ["I Anledning af Dr. S. Kierkegaard's Artikel i 'Fædrelandet' No. 295"]). He later assessed Kierkegaard's attack on the

church establishment as contributing to the spread of unbelief. **Nikolai Grundtvig** regularly preached responses to the stages of Kierkegaard's attack but seems to have been interested in using it as an occasion for getting the church to reform.

Jørgen Victor Bloch as "N-n" in *Fædrelandet* (number 79, April 3, 1855) responded with "A Proposal to Mr. Dr. S. Kierkegaard" ("Forslaget til Hr. Dr. S. Kierkegaard") in which he complained that Kierkegaard had started by attacking Bishop Mynster but had extended his attack much further, though it was not clear whether Kierkegaard intended the scope of his attack to include merely the Danish church or Protestant Christianity or Christianity in its historical-political manifestation throughout the world. He challenged Kierkegaard not to stop with negative criticism but to present a clearly defined outline of the teaching of the New Testament.

Professor **Rasmus Nielsen** wrote in support of Kierkegaard ("A Good Deed" [*"En god Gjerning"*], in *Fædrelandet*, number 8, January 10, 1855). The response in the press was enormous, negative criticism of Kierkegaard coming through both the conservative *Berlingske Tidende* and the liberal *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (*The Copenhagen Post*). He was also criticized through *The Flying Post* (*Flyveposten*) and the *Daily News* (*Dagbladet*). On the other hand, papers of a democratic leaning such as the *People's Paper* (*Folkeblad*) and the *Morning Post* (*Morgensposten*) were delighted with the attack and used it to support their own agendas. The public interest aroused can be measured by the fact that in 1855 three printings were made of *The Moment* issues 1–4 and two of 5–9.

In his journals of the period, Kierkegaard said that "the moment is when the person is there—the correct person." He saw himself as such a person with the task of restating the ideality of New Testament Christianity. One could say he saw it literally as being a moment of **truth** in the awakening of his fellow citizens to the nature of authentic Christian spirituality (*see* **Spirit and Soul**). The aftermath of the attack was considerable. Kierkegaard's criticisms were welcomed by the Inner Mission movement, and pastor and pietist Vilhelm Beck (1829–1901) claimed that he had experienced a spiritual awakening as a student from reading Kierkegaard's *The Moment*. On the other hand, Kierkegaard's thought caused some, such as writer and critic Georg Brandes (1842–1927) and philosopher Harald Høffding (1843–1931), to turn away from religion.

MONARCHY, DANISH. *See* CONSTITUTION, THE DANISH.

MONASTERY. *See* INWARDNESS.

MOVING DAY. A day in the year when those renting houses or land moved from their previous tenancy a new one. Servants also moved on such days. An ordinance of July 1, 1799, fixed moving day (with the exception of Easter week) on the third Tuesday in April and October. The October moving day was thus between the 15th and 21st of the month, while the April moving day could fall between the 15th and the 29th. The phenomenon of moving day appears to have been in connection with the date of rental contracts. The fact of moving day explains why Kierkegaard, when he moved to new residences in Copenhagen, moved in April or October.

MUSIC. Kierkegaard's interest in music especially concerns its power to express moods or feelings. Mozart was an important composer for him, notably Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*. The opera had been staged for the first time in Prague in 1787, and it was performed at the Royal Theater Copenhagen in 1836, after which it appeared nearly every season until 1839. It was not performed after this at the theater until February 1845. Music (and Mozart) is an important theme in Part I of Kierkegaard's ***Either/Or***. Although he was not himself a musician, Kierkegaard was involved with the formulation of the bylaws of a music society. At a gala performance at the Royal Theater (on March 5, 1836, in honor of the composer Christoph E. F. Weyse), there was a movement for the foundation of a society to help publish and distribute musical works. At the **Student Association** the same evening, the initial core of the Music Society came into being as members began to sign up. Members of the steering committee, Jørgen Henrik Lorck and Edvard Collin, later invited Kierkegaard to help finalize the initial draft of the society's bylaws. A copy of the rules was at one time to be found at the Niels W. Gade Museum in Humlebæk, Denmark. *See also* ART.

MYNSTER, JAKOB PETER (1775–1854). Bishop of Zealand. He was born in Copenhagen, where his father was inspector at **Frederik's Hospital**. On the death of his father in 1777, his mother, the same year, married the hospital's medical superintendent, later professor, Frederik L. Bang. On her death two years later, Mynster's stepfather remarried, only to be made a widower a second time. In 1782, he married a 17-year-old girl. Despite these changes, Mynster respected his stepfather, but his childhood was one filled with emphasis on religion and doing what he

was told. Long daily prayers and constant reprimands from both stepparents created a chilly environment for him, and the boy became extremely reserved. He received private schooling and at age 15 was sent to **Copenhagen University** to study theology. (He was regarded as too unintelligent to become a doctor like his elder brother Ole.) In 1794, he graduated in theology, but he studied the subject out of duty, since it gave him no spiritual nourishment. The passionate side of his nature went out to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the ideals of the French **Revolution**, subjects of conversation he encountered in the circle of his brother's friends.

In the years 1794–1802, he was tutor to Adam Moltke-Bregentved, son of Count Joachim Moltke, in whose home he could also pursue his own studies and the intellectual side of his nature began to develop. In 1798, he received the university's gold medal for a pedagogical dissertation, and, as his period as a tutor was coming to an end, he was ordained in 1801, becoming pastor of the parish of Spjellerup in south Zealand the following year. He was to be pastor at Spjellerup until 1811. Mynster initially found life in the pastorate extremely lonely. He was obliged to preach a gospel whose historical truth he doubted. He was beset by deep depression and had to fight the temptation to seek refuge in drink. He missed the cultural atmosphere of Copenhagen, while his previous studies (especially of Immanuel Kant and **Friedrich Schelling**) had done little to fill the spiritual gap in his life. One day in 1803, however, while he was reading a philosophical work, he experienced an **ethical-religious** breakthrough in his inner being in the sudden conviction that one must obey the voice of conscience unconditionally. One must do and say what was one's duty, however the world judged one for so doing. It was necessary to devote oneself to the will of **God** unconditionally, be satisfied with the abilities one had received from God and endure the wants he permitted. Mynster at that moment experienced this as a personal truth that effected in him a total commitment to God, bringing a peace of soul he had never before known and a sense of God as savior and the highest good belonging to a higher order of things. This experience was a decisive turning point in Mynster's life, giving him self-confidence and the power of conviction in his preaching.

In 1806, Mynster engaged with the rationalists through his first theological essay and wrote some poetry and a work on the art of preaching. This was followed in 1810 by the publication of a collection of sermons. In 1811, he became first curate at the cathedral of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke) in Copenhagen, where he speedily made a name for himself as an antirationalist pastor and attracted a large congregation. In 1812, he

became a teacher and codirector of the **Pastoral Seminary**, and in 1814, he was cofounder and codirector of the Danish Bible Society. He married Maria "Fanny" Münter, daughter of the bishop of Zealand, in 1815, the same year in which he became doctor of theology. Among other appointments he held were court preacher in 1826 and royal and court pastor in 1828. Despite his many duties, he managed to find time for study and writing. Of his writings can be mentioned the publication of a collection of sermons in 1823 and his *Observations Concerning the Doctrines of the Christian Faith* (*Betragtninger over de christelige Troeslærdomme*) (1833). Through his preaching and writing, he became the religious guide of the cultured classes who found he could help both those who sought an **aesthetic** satisfaction through religion and those who were looking for something deeper.

In 1834, Mynster became bishop of Zealand, and as a supporter of Frederik VI, his youthful passion for Rousseau and revolution was put behind him. He strove to keep the Danish **state church** functioning within the legal framework governing it, undisturbed by religious revival (*see* **Jakob Christian Lindberg**) and awakenings. This proved difficult with the advent of Grundtvigianism and revivalist groups. While **Nikolai Grundtvig** admired Mynster, Mynster was totally opposed to Grundtvig and his enthusiasm. Mynster was also politically extremely conservative as a member of the Roskilde Provincial Consultative Assembly (*see* **Press and Press Freedom**). His solution to people's desire for renewal in the Church was to draft a new form of the ritual and prayer book, but his draft was rejected. He unsuccessfully tried to stop the lay-preacher revivalist movement, and in 1842, he got the king to pass an ordinance for the forcible baptism of the **children** of Baptists. Kierkegaard's brother **Peter Christian**, as well as **Eggert Tryde**, refused to carry out such baptisms, and since public opinion was also against him, Mynster was again unsuccessful. Mynster emphasized the importance of the individual's spiritual life, prayer, and meditation, but in his view the state church was the proper framework for the nurture of personal spirituality.

As a member of the committee appointed to write the new **constitution**, Mynster voted against the constitution. Despite his involvement in these and other disputes, Mynster still found time to further his theological studies and published new collections of sermons. By the end of his career, Mynster had become a member of the Academy of the Sciences (Videnskabernes Selskab) (1819) and, in 1836, Great Cross knight of the Dannebrog (in 1847 Great Cross first class). He died on January 30, 1854.

Kierkegaard then launched his attack on the Danish church establishment, an attack occasioned by **Hans Lassen Martensen**'s description of Mynster as a "**witness to the truth.**" While Mynster never formed a religious movement, he was regarded as a pattern of right churchmanship by the new Bishop Martensen, and he came to be held in high regard by the high church wing of the new People's Church (Folkekirken). In Kierkegaard's journals and papers, one can mark a respect for Bishop Mynster as the pastor so respected by his father. He also evinces respect for Mynster as a model pastor—for example, in his unpublished ***The Book on Adler***—though also in the journals is the occasional sarcastic comment about Kts (the pseudonym under which Mynster, like many of his time, occasionally wrote, from Jakob Peter Mynster). The source of the problem between Kierkegaard and Mynster lies in Mynster's churchmanship, a churchmanship that Kierkegaard more and more emphasizes as a general, rather than a specifically Christian, religiousness. For Mynster, a godly state would forward the task of the Church, and the Church would permeate and forward the work of the state. **Christianity** thus sanctions a God-fearing temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) in which the individual prospers temporally and spiritually. Mynster came to accept the idea of constitutional change in 1849, because he considered that the new state of affairs retained the old idea of "Christendom." For Kierkegaard, serious commitment to Christianity ideally entails renunciation of temporality and suffering, and he rejects the thought of a bourgeois humanism replacing Christian ideality. Mynster thus appears as a preacher of ethical religiousness, with Christ as the divine teacher who assures us of God's **grace** and providence and of the truth of the natural religion of the Enlightenment. While Kierkegaard in his journals indicates that he would have been satisfied with an admission by Mynster that what he preached was not in fact Christianity proper, part of Kierkegaard's public attack seems to treat Mynster as a pleasure-loving careerist. It is not clear, however, that Mynster's form of religiosity has to lead to bourgeois humanism, especially given that Mynster's preaching was a spiritual foundation on which Kierkegaard himself built. *See also* DEATH AND DYING; RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL.

MYSTICISM. Although Kierkegaard's own relationship with **God** was eminently through reflection, as he points out himself in ***The Point of View for My Work as an Author***—and only a couple of references in his journals might suggest personal **religious** experience of God—there are elements in his authorship that point toward the mystical path. That he

attacks mysticism in ***Either/Or*** through the person of Judge William does not invalidate this. For Judge William, the mystic is so preoccupied with a relationship to God that he ignores the reality of the world around him, including his **ethical** duties. The mystic is seen as cocooning himself in a relationship with God consisting of an emotional **love** that excludes the world and its needs. Mysticism is thus condemned as a narcissistic pursuit that can end in personal tragedy, even suicide. Yet, as the judge is made to admit, what he is attacking is not authentic mysticism but pseudomysticism or a self-indulgent preoccupation with the idea of God divorced from ethical action. In other words, for such a person the religious has become divorced from the ethical; it has become an **aesthetic**, self-centered pursuit and thus in fact has nothing to do with any form of authentic religiosity, insofar as the ethical is an essential part of the religious life.

When one considers some of the statements made by Johannes Climacus, however, in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, particularly with reference to "Religiousness A" and the transition to the "Religiousness B" of **Christianity**, one finds many elements that go with the mystical path—for example, self-annihilation of the natural self in the dying to the world (*see* **Death and Dying**; **Resignation and Self-denial**) and emphasis on a personal relationship to God, on the **imitation** of Christ, and on embracing **suffering** as a concomitant of the religious life. One might also add the **paradox** of **sin**—that the closer the person is to God, the more that person finds him- or herself to be the greatest of sinners. So although Kierkegaard is far from being a mystic himself, his language and basic viewpoint concerning Christianity contain characteristics remarkably akin to the mystic negativity. Even Judge William's account of the **self**'s initial encounter with God in the choice of ethics is something that might be found in an account of someone's mystical experience. Finally, it can be said that Kierkegaard's personal library contained Christian mystical literature, and his journals show his familiarity with the Christian mystical tradition.

MØLLER, PEDER LUDVIG (1814–1865). Danish critic. Born in Aalborg, Jutland, died in Rouen, France. Møller became a student at **Copenhagen University** in 1832 and tried a number of studies: medicine, theology, languages. He finally settled for aesthetics. (In 1841, he won the university's gold medal for a prize essay on aesthetics.) From 1834 to 1837, he lived at the student hall of residence, **Regensen**, and then at Eiler's hall of residence (1838–39). Møller also worked on a number of

Copenhagen papers and periodicals (e.g., *The Nordic Weekly* [*Nordisk Ugeskrift*], *Berlingske Tidende* [*Berling's Times*]), developing literary skills especially as a critic. He published a number of poems and literary works and was responsible for the paper *Arena* (1843) and the **aesthetic** yearbook *Gæa* (1845–47). He intended *Gæa* as an opposition publication to **Johan Heiberg**'s *Urania*. In 1840, *The Corsair* (*Corsaren*) paper was started, owned and edited by **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**, who edited it with Møller's secret help until 1846. *The Corsair* was a powerful, widely circulated paper that specialized in anonymous political satire. The paper originally aimed at serving the cause of political liberalism but soon degenerated into a publication that indulged in exploiting facts, rumors, and gossip, to destroy the personal reputations of its victims. Although Goldschmidt was officially the chief editor, Møller came to have great influence on what was published.

After Møller wrote in *Gæa* a biting and personal criticism of Kierkegaard's "Quidam's Diary" in ***Stages on Life's Way*** (1845), Kierkegaard responded with a counterarticle, making Møller's involvement with *The Corsair* clearly public. It was Møller who was behind the *Corsair* articles about Kierkegaard. It has been said that Kierkegaard's public revelation of Møller's involvement cost the latter the possibility of the university professorship in aesthetics, but it is highly improbable that Møller's editorial activity was not already known in literary and academic circles in Copenhagen.

In 1846, Møller went abroad on a travel scholarship, leaving Denmark for good. In 1848, he lived in Germany. From the end of 1851, he was in Paris where he settled down to live, despite a possibility of a lectureship and an editorship in Denmark. He made contributions to various periodicals and, in 1857, won another gold medal from Copenhagen University for a prize essay on modern Danish and French plays. He also sent contributions to several Danish papers. His productivity gradually dwindled, as did his economic circumstances and health. In 1865, he went to Dieppe to see whether a change of air would help him overcome sickness. This move was unsuccessful, and because he was clearly in a bad way, an attempt was made to send him back to Paris, but he died on the way after several months' sickness in a hospital near Rouen.

Møller appears to have been drawn into a loose-living existence at a very early age, which is probably the chief reason he never succeeded in making a solid career for himself. For many, he was the epitome of the despairing, immoral aesthete, and some scholars have suggested (and it is very probable) that Kierkegaard modeled his character Johannes the

Seducer from ***Either/Or*** on Møller. Not surprisingly, Kierkegaard's journals of 1846 contain a number of references to Møller in connection with the *Corsair* affair.

MØLLER, POUL MARTIN (1794–1838). Danish poet and academic. Born in Uldum, he was the son of a Danish pastor, later bishop, Rasmus Møller. He was educated at a grammar school in Nykøbing Falster. One of his school friends was later to be the poet Christian Winther and also became his stepbrother when his father married again. Møller became a student in 1812. In his student years, he fell deeply in love in a hopeless attachment, but despite this unhappy period he passed his **Copenhagen University** exam in theology (1816) and returned to his father's home until he took a position as a home tutor in the house of Count Joachim Moltke. Møller continued his studies, especially Greek philology. In the period of his tutorship, Møller wrote much of his poetry.

In 1818, Møller returned to Copenhagen in time to get involved in the dispute between the poets Jens Baggesen and **Adam Oehlenschläger**. After this, he became chaplain on one of the Asiatic Company's ships to China (1819–21). Again he was poetically productive, writing among others his famous poem "Joy over Denmark" (*Glæde over Danmark*). He also wrote a draft of his well-known piece *A Danish Student's Adventure* (*En dansk Students Eventyr*) (1823–24). On his return to Copenhagen, Møller took a teaching post (1822–26) in Latin and Greek at the Metropolitan School on the Cathedral Square until he was invited in 1826 to become lecturer in philosophy at the University of Christiania (Oslo). Here he became a professor two years later.

In 1830, Møller returned to Copenhagen, becoming professor in philosophy at the university. It was in this period that Møller became more and more critical of the new Hegelian philosophy (*see* **Hegel, Hegelianism**). An important philosophical work in this connection is his large essay on immortality: *Thoughts about the Possibility of Proofs for Human Immortality* (*Tanker over Muligheden af Beviser for Menneskets Udødelighed*) (1837). His publications consist in the main of literary fragments: poems, dramas, novels, pieces of novels and philosophy, and some translation of Homer. Despite its fragmentary nature, his work showed signs of **genius**, and he was a great conversationalist. He married twice, first Betty Berg, who died in 1834, then Eline von Bülow, who was widowed on his death in 1838.

Poul Møller's influence on Kierkegaard was enormous. He aroused the young Kierkegaard from his polemical ironical period so that he

gathered himself and his **genius** together. Kierkegaard refers to him in his draft dedication for ***The Concept of Anxiety*** as "the mighty trumpet of my awakening." Møller's ideas are the subject of a number of journal entries on philosophy and the Greek world. Kierkegaard of course also attended his lectures and, like Møller, was interested in the topic of immortality (*see* **Death and Dying**; **Eternity/Time**), not least in relation to the demerits of Hegelianism. He was an ardent admirer of Møller as a poet. Møller in turn was interested enough in Kierkegaard to think of him on his deathbed and warn him not to embark on too large a study plan and thus endanger his health. In 1844, Kierkegaard dedicated *The Concept of Anxiety* especially to Møller, who is described as the object of Kierkegaard's admiration and profound loss. The book itself, with its discussion of the psychology of morality and its reference to Greek culture and the world of the **Greeks**, indicates the link with Møller. Thanks to Møller, Kierkegaard developed a strong interest in Greek culture. His influence on Kierkegaard concerning the Greek world may already be seen in the latter's dissertation ***The Concept of Irony*** (1841), with its emphasis on Socrates. When Møller died in Copenhagen on March 13, 1838, Kierkegaard noted in his journals, "Poul Møller is dead." Brief though this remark is, it says everything.

– N –

NAPOLEONIC WARS. Denmark attempted to remain neutral during the Napoleonic wars, even when the British attacked Danish merchant ships. From 1797, however, the Danes used warship escorts to protect their merchant shipping and, on December 16, 1800 (along with Prussia and Sweden), made a pact with Russia of "armed neutrality," or defense if attacked. In April 1801, the British sent a fleet under Admirals Parker and Nelson to destroy the (unarmed) Danish fleet (Battle of Copenhagen), and Denmark was forced to give up the agreement with Russia. After a period of peace for Denmark, France and England attempted to force Denmark to take sides in the war. In 1807, the British sailed to Denmark, demanding that the Danes surrender their fleet as a guarantee of siding with the British. Prince Frederik still wished to remain neutral, so he refused such a request. The British immediately surrounded Copenhagen and after a couple of weeks began a three-day bombardment, using Congreve rockets. With the destruction of 300 buildings, including the cathedral, and the continuing risk to a city of 100,000 inhabitants, the Danes surrendered and the British took away the Danish fleet. Not surprisingly, Denmark

now joined with Napoleon, and war with England followed (1807–14), a war that ruined Danish sea trade and also brought war with anti-Napoleon Sweden. A result of this situation was the National Bankruptcy of 1813 and the surrender of Norway to Sweden at the Peace of Kiel in 1814.

Kierkegaard's father had become prosperous through business and inherited wealth from an uncle. He had also preserved his property during the fires of 1794 and 1795. His property again escaped during the bombardment of Copenhagen, while his wealth was unaffected by the national bankruptcy and the bad harvests of the following years. In 1808, when money was being collected for rebuilding the Danish fleet, he was able to pool together with five business colleagues to build a cannon boat for the navy. Søren Kierkegaard was, however, born into a world of national economic ruin and a world still retaining traces of the bombardment. The new Cathedral of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke) was not dedicated until Whitsunday 1829, which meant that the cathedral congregation had to use other buildings, especially the Church of the Holy Spirit (Helliggeistes Kirke), where Kierkegaard was baptized on June 3, 1813. (He was confirmed on April 20, 1828, in Trinitatis Church.) The pact of "armed neutrality" may well have inspired Kierkegaard's choice of title for a little work of that name that he wrote (but did not publish) in 1849. He first used the expression in a journal entry in 1838, but he intended to publish *Armed Neutrality* (initially as a periodical) to accompany the second edition of ***Either/Or*** (1849). The title indicates that Kierkegaard was telling his readers that he had certain definite views about the true nature of **Christianity**, views he was prepared to defend if necessary.

NATURE. Kierkegaard views nature as being the work of **God** the creator. As such, the natural world in its various animate and inanimate processes obeys God's will for it. Humans, on the other hand, since they have **freedom**, have a choice between obeying or disobeying God in a life higher than that of naked instinct. In ***Either/Or*** the world as the realm of temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) is viewed as given as a gift to humans through divine **grace**. Yet the world is also intended for the glorification of the finite **spirit**; it is the context in which humans can live the life of the spirit, for which life the world ultimately becomes indifferent. While nature can be inspiring and uplifting and even draw people's thoughts Godward, Kierkegaard as Johannes Climacus points out that its **existence** cannot be used to argue that God exists, since although nature is beautiful and wonderful, it also contains disturbing elements (e.g., the fact that **animals** prey on one another).

NECESSITY. *See* FREEDOM; IDEAS.

NEXT HOUSE, TRY THE. "Try the next house—literally, "[go] past the house" (*Hus forbi*)—occurs a number of times in Kierkegaard's writings. The expression comes from the game of *gnav,* an indoor game using wooden pieces with pictures on their undersides. The pictures, when revealed, indicate to the players the moves to be made. If a player selects another player's piece with the picture of a house, the other player may say, "Try the next house," making the first player move on to the next player.

NICOLAUS, THEOPHILUS. *See* EIRIKSSON, MAGNUS.

NIELSEN, RASMUS (1809-1884). Danish philosopher. Born at a place called Roerslev on the island of Funen, Nielsen was the son of a tenant farmer and owed his education to the parish priest, who helped him with his education, thus enabling him to become a student in 1832. He studied theology at **Copenhagen University**, graduating with distinction in 1837. He followed this up by doing a licentiate degree (1840). In the winter of 1840–41, he gave some lectures at the university on Church history and New Testament exegesis. In 1841, he was appointed professor of moral philosophy at the university, a position previously held by **Poul Martin Møller**. Nielsen retained the professorship for the rest of his life. During his first semester as a professor, he lectured in metaphysics. His talent lay in presenting good lectures rather than in the supervision of philosophy students.

Initially, Nielsen espoused G. W. F. **Hegel**'s philosophy, but thanks to the influence of Kierkegaard, he became convinced of its weaknesses. Although he resolutely opposed Hegelianism after this, attacking the Hegelianism of **Hans Lassen Martensen**, like **Adolph Adler,** he was unable to free himself from Hegel's method of **dialectic**, which he continued to apply in his philosophical work. To establish himself as a philosopher, he studied mathematics and the natural sciences, publishing a number of works, such as *Philosophical Propaedeutic* (*Philosophiske Propædeutik*) (1857), the first section of *The Logic of Basic Concepts* (*Grundideernes Logik*) (1864–66), *The Philosophy of Religion* (*Religionsfilosofi*) (1869), and many other works. None of his works, however, were of any real philosophical weight. He lacked the philosopher's essential critical abilities, giving far too much place to a lively imagination. Any influence from Kierkegaard he had long ago thrown off. In the 1860s, Nielsen began to encounter serious objections to his ideas about

philosophy, especially those to do with his attempt to reconcile **faith** and **knowledge** (originally the chief point at issue between himself and Hans Martensen). Because of the weaknesses exposed in his philosophy, Nielsen lost ground and never managed to achieve the reputation of a significant thinker.

In the period 1846–47, Nielsen was a keen supporter of Kierkegaard, and the years 1848–50 saw the friendship between the two men at its highest. Kierkegaard initially regarded Nielsen as intellectually fitted to be an heir of his own intellectual activity but speedily dropped the idea. Nielsen supported Kierkegaard's position during the attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**) in 1854–55, but Kierkegaard found his support erroneous and burdensome because of Nielsen's lack of real understanding. In Kierkegaard's journals are a large number of entries concerning Rasmus Nielsen. A leading theme initially is Kierkegaard's hope that Nielsen could be relied on to publish Kierkegaard's papers in the event that Kierkegaard died before he could finish publishing essential material himself.

Kierkegaard seems to have felt it to be his duty to have one person in his intellectual confidence, but he felt unsure as to how much Nielsen really understood him, although (as the journals show) he made an effort to explain his position to Nielsen. The main problem is not just Nielsen's excess of admiration of Kierkegaard at that point but that Nielsen reproduces Kierkegaard's thought (without any personal appropriation of it in his life) so that his method of presentation falsifies Kierkegaard's position. This confirms Kierkegaard's apprehension that Nielsen does not understand his use of dialectic and **indirect communication**. In 1849, when Nielsen published his *The Faith of the Gospels and the Modern Consciousness: 12 Lectures held at Copenhagen University, Winter 1849–1850* (*Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed: Tolv Forelæsninger holdte ved Universitetet i Kjøbenhavn i Vinteren 1849–1850*), Kierkegaard noted it as being a confusing **imitation** of the work of Johannes Climacus. He also criticized Nielsen (as he did later in 1850) for using Kierkegaard's ideas without proper acknowledgment.

When, in 1849, Nielsen published *Magister S. Kierkegaard's "Johannes Climacus" and Dr. H. Martensen's "Christian Dogmatics"* (*Mag. S. Kierkegaards "Johannes Climacus" og Dr. H. Martensens "Christelige Dogmatik"*) and Kierkegaard analyzed Nielsen's work in his journals of 1850, he was critical of Nielsen for his method of presentation of Kierkegaard's thought and of **Christianity**. Nielsen's method as an author was seen as invalidating his critique of Martensen's work. He misapplied

Kierkegaard's thought instead of appropriating it and then creating his own independent written work. In 1850, Kierkegaard wrote to Nielsen to let him understand that he could no longer discuss his work with him, though he still hoped for better things from Nielsen. There is also a critical comment about Nielsen's writings in Kierkegaard's journals of 1854. To add insult to injury, in *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) (number 138, June 18, 1854), an anonymous reviewer of the work had described Nielsen as Kierkegaard's apostle.

– O –

OBJECTIVITY. *See* TRUTH.

OEHLENSCHLÄGER, ADAM (1779–1850). Poet. Oehlenschläger was born in Frederiksberg near Copenhagen. His father was valet to Count Adam Moltke and his mother personal servant to the countess. The couple lived in a little house close to the Frederiksberg Allé but moved into Frederiksberg Castle, where he was first castle organist and finally castle bailiff. Their son acquired a love of music from his father and had a happy childhood in the castle gardens and the adjoining park of Søndermarken. In summer, the **Frederiksberg Garden** was full of visitors of all classes, and as Oehlenschläger himself says, he grew up on the boundary between city and country and encountered the best of culture and nature. Oehlenschläger also read as much as he could lay his hands on, including *The Arabian Nights* and the works of the Danish writer Johannes Ewald. When he was 12, he went to **Efterslægten** (Posterity), the new Posterity Society's School, where he was taught history and Danish. After his schooling was over in 1796, his father wanted him to train as a merchant, but Oehlenschläger preferred academic study. He began studying for his student exam but gave up the attempt because he found the learning of Latin and Greek grammar unbearable after the type of education he had received at school. He next (1797) attempted to be an actor at the Royal Theater but after two years there found himself lacking the necessary qualities to be a success.

In the meantime, Oehlenschläger had met and made friends with **Anders** and **Hans Christian Ørsted**, and they began tutoring him, so that in 1800 he became a **Copenhagen University** student and took the preparatory Latin-law exam. In this period he was also introduced into the home (Bakkehuset) and literary salon of the writer Knud Lyne Rahbek and his wife Kamma. Here, he met Kamma's sister Christiane Heger, and they became engaged. In this talented circle, his gifts developed, and

he found his calling to be that of a poet. In 1800, Oehlenscläger won second place in a university prize question on literature and mythology. In this period, he published a number of poems, none of value, in that he had not yet found his poetic style. All this was to change with his encounter with the philosopher **Henrik Steffens**, who came to Denmark in 1802 and met Oehlenschläger.

After his first long conversation with Steffens, Oehlenschläger wrote his famous poem "The Golden Horns" (*Guldhornene*), and in 1803, he published *Poems* (*Digte*), an imaginative work that introduced romanticism into Denmark. Oehlenschläger published two volumes of *Poetic Writings* (*Poetiske Skrifter*) (1805), which included "Langeland Journey," "Aladdin," and "Vaulundurs Saga." With the aid of a travel scholarship, Oehlenschläger in 1805 went abroad to Germany (where he visited Steffens and met Goethe), then to Paris, Geneva, and finally Italy, before returning to Denmark in 1809. In this period he wrote three major works published as *Nordic Poetry* (*Nordiske Digte*) (1807).

When he returned to Denmark, he became professor of aesthetics at Copenhagen University and married Christiane. In this period, he published some major poems, especially dramas, becoming recognized as one of Denmark's greatest poets. From 1818, however, the quality of his poetry became steadily poorer by contrast with his previous work, and his work came under criticism. **Nikolai Grundtvig** found it lacking in religious depth and seriousness, while the poet Jens Baggesen in 1813 began to review Oehlenschläger's work critically, leading to a feud that lasted seven years, and from 1825 it included criticism from **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**. Yet in 1829, Oehlenschläger was crowned with laurels at an academic gathering in Lund cathedral. The later Oehlenschläger (1830–40) failed, however, to revive the poetic dynamism of his first years. He died in Copenhagen in 1850.

Kierkegaard has a number of references and many allusions to Oehlenschläger's works in his authorship. Although he could scarcely find Oehlenschläger's religiosity appealing, given the latter's seeming preference for Norse religiosity and pantheistic view of **Christianity**, in a journal note of 1849, Kierkegaard specifically mentioned his admiration for the poet, some of whose works were in Kierkegaard's library.

OFFENSE. The mixed condition of hurt, annoyance, and anger arising when a person encounters the **paradox**. The prospective believer already encounters the problem of not being able to prove definitely that **God** exists. This is followed by the difficulty that claims concerning divinity are

ascribed to a historical person, and historical claims by their very nature are also subject to objective uncertainty. The matter is made worse, however, in that Jesus of Nazareth does not resemble the human conception of God as a being of power. The historical "God-Man" is the one who lived in poverty and died as a criminal. This is the first part of the situation of offense (*Forargelse*). Second, and more serious, is the claim that Jesus is also the eternal God (*see* **Eternity/Time**). The one who would believe must therefore be able to stay with commitment to the Christian way of life in the face of the offense caused to feeling and **reason**. If not, then the experience remains one of passive and active offense. Offense is passive, in terms of the hurt felt. It is active in terms of annoyance and resentment, of offense taken. Kierkegaard as Anti-Climacus in ***Practice in Christianity*** distinguishes the main types of offense as the offense in relation to loftiness, when people are offended by the historical Jesus' claims to divinity. Offense in relation to lowliness is when people are offended by the claim that a divine being is an ultimately powerless human. Finally, Jesus is unable to avoid being the mark of "offense," since he is unable to communicate directly to people about himself. Even if he tells people outright he is God, he says this in the person of a lowly teacher. This makes his claim paradoxical to the hearer. In his writings, Kierkegaard several times refers to the New Testament text (I Corinthians 1, verse 23) on the crucified Christ as being an offense to the Jews and folly to the Greeks. *See also* ABSURD; FAITH; INDIRECT COMMUNICATION; *PHILOSOPHICAL FRAGMENTS*.

OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A GENIUS AND AN APOSTLE. See *BOOK ON ADLER, THE*.

OLSEN, CORNELIA (1818–1901). Elder sister of **Regina Olsen** and daughter of **Terkild Olsen** and Frederikke Malling. She married a Frederik E. Winning on November 6, 1849. Kierkegaard mentions her in his journals of 1844–45 in connection with an idea for a character sketch of a woman of a shy, unassuming and loving nature, one capable of **resignation**. He describes her as the most admirable woman he has known and suggests she could figure in a plot where she would experience her sister marrying the man she herself loved. In 1849, he seems somewhat sad to hear of her engagement, since he thought of her as an ideal person in the context of Regina. He also says that Cornelia said of the broken engagement that she did not understand Kierkegaard, but she believed he was a good person.

Cornelia may well have been the model for Cordelia in "The Seducer's Diary." Her assessment of Kierkegaard was clearly the opposite of that of her brother Jonas Christian (1816–1902), who, as Kierkegaard lets us understand in 1841, declared he could hate Kierkegaard as none had hated before. Kierkegaard seems to have been equally impressed with the passion of Jonas's hatred, as a positive contrast to the general bourgeois lack of **passion**. Jonas eventually became a pastor in Jutland.

OLSEN, REGINA (1822–1904). Youngest daughter of State Councillor **Terkild Olsen** and Frederikke Malling. She was known by the informal name of Regine. On her tombstone it says she was born on January 23, 1822, but this could be the result of a clerical error, if the baptism record is accurate. She appears to have been baptized on March 15, 1823, and a year's delay requires an explanation. The church register gives her date of birth as 1822, but given the date of baptism, the church register may accidentally give the previous year. In her recollections in 1896, however, she asserts she was 18 in 1840. After her engagement to Søren Kierkegaard (1840–41), she became engaged to and married (November 3, 1847 at the Church of Our Savior [Vor Frelsers Kirke], Christianshavn) one of her former tutors, Johan Frederik "Fritz" Schlegel (1817–1896). Schlegel had a legal training and, after a number of posts, became in 1848 head of the colonial office and then (accompanied by Regina) governor of the Danish West Indies in 1854. For health reasons, Schlegel was forced to give up this position in 1860, when he and his wife returned to Copenhagen. Regina died at age 81 in Copenhagen. Both Regina and Schlegel are buried in the Olsen family grave in **Assistens Cemetery**, Copenhagen.

Kierkegaard first met Regina at the home of the **Rørdam** family in Frederiksberg. To judge from his journals, the date must have been between May 8 and 16, 1837. Later, Kierkegaard availed himself of the Olsen family's weekly open house for people and took an interest in Regina's reading and piano playing. His initial marriage proposal (made on September 8, 1840, when she was alone at home) took her completely by surprise, and although she alerted him to the fact that there was something of an understanding between herself and Schlegel, she became engaged to Kierkegaard two days later on September 10. Almost immediately (because of his own problems), Kierkegaard felt he had made a mistake, and he sought to terminate the engagement. Although Regina held out for some time, Kierkegaard succeeded in getting her to break off

the engagement (in August 1841 he sent her back her ring, finally breaking up with her on October 11). When Kierkegaard died, Regina refused to accept the few things Kierkegaard left her in his will at his death.

Although in his journals and works (e.g., ***Fear and Trembling***, cf. *Repetition*) Kierkegaard sometimes gives the impression that he hoped that their marriage might still be possible, and he made an attempt after her father's death (1849) to reestablish some form of contact with Regina, there is also material in his writings that Kierkegaard hopes will signal and explain the impossibility of the marriage. While ***Either/Or*** was intended to emphasize the breach by indirectly suggesting (through "The Seducer's Diary" in Part I and through Judge William in Part II) that he might be a scoundrel or that there was some mysterious impediment to **marriage**, in the "Quidam's Diary" of ***Stages on Life's Way***, long deliberations and explanations appear concerning Quidam's broken engagement and his responsibility for breaking it.

OLSEN, TERKILD (1784–1849). State Councillor Terkild Olsen was a senior official in the ministry of finance and father of **Cornelia** and **Regina Olsen**. He was married to Regina Frederikke Malling (1778–1856). When Kierkegaard asked his permission to pursue his suit to Regina, Terkild Olsen left the entire decision to Regina. He appears in Kierkegaard's journals of 1843, where Kierkegaard (1849) speaks of how he accidentally met Olsen at the Royal Theater (*see* **Emil Boesen**) and of Olsen's plea to him (October 1841) not to leave Regina. On September 26, 1848, Kierkegaard went for a drive to Fredensborg in North Zealand, where he again encountered Terkild Olsen (in the Skipper Allé near Fredensborg palace). He attempted to speak to Olsen, but, although he greeted Kierkegaard politely, he refused to talk with him and was clearly still greatly moved concerning the broken engagement. Kierkegaard indicates in his journals that he respected Olsen highly.

OSTERMANN, JOHANNES ANDREAS (1809–1888). Teacher and politician. Ostermann took a degree in philology at **Copenhagen University** in 1839. In 1840, he was appointed to teach at the city's Metropolitan School. He became a member of parliament under the new **constitution** in 1849. On November 14, 1835, Ostermann gave a paper ("Our Latest Journalistic Literature" [*Vor nyeste Journallitteratur*]) to the university **Student Association**, in which he took a moderate political line concerning the new liberal tendencies. He criticized the phenomenon

of gutter **press** papers but not the liberal papers *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) and *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*). Although he was against sudden political **revolution**, he was sympathetic to the new trends, and his lecture expressed the view that the press was responsible for inspiring current political initiatives. In June 1837, he stated on behalf of the Student Association that it should not exert political influence one way or the other. Kierkegaard responded to Ostermann's lecture with a paper (November 28, 1835) entitled "Our Journalistic Literature" (*Vor Journal-Litteratur*) in which he dissected and refuted Ostermann's presentation. Kierkegaard attempted to show that the initiative for current political reform came essentially from Frederik VI.

OTHER, THE. A concept that appears a number of times in Kierkegaard's authorship is that of "the Other" (*det Andet*). Kierkegaard would have encountered it in Plato's writings (*to heteron*), where the Other is an important concept used chiefly of the temporal world experienced through the senses, a world that stands in contrast to the Platonic realm of eternal forms or ideas. The German philosopher Georg W. F. **Hegel** takes over the concept in his philosophy. In Hegel's *Logic* (1834), the Other is physical nature, but he also develops the idea to include other things. Kierkegaard applies the concept so that it can indicate the influence or power outside people that defines them, although Johannes the Seducer in ***Either/Or*** applies the concept ironically with respect to **nature** and **women**. In ***The Concept of Irony***, the Other indicates a person's external actuality, in particular the state, and in ***The Concept of Anxiety,*** **fate** is the Other to which the **genius** is said to relate. In ***The Sickness unto Death,*** Anti-Climacus speaks of the **aesthetic** person in relation to temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) and the life of pleasure and the senses, where this latter is referred to as the Other. Later in the book, however, **God** is spoken of as "An Other"—that is, the Other, the authentic power to whom people should relate and who (when they do) defines their **ethical** and **religious** situation. This sense of the Other (in Kierkegaard's essay, "Of the Difference between a Genius and an Apostle") is meant when there is talk of the source of the apostle's divine **authority**. *See also* BOOK ON ADLER, THE.

– P –

PAGANISM. For Kierkegaard, the term *paganism* covers temporal **existence** in a variety of forms. In his journals of 1838, he equates paganism

with the life of the senses in its fullest development, which is why he later can reuse the term pejoratively as, for example, Anti-Climacus (in *The Sickness unto Death*) to indicate nominal Christians who concentrate their lives on the enjoyment of temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**). The ethics of paganism are generally viewed by Kierkegaard as "morality" of the lowest form of the **ethical**, while pagans are seen as attempting incorrectly to have a direct relation to **God** as something external and observable in temporality. Thus, paganism generally is seen as lacking a proper and essential conception of the eternal. Yet Kierkegaard points to exceptions. Johannes Climacus (*Concluding Unscientific Postscript*) asserts that Religiousness A can exist in paganism, and he contrasts favorably the situation of the idol worshipper who prays in **truth** to God, even though his eyes rest on the image of his idol, with that of the Christian in Christendom (*see* **Christianity/Christendom**) who possesses all the correct Christian dogma yet prays to God in a false spirit. Socrates, while he is technically within a pagan culture, is also to be viewed as at the highest level of Religiousness A within paganism in his search for eternal truth and his attempt to live according to it. Paganism on the whole is taken to be in a far better situation than the Christian society of 19th-century Denmark, where a person can be nominally a Christian by virtue of being born a Danish citizen and baptized into the **state church**. The virtue of paganism is that in its strivings it is moving toward the life of the **spirit**, whereas Christian paganism is going away from the life of the spirit and culpably is doing so. Therefore, Kierkegaard's pseudonyms (e.g., Vigilius Haufniensis in *The Concept of Anxiety* and Anti-Climacus in *The Sickness unto Death*) make the Christian paganism the object of their united condemnation. *See also* PHILISTINE.

PALUDAN-MÜLLER, JENS (1813–1899). Danish pastor and theologian. The son of Bishop Jens Paludan-Müller, he was born in Kjerteminde, Denmark. He matriculated as a student from Odense in 1831 and graduated in theology in 1837. Also in 1837, he became a teacher at Sorø Academy, where he continued to study theology and philosophy while he was teaching. He had been taught philosophy by **Frederik Sibbern**. In 1841, he married Charlotte Tryde, daughter of **Eggert Tryde**. In 1847, he became a pastor at Budolfi Church in Aalborg, Jutland, where he started a preparatory school at the hospital for boys intending to go on to grammar school. Paludan-Müller became a pastor at Thisted in 1855, becoming rural dean in 1856. He found, however, that his duties took him too much away from his studies, so he moved in 1864 to Zealand, where

he became pastor of Marvede with Hyllinge and, in 1874, pastor of Snesere. He retired in 1888 and spent the rest of his life in Copenhagen writing theological works. He became an honorary doctor of theology of **Copenhagen University** in 1879.

Some of Paludan-Müller's more important works are *On God's Word* (*Om Guds Ord*) (1869), *Scripture and Transmission in Their Evangelical Context* (*Skriften og Overleveringen fremstillet i deres evangeliske Sammenhæng*) (1871), *The People's Church and Evangelical Faith* (*Folkekirken og evangelisk Tro*) (1890), and *God's Kingdom and Evangelical Faith* (*Guds Rige og evangelisk Tro*) (1891). He regarded his theology as "sacrament theology," and his theological interest was in the life of religious experience. His theological position with respect to the theological currents of the time was a middle-of-the-road one. In 1850, he wrote a critique of **Hans Lassen Martensen** from a Lutheran standpoint in a piece called *On Dr. Martensen's Christian Dogmatics* (*Om Dr. Martensens Christelige Dogmatik*). He then wrote in the *New Theological Journal* (*Nyt Theologiske Tidsskrift*) (1854) an essay "On the Apologetic Element in Bishop Mynster's Sermon" (*Om den apologetiske Bestanddeel i Biskop Mynster's Prædiken*).

In 1855, Paludan-Müller went on to attack Kierkegaard in his *Dr. Søren Kierkegaard's Attack on Bishop Mynster's Posthumous Reputation* (*Dr. Søren Kierkegaards Angreb paa Bishop Mynsters Eftermæle*), with particular reference to Kierkegaard's ***Practice in Christianity***. In 1849, Kierkegaard in his journals discusses Paludan-Müller's review of Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics*, showing it to contain a curious mixture of positive and negative assessment of Martensen. Kierkegaard again mentions Paludan-Müller's piece on Martensen in 1850, in which he himself refers to Martensen as sanctimonious in his preface to the second edition of his *Christian Dogmatics*. In 1855, Kierkegaard refers to Paludan-Müller's article against Kierkegaard, where Kierkegaard complains that his criticism of pastors' concern about monetary reward is ignored and that Paludan-Müller tries to draw Kierkegaard into discussion concerning Mynster's sermons, when the problem is the fact of worldly interest in monetary reward. In January 1855, in an article in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*), "A Challenge to Me by Pastor Paludan-Müller," Kierkegaard defends himself against Paludan-Müller's pamphlet. He makes clear that he does not wish to accept such a challenge and get involved in a discussion about **Jakob Mynster**'s preaching, especially a discussion of the kind where reference is made to the New Testament, using learned quotations, commentaries, and dictionaries. This, says

Kierkegaard, would be to obscure the issue, which is that Mynster was presented as an example of a **witness to the truth**, whereas he was a self-indulgent man of the world and his preaching omitted the radical element of Christian life as a breach with this world.

PARADOX. An apparent contradiction containing a truth. Paradox appears as an essential ingredient of Kierkegaard's presentation of religiousness and **Christianity**. The individual who would have to do with **God** is required to venture in **faith**, even though there is no objective, certain proof of God's existence. The first paradox of **religious** belief is thus the contrast or contradiction between the certainty of the person's commitment to the belief that there is a God (in the sense that the person persists in the commitment) and the element of objective uncertainty as to the existence of God. The individual is presented with something uncertain to be taken as if it were certain. If stated, the believer's paradox would read, "It is certain that God, whose existence is uncertain, exists." Within Christianity a further paradox centers on the assertion that the eternal, unchangeable God entered the realm of the temporal as the historical figure of Jesus. This is the paradox of "faith against the understanding," since it seems to contradict what is acceptable to **reason**. Here, the individual is treating as certain something that goes strongly against human reason. Another psychological paradox associated with faith against the understanding is the experience of the "good" person striving to live a godly life. The better the person, the more that person discovers **sin** in the **self**. Subjectivity is thus **truth** and untruth. Therefore, the striving Christian has to struggle at both an intellectual and a psychological level to follow the Christian path. The only real certainty provided is the continued striving of the individual. Where the intellectual striving is concerned, Kierkegaard's notion of "faith against the understanding" can be seen as on a par with the Zen koan. By burdening the intellect with something impossible, Kierkegaard, like the Zen master, drives the believer away from an intellectual preoccupation with Christianity. *See also* ABSURD; OFFENSE.

PASSION. The Danish word for "passion" (*Lidenskab*) is etymologically linked to the word for "suffer" (*lide*), and passion has two faces: that of longing for something and that of **suffering** because of it. To Kierkegaard, passion can be negative and positive. Passion is negative in connection with self-interested desires and unbridled emotions; it is positive where it is connected with the **ethical-religious** in some way, as

when Kierkegaard refers to **faith** as a passion in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***. Kierkegaard also uses *pathos* (Danish *Patos* from the Greek *pathos* = suffering, passion) in his writings. Pathos or the pathetic has to do with being moved inwardly, with passionate **seriousness**. Also in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, Kierkegaard describes **aesthetic** pathos in which the individual loses him- or herself in some **idea** outside the self yet not in the sense of personal commitment of the **self**. Such personal commitment involves existential pathos in which the individual lives for some idea and changes his or her life through it; it is thus an ethical pathos when the individual's entire life is transformed by the criteria of ethics. The pathos is religious when the individual's personal commitment is totally God oriented in the ethical-religious life. The two faces of passion (longing and suffering) can thus manifest themselves in the different ways of life portrayed in Kierkegaard's authorship and can be assessed as good or bad according to whether the passion is self-seeking or directed to **God** and neighbor.

PASTORAL SEMINARY. Started in Copenhagen on January 13, 1809, through the efforts of Henrik Georg Clausen (*see* **Henrik Nicolaj Clausen**) and then Bishop Friedrich Münter, this seminary had room for 20 theology graduates to acquire practical pastoral training. Henrik G. Clausen was a leading figure in the seminary, partly because of his previous efforts to secure proper practical training for pastors and partly because in 1811 he had become dean of the diocese and was given the task of lecturing on preaching and the catechism. The bishop gave the students pastoral training. Dean Øllegaard took them for psychology, and **Anders Ørsted** taught them Church law. To make sure that trainee pastors waiting for a place at the seminary did not forget what they had learned during their studies, they were required (July 1810) to write an annual theological essay for the bishop of the diocese where they were living. There was also a "Bishop's Exam" for pastors before they were ordained to their pastorates. In the early years, the number of students dropped sharply for a time, from 20 to just a few students, despite efforts to compel attendance.

Kierkegaard entered the Pastoral Seminary (as number 252) on November 17, 1840. On January 12, 1841, at noon, Kierkegaard took his turn (in Holmen's Church) at a trial sermon, choosing as his text Philippians 1, verses 19–25. Other fragments from this period include one that he later expanded into the sermon at the end of Part II of ***Either/Or***: "The Edification that Lies in the Thought that in Relation to **God** we are Al-

ways in the Wrong." On February 24, 1844, Kierkegaard held his qualifying probational sermon in Trinitatis Church, receiving an excellent grade. His text was taken from I Corinthians 2, verses 6–9.

In 1849, Kierkegaard went to Bishop **Jakob Mynster** to hint his interest in a teaching position at the Pastoral Seminary. He tells us that he did this to make sure he was not too proud to seek such a position before making big decisions in other directions. From a journal entry of 1851, we learn that Mynster suggested to him instead a pastorate in the country. (At one point Mynster suggested, probably not too genuinely, that Kierkegaard should start a Pastoral Seminary himself.) From this and other journal comments, it seems clear that Mynster did not want Kierkegaard in the seminary but preferred to have him out of Copenhagen if Kierkegaard were seeking a position in the church. For his part, Kierkegaard had financial problems and was clearly thinking about the cost of attacking the church establishment (*see* **State Church**), that it would bar the way to the position for which he was qualified. As a way of practically testing whether he should embark on a conflict that he wished to avoid (at one point he tells us he prayed to God for a position at the seminary), he let Mynster know that he was interested in such a position. This final conflict over whether he should try to get a position related to the pastorate seems to echo his earlier battle with himself over whether to settle down in traditional service of the Church as a pastor or instead serve the Church from the outside in his own manner.

PAULLI, JUST HENRIK VOLTELEN (1809–1865). Danish pastor. Paulli was born and died in Copenhagen. He was educated at the Westen Institute, finishing his education there in 1827, but he had to struggle financially to complete his university studies. In 1833, he took his degree in theology at **Copenhagen University**, and he became catechist in 1835 at the Church of the Holy Ghost (now Spirit) in Copenhagen (Helliggeisteskirken). He proved to be an extremely talented preacher, and this skill brought him the offer of a position at Christiansborg Palace Church (Slotskirken) in 1837, where he remained for 20 years (in 1840, he was also appointed pastor to the court), until in 1857, he became pastor and dean at the cathedral. He married Martine Hagen in 1838, but she died the following year. In 1843, he married Maria Mynster, daughter of **Jakob Peter Mynster**. In 1864, he became pastor to the royal house, to which he remained closely attached.

In theology, Paulli was akin to Jakob Mynster and strongly influenced by him, though he also found value in **Nikolai Grundtvig**, and he laid

weight on the value of the Christian community. He was a close friend of **Hans Lassen Martensen**, who found Paulli's preaching extremely helpful. Paulli's vocation had always been strongly to the ministry, and he was also especially talented in pastoral counseling. Yet he also found time for theological study, particularly pastoral theology. In 1851, he received a doctorate in pastoral theology. In 1854, he taught homiletics at the **Pastoral Seminary**. Among his publications are *Sermons on the Church and Sacraments* (*Prædikener om Kirken og Sakramenterne*) (1844), *Christian Prayers* (*Christelige Bønner*) (1845), and *Discourses in Church and on Special Occasions* (*Taler i Kirken og ved Særegne Leiligheder*) (posthumously published by Mynster's son in 1866). He became a member of the management committee of the Danish Bible Society in 1841 and chairman of the Hymnbook Committee for the Copenhagen Pastoral Convention, which published in 1844 a trial hymnal. He was on the Church Commission of 1853.

In his journals of 1849, Kierkegaard links Paulli with Hans Lassen Martensen and **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** as an "in-group." In 1850, Kierkegaard tells us of a meeting with Paulli, the day before he met Mynster on October 22, 1850, on the subject of Kierkegaard's book ***Practice in Christianity***. Paulli reported Mynster's anger at the book and also that Mynster had given him permission to let Kierkegaard know that he thought the book profanely played with what was holy, but that Mynster had said he would tell Kierkegaard so himself, too, the next time Kierkegaard paid him a visit. In 1851, when Kierkegaard reports the same conversation, he adds that he told Paulli (as well as others) that in two years the church establishment would thank Kierkegaard for the book for having directed it back on the right track. Kierkegaard was not uncritical of Paulli's preaching. In his journals of 1850–53, Kierkegaard criticizes Paulli's sermons for avoiding serious contact with the theme of following Christ.

In 1854, at the commencement of the attack on the Church (*see* **State Church**), Kierkegaard comments in his journals on Martensen's initial response in the **press**. Kierkegaard thinks it impossible that Martensen can really think he hypocritically wore a mask of pretended respect for Mynster when he was alive, since through Paulli and others he must have had an impression that this was just what Kierkegaard had not done in his contact with Mynster, even though he publicly showed greater respect than he felt for Mynster. From a letter written by Martensen at the time (April 1855), we learn that Paulli and Mrs. Martensen had heard Grundtvig preach against Kierkegaard's attack on the church establish-

ment. Both were highly pleased, as was Martensen when he heard this, since it made clear to him how Grundtvig viewed the matter.

PHILISTINE. Kierkegaard uses the term *Philistine* (*Spidsborger*) for the one who is totally absorbed in material and commonplace things, without an awareness that there could be anything more to life. The Philistine can in fact be anyone in society. In secular terms, such a person may even be a highly successful, well-educated, cultivated citizen, respected by all. The Philistine's problem, however, is that of a total lack of real **freedom** in the sense that the Philistine has never exercised real choice. Such an individual lives under the illusion that she or he makes choices in life but in fact is involved in the unconscious hypocrisy of following the normative etiquette and practice of society—and can even give practical reasons for so doing. In fact, **social** and economic pressures are dictating the Philistine's behavior, such that she or he is merely a numerical member of the **crowd** instead of being a responsible individual in the community. Examples of the Philistine can be found in Kierkegaard's descriptions of the cultured but religionless young man who finds himself compelled to go through the motions of being a Christian when his baby is baptized, or the tradesman who is a churchgoer because he sees it as a necessary way in which to secure the confidence and business of his customers. *See also* PAGANISM.

PHILOSOPHICAL FRAGMENTS. The first of the two published works by Johannes Climacus, the other being ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript.*** Despite the shared author name, the two published works could well be by a different pseudonym. Originally Kierkegaard had thought to publish *Philosophical Fragments* (*Philosophiske Smuler*) under his own name, but, like *Concluding Unscientific Postscript,* Johannes Climacus became the author and Kierkegaard took publisher status. Kierkegaard wrote *Philosophical Fragments* from the end of March to the end of May 1844, and it was published on June 13, 1844. In common with ***Johannes Climacus, or De omnibus dubitandum est,*** is, however, that the three writings belong to the specifically philosophical line of examination of existential themes in Kierkegaard's authorship, just as, for example, ***The Concept of Anxiety*** and ***The Sickness unto Death*** can be said to belong to Kierkegaard's psychological investigations. In *Philosophical Fragments,* the investigation concerns reaching **truth**—it asks whether the truth can be learned or whether it is already within one.

The book investigates in somewhat abstract philosophical language the Platonic-Socratic idea of the **recollection** of truth before considering

how truth is brought about in **Christianity**. The distinction made here is that with the former, the individual possesses truth and so the teacher merely has to provoke it maieutically to the surface, so to speak, and is not vitally important, since any teacher would do. Where Christianity is concerned, the individual is like a blind person, needing the restoration of sight before she or he can see. The individual had the condition for seeing initially but is to blame for the loss of sight. The individual in Christianity thus needs the **God** and Savior to provide the condition for learning truth, including the truth that the individual is in untruth (i.e., **sin**). Since the God appears in the form of a lowly human and is not immediately recognizable, there is the element of **paradox**. The individual must set aside the objections of the **understanding** so that the paradoxical savior (who is the vitally important object of faith rather than the teaching) can give him- or herself to the individual in the **moment** along with the condition of **faith**.

Philosophical Fragments also deals with the status of those contemporary with Christ as opposed to the status of the modern individual. It here takes its departure point in **Gotthold Lessing**'s problem about the relation of the historical and contingent to eternal truth and the difference between the eyewitness and the one who hears historical report. Climacus thus asks whether an eternal happiness (*see* **Eternity/Time**) can be built on historical **knowledge**. He concludes that it is just as difficult for the contemporary as for the later individual because of the possibility of **offense**. The faith condition always comes directly from the God and Savior and cannot be worked out from historical evidence. It is here that Kierkegaard produces the "world-historical *nota bene*"—namely, Climacus's assertion that if the God and Savior's contemporaries had left behind only the words "We have believed that in such and such a year the god appeared in the humble form of a servant, lived and taught among us, and then died," this would be more than enough material for the modern contemporary.

By July 1847, 229 copies of *Philosophical Fragments* had been sold from the original printing of 525 copies, and it was reviewed in *Theological Journal,* new series (*Theologisk Tidsskrift, Ny Række*) (IV, 1 [volume 10], May 1846), by the Hegelian (*see* **Hegel**) Johan Frederik Hagen under the pseudonym "80." While praising the book for its dialectical approach, Hagen stresses that mediation must not be forgotten. In Germany, Andreas Frederik Beck anonymously reviewed *Philosophical Fragments* in *Neues Repertorium für die theologische Literatur und kirchliche Statistik*, Berlin (II, 1, April 30, 1845). The review was chiefly

a summary of the book, but Kierkegaard, as Climacus in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, was worried that the review reader would be given the mistaken impression by it that *Philosophical Fragments* was a direct, didactic communication to people.

PHISTER, JOACHIM LUDVIG (1807–1896). Danish actor. His father was a teacher at Nicolai School in Copenhagen and later bellringer at the Church of the Holy Ghost (now Spirit) (Helliggeistes Kirke). There were 10 children in the Phister family, with little money to go around. Phister's father was a lively man with a talent for mimicry, a talent Joachim (who was the fourth eldest child) inherited. Phister was sent to **Efterslægten**, the Posterity Society's School, and soon revealed a talent for drama, so much so, that on May 27, 1817, his father secured his acceptance as a dance pupil at the Royal Theater. He was, however, speedily given child roles, and thanks to his talented performance, especially in *Harvest Festival* (*Høstgildet*) (May 1819), he was soon promoted to the status of drama pupil. In 1825, Phister was given his first major **Holberg** role as the boy in *The Pawned Peasant Boy* (*Den pantsatte Bonde-Dreng*).

Although he clearly had a talent for comedy, for a while Phister had to be content with romantic lover roles, since there was a surplus of comedians but a dearth of the latter. Phister was not a success as stage lover and endured a period of mostly minor parts, all of which he performed avidly, making the best of his opportunities in every direction and thus becoming indispensable to the theater management as well as attracting the public's attention. Yet he still retained the status of pupil, even though in 1827 he was able to learn quickly and perform well the role of Leporello in *Don Giovanni*. It was not until 1829, after he had the previous year shown that he was also good as a singer, that the theater management gave him a three-year appointment as an actor. By the following year, however, he did so well that the theater had to appoint him a royal actor (September 1830). After this, there was no holding Phister back in the development of his talent. He became a leading Holberg actor and also made a name for himself in his other roles. He was married three times, the first time in 1832 to actress Charlotte Oehlenschläger, daughter of the poet **Adam Oehlenschläger**, and after her death in 1835, to opera singer Christiane Holst in 1839. Christiane died in 1842, and Phister married actress Louise Petersen in 1846. With his parts in Holberg, Phister carried on the authentic Holberg tradition; with his other roles, he created their tradition, giving them each character through his own special **genius**. He simply became in every respect the characters he played,

in works by people such as **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**, **Henrik Hertz,** and **Jens Hostrup**. He was particularly good at portraying stupid people without overdoing it.

On May 23, 1873, Phister played one of his many Henrik roles, in Holberg's *Henrik and Pernille,* also Bellringer Link in Høedt's *Yes* (*Ja*), but he made this his retirement performance. Even though he seemed as good as ever, he had suddenly found his memory was no longer good enough to continue. For a few years after this, he appeared at a number of charity performances. His final appearance was on March 30, 1889, when at a private performance at the Casino Wintergarden (*see* **Tivoli**), he did some brief sketches.

Kierkegaard admired Phister's acting intensely, not least because, unlike many actors, Phister relied on his canny knowledge of other people and their reactions. For Kierkegaard, he was to be praised because he acted on the basis of reflection and not spontaneous reaction. He especially admired Phister's accuracy of psychological perception, which enabled him to be the character in question rather than just play the part of the character. In his journals for 1848, Kierkegaard writes a review of Phister's role as Captain Scipio in the light opera *Ludovic*, which had been performed a number of times in the years 1834–41 and again on June 11, 1846, before Kierkegaard wrote about his performance. The article was unpublished, possibly because Kierkegaard, who had corrected it more carefully than he lets us think from his journals, could not make it fit the pattern of his publications at that point. Kierkegaard praises Phister lavishly, especially for his power of reflective insight into the role. *See also* COMIC, THE/TRAGIC, THE.

PLOUG, CARL PARMO (1813–1894). Danish poet, journalist, and politician. Ploug was born in Kolding, where his father was head teacher at the grammar school. In 1829, Ploug, himself a pupil at the school, became a student at **Copenhagen University**, where he studied philology and history. Unfortunately, he had to work alongside his studies to support himself and his family when his father died; his academic interests also ranged too widely beyond his initial subject areas for him to give all of them adequate attention. So Ploug never actually finished his degree, although he made a big impact within the student community because of his ability to express himself in verse and prose, coupled with his enthusiasm for the new liberal ideas. He was one of the founders of the Academic Reading Association, also called "Academicum" (see **Student Association, The**), and became a leading figure

in the student world. In any important activity, especially if it was political in **nature**, he took the leading role.

In 1839, Ploug became one of the founders of *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*), then editor in chief of the paper in May 1841 (**Jens Giødwad** was a fellow editor). Ploug's chief political goals were the political alliance of the Scandinavian lands, the inclusion of Slesvig in Denmark, and a new political **constitution** to replace the absolute monarchy. In 1848–49, *The Fatherland's* office became a meeting place for the liberal leaders during the agitation for a new constitution. It was here that the decision was made to call a political meeting at the Casino (March 20, 1848) (*see* **Tivoli**) and here that **Orla Lehmann** drafted the petition for constitutional change. Ploug was a key speaker at the Casino meeting. When the new constitution was introduced and the March ministry in place, *The Fatherland* became even more influential, almost the organ for the new government. Ploug was also elected for Kolding to the new parliamentary body. In the following years, Ploug's best political success was still achieved through the paper and also through activity as a leader of students (he was the students' spokesman to the Swedish king at the student meeting in Uppsala, 1856), even though he became a member of parliament for Svendborg (1854–57) and in 1859 represented Funen.

Since Ploug was dedicated to the separation of Slesvig from Holstein and to the idea of a Scandinavian alliance, he tended to concentrate on these political issues above all other matters. Yet, although he allied himself with those who supported these goals, Ploug had a politically independent nature and was not afraid to attack opponents sharply. This made him unpopular in national liberal circles without gaining him strong partisans among those who agreed with his ideas. The year 1864 saw the failure of Ploug's political goals, but he worked on further in a revision of the new constitution. In 1877, he received an honorary doctorate from Lund University in recognition of his efforts toward a Scandinavian alliance. In 1881, he resigned his editorship of *The Fatherland*, but from 1866 to 1890, he was a parliamentary member for Copenhagen as a national liberal, and from 1887 to 1893, he chaired a right-wing workers and voters association.

Ploug's poetry was deeply inspired by his political aspirations for his country. First he was student poet, then he was gripped by Scandinavianism in the 1840s, writing works such as *Lovely Øresund* (*Dejlige Øresund*). His later poems also celebrated domestic life and historical events. He published collections of poems in 1847 (under the name Povl Rytter) and more poems in 1854, and 1861. His three collections of poems were published as *Collected Poems* (*Samlede Digte*) in 1862.The

new cultural movements of the 1870s met with aggressive opposition from Ploug, who opposed the new trends in poetry as well as prose.

Kierkegaard mentions Ploug several times in connection with his own assessment of the *Corsair* affair (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**). When he names Ploug's editorship of *The Fatherland* in his journals of 1850, the point is that the **press** dislikes personal attack on it when names are mentioned, whereas the press does not mind attacking individuals by name. In 1850, he also tells us that Ploug and others have thanked Kierkegaard privately for his stand against *The Corsair* (*Corsaren*) paper, but publicly they have remained silent, an act Kierkegaard considers to be one of not just cowardice but treachery.

POINT OF VIEW FOR MY WORK AS AN AUTHOR, THE. Just as in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** Kierkegaard had tried to explain his authorship to his readers, so Kierkegaard decided to try to explain himself (journals, 1848) in a work devoted specifically to that purpose and almost finished by November 1848. In *The Point of View* (*Synspunktet for min Forfatter-Virksomhed*), he therefore explains that he has always been a religious author and not merely an aesthete (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) who has repented of his ways and then turned to religion. He then presents his writings as a total religious authorship, designed to undermine the illusion of "Christendom" as authentic **Christianity**. He explains that the point of starting with aesthetic works was to implement his Socratic maieutic strategy of **indirect communication**, beginning from where his readers found themselves and aiming to "deceive" them into the **truth**. The book also includes comments on his previous life, with its personal tactic of going to the theater and so forth as if he were a man about town, and it also attempts to show how *Governance* (*Styrelsen*)—that is, God—had been a key inspiration in the formulation of his work.

Kierkegaard never published this work, however, probably because he felt that it revealed too much. Instead, in 1851, he published the much shorter *On My Work as an Author* (*Om min Forfatter-Virksomhed*), which also lacked the subtitle of the longer version—namely, that of being "a direct communication" and a "report to history." In the published work, Kierkegaard explains his authorship in terms of a reckoning of accounts and the maieutic goal of his writing as one without **authority**. In an appendix, he explains his position as a religious author and his strategy.

Kierkegaard had thought of publishing *The Point of View* in 1849, along with the second edition of ***Either/Or***, as a balance to the heavily aesthetic character of the latter. He was very conscious that his author-

ship might be misunderstood and anxious to explain himself, especially as he felt that death was not too far off. Having deliberated on how he could publish the explanatory material, he eventually decided for the shorter option of 1851, leaving *The Point of View* for posthumous publication. It is highly probable that the usual 525 copies of *On My Work as an Author* were printed. In 1859, his brother **Peter Christian Kierkegaard** published *The Point of View*.

The reception of *On My Work as an Author* was poor. There were few mentions of it. In *The Flying Post* (*Flyve-Posten*) (number 175, August 7, 1851) and *The City Paper* (*Byens-Avis*) (number 187, August 9, 1851), an anonymous announcement hailed it as the explanation of a highly gifted person's authorship, noting that it looked as if this authorship was now being ended. A later issue of *The Flying Post* (number 215, September 16, 1851) warned readers not to be confused by the book. In 1856, **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** published a letter from Kierkegaard to his wife that mentions *On My Work as an Author*, Kierkegaard having sent **Johanne Luise Heiberg** a copy. Kierkegaard sent Bishop **Jakob Mynster** a copy of the 1851 work, Mynster viewing it as the interpretation of hindsight, albeit a helpful one.

The Point of View was treated more substantially. **Andreas Gottlob Rudelbach** wrote a review "Synspunktet for min Forfatter-Virksomhed" in the *Evangelical Weekly* (*Evangelisk Ugeskrift*) (numbers 4–5, January 20, 1860). Rudelbach speaks of Kierkegaard's creative genius and sees the book as the key to the internal coherence of his authorship. He sees, however, the tactic of indirect communication and Kierkegaard's dismissal of apologetics as not Christian. **Jørgen Victor Bloch** in "Two Works of S. Kierkegaard Reexamined" (*To Skrifter af S. Kierkegaard paany fremdragne*) (*Danish Church Times* [*Dansk Kirketidende*], numbers 28–29, 31–32, 34, July 12, 26, August 23, 1885) deals with ***For Self-Examination*** and *The Point of View*. Most of the article sums up Kierkegaard's works. He says of *The Point of View* that the direct communication had removed the mystery of the authorship, which was lost through the disclosure. He thought that it would have helped people understand Kierkegaard if he had published it in his lifetime and, finally, that Kierkegaard would have been vastly helped if he could have come into a living association with **Nikolai Grundtvig,** who had emphasized so much the humanity of Christianity.

Today, *The Point of View* has been seen by scholars such as Walter Lowrie as on a level with the *Confessions of St. Augustine* or Cardinal Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. In the period of postmodernism, however,

the hermeneutics of distrust got to work, some scholars (e.g., Joakim Garff) viewing *The Point of View* as a further literary device by Kierkegaard to confuse his readers and thus an untrustworthy interpretation. While Kierkegaard (journal of October 13, 1853) was fully aware that an element of creativity entered into such interpretations, the entire tenor of his writings is such that there is no reason not to trust *The Point of View* in the main lines of its explanation. Kierkegaard clearly did wish to be understood by his readers, albeit without losing the maieutic distance supplied by indirect communication.

POLYTECHNIC, THE. The Polytechnic or Polytechnic Teaching Institution (Polyteknisk Læreanstalt) in Copenhagen was the highest technical college in Denmark. It was opened by the king on January 27, 1829, in connection with **Copenhagen University**. The first director of the Polytechnic was **Hans Christian Ørsted**, who was a leading spirit in getting the institution started. The college started its life in a couple of ex-professorial residences in the streets of St. Pederstræde and Studiestræde in the inner city. It remained there (with some building extensions) until 1890. In 1833, an older Institute for Metalworkers was amalgamated with the Polytechnic, though run separately.

Initially the Polytechnic offered a two-year training with two different paths of study, mechanical and applied **sciences**. Practical training was offered in this period, but after a couple of years it was found to be impossible for the students to find time for this. The workshops remained linked to the Polytechnic until 1860 with its own pupils. Very soon after the Polytechnic started, the need manifested itself for a third path of study, engineering, and a first step was taken to implement it in 1836. Nothing much happened, however, until training in land surveying was started in 1845, and for a short while in 1849, the Polytechnic ran a course in farming economy. The engineering section did not start properly until 1857. With the passage of time, the length of training was extended from three and a half to four and a half years and the teaching broadened. With the growth in student numbers, the college was eventually forced to move to a new building in 1890.

Accounts of the Polytechnic expressed a sense of dissatisfaction that it had to struggle to survive with little funding and poor facilities. In the draft of his student play (ca. 1838), ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***, Kierkegaard mentions "Polytechnic Students" in his cast of characters and the play. He refers to them in the play as part of

"the educated middle class," while a Polytechnic student is made to refer to the state (*see* **Constitution, The Danish**) as "a galvanic apparatus."

POSSIBILITY/NECESSITY. *See* FREEDOM; IDEAS.

PRACTICE IN CHRISTIANITY. By 1848, Kierkegaard was considering his future and the possible termination of his career as a writer. He had also found writing to be a self-educative process that caused him to concentrate much more on the nature of ideal **Christianity**. Initially he considered publishing parts of *Practice in Christianity* (*Indøvelse i Christendom*) with ***The Sickness unto Death*** and other material. Since the new book was presenting Christianity as the ideality of **truth** (*see* **Ideas**), Kierkegaard retained the pseudonym used for *The Sickness unto Death* (Anti-Climacus), with again his own name as publisher on the title page. Anti-Climacus, as a committed Christian, was the counterpart of the Johannes Climacus who declared his lack of Christianity, but this time, although he considered the possibility, Kierkegaard omitted the first name Johannes. Just as *The Sickness unto Death* was intended for the individual's "upbuilding and awakening," so *Practice in Christianity* was personally directed, the first part specifically intended for "awakening and inward deepening."

The tripartite structure of the book takes its departure point in three New Testament texts, the first being the call of Christ to the individual, the second warning of the possibility of **offense**, and the third returning to the call of Christ using a different text. *Practice in Christianity* thus has to do with the healing of the penitent sinner and the personal ethics called for as the response to divine **grace**, but along with the call it also contains a repelling note in its heavy emphasis on the possibility of offense. There is a return to the problem of ***Philosophical Fragments*** and ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** in the discussion of the historical Jesus and the contemporary turning of Christianity into the **paganism** of "Christendom" (*see* **Christianity/Christendom**). Anti-Climacus imagines a situation of **contemporaneity** with the possible disbelieving reactions of various people to Christ, including the pastor, the philosopher, the politician, and the solid citizen. In his analysis of the forms of offense, he stresses the impossibility of there being other than **indirect communication** by God to humanity. The New Testament theme of the crucified Christ as being an offense to the Jews and folly to the Greeks (I Corinthians 1, verse 23) is implicit throughout.

A not too deep reading between the lines indicates Bishop **Jakob Mynster** as representing the Jews (ecclesiastical side of things) and **Hans Lassen Martensen** the **Greeks** (the academics). The book's attack on the idea of the Church triumphant is clearly an attack encompassing the **state church**, but *Practice in Christianity* also attacks the phenomenon of Christian **art** for substituting admiration for **imitation**. *Practice in Christianity* also contains the story of the child (*see* **Children**) shown the picture of the crucified Christ and the description of the young man who has his **imagination** captured by the picture of the extreme altruistic ideality of Christianity and persists in his venture to live according to it. Although the preface to the book stresses the need for facing up to the true nature of Christian ideality, an ameliorating note comes in "The Moral" in which Anti-Climacus allows that not everyone is called to a life of total self-denial (*see* **Death and Dying**; **Resignation and Self-denial**) as long as Christian ideality is recognized as the standard of true Christianity.

Practice in Christianity was composed from mid-April to early December 1848 and was published on September 27, 1850. Not surprisingly, Kierkegaard hoped for some kind of public response to the book by Bishop Mynster, but the latter maintained silence, as did the political authorities. In his journals of the 1850s, however, Kierkegaard reports his visit to the bishop, who saw the book as partly an attack on himself and partly on Hans Lassen Martensen but also let Kierkegaard understand that each had a right to an individual opinion about things. The section of *Practice in Christianity* that the bishop saw as particularly directed at him concerned the claim that the Christian sermon had become mainly a matter of "observations." Kierkegaard himself found some of this section rather strong.

Practice in Christianity sold well, selling out in five years, though initially only one thin review of the book was made by R. T. Fenger and C. J. Brandt (*Danish Church Times* [*Dansk Kirketidende*] (5, number 63, December 15, 1850). Later there was a piece by Albert Lysander in the Swedish *Tidskrift för Litteratur* (Uppsala, 1851). Although it was headed "Practice in Christianity," it was aimed at introducing Kierkegaard to the Swedish public and did not discuss Kierkegaard's latest book. In 1855, a second edition of *Practice in Christianity* was published, Kierkegaard leaving it unaltered as a "historical document." He saw (in *The Fatherland* [*Fædrelandet*], 112, May 16, 1855) the inclusion of "The Moral," and the preface calling for the requirement of Christian ideality to be heard and acknowledged, as a defense of the established church, whereas removal of these elements would turn the book into a straightforward attack.

The second edition of the book received an (anonymous) comment (*Copenhagen's Flying Post* [*Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*], 115, May 21, 1855) that the book would surely now create more of a stir than on its first publication, while **Jens Paludan-Müller** used the book as a point of departure for talking about the works that preceded it ("Dr Søren Kierkegaard's Practice in Christianity" [*Dr. Søren Kierkegaards Indøvelse i Christendom*], *New Theological Journal* [*Nyt theologisk Tidsskrift*], 6, 1855). Later, in 1885, **Jørgen Victor Bloch** wrote a long review of the book along with other works, called "*Practice in Christianity*, by Anti-Climacus (Reexamined by J. Victor Bloch)" (*Indøvelse i Christendom*, af Anti-Climacus [Paany fremdraget af J. Victor Bloch]), in *Dansk Kirketidende* (40, numbers 14–15, 16, 18, 20–22, April 12, 19, May 3, 17, 24, 31, 1885). Bloch saw Kierkegaard's interpretation of Christianity as overstrained but correct in its criticism of the worldly, self-satisfied, and uncritical stance of official Christianity. He criticized Kierkegaard for taking the position of an outsider, rather than as a member of the Church. Kierkegaard himself saw *Practice in Christianity* as the most perfect and true thing he had written.

PREFACES. Kierkegaard composed this work in the period between the end of May and the beginning of June 1844, and it was published under the pseudonym of Nicolaus Notabene on June 17, 1844, the same day that saw the publication of ***The Concept of Anxiety***. Kierkegaard used this piece of satire to send up the Hegelian (*see* **Hegel**) desire to create a **system** of **knowledge**. The departure point of *Prefaces* is the desire of Notabene to be a writer. Since his wife objects to his becoming an author and even contrives to burn his manuscript, Notabene evades her strictures by writing only prefaces and never a book proper. The title of the book parodies Hegel's comments on philosophical prefaces in his preface to *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. For Hegel, a preface as an introductory orienting guide is paradoxical because it tries to convey the truth of the text to the reader before the latter has worked his or her way through the text, thus appropriating its truth. Therefore, a preface should really be a postscript. Notabene thus sidesteps Hegel's problem by not having a main text at all. At the same time, Notabene's prefaces contain persistent digs at the Danish Hegelians, not least **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** and also **Hans Lassen Martensen,** who appears to be the target of the sixth preface. There is also a comic appreciative reference to Bishop **Jakob Mynster**'s book of Sermons, a more serious note of appreciation being written by Kierkegaard later in his unpublished ***Book on Adler***.

The first four prefaces were originally intended by Kierkegaard for a planned polemical work "New Year's Gift" edited by Nicolaus Notabene, this title poking fun at the 19th-century Danish habit of publishing lavish, gilded New Year books to serve as suitable Christmas presents for people. The subtitle of *Prefaces,* "Light Reading" (*Morskabslæsning*), was similarly a reference to the habit of publishing collections of various stories and tales under that heading.

Prefaces was published through **C. A. Reitzel** in the usual run of 525 copies; by July 1847, 208 copies had been sold, the rest being remaindered to Reitzel in that year. The book attracted little attention from reviewers, with only two prepublication responses at the time, an anonymous one in *The Liberal Minded* (*Den Frisindede*) (75, July 2, 1844) and one by the pseudonym "3-7" in *New Portfolio* (*Ny Portefeuille*) (13, June 30, 1844).

PRESS AND PRESS FREEDOM. Freedom of the press in Denmark was introduced by cabinet minister Johan Frederik Struensee (1731–72) with the ordinance of September 14, 1770. During his regency, Frederik VI became nervous of popular enthusiasm for some of the ideas behind the French **Revolution** of 1789, fearing political unrest in Denmark. With the ordinance of September 27, 1799, the press laws were tightened to what was a degree of censorship. **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**'s father, Peter Andreas Heiberg, was exiled for life in 1800 for infringing press restrictions, as was Malthe Conrad Bruun, another polemical liberal author. This led to a period of political passivity. Even when Frederik introduced the Provincial Consultative Assemblies (Provinsialstænder; Stænderforsamlingerne) in 1834, he was alarmed by political comment in the press and proposed further press legislation (December 14, 1834) that would introduce full censorship. A petition to the king from over 570 people (February 21, 1835) only provoked the response that he knew what was best for the people. The proposed legislation became law. This provoked the foundation of the highly successful Society for the Proper Use of Press Freedom (Selskabet for Trykkefrihedens rette Brug) on March 14, 1835, by those involved in submitting the petition. Professor Joakim Frederik Schouw became chairman and **Henrik Nicolaj Clausen** editor of the society's paper, *Danish People's Paper* (*Dansk Folkeblad*). Also supporting the petition were Johan Ludvig Heiberg and Professor **Frederik C. Sibbern**. **Orla Lehmann** was a leading member of the organization. The Free Press Society (Trykkefrihedsselskabet), as it was called, gained over 2,000 members in Copenhagen and spread throughout the country, thus creating a strong liberal movement.

By 1835, the press, especially *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*) and *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*), began to make itself felt politically. *The Copenhagen Post* was begun by **Andreas Peter Liunge** and Ove Thomsen (1801–1862). Initially, it aimed to present current Copenhagen news and events abroad. It was literary in character, serving as an organ for the opponents of Johan Ludvig Heiberg's *Copenhagen's Flying Post* (*Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*). In 1835, Orla Lehmann and **Jens Finsteen Giødwad** started a regular supply of political articles to the paper, thus causing it to become the first liberal paper. In 1837, Giødwad became editor and Lehmann leading journalist. Johan Peter Grüne (1805–1878) took over the editorship in 1839. *The Fatherland* was started as a moderately liberal paper in September 1834 by Professor Christian G. N. David, supported by **Johannes Hage**, a talented political writer. David was speedily charged with breach of the press laws. Hage, who took over the editorship in 1835, fell foul of the laws in 1837 and lost the editorship. The paper, however, became the chief organ of national liberalism. Orla Lehmann and Jens Finsteen Giødwad joined the staff (1839) and the editorship (1840). The paper survived until 1882. Freedom of the press returned with a law of January 3, 1851.

Despite his profound analyses of sociopolitical life (e.g., in his review of ***Two Ages***), Kierkegaard was not a political person (*see* **Social and Political, The**). In the 1830s, however, he dabbled in the political arena. The outlook of the **Student Association** of **Copenhagen University** at that time was one of political moderation. Student **Johannes Ostermann** sums up its outlook in a statement he made on its behalf in June 1837, that the Student Association should not be politically significant or exert political influence. On November 14, 1835, he had presented a paper ("Our Latest Journalistic Literature" [*Vor nyeste Journallitteratur*]) at the association in which, as a moderate liberal, he criticized sensational papers known as "rocket literature" but did not criticize *The Copenhagen Post* or *The Fatherland*. Ostermann expressed the view that, to a great extent, the press was responsible for recent political initiatives. On November 28, 1835, Kierkegaard responded with a paper ("Our Journalistic Literature—A Study from Nature in Noonday Light" [*Vor Journal-Litteratur: Studium efter Naturen i Middagsbelysning*]) that dissected and refuted Ostermann's, trying to show that the political initiative came essentially from Frederik VI. His view at this point can be seen as a moderate conservatism anxious about a too-speedy growth of liberalism. Although he defends the establishment, it appears to be from the viewpoint of wanting to give the king his due. He may also have wished

to minimize the possible influence of the press through minimizing its importance as an unauthorized source of political power.

Also in the 1830s, Kierkegaard took on liberals Orla Lehmann and Johannes Hage. Lehmann, in a long (anonymous) article on press freedom in *The Copenhagen Post* (January– February 1836), had argued in favor of the press as a remedy for the political stagnation in the period ending at the beginning of the 1830s. Johannes Hage had defended Lehmann against Kierkegaard in an article on the *Flying Post*'s polemic (*The Fatherland*, March 1836). Later, after his clash in the 1840s with the large and popular paper *The Corsair* (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt** and **Peder Ludvig Møller**), Kierkegaard's journal comments about the press are scathing, although he did not refrain from using the press himself, writing articles in *The Fatherland*, especially during the attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster; State Church.**)

Once or twice in his authorship Kierkegaard alludes to *The Policeman's Friend* (*Politivennen*), a weekly, domestic paper begun in 1798 by Klaus Henrik Seidelin (1761–1811). The paper aimed to investigate the rights and wrongs of police matters, but it also attacked local social abuses and exposed faults in the establishment generally. The king, who welcomed criticism of the status quo as long as it did not threaten it, was among the paper's readers. He viewed the paper as a valuable source of information about practical matters that needed putting right. *See also* CONSTITUTION, THE DANISH.

PRIMITIVITY. People usually think of primitivity as meaning not advanced culturally. For Kierkegaard, however, primitivity (*Primitivitet*) is the individual's basic originality, what makes a person able to become an individual. Every person has a seed of primitivity, of originality as a person, a capacity to receive an impression as an individual without being influenced by others in the reception of the impression. (This capacity is seen as manifested to an extreme degree in the **genius**.) In a society in which people are encouraged to worry about what others think and to conform to community conventions, Kierkegaard sees attention directed away from becoming an individual **self** through a spiritual relationship to the **eternal**. Instead, people prioritize the values and concerns of temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**), and the eternal tends to drop out of the picture entirely. *See also* CONSCIENCE; CROWD/PUBLIC; SOCIAL AND POLITICAL, THE.

PROTESTANTISM/CATHOLICISM. Kierkegaard's **religious** background has its roots in a tension between the Moravian pietism of his peasant father and **state church** religiosity, particularly that of Bishop **Jakob Mynster** in the cathedral congregation in Copenhagen. He was thus strictly brought up in **Christianity** in the context of state Protestant Lutheran Christianity. Although he had a profound respect for the spiritual life of authentic Protestantism and even late in his writings sees that not every individual can follow the path of total **imitation** of Christ (see "The Moral" in ***Practice in Christianity***), Kierkegaard soon saw the dangers of the type of civic Christian religiosity, however seriously practiced, of **Nikolai Balle**'s catechism (as exemplified in the life of Judge William in ***Either/Or***). Such a religiosity could soon degenerate into the life of any ordinary person of morals in society, and it need not necessarily be a Christian morality at all. At worst, it could become a religion of churchgoing on Sundays with little **ethical** reference to the person's life during the rest of the week. Kierkegaard therefore came to emphasize the strict ideality of New Testament renunciation of the world (*see* **Death and Dying**). Like his fellow Lutherans, Kierkegaard refers to the **authority** of Scripture rather than to Church authority. He regards the New Testament as the measure by which the political institution of the Church and the individual must measure themselves. He is also suspicious of Church authority as soon as it becomes worldly and attempts to control people temporally with the aid of Christianity, whether this means the authority of the Vatican or the authority of the Danish church establishment. Yet, in his journals of 1853–54, he sees Protestantism and Roman Catholicism as in a sense complementary the way a building that needs buttresses cannot stand independently without them. The Catholic emphasis on works of **asceticism** and the monastic life (*see* **Inwardness**) is an essential element of Christianity, just as the Lutheran emphasis on salvation by **grace** is essential. The one balances the other as corrective, whereas alone each can lead to the abuse of Christianity. *See also* RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL.

PROVINCIAL CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLIES. *See* PRESS AND PRESS FREEDOM.

PUBLIC. *See* CROWD/PUBLIC; SOCIAL AND POLITICAL, THE.

PURITY OF HEART. *See EIGHTEEN UPBUILDING DISCOURSES.*

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RAHBEK, KNUD LYNE AND KAMMA. *See* HEIBERG, JOHAN LUDVIG; OEHLENSCHLÄGER, ADAM.

REASON AND UNDERSTANDING. Kierkegaard uses *Reason* (*Fornuft*), *Understanding* (*Forstand*), and *Reflection* (*Refleksion*) to refer to the intellectual side of the human psyche. He tends to use "understanding" of things to do with the empirical world and "reason" for conceptual reflection about what lies beyond immediate human experience. The term *reflection* might be said to denote the existential element of thinking, whether about immediate human experience or about ideas and possibilities. As Johannes Climacus in ***Philosophical Fragments***, Kierkegaard sees humans as ever striving to extend the boundary of thought until it can go no further. Climacus sees this as indicative of an instinctive human existential longing for **God** and as part of the path to the laying aside of human reason in the encounter with the paradoxical (*see* **Paradox**). By this, Kierkegaard is far from disparaging human reason, since he is no friend of unthinking religiosity. On the contrary, there can be no question of authentic **faith** until a person has grasped the difficulties of religious belief, something Kierkegaard emphasizes through ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, in which Johannes Climacus sees it as his task to attack unthinking belief in search of certainty by "making difficulties." The unimaginative **Philistine** is also given a hard time for devoting his life to temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) using the measuring-stick of probability in the attempt to live a safe **existence**. Such a one operates with a restricted understanding and never reaches the daring endeavor of faith. *See also* IMAGINATION.

RECOLLECTION. The pleasure-seeking aesthete uses the tactic of "recollection" (*Erindringen*) in his or her attempt to eternalize the pleasure experience. That is, one consciously "photographs" into one's memory the high spots of special pleasure-giving events as they happen. Then later, at one's leisure, one can recall the event and thus reexperience the pleasure. In this way one "eternalizes" it in one's memory. The experience of recollection is thus different from remembering an event as it happened, in that it is a selection of the ideality of the experience as being the totality of the event. In ***Stages on Life's Way***, William Afham gives the aesthetes' banquet (*In Vino Veritas*) as an example of the tactic put to work. As with **aesthetic repetition**, however, the tactic of recol-

lection is shown to be a failure. The totality of the banquet experience in fact included party hangovers in the morning, while William Afham does not appear to have been at the banquet he so vividly describes. The other thing is that the recollection consists of the intellectual recall of the past and cannot bring back the actuality of the event.

The concept of recollection also appears in Kierkegaard's authorship from a more philosophical perspective. Kierkegaard shows his familiarity with the Greek view of knowledge as recollection (Plato's *Meno*); that is, that to learn something is really to recall something one already knew. The superiority of Greek recollection to aesthetic recollection is that the recollection concerns eternal **truth** and not the attempt to eternalize the pleasure experience. Kierkegaard makes, however, an important distinction between Plato and Socrates where recollection is concerned. In the case of Platonic recollection, a retreat is made through the self from the actual imperfect world of sense experience into the eternal real world of **ideas**, where the soul (*see* **Spirit and Soul**) is considered to be preexistent because of the fact of latent **knowledge**, and because of the thought that existent objects lack the perfection of their eternal forms. Although the Platonic world of ideas is not located merely within the mind (i.e., Plato is not just thinking of eternal thoughts), Plato's approach is seen by Kierkegaard as metaphysical and speculative, because with the Platonic recollection, one can enter eternity only intellectually and as something past; yet the individual is born into an asymmetrical, future-orientated, ongoing **existence**. Socrates, however, in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, is presented as radically different from Plato. Socrates is shown as limiting the quest for the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**) to the attempt to recollect or uncover truth within the **self** and his essential task as being to live according to the truth recalled. So Socrates uses the temporal world for living according to eternal ideas. A further element is added to Kierkegaard's concept of recollection, however, when, also in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, and still using the Greek idea of recollection of truth in the self, he points out that the **religious** experience is one of recollection of **sin**—that is, of untruth in the self—rather than truth. The eternal truth can therefore no longer be viewed as located in the self and the individual is referred to Christ. *See also* GREEKS, THE.

REDOUBLING. The concept of redoubling (*Fordoblelse*) (sometimes Kierkegaard calls it "self-redoubling" [*Selvfordoblelse*]) is closely linked with that of **reduplication** in that it indicates completed reduplication. While reduplication can be said to indicate the task of putting into practice

how one ought to live, redoubling lays weight on the ontological transformation of the person who actually does it. That is, a person has **faith** in the rightness of living **ethical**-religiously and attempts to actualize his or her life in ethical-**religious** terms, such that there is an ontological actualization of the deeper, spiritual **self** that relates to the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**) in temporal existence. Since the ethical-religious indicates choice between good and bad, Kierkegaard also discusses (***The Sickness unto Death***) the situation of one who tries to become a self independent of **God** and thus becomes a despairing self. *See also* DESPAIR.

REDUPLICATION. Kierkegaard uses this term to indicate being what one says—that is, putting into practice how one thinks one ought to live. This entails moral reflection, in that the individual's thought in this respect is directed toward making the assessment in terms of good and bad action before that person goes ahead and puts the good action into practice. For this reason, it is impossible to undertake reduplication (*Reduplikation*) without reflection, although a pleasure-seeking aesthete could carry out a nonmoral version of reduplication in, for example, consciously deciding to carry out some temporal or **aesthetic** activity such as acting or dancing. At the **ethical-religious** level, the individual can, of course, decide to reduplicate bad action, in which case such a person comes into the category of the **demonic**. Ethical-religious experience can be reduplicated in the sphere of thought in the sense that possible courses of action and choices can be laid out for people to consider, to help them decide whether, and how far, they will involve themselves with the ethical-religious. Kierkegaard sees himself as doing this through his authorship. Reduplication appears to differ from ethical **repetition** in that repetition has to do with particular actions rather than with a total way of life. *See also* INDIRECT COMMUNICATION; REDOUBLING.

REGENSEN. A famous hall of residence at **Copenhagen University**, situated on the corner of Store Kannikestræde and Købmagergade in the inner city. It is opposite Trinitatis Church, which has as its tower the Round Tower of Copenhagen, built by Christian IV. Regensen was also built by Christian IV (in 1623) to house about a hundred scholars. Its official name was the Collegium Domus Regiae. The upstairs auditorium in Regensen was used for university lectures for about 30 years, after the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 deprived the university of lecture theaters. Although Kierkegaard lived in an apartment in Løvstræde for a

portion of his time at the university (otherwise at his parents' home on the Nytorv square), he visited fellow students at Regensen and attended the defense of dissertations in the upstairs auditorium. Both his brother **Peter Christian** and **Hans Lassen Martensen** defended dissertations there. In a comment made in a draft paragraph (1841–42) for "The Seducer's Diary" in ***Either/Or***, he says he would cause a young man to develop a distaste for tobacco by getting him into Regensen (where the atmosphere reeked of tobacco).

REITZEL, C. A. (1789–1853). Publishing house and bookshop, started in 1819 in Copenhagen (by Carl Andreas Reitzel), on Købmagergade 61 near Kultorvet square. In 1821, Reitzel's was moved to the other end of Købmagergade, No. 1 by Amagertorv square. Reitzel became publisher for a number of Copenhagen's leading notables, including **Hans Christian Andersen**, **Thomasine Gyllembourg**, **Johan Ludvig Heiberg**, **Frederik Sibbern**, the poet **Bernhard Ingemann**, and of course Kierkegaard. In 1825, the shop moved to Købmagergade 26 and from 1827 to 1852 was situated in the Vaisenhus building, Købmagergade 44. For a short period in the 1820s, Reitzel himself lived at Grey Friars Square 1 (Gråbrødretorv) at the entrance to Løvstræde, but it was not until 1852 that he moved to Løvstræde 7 (due to the pressure of increasing rent), and he died before the move was finished. In 1937, the firm moved to its current location at Nørregade 20. The shop, not surprisingly, became a meeting place for the literary notables as they visited the bookstore to talk about books and publications.

In 1839, Kierkegaard has an amusing journal note on being a visiting foreigner to the realm of Reitzel's bookshop. In his journals of 1844, Kierkegaard mentions Reitzels in connection with books delivered to his home by Reitzel's messenger for possible purchase. A letter of 1847 from Kierkegaard to Reitzel, concerning the remainder of ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** and ***Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits***, includes a detailed account of book sales from ***Fear and Trembling*** to the *Upbuilding Discourses*. Kierkegaard published most of his books through Reitzels. Further correspondence from about the same period has to do with the publication of ***Either/Or*** in a second edition. After August 1847, Reitzel was publishing Kierkegaard's work on an honorarium basis. In his journals of 1849, Kierkegaard mentions further material for publication, including ***The Sickness unto Death***. From Reitzel's reluctance to take on new material for publication and mention of his "miseries," one can guess that the pressure of increasing rent for the Købmagergade premises was already manifesting itself. Also in 1849,

Kierkegaard complains more than once that Reitzel is not dependable, because, in the middle of the typesetting, the latter is asking him to have one or two sheets printed a week and for his book (*The Sickness unto Death*) to come out at a better time of year. (In 1847, Kierkegaard had reported in his journals that Reitzel was careless about things.) Kierkegaard, however, is still with Reitzel's publishing house, even after the death of Reitzel, when he publishes his attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster; State Church**) in ***The Moment***. Even the final number (10) that was ready for publication when Kierkegaard died indicated that it was to be published through Reitzels.

RELIGIOUS, THE. While it is a mistake to see Kierkegaard separating the **ethical** from the religious (*det Religieuse; det Religiøse*), as if one somehow lost ethics when one entered upon the essentially religious life, in his writings he still speaks separately of the religious stage or sphere. An essential feature of ethics is its demand on the individual concerning his or her actions in a social context. The religious, on the other hand, concerns the individual's personal spiritual relationship to **God**. Although even more is demanded in the religious life in service of the neighbor, the center of the religious person's **existence** is God. One is required very specifically to have an absolute relation to the absolute (God, who is the goal of eternal happiness) and a relative relation to all else in temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**). As Johannes Climacus in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, Kierkegaard makes a distinction between Religiousness A, religiousness that can be found in any culture, and Religiousness B, which belongs to **Christianity** proper. Religiousness A is seen as a universal religiosity in which humans are aware of the divine and strive to fulfill its promptings. Thus, Religiousness A might even be found in the life of a godly pagan. An assumption of Religiousness A is that the individual can reach God within temporality and fulfill the ethical-religious demand through personal striving.

As with ethics, Kierkegaard does not view religiousness statically, since he assumes there is progress in the life of the religious individual. For the individual in a Christian context, the command to love the enemy as neighbor and to die to the world (*see* **Death and Dying**), forsaking everything for the kingdom of God, provides an associated feature of the religious life—namely, **suffering**. The individual experiences a tension between the goals of temporal life and God as the ultimate goal; therefore, there is a consequent suffering of the soul (*see* **Spirit and Soul**) (as

opposed to physical or psychological suffering of any kind). Suffering and guilt thus become decisive features of religiosity as the individual endeavors to live a life of self-denial in a temporal context. Furthermore, the more deeply the individual goes into the religious life, the more his or her insights into the religious demand and the nature of God are enlarged. This results in the **paradox** of the religious life: that the closer a person comes to God, the greater the sense of guilt or sinfulness and the apparent distance from God. The individual acquires a deepened consciousness of **sin**.

In Christianity, the individual thus discovers, unlike the Greek (*see* **Recollection**), that the eternal **truth** is not to be found within. For Kierkegaard, Christianity as Religiousness B provides an amelioration in that the striving individual is referred to the **grace** of God through the work of Christ, though the individual now has to face the intellectual challenge presented by Christian doctrine. *See also* FAITH; RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL.

REPENTANCE. Already in the ethics of Judge William in ***Either/Or***, there is emphasis on repentance (*Anger*) as the key to the **ethical-religious** life. When the pleasure-seeking aesthete is urged to face up to his **despair**, he is told that his choice of himself is the same as repenting himself. In the initial putting of his life under the categories of right and wrong actions, and by identifying his current **existence** as not good, the aesthete moves into a relationship with the Eternal Power (**God**) as well as with his neighbors. For Kierkegaard, there is no coming to God without repentance of wrong done, and he discusses (e.g., as Johannes de silentio in ***Fear and Trembling***) the problem of the one who does not carry his repentance through (*see* **Demonic, The**). The sermon in *Either/Or* indicates that one cannot quibble with the divine by weighing up the pros and cons of whether one is guilty in a situation. To choose the position that one is always in the wrong where God is concerned removes the difficulty, in that the individual chooses to take responsibility by assuming personal guilt (*see* **Sin**). To do this not only assists a person to move on in the spiritual path but also indicates that the individual sees a gap between himself and the ideality of the ethical-religious. While Kierkegaard warns people against becoming abstract about repentance, in the sense that it has no serious concrete reality for a person, at the same time he sees it as an inverted form of **self-love** if one tries to lodge oneself in the position of never forgiving oneself for a particular wrong action. *See also* ETERNITY/TIME; IDEAS; SELF, THE.

REPETITION. Repetition (*Gjentagelsen*) is an important idea in Kierkegaard's thought in relation to how the individual lives. As the word suggests, it has to do with a person's desire to have or do something again (although Kierkegaard occasionally uses the term in connection with repetition of the experience of the generation or the **genius**). The aesthete or pleasure seeker (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) wishes to repeat pleasure continuously and thus "eternalize" the pleasure experience in the temporal through creating a permanency of the pleasure experience. Especially in his book *Repetition*, Kierkegaard shows the fruitlessness of such a project. That which is to be repeated is subject to temporal determinants that may and do make such repetition impossible. For the one desiring to live a moral life, repetition is possible, however, to the extent that the individual can choose to live according to an **ethical** code on a daily basis. Here, the possibility of repetition rests with the subject and not the vagaries of external conditions. In ***Either/Or,*** Judge William speaks of repetition in his discussion of the ethical life, though he also talks about "continuity," which can be seen as another way of looking at the same thing. The one persisting in the ethical life develops continuity of personality (*see* **Self, The**), because that person is no longer at the mercy of transitory moods and desires. Since there are different levels of moral commitment, from the mild altruism of Judge William to the acute altruism expressed in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript,*** the ethical repetition can become an ethical-**religious** repetition of an acute nature, in which the individual experiences a deep sense of **sin** despite his or her earnest striving. It is here that repetition appears in a specifically doctrinal Christian context in that repetition finally is connected with the idea of atonement for sin through Christ, Christ providing the new start for the individual. *See also* FEAR AND TREMBLING AND REPETITION; GRACE.

RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL. Kierkegaard suggests that the individual's **religious** life starts with what he calls a "movement of infinity," because a person turns from preoccupation with life in temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) to seek what is eternal. Three aspects of this movement are **irony**, resignation, and **repentance**. Resignation (*Resignation*) is an essential feature of the movement, since it is a giving up of one's current condition. In ***Either/Or,*** Judge William sees the choice of the **self**, the facing up to one's self, as identical with resignation and repenting. Another word for *resignation* might be *surrender* in that one's temporal condition is surrendered for a life directed to **God**. Resignation can have several manifestations, however, from the mild form advocated by

Judge William, to the resignation of something important, in which one has centered one's entire existence. Kierkegaard discusses resignation in some detail as Johannes de silentio in ***Fear and Trembling***, not least its role as the initial stage to **faith**. Johannes Climacus speaks of resignation in terms of a lifelong Christian condition of "dying from immediacy" (i.e., from temporality or "the world"), while in ***Works of Love*** Kierkegaard uses the more well-known religious concept of "self-denial" (*Selvfornægtelse*) and elsewhere, of "dying to the world." Although Kierkegaard realizes that caution is needed, so that such activity does not become an inverted form of self-**love**, he emphasizes its essentiality in the face of the lukewarm **Christianity** presented by the **state church**. *See also* ASCETICISM; DEATH AND DYING.

REVELATION. In his analysis of the affair of **Adolph Adler**, Kierkegaard is concerned with the following issues: First, what is the relationship of the ordinary individual, and one especially called by divine **authority**, to established ecclesiastical authority (*see* **State Church**)? Second, Kierkegaard notes that there is no category difference between a present-day divine revelation (*Aabenbaring*) and one claimed to have taken place at the beginning of **Christianity**. Kierkegaard also notes that if anyone makes a claim to revelation, a person must decide whether to accept it as genuine or reject it as false. To help a person make the decision, Kierkegaard allows for the possibility of a person being mentally disturbed, and criteria emerge from his analysis that will help a person make a decision. Kierkegaard in his ***Book on Adler*** suggests that one can examine the circumstances surrounding the claim to divine revelation by asking whether any incoherences are evident in behavior or speech. Second, Kierkegaard thinks that if a "revelation" is really in question, then the material presented must, by definition, be something new. Kierkegaard also requires that there be no inconsistency concerning claims made. While a person after mature reflection may well change the nature of a claim from revelation to something else, Kierkegaard points out that the person cannot maintain several incompatible claims about the same event. In particular, Kierkegaard makes a clear distinction between something alleged to be a work of **genius** and a divine task given to someone to carry out. Finally, Kierkegaard expects that the recipient of a divine revelation should speak and act in a mature, moral, and godly manner. In 1843, Kierkegaard also dealt with the problem of the content of alleged divine commands to the individual, when, in ***Fear and Trembling***, he explored the theme of the sacrifice of Isaac. Here, he makes the

point that if the divinity commands an apparently immoral action, one that may even contradict a previous divine decision, the individual is alone in facing the situation. In this, that the person's situation is unlike that of the tragic hero (*see* **Exception, The**) who does a bad deed to prevent a worse evil damaging his society. Unlike Abraham, the tragic hero can expect understanding and sympathy from his fellow citizens for whom the deed is done.

REVOLUTION. Crown Prince Frederik VI took control of the Danish government through a bloodless coup in 1784. His father, the mentally unstable Christian VII, had been totally unable to control the plot made by the queen mother Juliane Marie and minister Ove Hoegh Guldberg to displace Christian's son Frederik from his rightful position as crown prince. In 1784, however, with the assistance of some able councillors, Frederik took charge of things by getting his ailing father to sign over control of the government. The coup was remarkable for being a bloodless yet dramatic episode in which Frederik's cousin tried to prevent the document being signed. The coup was also unusual in that it was a rightful action. Not only had the party of Guldberg and the queen mother been against essential reform, it had done everything it could to stop Prince Frederik from taking up his rightful duties as crown prince when he came of age at 13. Possibly the fact of how easy the coup had been, coupled with the advent of the French revolution in 1789 and later the July 27 French revolution, in 1830, was what made Frederik ultranervous on the subject of freedom of the **press**, especially when the July revolution led to political risings and disturbances throughout Europe.

In Denmark, a Dr. Jacob Dampe (1790–1867), a Danish scholar and politician, began to agitate and make plans for reform of the Danish **constitution**. His activity does not seem to have presented any real threat to the government, but he was imprisoned for high treason (1820–48). In his last years, he was to receive a state pension as the first martyr for political liberalism. More fortunate was Uwe Jens Lornsen (1793–1838), who published a work in November 1830 asking for a free constitution for Schlesvig-Holstein. He lost his position as bailiff of Syld, but his imprisonment lasted only a year. That Frederik had nothing to fear from his subjects is demonstrated by the reaction of the Danes to Daniel Auber's opera *Den stumme i Portici* (*La Muette de Portici*) (performed at the Royal Theater Copenhagen in 1828). In Brussels on August 25, 1830, the opera inspired the Belgians to revolution, whereas in Copenhagen, when he attended a performance, it was the occasion for expressions of loyal devotion to the king.

Revolution came close to the Kierkegaard family, however, since Kierkegaard's brother, **Peter Christian**, happened to be in Paris in 1830 during the July revolution. On July 28, he was compelled to help with the barricade building, and a passerby thrust a couple of bullets into his hand for use in the coming fight. Another brother, **Niels Andreas**, chanced to be in Hamburg in 1830 during a period of insurrection. Yet reform, rather than revolution, characterized the time of Frederik VI. For example, villenage was abolished in 1788, and Provincial Consultative Assemblies (Provinsialstænder) were introduced in 1834. Even when the people demanded a constitutional monarchy in Copenhagen in 1848, the situation was one of reform rather than revolution. Kierkegaard deals with the topic of revolution in his writings, in a book he reviews, **Thomasine Gyllembourg's *Two Ages***, one of which is the age of the French revolution.

RIGHT OF WAY. Copenhagen streets were cobbled and had sidewalks for pedestrians. A police ordinance of February 14, 1810, laid down that everyone must make way for those they met having the gutter on their right. An exception was made for soldiers with special **watchmen** guard duties, for whom everyone must make way. Pedestrians were forbidden to wear clothes that might interfere with the pedestrian traffic on the sidewalks. Kierkegaard speaks of this right (literally, "right of sidewalk" [*Fortougsret*]) several times in his writings. When in Quidam's diary in ***Stages on Life's Way*** Quidam meets his ex-fiancée, she is obliged to give him the right of way and thus encounter him in passing. Kierkegaard refers in 1846 to the right of way in an article on *The Corsair* (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**)—that in civic life none are so sure as a prostitute that people will give her right of way. He also mentions the lack of right of way in contemporary literature in his review of ***Two Ages***.

ROSENHOFF, CASPAR CLAUDIUS (1804–1869). Author and journalist. Born in Copenhagen, at age two, Rosenhoff was taken into the home of an aunt whose husband was a baker. The baker's niece Caroline was to become Rosenhoff's first wife in 1831. (He married his second wife Pauline in 1841.) He had to give up the idea of becoming a student through lack of money, and from 1824 for several years he helped his aunt run the bakery after her husband's death. When his aunt died, he inherited her house. Despite his difficult economic conditions and lack of a proper education, his intellectual capacities developed through reading. Although Rosenhoff was not a writer of great talent (and he also lacked the proper literary connections), his ability to write well in an easy style,

coupled with a musical sense, turned him into a writer. He taught and copied notes to enable him to pursue his writing activity. In 1827, his first story was printed, and from then on his stories, poems, and other contributions appeared in papers and periodicals.

In Rosenhoff's stories, the virtuous citizen of the Enlightenment is united with the brave fighter for social **freedom** and progress. **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** makes fun of Rosenhoff in his comedy *A Soul after Death* (*En Sjæl Efter Døden*), and it is clear that he was viewed as not belonging to the literary aristocracy. In the period 1831–34, Rosenhoff became coeditor of *The Latest Pictures of Copenhagen* (*Allernyeste Skjilderier af Kjøbenhavn*), an activity that started him off as a journalist. More important, he became (from July 1835 to December 1846) editor of the weekly paper *The Liberal* (*Den Frisindede*), a paper that he filled almost entirely with his own contributions. The circulation and sales of the paper were enough to pay his cost of living, until eventually he found it too difficult to pay the many fines caused by what were, in fact, only moderate expressions of liberalism and mildly critical statements about government administration.

Rosenhoff's honesty and fair-mindedness were, however, acknowledged by both the government authorities and the higher literary circles—so much so that when he had to abandon the paper, Johan Heiberg and **Hans Christian Ørsted** gave him a recommendation for a royal annual stipendium. In this same period, Rosenhoff had also been editor of an entertaining paper with topics of general interest, *Concordia* (1835–39). He spent the rest of his life producing a mass of popular poetry and literature, little of any lasting literary value. Perhaps his most historically useful productions, aside from his journalism, were works of information—for example, *Copenhagen, Illustrated Guide and Description of the City and its Neighborhood* (*Kjøbenhavn. Illustreret Veiviser og Beskrivelse over Byen og Omegnen*) (1857). Rosenhoff died on January 19, 1869, at Frederiksberg.

Kierkegaard mentions Rosenhoff in his journals of 1838, suggesting that if Rosenhoff took over *The Copenhagen Post* (*Kjøbenhavnsposten*), with his other two papers he would be like a barber with three basins. He also rather rudely suggests that Rosenhoff's paper, *The Liberal*, is related to *The Copenhagen Post* as a satellite is to a planet. In *The Liberal* (58, May 19, 1846) was published an article entitled "S. Kierkegaard and His Critics" (*S. Kjerkegaard og hans Recensenter*). Kierkegaard refers to this article in his journals of the same year. *The Liberal* had suggested that Kierkegaard ought to be just as popular as H. C. Ørsted, a comment that did not go down at all well with Kierkegaard.

RUDELBACH, ANDREAS GOTTLOB (1792–1862). Danish pastor and theologian. Born in Copenhagen, Rudelbach was the son of an immigrant from German Saxony and a Swedish mother. He began his studies at **Copenhagen University** in 1810, winning a university gold medal for a prize essay on "The Nature and Value of Dithyrambic Poetry" in 1817. He took his degree in theology in 1820, getting a doctorate in 1822 for a thesis on the principles of ethics. His chief area of interest, however, was (orthodox Lutheran) dogmatics. He studied abroad, then began giving lectures at Copenhagen University. He joined with **Nikolai Grundtvig** in the publication of *Theological Monthly* (*Theologisk Maanedskrift*), a journal started in 1825 and published under Rudelbach's supervision alone (after Grundtvig came under censorship) until 1828. Through this journal, Rudelbach attacked the then dominant rationalism. He began to acquire a name for being an able, orthodox theologian, and in 1828, he was offered a pastoral position in Glaucha (near Halle), Saxony, as superintendent, councillor, and head pastor, a position he held until 1845.

Besides his continuing fight against rationalism, Rudelbach also engaged with those who wished to unite mainstream Lutheranism with the Reform element. He also proved himself to be an extremely capable pastor. From 1840 to 1862, he was a copublisher of a German journal that supported orthodox Lutheranism. He also wrote a number of essays for the journal (*Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*). In 1841, he became a doctor of theology. Since his efforts at ecumenism proved unsuccessful, especially because of his orthodoxy, he resigned his position in September 1845 and returned to Denmark. Here, he hoped for a theological position, but this was opposed by leading figures in the church and in the Theology Faculty at the university (not least **Henrik Nicolaj Clausen**), who feared his rigid Lutheranism. Nor could he enlist the support of Grundtvigians, since Rudelbach felt he could not go along with Grundtvig's "apostolic succession" of the "living word." For a while he gave lectures at the university (1847–48), until in 1848 he was appointed pastor of St. Mikkels Slagelse in Zealand, where he remained until his death.

Rudelbach was the author of numerous theological works, but his rigid orthodoxy, coupled with a stiff style of writing, prevented him from becoming a theologian of lasting significance. His main works were *Reformation, Lutherthum und Union* (1839) (dedicated to Grundtvig); *On the Meaning of the Apostolic Symbols* (*Uber die Bedeutung des apostolischen Symbolums*) (1844); *Christian Biography* (*Kristelig Biografi*) (1846); *Christianity and Nationality* (*Christendom og Nationalitet*) (1847); *The Origin and Principle of the Evangelical Church's Constitution*

(*Den evangeliske Kirkeforfatnings Oprindelse og Princip*) (1849); *On Civil Marriage* (*Om det borgerlige Ægteskab*) (1851); *On Parish Ties and on the Nature and Significance of Ordination* (*Om Sognebaandet og om Ordinationens Væsen og Betydning*) (1852); *On Hymn Literature and the Matter of the Hymnbook* (*Om Salmelitteraturen og Salmebogssagen*) (1856).

In *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) (number 26, January 31, 1851), Kierkegaard wrote an article headed, "An Open Letter Prompted by a Reference to Me by Dr. Rudelbach." While Kierkegaard had read appreciatively Rudelbach's *Christian Biography*, he was not happy about Rudelbach's work *On Civil Marriage*, published in January 1851. Rudelbach argued for civil **marriage** as part of the road to the separation of church and state, with **Christianity** outside state control. In this connection he cited Kierkegaard as a supporter of separation of church and state (*see* **State Church**). In his reply, Kierkegaard hoped that Rudelbach had not misled people into thinking that Kierkegaard was a Grundtvigian. He also indicated that it was not only habitual legalized Christianity he opposed but any habitual Christianity, not least self-righteous sectarianism, which he found worse than official Christianity. Kierkegaard made clear that he attacked the casualness of habit, not the legal institution as such. He pointed out that he had not attacked state Christianity in his works, because he did not think the problem lay in externals.

At this point, Kierkegaard was still trying to be the positive corrective of the church establishment; he was also keen to make clear that his problem was not with Christian doctrine or how the church establishment was organized (as Rudelbach's thoughts on civil marriage might suggest). The core of Kierkegaard's position was the individual's personal **religious** reform and not political alterations in the ecclesiastical status quo. In his journals, Kierkegaard's view of Rudelbach seems to shift from respect of his learning and firmness of standpoint, to criticism of Rudelbach concerning the latter's desire for external reform of the church. At one point Kierkegaard suggests Rudelbach is "without ideas," since he does not understand what ***Practice in Christianity*** is about. (Kierkegaard had given Rudelbach a dedication copy.) Kierkegaard also expresses himself negatively about the "old orthodoxy" of which Rudelbach is a representative and mentions how he met Rudelbach in the Kierkegaard home when his father was alive. It can also be noted here that Rudelbach clashed with **Peter Christian Kierkegaard** at the first Scandinavian Church Meeting in 1857.

RØRDAM, BOLETTE (1815–1887). Bolette was the daughter of Pastor Thomas Rørdam and Cathrine Rørdam and youngest sister of Peter Rørdam (1806–83), one of Kierkegaard's fellow **Copenhagen University** students. Peter and Bolette lived with their widowed mother Cathrine Rørdam and three other sisters, Elisabeth, Emma, and Engelke, at Frederiksberg. Cathrine Rørdam seems to have kept open house, and both ***Peter Christian*** *and Søren* ***Kierkegaard*** *visited the home. Kierkegaard* first met **Regina Olsen** at the Rørdam home, at some point between May 8 and May 16, 1837. In 1837, Kierkegaard in his journals describes how he visited the Rørdam home, possibly to talk to Peter, but he also talked with Bolette and was trying not to let his innate wittiness run away with him. In his journals of 1849, where he goes over the affair of his broken engagement to Regina, he again mentions that he first met Regina at the Rørdam home. (Regina later was to say that they had met on the occasion of a party in the Rørdam home, when Kierkegaard happened to call.) Kierkegaard indicates in his journals that Bolette made an impression on him and excited his (albeit innocent) interest. Henning Fenger thinks that Bolette Rørdam was Kierkegaard's first attachment and not Regina. It might, however, have been that Kierkegaard, as he says, "felt a responsibility" toward her, if his interest in her had been only intellectual and Bolette had conceived some attachment for him. Bolette married a pastor Feilberg in 1857. Kierkegaard appears to have continued his visits to the Rørdam home at least until 1841, lending the family books.

RØYEN, KIRSTINE NIELSDATTER (1758-1796). Kirstine was the sister of **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard**'s business partner, Mads Nielsen Røyen. She was born in Øster Høgild, Rind Parish, in Jutland. She had for a time been in service in the home of Michael's uncle Niels Andersen Seding in Copenhagen. Like Michael, she was in her 30s, and she had a little money of her own. Kirstine married Michael on May 2, 1794, but died (childless) of pneumonia on March 23, 1796.

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SARTRE, JEAN-PAUL (1905–1980). French philosopher, playwright, novelist, and critic. Sartre was born in Paris, the son of a naval officer who died early, necessitating the return of Sartre's mother to her parents' home. Sartre was educated at the Ecole Normale Supérieure (1924–29), where he met his life-long partner Simone de Beauvoir (1929). Sartre be-

came a schoolteacher in Le Havre (1931–36), spending a year (1933–34) at the French Institute in Berlin, where he encountered the philosophy of Edmund Husserl, **Martin Heidegger**, **Karl Jaspers,** and Max Scheler. He then taught in Laon (1936–37), after which he went on to teach at the Lycée Condorcet in Paris. He published his first book, *Imagination* (*L'Imagination*), in 1936 and made a name for himself with his novel *La Nausée* (*Nausea*) (1938), in which he explores **art** as a means of saving the individual from existential meaninglessness. Sartre is remembered for numerous books and plays—for example, *The Flies* (*Les Mouches*) (1943), *In Camera* (*Huis-clos*) (1944), *The Wall* (*Le Mur*) (1948), *The Imaginary* (*L'Imaginaire*) (1950), his unfinished four-volume novel *Paths of Liberty* (*Les Chemins de la liberté*) (1945–49), and his autobiography *Words* (*Les Mots*) (1964). During World War II, Sartre was active in the Resistance, and at the end of the war he gave up his teaching career to devote himself to his career as a writer and to editing the magazine *Modern Times* (*Les Temps modernes*).

His first major philosophical work, *Being and Nothing* (*L'Etre et le néant*) (1943) makes heavy use of the thought of Georg W. F. **Hegel**, Edmund Husserl, and Martin Heidegger and is centered on the problem of **freedom**, Sartre arguing that there is no prior justification for our choices. In his thought, it is not the case that humans exist first and then there are reasons for their actions. Instead, because of the factor of self-consciousness, humans are the only beings in the world whose "**existence** precedes their essence." Humans exist as the consciousness of their total freedom and shape themselves through their choices. Sartre rejects causal analyses of human action, because the past in itself cannot produce an action. Hence, an indispensable and fundamental condition of all acts must be the freedom of the acting being. Sartre points out that there cannot be an action without a motive, but a motive is not so much a cause of an action as an integral part of it. The individual thus exists and shapes and reshapes him- or herself through a continuous series of free choices. No individual is free to cease to be free, however, since that in itself implies freedom in that very choice. Should we attempt to turn away from our freedom, we are moving into willful self-deception—what Sartre calls acting in "bad faith." Sartre goes as far as to maintain that apart from choosing our own nature, character, or personality, we choose our emotions of, say, anger or jealousy.

Sartre's emphasis on personal total responsibility for action is then extended to include responsibility for the world as well as ourselves, since our choices affect the world. We are responsible for everything except

for the fact that we are responsible, since we did not put ourselves into the world. We find ourselves in an absurd world, and we are condemned to be free and to face up to the pains of that freedom. Sartre derives his proof that we are radically free from the existential fact of consciousness. We experience the feeling that we have freedom of choice; hence, we are free. Since he denies that there is an essential human essence or human nature, Sartre therefore rejects the idea that heredity and environment are in any way affective in our choices. Sartre's world thus seems to be divided into reasonably intelligent adult humans "things-for-ourselves" and the rest of the world as "things-in-themselves." His philosophy is highly psychological, much of it derived from his personal experience, but his notion of radical freedom presents difficulties concerning the point at which the infant can be said to be free. He wants to hold that humans have no instincts or drives, yet his idea of the compulsion to be free sounds very much like a drive, or if it is a moral compulsion, he fails to demonstrate its **ethical** basis.

Sartre needed to find some basis on which we can choose to act, and he thus moved from the individual's isolated freedom toward exploration of the possibility of personal engagement in a social context as "being-for-others." In his *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (*Critique de la raison dialectique*) (1960), Sartre further unpacks the social aspect of his philosophy, attempting to use what he found to be the existential basis of Marxism to fill this ethical gap. He unites Marxism with **existentialism** through the underlying concept of humanism, a concept that already appeared in the title of his 1945 lecture *L'Existentialisme est un humanisme* (1946). In *Critique de la raison dialectique*, Sartre thus tries to redeem Marxism and explain freedom in a social and historical context through offering a version of Marxism that takes up elements of *L'Etre et le néant*, though without the heavy emphasis on freedom. He offers "dialectical reason" as the mode of rationality characterizing social and historical explanations, in contrast to the "analytic reason" appropriate to the sciences.

For the Sartre of the 1960s, all human affairs were to be seen as conducted under conditions of scarcity and competition, this acting as the motor behind all social and economic structures and leading to alienation. He saw alienation also arising from the various institutions society sets up to deal with its situation and problems. Sartre clearly was disillusioned with Marxism as actually practiced by various societies (though not with what he saw as its ideality). Yet more important here is the fact that the later Sartre moved away from his earlier view of freedom. In an essay

published in 1972, "The Itinerary of a Thought," he goes as far as to condemn the nature of his earlier thinking about freedom as "incredible."

In 1964, Sartre was a key speaker at a Kierkegaard conference in Paris, "Living Kierkegaard" (*Kierkegaard Vivant*), with his paper "The Singular Universal" (*L'Universel singulier*), in which he refers to a radical distinction between the being of **knowledge** and the being of the living person. Søren Kierkegaard, who tries to keep himself secret in the pseudonymity of his **indirect communication** and thus transcend the historical, can be appropriated, once dead, as an object in the stream of history, an object about which scholars can argue. The living Kierkegaard is conquered by the occurrence of his own death and taken into historical knowledge, yet he triumphs through showing that history is in fact unable to take him up again. He remains living because he refuses knowledge and reveals that each person is all humankind as the singular universal. Once dead, Kierkegaard becomes a multiple subject linking the different individual responses to his thought. "Each of us is Søren as adventure." Sartre concluded his paper (also drawing in Marx as an important figure) with his assertion that Kierkegaard affirmed the irreducible singularity of each person to history, but history nevertheless was a factor that conditioned that person. What emerges from the paper is Sartre's warm appreciation of Kierkegaard as someone with whom he also deeply disagreed and also his rejection of Kierkegaard's theism.

It can be fairly said of Sartre that Kierkegaard had a profound ambiguous influence on him through being a writer whose ideas Sartre could appropriate and use to explain his own standpoint. Yet he gave such a different slant to the ideas he took up from Kierkegaard in his early years that they became something very different to Kierkegaard's indirect communication about authentic ethical-**religious existence**. Kierkegaard translator Walter Lowrie, for example, asserted that Sartre's thought had nothing whatever in common with the thought of Kierkegaard. In saying this, Lowrie was both correct and incorrect. If we transpose Sartre into Kierkegaard's way of looking at the world, the earliest Sartre would figure as an aesthete (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) to the extent that, without a concept of the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**), he encountered the meaningless of everything and desperately searched for meaning. Unlike Kierkegaard, who posited the limitations of environment and heredity, Sartre harnessed Kierkegaard's concept of **anxiety** to his own notion of unlimited human freedom. Alongside this, he can be seen as picking up the notion of choice in Kierkegaard, stressing the importance of choice as a task but developing it as a kind of Kantian categorical im-

perative ("In fashioning myself I fashion man"; *Existentialism and Humanism* [*L'Existentialisme est un humanisme*]) without any of the basis of choice presented in the writings of Judge William. In working out his existentialism as a humanism, Sartre works in what for Kierkegaard would be the sphere of the purely human. Yet at the same time the concepts he uses are Kierkegaard's, and like Kierkegaard he uses literary indirect communication, as in *La Nausée*, whose Antoine Roquentin is Kierkegaard's alienated aesthete with a different set of *Diapsalmata*.

In considering Kierkegaard's influence on Sartre, one can say that how one assesses the overall influence is going to depend on how far one thinks it matters that Sartre takes what he finds helpful and repudiates the rest. If Kierkegaard's authorship has to be taken in its entirety, as all of one complicated piece, then one must agree with Lowrie and say that Kierkegaard does not influence Sartre at all, even though Sartre carefully studied what he read of Kierkegaard (e.g., ***The Concept of Anxiety***).

In this respect, it is Marx who proves to be the influence on Sartre if one has to choose between the two. If, however, one takes Kierkegaard's emphasis on indirect communication and personal choice seriously, then Sartre can be seen as being true to Kierkegaard's spirit in undertaking the agonies of existence for himself and in making his own serious choice, instead of slavishly appropriating Kierkegaard's position.

SCHARLING, CARL EMIL (1803–1877). Danish theologian. Scharling (who was born and died in Copenhagen) became a student at **Copenhagen University** in 1820, engaging chiefly in the study of history. He took a degree in theology in 1825 and completed a higher (*Magister*) dissertation in 1828, *De Stedingis*, on Frisian people in Oldenburg. After studying abroad for a year, he became a lecturer at Sorø Academy, Zealand, where he did further studies in theology. In 1833, Scharling published a major work: *What Are the Intention, Significance and Results of Theologians' Scholarly Studies of the New Testament Writings?* (*Hvad er Hensigten, Betydningen og Resultaterne af Teologernes videnskabelige Undersøgelser om det nye Testamentes Skrifter?*). In 1832, he was offered a professorship in theology at the university. Initially he declined it out of modesty concerning his powers of scholarship, but he accepted the offer when it was made to him again in 1834.

Scharling's area was New Testament exegesis, but his love of history led him to specialize in the history of biblical sources. In fact, he published only two minor exegetical commentaries, one on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (1840) and one on the Epistles of James and Jude

(1841). His doctorate in theology was on St. Paul (*De Paulo apostolo ejusque adver sariis*) (1836). During his partnership with **Christian Thorning Engelstoft** in the production of their *Theological Journal* (*Theologisk Tidsskrift*) (1837–61), Scharling published most of his historical biblical studies in the journal, though these were later collected and published as *Theological Essays* (*Teologiske Afhandlinger af C. E. Scharling*) (1880). His other work includes *On the Claim Concerning the Christian Church's Ebionitism in the First Two Centuries* (*Paastanden om den kristne Kirkes Ebionitisme gennem de tvende første Aarhundreder*) (1843) and *Has the Author of the Fourth Gospel Claimed the Historical Accuracy of his Accounts?* (*Har det fjerde Evangeliums Forfatter gjort Fordring paa historisk Troværdighed for sine Beretninger?*) (1844). His most important work is probably *The Teaching and Fate of Michael Molino the Mystic* (*Mystikeren Michael Molinos Lære og Skæbne*) (1852). Like Engelstoft, he became rector of Copenhagen University (1842–43 and again in 1861–62). Scharling was an extremely able and popular teacher, having many friends. In 1851, he was offered the bishopric of Funen but declined it. He retired in 1876 because of his health.

Along with Engelstoft, Scharling examined Kierkegaard during his theology exam on July 3, 1840; he seems to have had the main responsibility for conducting the examination. Kierkegaard appears to have made notes on Scharling's lectures and teaching (1834–36). Scharling and **Just Paulli** were the assessors of Kierkegaard's qualifying sermon (*Dimisprædiken*) at the **Pastoral Seminary** on February 24, 1844. Scharling made one or two notes on the examiners' copy. In his journals of 1849, Kierkegaard has a draft of a polemical piece on Scharling and Engelstoft's theological journal, with special reference to Scharling's review of Kierkegaard's ***Two Ethical-Religious Minor Essays*** by H.H. In his journals of 1849 and 1850, Kierkegaard refers to Scharling on **Hans Lassen Martensen** and on the **Christianity** of Anti-Climacus. He also mentions Scharling's work on Michael Molinos. He is annoyed by utterances in articles in the *Theological Journal,* but he lets us understand (1852) that he views Scharling as an upright man to be respected.

SCHELLING, FRIEDRICH WILHELM JOSEPH VON (1775–1854). German romantic philosopher, born in Leonberg, Württemburg, where his father was a Lutheran pastor. Schelling studied theology and philosophy at Tübingen University (entering at age 15), where he made friends with, among others, Johann C. F. Hölderlin (1770–1843) and Georg W. F. **Hegel**. When finally he completed his studies and finished his doctor-

ate, Schelling went to Leipzig (1796) to become tutor for two young noblemen. In 1798, however, Schelling was appointed to a university professorship at Jena, then the center of German romanticism. Here Schelling met the leading Jena romanticists, also **Henrik Steffens**. In 1800–02, he published the *Journal for Speculative Physics* (*Zeitschrift für speculative Physik*) (continued in 1803 as *New Journal for Speculative Physics* [*Neue Zeitschrift für speculative Physik*]). When Hegel came to Jena, Schelling shared the publication with him of the *Critical Journal of Philosophy* (*Kritisches Journal der Philosophie*) (1802–03). In 1803, he married Caroline, the divorced wife of August Schlegel; he also became professor of philosophy in Würtzburg, where he began to publish *Yearbooks of Medicine* (*Jährbucher der Medicin*) (1805–08). In 1806, he became a member of the Academy of the Sciences in Munich and later general secretary of the Academy of the Visual Arts. After his first wife died, he married Pauline Gotter three years later in 1812, starting (1813) another journal, *General Journal of German for Germans* (*Allegemeine Zeitschrift von Deutschen für Deutsche*). A dispute with the president of the Academy of Sciences led Schelling to leave Munich, after which he gave lectures in Erlangen (1820–26). In 1827, however, he was recalled to Munich as professor of the new university there. Later he became a state councillor and president of the Academy of the Sciences. In 1841, he was appointed professor of philosophy at Berlin University to support the clerical reaction against left-wing Hegelianism, but his lectures were a fiasco. Because of this, and because the lectures were published without his knowledge and consent, Schelling gave up lecturing in 1846.

Schelling, though extremely gifted, wrote his best works in his 20s, the promise of his early years remaining unrealized later in life. Romanticism in Schelling expressed itself in **nature**-pantheism leading to an intellectual **religious mysticism**. It also expressed itself in his polemic against Enlightenment thinking. Schelling's thinking, unlike Hegel's, consisted of several disparate stages, influenced by the path his studies took in his reading of thinkers such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Despite this, his philosophy can be seen to be governed by a basic question—namely, the nature of ultimate reality and the finite. From 1794 to about 1800, Schelling agreed with Fichte that ultimate reality or "the absolute" is not a thing, since unlike things in the world that are conditioned by something else, the absolute is what creates conditions. The absolute is thus an unconditioned "I" activity behind things. Yet Schelling saw that if ultimate reality was viewed as the absolute "I," then nature (as the finite

order of things) must be defined as the "not-I." In other words, nature must be identified as something alien to the absolute "I" and be viewed only as material to be used by it. Schelling therefore (from 1797) worked on a philosophy of nature and in 1800 published his *System of Transcendent Idealism* (*System des transzendentalen Idealismus*). According to Schelling, reason (understood as the meaning-giving formative principle of the cosmos) cannot be limited to the forming activity of the absolute "I" but is already active in nature, which demonstrates purposiveness in its unfolding. Thus, the "I" is also active *in* nature, as opposed to acting only *on* nature.

Schelling therefore needed to show how the absolute "I" is able to do both things and explain it in one connected **system** of philosophy. Put another way, if the world is viewed as nature and purposive intelligence as the acting power or spirit, then it must be shown how spirit informs nature. The way forward is to cease thinking of nature and spirit as two separate entities and to think, instead, of philosophy as the history of the progress of self-consciousness. To this extent, Schelling can be seen to resemble Hegel, except that he placed art as the peak or end of the system. It is the artistic creativity that unites nature and **freedom**. **Art** is thus seen as expressing the absolute ultimate reality (which unites and encompasses nature and freedom) in finite form. The philosopher must therefore look to art in the attempt to comprehend the unity of nature and freedom.

In 1801, Schelling published his *Presentation of My System of Philosophy* (*Darstellung meines Systems der Philosophie*), in which he indicates his break with Fichte's thought and labels his own as a "system of absolute identity" (of subject and object; i.e., of spirit and nature). "The absolute" now becomes the absolute identity of the subjective (spirit) and the objective (nature). The absolute identity can be further described as the undifferentiated, since (as ultimate reality) it precedes, or lies outside, the distinction between nature and spirit. The world, by contrast, is made up of the different levels of the absolute's various potentialities ("potencies") by which the absolute manifests itself in the diversity of finite form. The original basic identity of ultimate reality is accessible to us through spontaneous intellectual experience, especially of art.

In 1809, however, with the publication of his essay "Of Human Freedom" (*Philosophische Untersuchungen über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit*), Schelling expresses, through his movement to his philosophy of freedom (and an emphasis now on religion instead of art as the organ of philosophy), the difficulties he found with his earlier position. Whereas previously there was a smooth transition from the ab-

solute spirit to the finite world, Schelling now posits human freedom as an important factor. Humans have the freedom or capacity to alienate themselves, if they wish, from nature and the absolute spirit (God). Schelling thus here introduces a tension between the idea of a world system and the idea of freedom. If one understands all that is as a connected whole and as a development of "will" or self-consciousness in that connected whole, then assuming there to be an underlying cosmic principle or purpose informing that whole, the reality of freedom entails the possibility of a conscious breach within it with the advent of human self-consciousness.

After 1809 and until his death at Ragaz in 1854, Schelling published hardly anything but tried to build on his 1809 essay on the philosophy of freedom. He now attempted to rethink the traditional German idealistic emphasis on reason as the activating principle of all reality. It is at this point that Schelling distinguished between negative and positive philosophy. Negative philosophy is purely rational, inferring and constructing. It tries to make a total system of mind or reason ("*Geist*") to encompass the entire "what" of **existence**. The problem is, however, that reason always encounters a state of affairs prior to itself. There is already an actuality for the human mind to work on, including the fact of its own existence. Positive philosophy aims to deal with this situation through making this actuality its departure point as "revelation philosophy." In other words, positive philosophy "listens," accepts intellectually the fact of the actuality of all that is as its revealed or given presupposition, and thus also accepts the finite limits of its intellectual activity.

Søren Kierkegaard encountered the thought of Schelling through **Hans Lassen Martensen**'s university lectures (1838–39). In an early journal entry, he seems favorably impressed by Schelling, and in 1841, Kierkegaard went to Berlin with high expectations, since Schelling was to hold his (1841–42) lectures on positive philosophy under the title of "Philosophy of Revelation." From Kierkegaard's letters home to people in Copenhagen, we learn that the lectures were noisy because of the attempts of people to get into the overcrowded lecture theater, so already the physical situation was far from inviting. Kierkegaard reports his delight, however, when, at the second lecture, Schelling spoke about "**actuality**." Yet as the course of the lectures continued, Kierkegaard in his letters expresses more and more his growing disillusionment and disappointment with Schelling. On February 6, 1842, he told **Emil Boesen** that he had completely given up on Schelling and no longer bothered to make notes because Schelling talked "endless nonsense." To his brother

Peter Christian the same month, Kierkegaard complained that Schelling "talks the most insufferable nonsense" and "his whole doctrine of potencies betrays the highest degree of impotence." Kierkegaard's disappointment with Schelling was due to the latter abandoning his distinction between the *what* of the world and the fact *that* it is. Despite his use of ideas important to Kierkegaard, Schelling's conception of actuality remained a conception of it cast in the mold of speculative philosophy so that his understanding of "actuality" and "**revelation**" was poles apart from Kierkegaard's.

SCIENCE. The young Kierkegaard was enthusiastic about the natural sciences (*Naturvidenskaberne*) and never ceased to respect science and scholarship (*Videnskab*) used in what he saw as their proper place (e.g., in botany and zoology or philology). Yet he became exceedingly negative (in his journals) about the natural sciences in connection with their application to humans. He sees the problem as one of science's failure to keep within proper bounds, particularly with reference to its investigation of the human psyche (*see* **Self, The**), and the entire human person, as a scientific object. He considers that science, since it is concerned only with what can be measured, cannot possibly explain the entire human person. He also realizes that if one could demonstrate that humans consisted of a bundle of predetermined forces, the reality of moral responsibility would disappear. Yet without the guiding hand of ethics, the scientist, in Kierkegaard's view, is motivated only by curiosity, and curiosity alone provides no **ethical** control concerning the permissible limits of scientific investigation.

SELF, THE. Kierkegaard's view of the self (*Selvet*) tends to be spread in his authorship, though ***The Concept of Anxiety*** and ***The Sickness unto Death*** are particularly focused on the nature of the self with respect to the phenomena of **anxiety** and **despair**. Kierkegaard clearly views the self as being structurally dynamic and relational. That is, the human psyche has an initial structured state and a potentiality for development. There is an ideal or objective (*see* **Ideas**) to be attained by the individual in question. The individual's motivation is toward a goal that in one sense is outside the self (e.g., moral values encoded in a society) but in another sense is within it, in that the individual has internalized the values as motivators in daily life. There is thus a sense both of having the values through their adoption and not having them in the sense of not having fulfilled them. It is this sense of process that makes Kierkegaard's

view of the self structurally dynamic and relational. The self develops through the process of its relationship to the core ideal(s) chosen by the individual who strives to implement them. Thus, while one can stop and consider the state of one's psyche at any point of one's life, its nature is always one of process.

Kierkegaard describes the initial condition of the self as a synthesis or combination of physical body and psyche, the latter encompassing thought (both logical and imaginative), the emotions, and the will (freedom of will). This initially given self is also seen as a synthesis of **freedom** and necessity; that is, there are certain given features in a person's heredity and environment over which the individual has no control, such as physical height and land of origin. Yet the individual always has some freedom, and it is this element of having freedom or choice that is linked to the individual's potentiality for a spiritual **existence**. In the spiritual life, another synthesis is therefore possible, namely the synthesis or combination of the temporal and the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**) as the individual attempts to live a **God**-related life. The **ethical-religious** person is thus one who is attempting to fulfill the potentiality that lay within the initially given self. The aesthete or pleasure seeker (*see* **Aesthetic, The**), on the other hand, is one who does not follow up his potentiality for a spiritual existence but remains living a half-life based solely on the initially given synthesis of body and psyche and is governed by the emotions rather than by will. The **imagination** and will are thus important factors in the further development of the self. The imagination is what gives life to the individual's conception of ideality, whereas the will, or decision to live according to the ideality, is what Kierkegaard, as Anti-Climacus, describes as being of fundamental significance in the development of the person. In ***Practice in Christianity***, he gives a clear example of this view in his description of the young man who falls in love with the idea of becoming a Christian and then spends the rest of his life battling to actualize the ideality in his own life.

SELF-DENIAL. *See* RESIGNATION AND SELF-DENIAL.

SERIOUSNESS/INTEREST. What one is serious or totally seriously committed about is what indicates where one is as a person. Vigilius Haufniensis in ***The Concept of Anxiety*** speaks of situations in which people become serious about such things as the national economy, a play at the theater, and the task of classifying things in categories, but he sees these as mistaken objects of seriousness (*Alvor*) to the extent to which

people treat them as goals or objects of their total seriousness. For Vigilius Haufniensis, such seriousness is misdirected because the objects are purely temporal ones (*see* **Eternity/Time**). This does not mean that one should not take such things seriously as duties where, for example, it might be one's duty as a reviewer to do a serious critique of a play. The problem is that whereas in the latter case one is applying the seriousness of ethics to a particular situation, in the former the thing in itself is the only serious matter. That is, all one's seriousness is being directed to temporal matters only. So authentic seriousness requires that the individual has a serious **ethical-religious** commitment in life, and the most serious relationship the individual can have is a relationship to **God**.

Whereas seriousness directed properly is therefore connected with the individual's ethical-religious life, interest and the interesting (*Interesse*; *Det Interessante*), on the other hand, have much to do with the life of the pleasure-seeking aesthete or one who is not, or not yet, committed to the ethical or ethical-religious path. The aesthete (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) tends to define the external world in terms of things of interest or otherwise, and things in the latter category may be things that others treat with extreme seriousness, as, for example, in the Diapsalmata in ***Either/Or***, when the aesthete has the passing thought that if he could observe in action a **faith** that could move mountains, he might find this diverting for a moment, in an otherwise boring **existence**. Interest is thus what remains emotionally detached from its object, an objective, intellectual attitude, whereas seriousness calls for the engagement of the total person.

SHOOTING CLUB, CAPTAIN OF. *See* BIRD KING.

SIBBERN, FREDERIK CHRISTIAN (1785–1872). Danish philosopher. Sibbern was born in Copenhagen, the son of a doctor. He became a **Copenhagen University** student in 1802, studying law, philosophy, and the natural sciences. His law studies were influenced by **Anders Ørsted**. In philosophy, he was much influenced by the ideas of the Norwegian thinker Niels Treschow (1751–1833). His doctorate (1810) concerned the philosophy of law. After his doctorate, he went abroad, where contact with Friedrich Schleiermacher and **Henrik Steffens** also affected his thinking. When he returned home in 1813, he became a professor in philosophy at Copenhagen University, getting a tenured professorship in 1829. In 1845, he became rector of the university. He worked actively until an advanced age, teaching philosophy until 1868. He retired in 1870.

In his younger years, he was influenced by the religious outlooks of **Jakob Mynster** and **Nikolai Grundtvig**. He was keenly interested in the spiritual side of human nature and, thanks to Niels Treschow, in psychology. This interest caused him to be a strong opponent of rationalism. He felt that it must be possible to develop a philosophical standpoint that would give due weight to personal **existence** as well as to the world of **ideas**. He thus devoted his life to trying to develop such a standpoint both intellectually and personally. Where his personal life was concerned, he fell deeply in love with **Adam Oehlenschager**'s sister, the wife of Anders Ørsted, but managed to struggle through his hopeless attachment in a positive manner. (Sibbern married Christiana Ipsen in 1819.)

Sibbern's entire approach to philosophy greatly influenced **Poul Martin Møller** and Kierkegaard. In his philosophy, Sibbern emphasizes the importance of personal experience. In 1819, he wrote *Man's Spiritual Nature and Being* (*Menneskets aandelig Natur og Væsen*); in 1828, *Psychological Pathology* (*Psychologisk Pathologi*). He was particularly interested in study of the human emotions and also the relation between philosophy and religion. At one stage he thought it possible to harmonize philosophy and Christianity, but later he changed his mind. He criticizes Hegelianism (*see* **Hegel, Hegelianism**) in his *About Hegel's Philosophy* (*Angaaende Hegels Filosofi*) (1838). In his *Speculative Cosmology* (*Spekulativ Kosmologi*) (1846), he argues that existence as a whole and also in its individual manifestations develops toward a great harmony, to be identified with the development of the kingdom of **God**, but not in the manner of the Hegelian **dialectic**. In *On the Relation between Soul and Body* (*Om Forholdet mellem Sjæl og Legeme*) (1849), he argues that the same universal power expresses itself in the life of the soul (*see* **Spirit and Soul**) and the life of the body. At this period of his life he came to emphasize the priority of personal religious spirituality and thinking over and against the tradition delivered by Church and Scripture. Christendom is contrasted with **Christianity**, and a deep concern for social questions is expressed.

Sibbern taught Kierkegaard philosophy at the university, and comments about Sibbern's works are to be found in Kierkegaard's journals. (Kierkegaard also puts a philosophical saying of Sibbern's into the mouth of his character Phrase, in the draft of his student play, ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***.) Kierkegaard attended Sibbern's lectures on the philosophy of Christianity in 1838–39. It is clearly apparent that whereas Kierkegaard makes an approving comment about a point made by Sibbern in a lecture in 1838, he thinks little of his intellectual prowess in his later years. In Kierkegaard's letters of 1841,

we learn that Sibbern wanted to reprimand Kierkegaard as a vain and selfish man for breaking his engagement to **Regina Olsen** but that he sent greetings to Kierkegaard when the latter was in Berlin. Sibbern also let Kierkegaard know that Regina had read one of Kierkegaard's works. When Kierkegaard's father **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard** died, Sibbern informed Kierkegaard that he now thought Kierkegaard would never get his degree. In his journals, Kierkegaard expresses disgust (in 1848) about Sibbern's political meanderings in the popular **press**. In 1850, Sibbern was amused when he reported to Kierkegaard that a section in ***Practice in Christianity*** had been taken as purely comic writing by someone. Sibbern was the one who passed on a message from the dying Poul Martin Møller to Kierkegaard, that Kierkegaard should be careful not to overburden himself with too much study. He also reinforced Møller's objection that Kierkegaard was appallingly polemical by nature. Sibbern thus appears to have taken a friendly, if sometimes paternalistic, interest in Kierkegaard's welfare, but he was shocked in 1855 by Kierkegaard's attack on the church establishment (*see* **State Church**). He thought Kierkegaard was behaving like a rabid sectarian.

SICKNESS UNTO DEATH, THE. This second major psychological examination of the nature of the **self** (the first being ***The Concept of Anxiety***) focuses on the phenomenon of **despair** as a more advanced phenomenon than the **anxiety** analyzed in *The Concept of Anxiety*. Kierkegaard composed this work between January and mid-May 1848, mainly from March onward. The period of the publication of the book was at a time when Kierkegaard was getting into financial straits (not least because of the economic situation and the threat of the introduction of an income tax) and was thinking about the possibility of becoming a pastor or teacher. In his journals of 1851, Kierkegaard reports that his dilemma as to whether he should publish *The Sickness unto Death* (*Sygdommen til Døden*) reflected itself in a kind of auditory nocturnal conversation with himself. He realized that the book would not make him popular with the church establishment (*see* **State Church**), while he was nervous about presenting the ideality of **Christianity** through a figure intended to represent what he saw as the authentic Christian. Kierkegaard was also unsure whether he should not publish the book, along with what were to become parts of ***Practice in Christianity*** and other material, as a collected work. Finally, after much deliberation, the book was published on July 30, 1849, under the name of Anti-Climacus, with Kierkegaard's name as publisher. The prefix *Anti-*, meaning "before" as in "advanced,"

was Kierkegaard's way of distancing himself from the ideality of the new pseudonym.

The book is introduced on the basis of the New Testament text from St. John's gospel (11, verse 4) that Lazarus's sickness is not mortal, thus initiating the theme that death is not the end because there is an eternal life (*see* **Eternity/Time**). The real sickness to **death** is despair, since this is a condition that, left undealt with by the individual in this world, becomes an eternal condition, a permanent psychological hell continuing after death. The book falls into two main parts, the first treating of despair as the sickness to death and the second of despair as **sin**. At the outset, Anti-Climacus analyzes three forms of despair: lack of consciousness of being a self, and the forms of willing and not willing to be oneself, either through wanting to take on some other inappropriate identity to show one is someone or through refusing to accept basic aspects of one's life that are an inextricable part of the self.

His departure point here is his notoriously unclear description of the self, in which he uses Hegelian (*see* **Hegel**) terminology to describe the self as a body–psyche relation that through **freedom** can relate to ideality (*see* **Ideas**) and thus actualize the true spiritual self. The ideality here is the Christian **God** who has created humans with the possibility of freedom and of developing an eternal, spiritual self, the self each individual is meant to be. For this reason, the self is both the self and not yet the self, since the ideal of being in a state of **transparency** as the true self properly related to God still lies ahead.

Since there are different levels of despair, a paradoxical element of this universal sickness is that the one least conscious of being in despair is in most danger through remaining ignorant of the danger, whereas the one in the most **demonic** and defiant despair possesses the requisite awareness of the eternal and the **passion** that still could take him or her in the opposite direction. Anti-Climacus analyzes in detail various forms of despair before entering on the discussion in Part II of despair defined as sin. In this section, the Socratic definition of sin as ignorance is contrasted with the Christian view of sin as culpability, where to be real sin a conception of God must be involved. Also involved in the antithesis of an authentic **faith** relation to God as the opposite of sin is the possibility of **offense** as the believer grapples with notions of **paradox** and the **absurd**. Finally, the danger exists of the sin of despairing over one's sin, of despairingly refusing to accept God's forgiveness and **grace**, a rejection that can end with the sin against the Holy Spirit, defined as dismissing Christianity and declaring it to be untruth because one does not want the **truth** it presents.

Information is slim about sales of *The Sickness unto Death.* The accounts from **C. A. Reitzel** seem to indicate that not many copies could have been sold, although a second edition of the work was printed already in 1864. Certainly the attack on the **paganism** of Christendom (*see* **Christianity/Christendom**) would not have endeared it to a number of readers, including the clergy, while the ordinary reader would find the initial description of the self utterly obscure. Where reviews are concerned, the publication of *Practice in Christianity* a year later seems to have overshadowed *The Sickness*, yet Kierkegaard in his journals of 1849 values both books highly. Later scholarship has given *The Sickness unto Death* a mixed reception to the extent that whereas some scholars regard it as a perfect piece of writing and a masterpiece of Christian literature, others, such as **Martin Heidegger**, have not given it the place they allotted *The Concept of Anxiety,* because they see Kierkegaard as dominated by a Hegelian philosophical background, because they believe his view of an actual eternal realm of transcendence is at odds with a modern worldview, or because they find themselves unable to reconcile themselves to the emphasis on Christianity as the highest **religious** truth.

SILENCE. Like many other concepts in Kierkegaard, that of silence (*Taushed*) is ambiguous. It can be positive when it is understood as a person's retreat from the busy world of temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**) for self-reflection. Here, it becomes a step on the way to **inwardness** or the spiritual life. Silence is essential even for the creative artist (*see* **Art**), who needs it for his or her artistic creativity to have private space in which to manifest itself. Silence is valuable as a preparation for **ethical** action, since it gives the individual the necessary peace in which to consider rationally the factors of the situation in which action has to be taken, when the individual then manifests him- or herself in action. Silence, however, can also be negative, as when a person has locked up the **self** against the world and against the ethical-**religious** in a defiance that is ultimately a **demonic** defiance of the eternal.

To the outside observer, silence is therefore particularly ambiguous since it cannot be observed whether a person's silence is of deep ethical-religious import, and thus of the good, or whether it hides a **despair** condition that Anti-Climacus describes in ***The Sickness unto Death*** as being one of inclosing reserve (*Indesluttethed*). Similarly, where silence is to be viewed as an indicator of spirituality in a person, the possibility is also there that silence on the spiritual front means that nothing is going on in a spiritual direction. Yet where a person genuinely has a deeply spiritual

relationship with **God**, the silence of such a one is an indicator of a Godward attention that precludes talk, just as when two people are deeply in **love**, the last thing they will do is prattle to others about their relationship. Where God has called on a person to carry out a particular task, again silence can be a major factor in the situation, as in Johannes de silentio's presentation of the story of Abraham and Isaac in ***Fear and Trembling***.

Finally, Vigilius Haufniensis in ***The Concept of Anxiety*** mentions the use of silence by an inquisitor (representing the power of the good) who has to examine a man with a bad **conscience**, one who refuses to confess his misdeeds. Haufniensis sees such a silence, if maintained, as having the power to cause such a man to speak, since a bad conscience locked up as it is in itself, cannot, in his view, endure silence on the part of others.

SIN. In ***The Concept of Anxiety***, Vigilius Haufniensis is made to discuss various versions of the Christian doctrine of original or hereditary sin (*Arvesynd*). He finds them extremely problematic concerning Adam's relation to the human race after him and the actual transmission of sinfulness in the race. He attempts to deal with the doctrine by explaining it in terms of the individual and his or her connection to the human race in general. An individual is both him- or herself and part of the race. The human race participates in the individual and the individual in the race. There is therefore no need to invent (e.g., genetic) theories concerning the transmission of sin from Adam as the first person. The individual as individual is free (*see* **Freedom**) not to sin, and there is no way the context of the human race compels a person to sin, although it is a fact that humans do inevitably do wrong. As a member of the race, the individual shares in the general human responsibility for a prevailing bad state of affairs. In ***Either/Or***, Judge William speaks of the situation in terms of an individual **repentance** that leads the individual back to his or her familial and societal context, so that he or she is ready to take responsibility for the situation of society in terms of personal duty. Thus, as far as there can be talk of original or hereditary sin, it can be only in terms of the collective quantity of sins in the history of the human race. The individual's own wrongdoing adds to the collective burden. So each person can be said to be born with a double identity. As a member of the race, one can speak of a person as born in sin, but as an individual, although the weight of sin in the race may put extra pressure on an individual's situation (e.g., if one is born into a family of thieves), the individual is sin-free until he or she sins. Vigilius Haufniensis describes, from a purely

psychological perspective, how the individual comes to sin. In the experience of attraction and repulsion exercised by the proposed deed, the individual comes to full consciousness of the deed, until at some point, he or she does the deed through free action. While Vigilius Haufniensis is chiefly interested in the phenomenon of sin, he points out that it is possible to "leap" in the other direction—for example, from not believing to making a commitment of religious belief or doing a good deed.

In his writings, Kierkegaard uses the term *guilt* (*Skyld*) concerning wrongdoing in relation to temporal matters in society. *Sin* (*Synd*) as the specifically religious term for wrongdoing, has to do with wrongdoing in relation to **God**, and specifically the Christian God, though in his discussion of Religiousness A and B in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, Johannes Climacus describes the experience of the one trying to relate to God absolutely as one of a deepening guilt consciousness that ends with a maximum guilt consciousness that later is found (in a Christian context) to be a total sinfulness of the **self**. In ***The Sickness unto Death***, Anti-Climacus discusses sin as being before God and how the definition is intensified through the fact of the revelation by Christ of what sin is. The opposite of sin is not virtue but **faith**. Thus, Kierkegaard discusses wrongdoing in terms of particular acts and of wrongness as the discovery of a fundamental condition of the self. The individual is also described in various states of reaction to the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**), from lack of consciousness of the eternal to active defiance of it, and, finally, there is the possibility of a rejection of God's forgiveness that Anti-Climacus views as the sin against the Holy Spirit. In his journals of 1854, Kierkegaard discusses the Socratic view of sin as ignorance but says that sin is still culpable, because when the individual does not understand what is right, it is because he or she does not wish to understand it. *See also* ANXIETY; DESPAIR; MYSTICISM.

SNOWDROP AND WINTER FOOL. An allusion by Kierkegaard in an early newspaper article to a pre-Easter custom still practiced in Denmark. Snowdrop (*Sommergæk*) (summer deceit) or, more usually, *Vintergæk* (winter deceit) and winter (or summer) fool, was the first line of a verse sent anonymously to a friend before Easter. The letter (*Gækkebrev* = letter that fools or deceives) also contained a snowdrop and was clipped and pricked in various patterns. The receiver had to guess the name of the sender before Easter. The custom continues today, with children guessing the name of the sender and winning an Easter egg. The association of the snowdrop with the custom was probably because the

early appearance of the snowdrop led to its naming as the flower that deceives one into thinking summer is close at hand.

SOAP CELLARS. Shops selling soap. They are called "cellars," since in Copenhagen a number of shops were (and still are) cellars or basements below street level (cf. Kierkegaard's references in his writings to "cellar-dwellers"). In the 1830s, Kierkegaard wrote the draft of a comic student play called ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars***, which remained at the draft stage in his papers. The title was inspired by the fierce competition between rival soap dealers in Grey Friars Square (Graabrødretorvet) in Copenhagen. From October 1837 to April 1838, Kierkegaard was living in rented accommodation at Løvstræde 7, just off the entrance to the square. On the opposite corner of the entrance to the square, soap seller A. Møller and his wife Johanne put up a sign that said, "Here is the genuine old soap cellar where the genuine old soap cellar people live." The sign was inspired by the existence of a rival soap dealer in the square. The rival dealer put up a sign that said, "Here is the new soap cellar; the old soap cellar people moved in on May 1, 1808." The Møllers retaliated with a newspaper advertisement in the paper *Adresseavisen:* "In the Old Soap Cellar Nr. 110 Ulfeldtsplads [the former name of Grey Friars Square] at the Old Soap Cellar people's place, there is sold genuine Copenhagen green oil soap [a fine soap] at 24 skillings a pound." Some evidence suggests that there may even have been a third soap dealer in the square, with each of the three rivals having a sign "The Old Soap Cellar," "The Genuine Old Soap Cellar," and "Here Is the Genuine Old Soap Cellar, where the Old Soap Cellar People Live." The competition between the soap dealers became proverbial in the phrase "the genuine old soap cellar." In his journals and papers, Kierkegaard in 1836 refers to the conflict between orthodox and rationalists in terms of the soap cellar conflict, with a description that suggests that new soap dealers may have bought the premises of established old soap dealers and thus acquired possession of the business, forcing the old dealers to move to another shop on the square, to "the new soap cellar where the old soap cellar people live."

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL, THE. In both volumes of ***Either/Or***, Kierkegaard indicates that society breaks down when the invisible spiritual bond that should hold it together is lost. Throughout his writings, he indicates that authentic society or community can only come into being when its individual members are living ethically by an ideal that transcends

the mere personal survival interests of the community. Especially in his review ***Two Ages*** (*The Present Age*), he shows how destructive a society can be when it is motivated by self-seeking concerns and a pursuit of **equality** that proceeds on the basis of envy rather than **love**. Thus the road to the good society is only by way of **ethical-religious** renewal in the individual lives of its members, who will, ideally, attempt to legislate for social justice and what the community needs. In Kierkegaard's view, therefore, no political blueprint for the good society is capable of working without the ethical-religious commitment of those putting the blueprint into practice.

Kierkegaard saw the many risings and **revolutions** in Europe as emphasizing the correctness of his assessment, particularly the February revolution of 1848, with revolutions in Germany and the political agitation in Denmark for a new **constitution**. Kierkegaard is also extremely modern in his cynicism about politics and politicians. In ***The Point of View for My Work as an Author***, he sees politics as a failure because they are, in his view, purely worldly, without the necessary transfiguration of the ethical-religious. For this reason Kierkegaard was concerned when political change (1849) in Denmark caused the **state church** to come under democratic political control instead of remaining under the **authority** of the absolute Protestant Lutheran monarch. For Kierkegaard, it was vital that Church and state should not be identified politically with a secular state controlling Church affairs.

SOCRATES. *See* INDIRECT COMMUNICATION; PAGANISM; RECOLLECTION; SIN.

SOUL. *See* SPIRIT AND SOUL.

SPIRIT AND SOUL. *Spirit* (*Aand*) and *soul* (*Sjæl*) are terms used to denote two different aspects of the **self** in Kierkegaard's authorship. *Soul* can be translated into the modern terminology of "psyche" in that it denotes the nonphysical part of the initial self that the individual starts out with in life. Thus, the initial condition of the self is physical body and psyche. *Spirit*, however, belongs to the second main synthesis or combination possible to humans—that of the temporal and the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**). Spirit, or the spiritual part of a person, is thus intimately connected with becoming an individual, as opposed to being like everyone else, since the development of the spiritual self is through an **ethical** relation to the eternal or **God** in which choice is made between doing

what is right or otherwise. Thus, spirit is also intimately connected with both possibility and **freedom**, since real choice and real possibility are necessary for the individual to be able to choose the right. While the individual needs to develop his or her spiritual nature to have a right relation to God, the experience of **sin** refers the striving Christian to the atoning work of Christ (*see* **Grace**). In ***The Sickness unto Death***, Kierkegaard's pseudonym Anti-Climacus deals with the possibility of being eternally cut off from God, permanently isolated in a cocoon of self-love yet still experiencing **despair**, through one's having refused to develop one's spiritual nature. Anti-Climacus shows that it is possible to be fully aware of God and spirituality and yet, like the devil, refuse the **love** and forgiveness of God in defiance, defiantly determining to be independent of God.

STAGES ON LIFE'S WAY. This work can be seen as a contrasting sequel to ***Either/Or*** in that some of the characters appear again and themes from the first work also appear in the sequel. The editor Victor Eremita is there, as are Judge William and even Johannes the Seducer. Characters also appear from *Repetition* (*see* ***Fear and Trembling and Repetition***)—namely, Constantin Constantius and probably the young man. There are also a number of new characters, such as the Fashion Designer, Frater Taciturnus, and Quidam. Again the theme of found papers is used, this time editor Hilarius Bookbinder finding a packet of handwritten papers and doing the publication honors. A mysterious element emerges, however, since the book begins with the **aesthetic recollection** in the **Grib Forest** of a banquet by one William Afham, who describes it in detail and lists the guests. He lists, however, only five guests and is himself notably absent unless he is the Hegelian (*see* **Hegel**) "pure being" who steals Judge William's manuscript from Victor Eremita.

The banquet, calling Plato's *Symposium* to mind, deals with the subject of **love**, only here love is derided through the speeches of the aesthetes. This is followed by Judge William's "Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections" and Frater Taciturnus's presentation of Quidam's Diary "Guilty/Not Guilty?" The bulk of *Stages on Life's Way* (*Stadier paa Livets Vei*) was composed between September 1844 and March 1845, Kierkegaard also having written pieces to be used for it earlier while he was working on *Either/Or*. It was published on April 30, 1845. Later in his journals of 1846, Kierkegaard says that *Either/Or* lacked thematically a narrative of "Unhappy Love," and he speaks of Quidam's diary from *Stages on Life's Way* as the needed counterpart to the seducer's

diary in *Either/Or*. Quidam's diary (found by Frater Taciturnus in **Søborg Lake**) begins where the seducer ended, with the task of creatively writing oneself out of a relationship to a girl.

Despite similarities of some of the characters, *Stages on Life's Way*, as Kierkegaard points out, is also very different. Judge William's view of **marriage** as the highest duty in life in *Either/Or* develops in *Stages* where he admits that the renunciation of it can be higher than marriage but is not a renunciation to be undertaken lightly. Whereas Johannes the Seducer was utterly indifferent to the fate of Cordelia in *Either/Or*, in *Stages on Life's Way* Quidam agonizes quibblingly about the extent of his guilt for the broken engagement, so much so that he can be described as **demonic** in the direction of the **religious**. In ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, Johannes Climacus says of *Stages on Life's Way* that although it includes in Quidam's diary a third, religious stage, the book is still an "either/or" because the **ethical** and religious stages or spheres are essentially related to each other.

So given that *Either/Or* ends with a sermon and that Judge William is a practicing Christian, the reader needs to know what the difference is between *Either/Or* and *Stages on Life's Way* that makes the latter specifically "religious" and distinctive from the former. Climacus clarifies this point for us in his comment on the title of the sermon in *Either/Or*. **Sin** is not qualified as a fundamental condition. In *Either/Or*, the individual can work out his or her own salvation. So Judge William's letters are a practical guide to the "how to" of ethics based on the assumption that Christian ethics are not all that demanding. Under normal circumstances, the individual can easily live a decent ethical-religious Christian life in society. In *Either/Or* Part Two, the temporal and the eternal (*see* **Eternity/Time**) are brought together unproblematically. The aesthete is referred to **Nikolai Balle**'s Catechism, but the catechism lacks **Christianity**'s ideal of total renunciation and self-denial (*see* **Death and Dying; Resignation and Self-denial**). In *Either/Or* there is room for a permissible self-love as long as it does not want more for itself than for others. Hence Johannes Climacus views *Either/Or* as ending with ethics as opposed to the Christian dogmatics concerning humanity's radical state of sin. (*See* ***Philosophical Fragments;*** **Truth**).

Attention was drawn to *Stages on Life's Way* through its involvement in the *Corsair* affair (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**), but, unlike *Either/Or*, sales were not spectacular. Just over two years later, approximately 245 copies had been sold of the original 525, and one may guess that Johannes Climacus in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* was cor-

rect to locate one reason as being that instead of the sensational seducer's diary, *Stages on Life's Way* contained Quidam's massive diary with its endless introspection on guilt. There were few contemporary reviews of the book and few of any substance, the chief one of significance being that by **Peder Ludvig Møller** in his annual *Gæa* (dated 1846 but published in 1845), in which, in his "A Visit in Sorø" (*Et Besøg i Sorø*), he sums up Kierkegaard's pseudonymous writings, especially *Stages on Life's Way,* in a lengthy but rather superficial assessment. Among other things, Møller praises the seducer's diary in *Either/Or* against which he negatively contrasts the 242 pages of Quidam's diary, which he sees as spinning out the tale of the broken engagement to a sickly extent in the long, drawn-out discussion of the pros and cons of personal guilt. In particular, he is critical of the use of the theme of the broken engagement as a cruel use of the other party concerned in the matter (i.e., **Regina Olsen**). Kierkegaard as Frater Taciturnus responded to Møller's review in his "The Activity of a Traveling Aesthetician and How He Still Happened to Pay for the Dinner" (*Fædrelandet*, number 2078, December 27, 1845), at the end of which he complains that *The Corsair* (*Corsaren*) praised his writings, whereas everyone else was abused, and he makes plain reference to Peder Møller's involvement with the paper. It was not until the advent of writer and critic Georg Brandes (1842–1927) that *Stages on Life's Way* received (in Brandes's 1877 volume on Kierkegaard) an understanding assessment and praise for its literary genius, while Niels Bohr's enthusiasm for Kierkegaard has been said to have stemmed from his appreciation of Kierkegaard's literary aptitude in this work.

STATE CHURCH. The Danish church was Lutheran from the time of Christian III, when in 1536 it came under royal control as vehicle of the official state religion of Denmark. The church was thus absorbed into the state establishment, and there was no thought that it should become a separate entity or have a constitution of its own. The church was not even specifically identified as "the state church" until the 18th and 19th centuries. Until the **constitution** of 1849, only baptized and confirmed members of the church could be Danish citizens, and only a few small groups could expect religious freedom. Thus, in Golden Age Denmark, being an evangelical Lutheran was part of being a Dane. With the advent of the new constitution of 1849 (when the state church became "the People's Church" [Folkekirken]), an effort was made in the direction of ordering the government of the church through a lawmaking Church

Assembly. **Henrik N. Clausen**, **Hans Lassen Martensen**, and **Nikolai Grundtvig** in 1848 proposed such an assembly, which led to paragraph 80 of the new constitution, stating that "the constitution of the People's Church will be ordered by law." Statements made about the church in the new constitution tended to be vague, however, and (because of differences of outlook between the various groups concerned) no Church Assembly was forthcoming. Instead, the paragraph was taken to mean that the church would be regulated on a case-by-case basis. This in fact put control of the church in the hands of the new democratic political assembly. The new constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, even though a vague and ambiguous statement was added to say that "the Evangelical Lutheran Church is the Church of the Danish People and as such is supported by the State." So, despite the new and liberal constitution of 1849, the church remained tightly bound to the state, with a government position (1848–1916) established for a minister for ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction (*Kultusminister*) (a position held briefly by **Peter Christian Kierkegaard**). This cabinet portfolio had charge of the church, education, and general culture affairs such as ballet and opera. This change from monarchical to democratic control meant two things for the church: first, the Danish people now had responsibility for the church; second, if ever the majority of the ruling body were to be totally nonreligious, this could well express itself in church ordinances and changes unpleasing to the faithful.

Kierkegaard makes his pseudonym Johannes Climacus in ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript*** humorously attack the identification of Dane and Christian endorsed by the Church establishment. Kierkegaard's main objection to the Church establishment, that it failed to preach the validity of the Christian counsels of perfection, was further reinforced by his objection to Bishop **Jakob Mynster**'s acceptance of constitutional change in 1848. In his journals of 1849, he accuses Mynster of supporting worldliness and of thinking he had done well by joining the minority party in the new parliament. *See also* CONSTITUTION, THE DANISH; PROTESTANTISM/CATHOLICISM; SOCIAL AND POLITICAL, THE.

STEFFENS, HENRIK (1773–1845). A philosopher and naturalist specializing in mineralogy. Henrik (or Heinrich) Steffens came to be the leading representative of the romantic movement in Denmark. He was born in Stavanger, Norway, and in his childhood incessantly moved addresses due to his father's employment as an army surgeon. First the family moved to Trondhiem, then to Elsinore in Denmark, and then (in 1784) to Roskilde.

Three years later the family found itself in Copenhagen. Steffens entered **Copenhagen University** in 1790. As he was interested in mineralogy and geology, subjects that were not available at the university, he read for a private exam set by the Natural History Society in 1794. The society financed his research project on the west coast of Norway, but Steffens suffered from loneliness and instead took ship in Bergen, eventually arriving in Hamburg, where he had a very difficult time until he obtained a temporary teaching post at Kiel University. At Kiel, he wrote a book on mineralogy and took up philosophy, starting with Spinoza. He was profoundly influenced by the thought of **Friedrich Schelling** on the philosophy of nature and the world soul. In 1798, Steffens received further support for studies intended to fit him for work as a mining technician. He used his travel funds, however, for going to Jena, where he spent a couple of years in the company of leading German romantic thinkers, including Schelling. Only with the greatest difficulty was he persuaded to go to Freiburg for a short while to do a course in geology. In 1801, Steffens published his *Contributions to the Inner Natural History of the Earth* (*Beiträge zur inneren Naturgeschichte der Erde*), a book that for a long time was regarded as essential reading for philosophers of nature.

In the autumn of 1802, Steffens returned to Copenhagen, importing romanticism with him. During the winters of 1802–03 and 1803–04, he held lectures at Ehler's University Hall of Residence. (Material from these was published in his *Introduction to Philosophy Lectures* [*Indledning til filosofiske Forelæsninger*] [1803]). He made a big impact on his listeners. Over a period of 24 hours, he instructed **Adam Oehlenschläger** on the philosophy of nature. Like Oehlenschläger, many had the experience of being initially captivated by Steffens's thought but later reacting against what was a kind of nature pantheism. Thus, Steffens received no official encouragement in Denmark for his activity (Crown Prince Frederik forbade him to give lectures because he thought they made people crazy), but he succeeded in obtaining (in 1804) a post in Halle as professor of philosophy, mineralogy, physiology, and natural history. He remained in Germany for the rest of his life, moving in 1811 to Breslau and in 1832 to Berlin, where he died in 1845. His other works include *Characteristic Features of the Philosophy of Natural Science* (*Grundzüge der philosophische Naturwissenschaft*) (1806) and *Christian Philosophy of Religion* (*Christliche Religionsphilosophie*) (1839), the latter incorporating the Lutheran Church into his system of thinking. He also published his autobiography in 10 volumes (1841–44).

Steffens's thought calls for the individual to build on his or her intuition. Through intuition a person can come to understand what holds the world together. The goal of intuition is the infinite, manifesting itself through philosophy and poetry. Like Schelling, Steffens views nature as visible spirit and the spiritual side of things as invisible nature.

Kierkegaard refers to Steffens's writings a number of times in his journals. For example, in 1837, he mentions Steffens in connection with letting **children** develop what is in them. Most of his references are neutral or slightly approving. His concern with Steffens, however, is Steffens's lack of **dialectic**. In 1847, he says Steffens is a good example of confused "well-meaning orthodoxy" in asserting (in his *Christian Religious Philosophy*) that thought must not decide things in Christianity such as the validity of miracles, yet Steffens uses thought to include miracles in his theory of things. In a letter to **Frederik Sibbern** from Berlin (1841), Kierkegaard reports his enthusiasm for much of Steffens's written work but also his disappointment at Steffens's lectures. Steffens's hesitant and uncertain delivery spoils even his flashes of **genius**.

STILLING, PETER MICHAEL (1812–1869). Philosopher. Son of a Viborg goldsmith, Stilling was educated in Viborg, becoming a student in 1832. He then studied theology but dropped out of the subject shortly before his exams. Stilling had also studied philosophy, especially the philosophy of religion. Influenced by **Hans Lassen Martensen**, he began to study Georg W. F. **Hegel**. In 1842, he wrote *Philosophical Observations on the Significance of Speculative Logic for Scholarship* (*Philosophiske Betragtninger over den speculative Logiks Betydning for Videnskaben*). This work was a response to **Rasmus Nielsen**'s *The Speculative Logic* (*Den speculative Logik*). In 1842, he also reviewed Martensen's *Outline of the System of Moral Philosophy* (*Grundrids til Moral Philosophiens System*) (1841) for **Carl Emil Scharling** and **Christian Engelstoft**'s *Theological Journal* (*Theologisk Tidsskrift*). In 1843, he defended (from a conservative Hegelian standpoint) a doctoral thesis: *Modern Atheism or the So-called Neo-Hegelianism's Conclusions from Hegelian Philosophy* (*Den moderne Atheisme eller den saakaldte Neohegelianismes Consequenser af den hegelske Philosophie*).

After this work, Stilling traveled abroad to study on a public scholarship. On his return, he gave philosophy lectures at **Copenhagen University** (1846–50), including especially Plato and post-Hegelian philosophy. In 1848, he wrote an article entitled "Critical Protest against the Draft of Denmark's Constitution" (*Kritisk Protest mod Udkastet til Dan-*

marks Statsforfatning). Kierkegaard came to influence and alter Stilling's thinking concerning the connection between philosophy and theology, and Christianity and scholarship. In 1850, Stilling wrote *On the Imagined Reconciliation of Faith and Knowledge with Special Reference to Prof. Martensen's "Christian Dogmatics": Critical-Polemical Essay* (*Om den indbildte Forsoning af Tro og Viden med særligt Hensyn til Prof. Martensens "christelige Dogmatik": Kritisk-polemisk Afhandling*). Also in 1850, Stilling wrote *A Couple of Questions to Prof. C. E. Scharling in Connection with His So-called Review of Dr. Martensen's Christian Dogmatics* (*Et Par Spørgsmaal til Professor C. E. Scharling i Anledning af hans saakaldte Anmeldelse af Dr. Martensens christelige Dogmatik*). In *Orientation on Dogmatics* (*Dogmatiske Oplysninger*) (1850), Martensen rejects Stilling's critical attack, but Stilling followed up his essays with (in 1853) *Is the Relation of the Scholar of Religion to So-called Revelation the same as the Natural Scientist's Relation to Nature?* (*Er Religionsforskerens Forhold til den saakaldte Aabenbaring det samme som Naturforskerens Forhold til Naturen?*). Stilling spent a number of years as a landowner in Jutland, returning in his final years, when his health was extremely poor, to Copenhagen.

In his journal entries for 1850, Kierkegaard alludes to Stilling a number of times. Of interest is Kierkegaard's suggestion that Stilling might be a person (like Rasmus Nielsen) who could attempt to act in the light of ideality. Kierkegaard also mentions what he sees as Stilling's confusion concerning **Christianity** and the cause of the confusion (Stilling's desire not to marry again after his wife's death—a topic he mentions also in a draft of thanks to Stilling for the copy of the latter's polemic against Martensen), but he still sees Stilling as having potential. Kierkegaard also writes the draft of an article concerning Martensen's defense of his *Christian Dogmatics*, referring to Martensen's criticism of Nielsen and Stilling and their criticism of Martensen. Kierkegaard also describes Stilling as a zealous systematizer who has changed his view. He is critical of Stilling on the subject of scholarship (1849).

STRAUSS, DAVID (1808–1874). Theologian, historian, and philosopher. Strauss was born and died in Ludwigsburg, Württemburg, Germany. He did his studies in Tübingen, going to Berlin to hear the aged Georg W. F. **Hegel** lecture, and was given a post in 1832 as a university lecturing assistant at Tübingen, where he wrote his famous two-volume work, *The Life of Jesus* (*Das Leben Jesus*) (1835–36). In this book, unlike the rationalists or the supernaturalists, he undertakes a critical examination of

the New Testament texts in an attempt to explain how the figure of Christ developed unconsciously in people with the passage of time. He sees such development as ensuing from enthusiastic religious assumptions about a person unknown to them in his historical reality. He leaves open the question of the actual historical situation behind the myth.

Very influenced by Hegel's understanding of history, Strauss was a left-wing Hegelian like Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872). Not surprisingly, his book was extremely controversial and provoked critical response as well as the loss of his university post in 1835 after the publication of the first volume. Strauss attempted to reply to his critics in *Polemical Essays* (*Streitschriften*) (1837). In 1839, after he had tried to tone down his view somewhat, he was appointed to a professorship in Zürich, but there was such an outcry about this in church circles that he was pensioned from his post before he could take it up. From now on he lived as a private person. In 1841, he was married (unhappily) for a short while to an opera singer. He also took an interest in local politics, but his continuing importance was as a productive and successful scholar. In 1839, he published *Descriptions and Criticisms* (*Charakteristiken und Kritiken*) and *On the Transitory and Abiding in Christianity* (*Uber Vergängliches und Bleibendes im Christentum*), followed by a major work, *Christian Dogmatics* (*Die christliche Glaubenslehre*) (1840–41), in which he applies historical critical methods to the question of the development of Christian dogma and tries to show its total unreasonableness. Taken with his *Life of Jesus*, this work marks a turning point in the history of theology.

Strauss was an outstanding historian, writing a number of historical works and not returning to theology until 1861, when he published *The Life of Jesus for the German People* (*Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*). In this work, he takes issue with his theological opponents and attempts to penetrate the historical core of the Jesus tradition, an effort that he later declared to be a failure. In 1872, he wrote *The Old and the New Faith* (*Der alte und der neue Glaube*). Whereas he had previously criticized **Christianity** from a philosophical and historical perspective, in this his last work he attempts to criticize it on the basis of the natural sciences and finally indicates a clear personal break with Christianity. Influenced also by his study of Charles Darwin's work, he ends with a materialistic view of the universe, alleviated only by his emphasis on the inspiration of the work of great poets and musicians as a guiding influence for humans.

Of his works, *Das Leben Jesus* and *Die christliche Glaubenslehre* were translated into Danish in 1842–43. Strauss can be seen as trying to

deal with a question that Hegel and others left unanswered: is the truth of **Christianity** in any way subject to historical verification? Strauss's answer is that much of the New Testament witness to Jesus must be given a mythical interpretation, mythical not in the sense of being false or invalid (it may even have some basis in history) but as the poetic expression of the ideas of the religious community. In this way, the meaning conveyed by the myth in question has a validity independent of historical starting points.

Søren Kierkegaard possessed a copy of **Hans Brøchner**'s translation of Strauss's *Christian Dogmatics* (*Fremstilling af den christelige Troeslære i den historiske Udvikling og i dens Kamp med den moderne Videnskab*). As his lecture notes show, he was well acquainted as a student with Strauss's position and criticism of it. He also possessed Julius Schaller's *The Historical Christ and Philosophy* (*Der historische Christus und die Philosophie*) (1838), a work that critiques Strauss's *Life of Jesus* and from which Kierkegaard made substantial extracts and summaries. Schaller (a moderate Hegelian) stresses, as Niels Thulstrup points out, the dogmatic importance of the historicity of Christ. Kierkegaard noted Schaller's objections to Strauss. Among other things, Schaller thought that denial of the historical Christ's personal God humanity entailed the denial of personal God humanity altogether and had serious consequences for spirit and personality. Schaller pointed out that the approach to the New Testament as myth uses historical criticism that, apart from pointing out conflicts between the various accounts of events, contains philosophical assumptions such as the impossibility of miracles. Schaller saw Strauss as making the further step of turning Christ into a purely symbolic figure. Schaller advanced his own speculative philosophical views, but Kierkegaard thought they did not concern the individual, existing believing human (*see* **Self, The**). He thought speculative thinkers concerned themselves with what they thought might be possible but not with the reality of the actual world.

Although not particularly interested in debate between speculative thinkers, Kierkegaard was interested in the question of the systematizing of **existence** by speculative thinkers, and he engaged with the issue of **faith** and history when he came to write ***Philosophical Fragments*** and ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***. In 1847, Kierkegaard refers to Strauss along with Feuerbach in a planned preface to his unpublished ***Book on Adler*** in the context of the dangers of two movements, one to abolish Christianity and the other really dangerous one in which people try to start a new religion or give themselves apostle status. The former

are "irreligiously obsessed," but the latter, because they are "religiously influenced" and thus confused, are still connected with what is deeper in human beings.

STRUBE, FREDERIK CHRISTIAN. Icelandic-born cabinetmaker (39 in 1850), who (together with his wife and two daughters) was registered (1850) as living in Kierkegaard's apartment on the corner of Tornebuskgade and Rosenborggade in Copenhagen. Strube's wife had been a servant in the home of Kierkegaard's parents. In 1848–49, she kept house for Kierkegaard. In a letter (1848) to Professor Seligman Trier, who was professor of medicine from 1847 to 1863 and head doctor from 1842 to 1860 at **Frederik's Hospital**, Kierkegaard thanks the professor for restoring his carpenter to health. We learn from Kierkegaard's journals of 1849 and 1850 that Strube had worked for his father **Michael Kierkegaard**, that Kierkegaard had known him for nearly 25 years as a competent and able-bodied workman, and that in the time when Strube came to work for Kierkegaard he suddenly became mentally unbalanced through thinking about things too much, becoming mentally exalted with ideas of wanting to reform the world. Despite the possibility of a relapse and the risk that the **press** might make a story out of the incident, Kierkegaard kept him on. We learn that Strube was given the responsibility of vetting Kierkegaard's new apartment for him at Nørregade 43 (now 35). He made a mistaken assessment, since Kierkegaard was unhappy with the apartment (especially because of the strong sunlight) and lived there only from 1850 to 1851. In several journal entries, Kierkegaard refers to the sorrowful instance of Strube's sickness. Since the draft of his letter to Trier is apparently dated 1848, and Kierkegaard also in his journals refers to Strube as being mentally ill in 1849 and 1850, it is not entirely clear at which of Kierkegaard's Rosenborggade addresses Strube *fell ill* or whether Strube did in fact suffer a relapse. It would appear that all was well again by 1850, when Strube made his misguided choice of apartment for Kierkegaard.

STUDENT ASSOCIATION, THE. The Student Association of **Copenhagen University** was founded on July 16, 1820, with permission from both the police and the University Senate. The idea came from a group of students at the **Regensen** Hall of Residence, on Købmagergade. The students used to meet under the big lime tree in the courtyard of Regensen. Starting in November that year, premises were rented on Købmagergade, a major Copenhagen street. Initially students could meet there for study

and conversation, but soon evening lectures and discussions were started. In 1824, the association moved to the corner of Admiralgade and Boldhusgade; from 1835 to 1844, it was housed in rooms in what was to become the premises of the Danish Bank, near Holmens Canal. In 1839, a group of students founded a rival opposition association called the Academic Reading Association or more usually "Academicum" (*see* **Carl Parmo Ploug**). The Academicum and the Student Association were amalgamated in 1844. During the years of liberal reform, the students were drawn into the new political movements, not least at the time of constitutional change in 1848 (*see* **Constitution, The Danish**).

Not surprisingly Kierkegaard, like the other students, used the Student Association's well-stocked library. He was also slightly involved in its lecturing activity. On November 28, 1835, Kierkegaard gave a paper on "Our Journalistic Literature" in response to a paper on "Our Latest Journalistic Literature" by another student, **Johannes Ostermann** (November 14, 1835) (*see* **Press**). On December 3, 1839, Kierkegaard chaired a *Student Association meeting (he mentions this in his journals of 1849* and 1850). The meeting was held at the Hotel d'Angleterre, which is still to be found on Kongens Nytorv. Kierkegaard mentions the occasion as the only one where he was present at an official annual general meeting. It was a meeting from which two addresses were sent to the king, Christian VIII. According to Kierkegaard, the meeting was rather noisy and unruly. The first speaker was interrupted several times, despite Kierkegaard's attempt to get him a hearing. Another speaker who attempted to speak was also interrupted. Kierkegaard's brother **Peter Christian**, who was also present, thereupon requested that the address that was to be discussed be given into his keeping for signature at his place of residence. Kierkegaard tells us that this suggestion was against all the conventions and that he himself then pronounced the meeting to be over, which closure the students accepted. Kierkegaard may well have meant to indicate the Student Association and Academicum as, respectively, the old and the new **soap cellars** in the draft of his play ***The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars*** from around 1838.

SUBJECTIVITY/OBJECTIVITY. *See* TRUTH.

SUFFERING. Kierkegaard was no stranger to suffering. Apart from rather weak physical health, he appears to have suffered to a certain extent from the same kind of **spiritual melancholy** (*Tungsind*) as his father. He also suffered from a too-strict upbringing and the many **deaths** in his family.

Such events naturally led him to think deeply about the problem of suffering and to make distinctions between its various forms. Kierkegaard regards suffering arising from accident, sickness, and the death of loved ones, as ordinary human suffering that is an unavoidable part of human **existence**, although the individual can learn to use such suffering positively, bearing the suffering of sickness and the like with patience. He also mentions, however, the particular kind of suffering in which an individual seems singled out from birth, set apart from society, to suffer in some way or another, an innocent suffering that appears to call **God**'s goodness in question. Such suffering may well be the lot of the **genius** or artist. For the one who is born into a situation of special suffering (as Kierkegaard himself was), the individual may also suffer in coming to terms with it. As the character Quidam in ***Stages on Life's Way***, Kierkegaard explores the situation of one who uses the fact of such suffering as the subject of endless speculation concerning personal responsibility. Is a person responsible for behavior that may possibly be caused by the problem in question? Kierkegaard's solution here is that the individual must simply decide to assume responsibility, a theme that also appears in the writings of Judge William. Another problem such a person may face is suffering arising from the idea that if only he or she had enough **faith**, the problem would be removed in some way. There is also the particularly **religious** internal suffering endured by the one striving to actualize the religious life in the world, coupled with specifically Christian external suffering when the world reacts against the one trying to take the **imitation** of Christ seriously. *See also* VOLUNTARY, THE; WITNESS TO THE TRUTH.

SUPERSTITION. Kierkegaard, like his contemporaries, understands superstition to mean a belief in supernatural things that could not possibly exist within the realm of **nature**, as, for example, a belief that trolls inhabit mountain caves. Since Kierkegaard was extremely interested in folklore and fairytales, he was naturally aware of the elements of human superstition to be found in the pages of such stories. He would also have been familiar with superstitious practices, such as making the sign against the evil eye (as the Danish sculptor **Bertel Thorvaldsen** did while his photo was taken). Kierkegaard viewed superstition as a particular type of attitude fundamental to humans generally and occurring where people had no specific religious belief. Vigilius Haufniensis in ***The Concept of Anxiety*** sees superstition and lack of religious belief as manifestations of the **demonic** and a sign that a person does not have a

proper inner spiritual life (*see* **Inwardness**). The superstitious person thus fails to make a proper **religious** commitment; instead, such a person clings to superstitious practices in the hope of manipulating and placating the external world. In ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***, Johannes Climacus deals with the situation where people in a Christian society develop their own form of superstition rather than face up to the risk involved in serious religious commitment. He sees people as applying Bible scholarship and philosophy in a superstitious manner to **Christianity** and also treating the sacraments superstitiously on the lines of magical practices, to the extent that, as with other superstitions, those concerned try to get the religious sphere of **existence** under control. Such people superstitiously pin their religious **faith** to the externals of religion in the hope of making it serve them, and in so doing they keep themselves away from serious religious contact with **God** and Christianity.

SYSTEM, THE. In Kierkegaard's writings, "the System" is used to indicate the philosophy of Georg W. F. **Hegel** (1770–1831) or the philosophy of Hegelianism. Kierkegaard is critical of Hegel's philosophy since he sees it as mistakenly trying to describe all **existence** in a descriptive, logically necessary system. For Kierkegaard, this presents a number of difficulties. First, it is erroneous to identify the world of thought and existence, since these are two totally different categories of experience. Second, it is presupposed that existence is a system, but since the history of the universe is not yet completed the way a system is, there is no possibility of proof that existence is a system. Third, a logically necessary system is one in which outcomes are fixed, so human **freedom** must in fact become illusory, even though the System is assumed to be morally good in its final outcome. Fourth, since the System is something described, and thus past oriented, it cannot have anything to say to the individual about how to live in **ethical** terms. Good and bad are both to be found in the System, but only in terms of the description of what happens. It is taken for granted that the idea of morality is realized in the state. On top of this, Kierkegaard is critical of the place of the individual in the System as one subordinate to family and family subordinate to the state. Fifth, **God** becomes a pantheistic God—the soul (*see* **Spirit and Soul**) in the world-historical process, in which the life of the individual becomes merely a dot in its stream. He is also critical that religion, including **Christianity**, becomes a passing stage in the world-historical process and is seen as inferior to the higher stage of philosophy. In addition, Kierkegaard dislikes Hegel's method of doing philosophy. He

points to the difficulty of trying, like René Descartes, to make a completely new start to philosophy, while he sees the method of doubt as capable of leading to a skepticism that undermines everything. Hegel's and Kierkegaard's views of **truth** are thus very different. For Hegel, truth is essentially a System, whereas for Kierkegaard truth chiefly has to do with how the individual lives his or her life.

SØBORG LAKE. The lake originally lay just north of the **Grib Forest** in Zealand. It was about nine miles in circumference, two miles from the coast, and shaped like a round-bellied bottle, with the neck (pointing toward Gilleleje) curling in a short hook to the right. The ruins of Søborg castle (dating from the Middle Ages) were situated on the piece of land forming the inside of the hook. The village of Søborg and its church were immediately below the end of the hook. A canal ran from the top end of the lake to Gilleleje. At the end of the 1800s, the lake was drained, and the area was converted to agricultural use. When Kierkegaard went on vacation to Gilleleje in 1835, he paid a visit to Søborg (August 4), where he spent some time at the pastorate with **Hans Christian Lyngbye**, pastor (from 1827) at Søborg and Gilleleje and also a botanist. Together they went on the lake, which Kierkegaard describes in his journals as shallow and very muddy, also gradually getting choked with reeds and other vegetation. Even out in the middle of the lake the surface was covered with weeds, specimens of which Pastor Lyngbye collected. The lake was rich in bird life, wild ducks, seagulls, crows, and more. Kierkegaard refers to "floating islands" on the lake, which were presumably mats of vegetation. He visited the castle ruins by the lake, also Søborg church alongside the pastorate in the village. He immortalized Søborg lake in 1845 in ***Stages on Life's Way***, where Frater Taciturnus goes on the lake with an elderly naturalist and accidentally dredges up the locked box containing Quidam's diary.

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TELEOLOGICAL SUSPENSION OF THE ETHICAL, THE. *See* EXCEPTION.

TEMPORALITY. *See* DEATH AND DYING; ETERNITY/TIME.

TEMPTATION. Kierkegaard makes it clear in his authorship that he views humans as responsible for temptation (*Fristelse*) to do wrong. One is not

to blame **God** as responsible for it. Individuals suffer temptation as a result of the attraction presented them by their own desires. Since a pleasure-seeking aesthete (*see* **Aesthetic, The**) of the kind described by Kierkegaard does not live by ethics, the concept of temptation is not to be found in the aesthete's world as a serious term. Temptation can arise only where the individual is placed within the framework of ethics with the possibility of clash between duty and desire, and it can arise only in the direction of temptation to do a wrong action.

However, where the sphere of the **religious** in the form of a personal relationship with God provides a higher or deeper level to the individual's **existence**, other possibilities exist. There is temptation as trial or test (*Prøvelse*) and temptation as spiritual trial (*Anfægtelse*). In the Old Testament story of Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac, God has made a specific demand to an individual (Abraham) in a specific situation, which is thus one of temptation as test of Abraham's **faith** in, and **love** of, God, although Johannes de silentio in ***Fear and Trembling*** examines the story in terms of Abraham's psychological experience—namely, the problem Abraham faces in what seems to be a clash between two contradictory **ethical** commands both coming from God. Temptation as spiritual trial (*Anfægtelse*) occurs specifically in the situation where the individual is endeavoring to live a life where his or her relationship with God takes first priority. The trial arises in whether the individual is or is not meant to go the one step further that she or he thinks God is requiring (*see* **Exception, The**). In exposing the story of Abraham and Isaac to psychological analysis, Johannes de silentio does not fail to see the element of spiritual trial apparent in it, although in the actual story Abraham obediently prepares to do God's will and does not suffer the spiritual trial of the versions of the story Johannes de silentio experiments with.

So with temptation as *Fristelse,* the source of the temptation comes from what is lower—personal desire or craving. With temptation as spiritual trial (*Anfægtelse*), the source of the trial (as Johannes Climacus points out in **Concluding Unscientific Postscript**) comes from what is higher—the desire to obey God. The trial lies in the experience of conflict on the part of the individual in question: is the individual really meant to go the further step in the God relationship—for example, give up everything to follow Christ—or is the idea that this is required of the individual in fact only an expression of the individual's personal presumptuousness? Is the individual mistakenly venturing when he or she gets involved in something such as **voluntary** suffering for the sphere of the religious—a suffering that will provoke persecution of some kind?

For Kierkegaard himself, the question of spiritual trial as *Anfægtelse* was a very real one as his authorship more and more became for him ethical-religious action, and he finally had to make a decision concerning whether to make the attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**).

THIRD PERSON. In his journals of 1849 and in ***The Sickness unto Death,*** Kierkegaard refers to speaking in the third person. In the early part of the 19th century, the third person was used between people of different social status. A good example of this is to be found in **Hans Christian Andersen**'s novel, *O.T.* (1836), in which conversation between the main character Otto Thostrup and Henrik the servant takes place in the third person.

THOMSEN, JULIE AUGUSTA (1810–1884). Kierkegaard's cousin. Her father was Michael Andersen Kierkegaard and thus first cousin of Kierkegaard's father **Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard**. Julie married her cousin Hans Bentzen (Thomsen). She became a widow in 1845. Several of Kierkegaard's letters are to Julie, who had a little son.

THORVALDSEN, BERTEL (1770–1844). Son of an impoverished Icelandic shipyard woodworker in Copenhagen. His mother came from Jutland. Although Thorvaldsen could barely read and write, his artistic talent developed at an early age. At age 11 he became a pupil in the Art Academy, where he was taught how to model figures for sculpture. In 1787 and 1789, Thorvaldsen won academy prizes for modeling figures. Thorvaldsen, who earned his living by teaching drawing and doing decorative work and portrait sketches for people, went on to win other prizes, in particular, the academy's gold medal. In 1793, his gold medal was accompanied by a three-year travel scholarship, which he was first able to use in 1796, when he went to Italy and took up residence in Rome. There, his gifts as a sculptor came to full flower. Just as his scholarship money was running out, a rich Englishman ordered a marble edition of one of his sculptures, *Jason,* and Thorvaldsen was thus enabled to stay in Rome, where (apart from a short interval) he stayed and worked for 35 years. From 1803 to 1820, he lived together with an Italian, Anna Magnani. Despite this relationship, a short engagement with a Scottish lady, and a romantic attachment to a German woman, Thorvaldsen never married.

After he made his breakthrough with *Jason,* Thorvaldsen never looked back. He produced a wealth of sculptures, many large and many mytho-

logical; but he also created sculptures for monuments and did sculptures of historical and religious figures. In 1838, he returned to Denmark, where, on September 17, he received a hero's reception from the thousands who had gathered to welcome him home. He was made an honorary citizen and a councillor, also receiving the award of the Great Cross of the Dannebrog. He created sculptures of Christ and the apostles for the new cathedral (Vor Frue Kirke). In 1841, he returned to Rome for a short while to superintend the transport of his works from Rome to Copenhagen. On his return, he continued his work, though in his latter years, his constitution was weak, after a life of hard physical labor and fever attacks abroad. Following a sickness during the winter of 1843–44, he collapsed and died suddenly from heart failure on March 24, while attending a performance at the Royal Theater. A special museum, also his mausoleum, was created for him, and his name was venerated as that of an outstanding master among artists in his field.

Kierkegaard refers to Thorvaldsen in his journals, in particular in the *context of being contemporary with the German philosopher Georg* W. F. **Hegel** and fulfilling the Hegelian artistic schema in the stage of artistic development his works exemplify (Journals IA 200). He also seems to have gained inspiration from Thorvaldsen's statue of Christ in the cathedral, since one of Kierkegaard's ***Christian Discourses*** of 1848, delivered at a Friday communion in the cathedral on a text from Matthew (11, verse 28), seems to make direct reference to the statue, which has the text engraved on its pedestal "Come to me." In his journals of 1848, Kierkegaard expresses his intention to write seven discourses on the Matthew text, which is a leading theme in Practice in Christianity. In *Practice in Christianity*, the first initiating discourse on the text "Come to me . . . " contains a clear reference to the statue. *See also* ART.

TIME. *See* ETERNITY/TIME.

TIVOLI. An amusement garden in the center of Copenhagen, opened by Georg Carstensen (1812–1857) under royal license, on part of the city rampart area near Vesterbro, in August 1843. Originally it was called Tivoli-Vauxhall (until 1878). Although the facilities were rather primitive, Copenhagen citizens were delighted with the orchestra, Pierrot, fireworks, and illuminations. Carstensen was not a good manager, however, and he left the garden in a rundown state in 1848. His successors were not much better, though from 1851 to 1854, the garden again came under good direction. Since Tivoli was closed during the winter months, a

building called the Casino was opened in February 1847 as a winter amusement building for when Tivoli was closed. (The Casino became a summer theater in December 1848.) Today Tivoli is internationally famous.

Kierkegaard mentions Tivoli several times in his journals. He refers to an observatory in Tivoli in 1845, rivaling that on the Round Tower, and makes a number of allusions to Tivoli—for example, in 1855, indicating the frivolousness of people where serious **ethical-religious** matters are concerned. He also tells us (in his unpublished ***Book on Adler***) of "the thunder of cannon" calling people together for amusement, an amusement cannon that Kierkegaard would not have failed to hear, as an inhabitant of the inner city.

TRAGIC, THE. *See* COMIC, THE/TRAGIC, THE.

TRANSCENDENCE. *See* ETERNITY/TIME.

TRANSPARENCY. In Kierkegaard's time, *transparency* (*Gjennemsigtighed*) and its adjectival form *transparent* meant something totally clear, because the necessary light is made available. It also contained the further idea of one being able to perceive something beyond, because of the factor of clarity. Thus, transparency meant, also for Kierkegaard, a clarity that creates the possibility of seeing into something and even beyond it. Apart from its use in contexts as, for example, a term of aesthetic appreciation, the concept of transparency is particularly important in Kierkegaard's authorship because of its connection with the task of becoming an authentic **self**. As a quality an individual possesses, it is a metaphor for clarity through the light of self-**knowledge**, especially where the individual's **ethical-religious** relationship to **God** is concerned. Such transparency is also seen as enabling the individual to develop an authentic insight into human relationships. In ***Either/Or***, Judge William recognizes, however, that although the ethical choice brings about a certain amount of self-knowledge, humans are not capable of arriving at total self-knowledge about themselves, not least because we are averse to achieving that kind of clarity about what we are really like. Yet ethical transparency, where there is an internal inspection of behavior and motives, indicates growth in **conscience** as well as in consciousness.

The theme of transparency in Kierkegaard is thus also closely linked to the need for moral goodness and purity, as in the discourse known as *Purity of Heart* (*see* **Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses**) and in ***Works of Love***. The process of looking into one's self ethically or ethical-

religiously, and attempting to live out the ethical-religious ideal, also becomes increasingly, in Kierkegaard's writings, bound up with emphasis on transparency as "seeing beyond" the self in the God relationship. Coming to one's self in self-knowledge means that the more one sees clearly into the self, the more clearly one can see God beyond in the sense of awareness of one's relationship with God. In ***The Sickness unto Death***, the formula for being free from the condition of **despair** or misrelation to the eternal includes the thought that the self, in its proper relation to the eternal, "rests transparently in the power [God] that established it." Thus, transparency as a "looking through" to the eternal, which is at the same time an existential relationship to the eternal, is the fundamentally important element in Kierkegaard's use of the concept of transparency.

TROMBONES (BASUNER). *See* ART.

TRUTH. Kierkegaard makes a very careful distinction between subjective and objective truth. As Johannes Climacus, he presents objective truth as objectively uncertain. In other words, like the modern scientist, he sees objective truth, historical or scientific (*see* **Science**), as a matter of hypothesis and confirmation rather than one of absolute proof. He thus tends to be skeptical about what can be known for certain. While there is no reason to doubt that I am holding a pen in my hand, we often mistakenly think we know information that we really only believe, as for example, when a person looks at the night sky and sees a star. While that person can be sure she or he is receiving a direct sense impression of it, information about its origin is in fact taken on trust from the cosmologists and astronomers. Especially in **religious** matters it is absurd to speak of proving objective truth—for example, that **God** exists—since one is moving into the realm of metaphysical assumption. One thus has to choose whether to make a religious **faith** commitment. Subjective truth for Kierkegaard is therefore the sphere of personal commitment to an **ethical**-religious way of life, to the living of that life. The individual actualizes objective ideals and values in his or her personal **existence**. Since the subjective has to do with the personal, and the Christian God is viewed as personal, the relation between the individual and God is one of subject to subject and not subject to object. Subjective truth is thus for Kierkegaard specifically to live for or by an **idea**. In early journals, as well as later in the writings of Anti-Climacus, Kierkegaard makes clear the need for the individual to develop his or her life in ethical-religious

terms, thus avoiding the danger of perhaps becoming a mine of objective information about something, yet otherwise psychologically and spiritually stunted. For this reason, he emphasizes the distinction between objective **knowledge** as truth, in which a person is in truth if the content of the knowledge in question happens to be true, and subjective truth, in which truth resides in the authenticity of the person's following of the path called for. *See also* FREEDOM; PARADOX; SELF, THE; SYSTEM, THE.

TRYDE, EGGERT CHRISTOFFER (1781–1860). Danish pastor. Tryde was born in Fensmark. His father was also a pastor. He was sent to the **Borgerdyd School** in Copenhagen, becoming a student at **Copenhagen University** in 1799. He finished his degree in theology in 1804, after which he was pastor in Fensmark and Rislev in 1807 (the year he married Christine Kongslew), in Glumsø and Bavelse in 1812, and then in Raklev in 1829, followed by Herlufmagle. In 1829, he first also acquired the position of rural dean, becoming pastor at Copenhagen Cathedral (Vor Frue Kirke) and rural dean for Zealand in 1838. In 1854, he became court pastor, with the rank of bishop, and, in 1857 (the year in which he retired), he received an honorary doctorate in theology. He died in Copenhagen on November 23, 1860.

During his career, he sat on a number of church commissions and committees. He was a director of the Danish Bible Society and a member of the Commission on the Church Ritual and Service Book, and he was a member of the Royal Board of Schools in Copenhagen. In addition, he was a teacher at, and a codirector of, the **Pastoral Seminary**, a member of **Anders Ørsted**'s Church Commission (from 1853), and, in 1856, he was among the 12 who called for an independent church body. During the controversy concerning the forced baptism of Baptist children, Tryde opposed this measure, and in 1848 he refused to baptize a Baptist child without its parents' consent. Tryde also published a number of minor works, discourses, and sermons.

Tryde had an open and friendly personality, and he acted as a mediator between ecclesiastical factions, not least between **Jakob Mynster** and **Nikolai Grundtvig**, although he was particularly sympathetic toward Grundtvig, even though he did not agree with him concerning his view of baptism. Tryde's gifts lay particularly in the direction of being an excellent pastor for his flock, but he was interested in philosophical questions. He appears to have had great faith in Hegelianism (*see* **Hegel, Hegelianism**) as a philosophy able to solve all questions.

Kierkegaard knew Tryde at the Pastoral Seminary and heard his preaching in Copenhagen. In his journals for 1845 and 1850, he makes a comic allusion to Tryde's interest in Hegelianism. In 1849, Kierkegaard mentions Christian VIII's queen having seen Kierkegaard walking with Tryde on the city ramparts. He is clearly well disposed toward Tryde as a person, although he is negative about Tryde's sermon in 1849 on the occasion of the induction of Pastor **Hans Kofoed-Hansen**, in that Tryde presents being a pastor as a life-or-death matter, whereas Kofoed-Hansen apparently was choosy about getting a pastorate with as high an income as possible. In 1850, Kierkegaard mentions a conversation with Tryde concerning **Practice in Christianity**, in which Tryde thought some of the book exaggerated the situation concerning **Christianity** in Denmark. In August 1851, the two men were clearly still on speaking terms, although in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) for January 29, 1855, Kierkegaard is later publicly critical of a speech made by Tryde at the consecration of **Hans Lassen Martensen** as bishop. Tryde was known to be against taking any steps concerning Kierkegaard when the latter launched the attack on the church establishment (*see* **State Church**). When Kierkegaard died, Tryde conducted the funeral service (although Kierkegaard's brother **Peter Christian** preached the sermon).

TWO AGES. In 1845, **Thomasine Gyllembourg** published (under the anonymity of "The Author of a Story of Daily Life") a novel, *Two Ages* (*To Tidsaldre*), with the name of her son **Johan Ludvig Heiberg** as the publisher. Kierkegaard, who had already expressed his admiration for her writings in his ***From the Papers of One Still Living***, planned to review it for the new *Nordic Literary Times* (*Nordisk Literaturtidende*), edited by **Jens Finsteen Gjødwad** and **Carl Parmo Ploug**. Since the resulting work proved too long for any journal, Kierkegaard published it as a book, thus also following his current intention to cease writing books and to communicate further thought through reviews instead of books proper. Kierkegaard's review (composed from mid-December 1845 to the beginning of March 1846) was thus published (March 30, 1846) under his own name as a book under the title *A Literary Review* (*En literair Anmeldelse*), with the title of the reviewed book as a subheading and a dedication to the anonymous author of *Two Ages*. Of the 525 copies printed, by July 1847, 131 copies had been sold, with the remaining 394 copies being remaindered to **C. A. Reitzel**.

Since it was itself a review, Kierkegaard's work remained unreviewed, although selections from it appeared in the Jutland paper *Dannevirke*. On

March 29, 1846, Kierkegaard sent a copy of his review to the author of *Two Ages* via Johan Ludvig Heiberg, who wrote a warm response, hailing it as "a masterpiece of penetrating and acute comprehension." On April 26, Thomasine Gyllembourg also wrote Kierkegaard a warm and long letter of thanks, copied for her by Heiberg to maintain her anonymity. A large chunk of the third section of Kierkegaard's review was eventually published in English in 1940 (Dru translation) under the title *The Present Age*. The author of *Two Ages* had herself experienced three ages—rationalism (through her older husband), romanticism, and the practical realism of the 1830s and 1840s—but her novel concerned the 1840s contrasted with the age of **revolution**. Judging from the state of his own copy, Kierkegaard read her novel with enthusiasm, making large pencil marks and one or two notes by points he found important, even dog-earing one or two pages of exceptional interest. He clearly once or twice made special note of items having some parallel with his own life situation or giving rise to inspiration for his own writing.

In his review, Kierkegaard clearly follows Thomasine Gyllembourg in supporting the former (**ethical**) age against the contemporary age. He sees her novel as concentrating on the idea of "the individual" (*see* **Self, The**), the essential basis for ethical and **religious** life. Kierkegaard therefore approves Gyllembourg's ethical realism as the proper basis for **social** life. He characterizes the revolutionary age as having character-forming **passion**, something lacking to the modern world in terms of **inwardness**, where passion expresses itself occasionally only as **despair** through some lawless action. To achieve a proper community, both socially and politically, each individual thus must relate him- or herself ethically to the (ethical) idea of that society. With the loss of inwardness and corresponding personal passion, the age is bogged down in the wrong kind of reflection—namely, a superficial **interest** in things, an interest that lacks ideals and expresses itself in envy and the desire to "level" or bring about a numerical concept of **equality**. Whereas the passion of the revolutionaries was in the context of understanding that choice must have an ethical basis, the modern **philistine** is untroubled by ideals, remaining merely a spectator of life, a member of the abstraction "the **crowd**" or "public." Such a person thinks about relationships objectively in the abstract without making any authentic relationships in the real world. In doing this, the philistine causes language and ideas that once contained personal meaning for the individual to lose their significance. The way out of the situation is seen as not being through more political revolution but through the individual facing up to the trials and tribula-

tions of the modern world as an education in which she or he relates to **God** in an authentic ethical-religious **existence**.

TWO ETHICAL-RELIGIOUS MINOR ESSAYS. *See BOOK ON ADLER, THE.*

– U –

UNDERSTANDING. *See* REASON AND UNDERSTANDING.

UNIVERSAL, THE. "The universal" is a term Kierkegaard uses, especially as Johannes de silentio in ***Fear and Trembling***, to indicate the **ethical** community in which the individual finds him- or herself. In other words, the content of ethics will vary according to the society in question. Thus, for the Jew in **Judaism**, ethics will be based on the Torah, the Christian's ethical code will especially be from the New Testament, a Muslim will derive ethics from the Koran, and so on. Ethics are "universal" because the ethical code applies to everyone in the community. The individual who takes the ethical code seriously (*see* **Seriousness**) will strive to fulfill it as well as he or she can. Kierkegaard is not thereby relativizing ethics, since his private conviction is that **Christianity** presents the highest ethical **truth**, but he does not thereby reject the validity of other ethical codes and forms of ethical striving that contain a conception of eternally obligatory norms. The individual as a member of the ethical community is obliged to accept the **authority** of the ethical code, and in the individual's actualizing of it, it is manifested in that person's life. Kierkegaard does, however, realize that there can be situations in which the individual is not able to stay within the authority of the ethical code, discussing such situations in his authorship. *See also* EXCEPTION, THE.

UNIVERSITY, COPENHAGEN. *See* COPENHAGEN UNIVERSITY.

UPBUILDING DISCOURSES. *See* EIGHTEEN UPBUILDING DISCOURSES.

– V –

VARTOV. *See* GRUNDTVIG, NIKOLAI, FREDERIK SEVERIN.

VISBY, CARL HOLGER (1801–1871). Danish pastor and philanthropist. Visby began his **university** studies in 1818 and took his degree in theology

in 1823. Initially he was prison chaplain in Copenhagen (1826–44) at the Blue Tower Civil Arrest House and from 1829 to 1842 was also pastor at the House of Correction in the district of Christianshavn. He then also became assistant pastor at the Church of Our Savior (Vor Frelsers Kirke) in Copenhagen in 1830, with appointment as parish priest at the same church in 1844. He failed to get elected to the new democratic parliament in 1849. In 1854, he moved to his final pastorate in Store Hedinge. Visby was driven by the will to be useful and improve things, though it can be said that he spread himself too widely. He was on many committees for good causes (in 1843, he chaired the initial meeting of the new Abstinence Society [Maadeholds Forening] started on October 8 and joked about by Nicolaus Notabene in Kierkegaard's **Prefaces**), and he wrote on issues ranging from growing indoor plants and science to the prison system. It was in this last area that he was really knowledgeable and was thus able to bring about change in the situation of prisoners.

In the dispute between **Nikolai Grundtvig** and **Henrik N. Clausen**, Visby supported Clausen. In 1831, Visby expressed himself unclearly about the doctrine of the soul's immortality (*see* **Spirit and Soul**), and he denied eternal **damnation**. The Grundtvigian revivalist and theologian, **Jakob Christian Lindberg**, attacked Visby in a piece headed "False Teaching in Our Savior's Church" (*Falsk Lærdom i Vor Frelsers Kirke*). This dispute eventually ended in a fine for Lindberg. In 1845, Visby wrote an article called "Concerning the Recent Violent Incidents at the House of Correction at Christianshavn" in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*, number 1821, February 21). At the end of this article, he expressed mild criticism of the new Prison Society's activity concerning the incidents. Jacob Michael Stilling (1815–1858), a teacher at the **Borgerdyd School** at Christianshavn and also a pastor at the Civil Arrest House (1845), replied critically to Visby's article in "Pastor Visby and the Prison Society" in *The Fatherland* (number 1846, March 26, 1845). Stilling was then chairman of the Prison Society's Visits Committee. Visby replied to this latter article in his "On the Prison Society Started in Copenhagen (1843) and Its Effect on Prisoners" in the same paper (number 1869, April 22).

In his journals of 1845, Kierkegaard encloses the draft of an article that he had thought of publishing on the subject, in which he is critical of Stilling. From his journals of 1848, 1849, and 1850, it is clear that Kierkegaard valued Visby and his preaching highly, although he was not uncritical of his sermons.

VOLUNTARY, THE. Particularly his 1846 encounter with *The Corsair* (*Corsaren*) paper (*see* **Meïr Aaron Goldschmidt**) made Kierkegaard realize that religious **suffering** was not only an internal matter for the one who would live Christianly (*see* **Christianity/Christendom**). The one who wishes to lives as a Christian faces the possibility of conflict with a secular world. Kierkegaard calls such a realized possibility coming to step or act "in character" (*at træde i Charakteer*). In other words, the Christian is willing to face particular conflicts of this kind, and the suffering they may entail, to stand fast by his or her Christian ideals. This action of consciously doing the Christian thing, Kierkegaard also refers to as "the voluntary" (*det Frivillige*). He makes it clear that he particularly has in mind the temporal cost of freely giving up everything in the following of Christ, including voluntary exposure of oneself to a real possibility of mockery, contempt, and persecution of some kind, when one could just as easily find real excuse for not doing it. In this connection there is the added problem and suffering caused in the process of deciding when one is rightly "acting in character" in a situation and when one is merely being religiously presumptuous. Kierkegaard, not surprisingly, himself did much soul-searching as to how far his collision with *The Corsair* might come in that category, whereas he came to see his attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**) as a voluntary task of this kind, one that he felt called on to undertake.

– W –

WATCHMEN. In Kierkegaard's time, a body of watchmen (*Vægtere*) took care of the peace and security of Copenhagen at night. Each member of the body was allocated a "post," which consisted of the patrol of up to two streets, if the streets were small, or of half a long street. The watchmen were themselves watched, in that other patrols checked up on them at unexpected times. Their duty, apart from walking their streets, was to give a shout at every hour, starting at 8 P.M. and going on until 5 A.M.: "Ho, watchman!" This was immediately followed by stating the time and singing a verse that was both religious and admonitory. While there were developments in the verses during this watchman period (17th–19th centuries), their equipment was much the same: a morning star (a spiked metal club on a wooden pole), a lantern, and a whistle or pipe that could be used to call assistance. Kierkegaard refers to the watchman's verses several times in his writings. In one place in his journals of 1853, he

mentions a local watchman who gives an initial shout loud enough to wake people but then irritatingly lowers his voice so that no one can hear what the time is.

WESTERGAARD, ANDERS CHRISTENSEN (1818–1867). Kierkegaard's domestic servant. Like the Kierkegaard family, he came from a family of Jutland tenant farmers and had two brothers and three sisters. He was confirmed on April 29, 1832, and the church register reports that he was a good pupil and highly moral in character. He became a farmhand on a farm called Sandgaard and moved to Copenhagen in 1843 or 1844. He appears on the military service record of Øster Vandet in 1839 (possibly trained in 1840) and then on the Copenhagen military service record in 1844. Kierkegaard tells us that Anders entered his service in May 1844. Anders remained Kierkegaard's domestic servant at least until 1851, although for a time he was away on active military duty when he was conscripted for military service against the Germans in 1848.

In 1851 or 1852, Anders left Kierkegaard to become a policeman in Copenhagen. He married Thrine Larsen in October 1853, and the pair lived at various addresses in Copenhagen, where two daughters were born. In 1860, Anders became a policeman in Jutland (at least until September 1863), possibly living at Viborg. The Westergaards then moved to Holstebro, where Anders obtained employment (1866) as a jailer and as an attendant at the town hall. A son was born in 1867 (one of the daughters had died earlier). Also in 1867, Anders fell sick, and he died on December 8 that year.

Kierkegaard mentions Anders in his journals of 1846 in the context of one having a limited ability to understand scientific discoveries. In 1847, Kierkegaard wrote a glowing reference for Anders (when he was applying to become a policeman) in which he praises his moral character, intelligence, and practical capabilities. In 1848, he expresses regret that Anders has been conscripted (May 1848), leaving him without help. It appears that Anders was so capable that when he moved apartments, Kierkegaard went out for a drive from the old apartment in the morning, returning to the new one in the evening, where everything was in place. Anders kept Kierkegaard's accounts for him, and from various reports appears to have coped with all aspects of Kierkegaard's domestic life as waiter-cum-servant-cum-butler and messenger. Thus, when, in 1850, Kierkegaard wonders whether Anders has been at his desk when he was out, he inclines more to the view that he may well have forgotten to lock things up but feels uncomfortable at even suspecting Anders.

WILL. *See* IMAGINATION.

WITNESS TO THE TRUTH. Especially in the writings of the last years of his life, Kierkegaard came to see it as essential that the one preaching **Christianity** should be one who was attempting to live as a Christian. Also, since Christian ideality calls for the **imitation** of Christ, he expected such imitation to provoke persecution by the world, just as the first Christians suffered persecution, although he thought the individual should not seek to provoke it. The initiating occasion for Kierkegaard's attack on the church establishment was theology professor, then bishop, **Hans Lassen Martensen**'s funeral eulogy for **Bishop Jakob Mynster**, in which he extolled Mynster as "a witness to the truth." In Martensen's only reply to Kierkegaard's opening attack in the **press**, Martensen objected that Kierkegaard wrongly defines all witnesses to the **truth** as martyrs. Kierkegaard denied this, but it has to be admitted that Kierkegaard's article in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*), December 18, 1854, "Was Bishop Mynster a 'Witness to the Truth,' One of the Authentic Witnesses to the Truth—Is This the Truth?" is ambiguous on this point, according to whether one reads his descriptions of the witness to refer to one witness to the truth or to several. In either case, however, it is an interesting question as to how far someone who genuinely lives a life in the imitation of Christ will necessarily suffer persecution in a society that accepts Christianity as a **religious** option. *See also* STATE CHURCH; SUFFERING.

WOMEN AND MEN. While in his writings Kierkegaard insists on the **equality** of men and women before God, he sees essential differences between the sexes, no doubt owing to the sharp division of social roles in 19th-century Denmark. The fact thus has to be faced that the young Kierkegaard, like a number of his contemporaries, found it comic that women might attend lectures in philosophy, while he rejected the idea of women's emancipation, both as his pseudonym Judge William and in his journals. He was also influenced by New Testament ideas concerning man's headship over woman, these coming to expression in his comments on women and **marriage** in ***Works of Love***. He was thus entirely unsympathetic toward **Fredrika Bremer**, the Finnish Swedish author and traveler, who started the Swedish suffragette movement, and to **Mathilde Fibiger**, the forerunner of women's emancipation in Denmark.

In Kierkegaard's writings over the years, a picture emerges of the basic differences between men and women. Woman is viewed as being

more spontaneous and authentically herself than man, as instinctive, sensitive, imaginative, and self-sacrificing. She is seen as making temporality, in the form of home, husband, and children, the center and goal of her existence and as relating intellectually to the religious through the man. Man, on the other hand, is viewed as more intellectually oriented than woman, with an interest in questions beyond temporality (*see* **Eternity/Time**). He is able to face conflict, but since he identifies his life with what he does and achieves, he is also involved in selfish competition and triviality in the world outside the home. Although viewed as stronger and intellectually superior to woman, he needs the inspiration of either a woman or an **idea** to motivate his life. It therefore follows from this that men and women, since they are fundamentally different, have special distinct tasks in life, and each sex is expected to stick to the range of tasks appropriate to it. In the temporal world, woman is not to be temporally equal to the man. Man is to maintain a position of responsible mastery over woman, and woman is to be silent and submissive regarding matters outside the home, where she is the superior power.

Kierkegaard, however, does not exclude the thought that men and women may have each other's characteristics, and, in ***The Sickness unto Death***, his idea of a truly **religious** person is one having a masculine intellectuality and feminine submissiveness. Kierkegaard says little to suggest what particular external tasks men and women can have besides the traditional ones allotted them, although he seems to have had no problem with **Johanne Luise Heiberg** being an actress. It can thus be said that while Kierkegaard insists on the spiritual equality of men and women, he does not recognize their temporal equality, even though he presents the matter as one of fundamental difference between the sexes. He does not seem to recognize how far his picture of men and women is based on a culturally conditioned situation; therefore, he is unable to deal satisfactorily with the question of whether there are any fundamental differences between the sexes concerning personality and intellectuality.

WONDER STOOL. "Wonder Stool" or "Sit on the Wonder Stool" indicates a parlor game in which one player sat on a chair in the middle of a circle of players, while another, using the formula "What are you wondering?" asked the others what they wanted to know about the sitter. The questioner then repeated the whispered questions to the sitter, who had to try to guess the author of each question. The first correct guess put a new victim on the chair. This game is used as a simile a number of times

in Kierkegaard's authorship—for example, in ***Philosophical Fragments*** and ***The Sickness unto Death.***

WORKS OF LOVE. Kierkegaard composed *Works of Love* (*Kjerlighedens Gjerninger*) in the period from the end of January to August 2, 1847. It was published on September 29 of that year under Kierkegaard's own name and as "Christian Deliberations," thus emphasizing that he was concentrating on specifically Christian religiosity (*see* **Christianity/ Christendom**; ***Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses***). The book is in two series of discourses, the first section laying weight on the **ethical** duty to **love** and the second section emphasizing the edifying or upbuilding nature of love as it is delineated in its various manifestations. The emphasis is on Christian love as transforming the partiality of all human love, not least sexual love, into Christian love of neighbor. Genuine love is thus a deed and not merely a feeling. It is also based on the priority of each individual's relationship with **God** above all relationships. The book, which was printed in a run of 500–525 copies, sold so well that it appeared in a second edition in 1852.

As with Kierkegaard's other upbuilding discourse material, little in the way of reviews appeared. In *Berling's Times* (*Berlingske Tidende*) (number 297, December 20, 1847), Mendel Levin Nathanson hailed Kierkegaard as one of a different viewpoint to the modern pantheistic philosophy (*see* **Hegel**) writing powerfully and persuasively with great talent. He also hinted that Kierkegaard ought to become a preacher. In his journals, Kierkegaard notes it as a hasty review of no value. There was also an anonymous review in *New Evening Paper* (*Nyt Aftenbladet*) (numbers 291, 292, 294, December 14, 15, 17, 1847), but this was scarcely a review, in that it used *Works of Love* as a springboard for the writer's own thoughts on philosophy and religion before closing with an apology for a long review. Kierkegaard makes a sarcastic comment in his journal on the matter of length. When Kierkegaard went to visit Bishop **Jakob Mynster** (November 4, 1847) and found the bishop chilly in manner, he may well have been right in his fear that the bishop was offended by the book. Against an overemphasis on the idea of divine **grace,** Kierkegaard had developed in the book what he himself recognized as a powerful polemic stressing love as a deed. In the late 20th century, *Works of Love* has been seen as Kierkegaard's blueprint for the good society, in that (as he points out in his journals) (*see* **Crowd/Public**; **Social and Political, The**), authentic community is built up through the commitment of its members individually to its ethical ideals (*see* **Ideas**). *See also* EQUALITY.

– Z –

ZEUTHEN, FREDERIK LUDVIG BANG (1805–1874). Danish pastor. Zeuthen was a nephew of the philosopher **Henrik Steffens**. In 1822, he became a student at Odense and completed his theology degree in 1825, after which he visited his uncle in Breslau. While he was in Germany, he studied theology and philosophy under notables such as Friedrich Schleiermacher and Philip Marheineke. Zeuthen was keenly interested in philosophy from his earliest years. On his return to Denmark, he published several minor philosophical works, and when he became magister (doctor) in 1832, he went abroad again to study and was especially influenced by **Friedrich Schelling**'s speculative philosophy. In 1835, he became pastor for Grimstrup and Aarre in Jutland. In 1842, Zeuthen was transferred to Zealand, first to Tømmerup, then to Sorø (1849), and finally in 1860 to Fredericia. He was an ardent opponent of Grundtvigianism. In 1840, he openly opposed the Grundtvigian viewpoint in a piece directed to Kierkegaard's brother: *Message to P. C. Kierkegaard* (*Sendebrev til P. C. Kierkegaard*), and at the Roskilde Convention he often met and debated with **Peter Christian Kierkegaard**. His contribution to these debates he later published in *On the So-called Church Viewpoint* (*Om den saakaldte 'kirkelige Anskuelse'*) (1858).

Zeuthen also engaged in polemic with Søren Kierkegaard. In 1860, he started a debate concerning the correct practice of confirmation. He also engaged with **Rasmus Nielsen** on the subject of **faith** and **knowledge**. In his final years, he aggressively opposed Roman Catholic propaganda, and he published his memoirs in the 1860s and 1870s. Among the books sold at the auction after Kierkegaard's death was a bundle of polemical articles against his attack on the church establishment (*see* **Jakob Peter Mynster**; **State Church**). One of these was by Zeuthen. In 1848, Zeuthen's attitude toward Kierkegaard had been extremely friendly. A letter from him in May of that year thankfully acknowledges the value of Kierkegaard's ***Christian Discourses***, and Kierkegaard's reply is equally friendly, inviting him to pay him a visit. In the same year, Kierkegaard notes, in relation to a discourse on the theme of the lilies and the birds, that a comment made in Zeuthen's letter would be apposite.

In 1855, Kierkegaard did a draft in his journal of an article replying to an article of Zeuthen's. Zeuthen had published "Spirit and Letter" (*Aand og Bogstav*) in several 1855 issues of *The Evangelical Church in Denmark Weekly* (*Ugeskrift for den evangeliske Kirke i Danmark*). Among other things, Zeuthen refers to Kierkegaard with comments on self-

chosen sufferings (*see* **Suffering**) and crosses by which a person gives him- or herself self-esteem and attempts to get esteem from others, something that is not pleasing to **God** and not wise. Even if Kierkegaard should go ahead and give all his goods to the poor, since it would be only an external act of self-abasement, a kind calling for inner self-elevation, his action would be abominable to God. Zeuthen appears to refer to Kierkegaard's ***Concluding Unscientific Postscript***. He thinks that Kierkegaard's **Christianity** lacks the right inner attitude. Zeuthen also published in 1855 *Polemical Pages Against Dr. Søren Kierkegaard* (*Polemiske Blade imod Dr. Søren Kierkegaard*). In the draft article, which he did not use, Kierkegaard refers to the comments and to Zeuthen's article against him. Among other things he acidly notes that Zeuthen is not too busy dealing with **Nikolai Grundtvig** not to have time to have a go at Kierkegaard. Kierkegaard's actual reply (written in April 1855) appeared in an article in *The Fatherland* (*Fædrelandet*) (May 15, 1855), in which he refutes as silly the charge of self-importance and points out that those bringing such charges are themselves being self-important. Zeuthen exemplifies this. He uses against Kierkegaard what he could easily have read in Johannes Climacus's discussion of Christianity in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* as if Kierkegaard did not know it already. Zeuthen in so doing is not himself modest or humble. Kierkegaard published his article after Zeuthen published his polemical article against Kierkegaard.

– Ø –

ØRSTED, ANDERS SANDØE (1778–1860). Great legal scholar and statesman. Ørsted was born in Rudkøbing, Denmark, son of a pharmacist and brother of physicist **Hans Christian Ørsted**. Anders was very close to his brother, and together they made a joint attempt to overcome an irregular and eccentric education by teaching themselves. For a time they thought of becoming pastors, but their natural talents took them in other directions. In 1793, the brothers went to Copenhagen, and after they were tutored for a short period, they could matriculate as students in 1795. Despite weak health, Ørsted studied philosophy, with special reference to Kant, and law. In 1798, he wrote a prize essay on the connection between the principle of moral and legal teaching, and by 1799, he acquired a reputation as one of Denmark's and Norway's most talented young scholars, when he passed the two law exams with distinction, an outstanding achievement. He published a number of philosophical and

legal works, including *On the Moral Foundation of Religion* (*Om Religionens moralske Grundvold*) (*Minerva* 1799). He hoped for a post at **Copenhagen University**, but his interest in Immanuel Kant and Johann G. Fichte made him unpopular with the judges of a competition for an adjunct teaching post, and he was unsuccessful. Ørsted fell ill, and the position was given to an intellectually insignificant rival.

In 1801, Ørsted was appointed a judge but had to continue to do tutoring to earn enough to live on. In 1801, he published his *Attempt at a Proper Explanation and Assessment of the Limits of the Ordinance, 27 September, 1799, Concerning Freedom of the* **Press** (*Forsøg til en rigtig Fortolkning og Bedømmelse over Forordningen om Trykkefrihedens Grændser, dateret den 27de September 1799*), a work that aroused little attention at the time but later was seen to be a work of genius. Ørsted married his first wife Sophie, the sister of the poet **Adam Oehlenschläger**, in 1802. The Ørsted home became a cultural salon, where many talented Golden Age figures met together. In 1809, Ørsted became head of the **Pastoral Seminary** and lecturer in Church law. By 1810, he was a high court judge and, in 1815, an honorary doctor of law of the Universities of Copenhagen and Kiel. Through his ability with both the practical and theoretical aspects of law, Ørsted was enabled to lay the foundations of the jurisprudence on which all later Danish jurisprudence has rested. When he was excluded from university work, he published major works which appear as notes or supplements to the textbooks of the university professors. In the period 1804 onward, he published a number of important legal and philosophical works, such as *Systematic Exposition of the Concept of Theft, and the Legal Consequences of This Crime* (*Systematisk Udvikling af Begrebet om Tyverie, og dens Forbrydelses juridiske Følger*) (1809) and, in 1815, the first part of *Eunomia or Collection of Essays Relevant to Moral Philosophy, Political Philosophy and the Danish-Norwegian Jurisprudence* (*Eunomia, eller Samling af Afhandlinger, henhørende til Moralphilosophien, Statsphilosophien, og den Dansk-Norske Lovkyndighed*).

In 1813, Ørsted had been given a post in the Danish chancellery, where he did well, despite the fact that his liberalism did not make him popular with the king. In 1825, the year of **Nikolai Grundtvig**'s attack on **Henrik N. Clausen**, Ørsted contributed to the affair with an essay in the *Legal Times* (*Juridisk Tidsskrift*): "Does the Danish Church Constitution Need a Thorough Change?" (*Behøver den danske Kirkeforfatning en omgribende Forandring?*), an article that caused Frederik VI to give him an official correction in a royal resolution of September 21, 1826. Ørsted

thus found himself forbidden to publish all but some minor trivial items in the future and was asked to resign from the Pastoral Seminary. This led Ørsted to dedicate himself to what was left him, the service of the state and politics. Ørsted was appointed by the king to a leading role in the new Provincial Consultative Assemblies (Provinsialstænder), a position he retained until he resigned because of sickness in 1846. After the death of Christian VIII, Ørsted was one of the committee appointed to write a new **constitution**, though he voted against its acceptance because he feared that the new constitution would mean less personal freedom and independence for the people than under the absolute monarchy.

In 1853, Ørsted became a minister (minister for ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction [*Kultusminister*] together with the home office; *see* **State Church**), and as prime minister in his final ministry of 1853–54, he attempted to get rid of the new constitutionalism. He was instrumental in securing **Hans Lassen Martensen** his bishopric. Martensen tells us in his memoirs that although Ørsted had started out as a Kantian moral rationalist in his religion, under the influence of **Jakob Mynster,** his moral view developed into a religion of divine providence. Ørsted's final years, in which he could look back on a life that had brought him the highest titles and orders, were spent quietly. A work that he completed during this time was his *From the History of My Life and Time* (*Af mit Livs og min Tids Historie*) (1851–57), one of the most important sources of Danish history in the first half of the 19th century.

Kierkegaard in his journals of 1849 has a note concerning the draft of a letter (never sent) thanking Ørsted for Part III of his draft material on the new constitution. He also mentions Ørsted in connection with Martensen's appointment to the bishopric in 1854. For his part, Ørsted was deeply shocked by Kierkegaard's attack on the Church establishment, specifically on the late Bishop Mynster, who was his friend, and he attempts to repudiate the attack in his memoirs.

ØRSTED, HANS CHRISTIAN (1777–1851). Famous Danish physicist and chemist. He was born in Rudkøbing, Denmark; his brother was **Anders Sandsøe Ørsted**. Together with his brother, he learned to read from the wife of a wig maker. Her husband taught them German and addition and subtraction. They learned multiplication and division from other casual teachers. Hans Christian taught himself rule of three and taught his brother art. When he was 12, he became an apprentice in his father's pharmacist's shop, which aroused his interest in chemistry and the sciences. Through self-teaching, mutual teaching, and a little help from others, the

brothers passed the **Copenhagen University** entrance exam with excellent results. Hans Christian studied chemistry, physics, mathematics, and some philosophy. In 1797, he won a university prize for a prize essay on aesthetics. The same year he passed a pharmaceutical exam, again with excellent results, and received yet another university prize in 1798 for answering a medical question. In 1799, he became doctor of philosophy in philosophy.

Ørsted's ability led him to a university adjunct teaching post in 1800 in the Medical Faculty. In the period 1801–04, he went to study abroad. On his return he held lectures in physics at Copenhagen University, initially for three years, even though he was not popular in some quarters for being a philosopher of nature. In 1806, he became special professor in physics and could now put together his thoughts in some publications on the history of chemistry and why notes give a sensation of pleasure. During 1812–13, he again traveled abroad and wrote a major work on chemistry and electrical forces (1812). In 1814, he married and became tenured professor in 1817.

It was in the spring of 1820 that Ørsted made (during one of his evening lectures) his major discovery of electromagnetism, that an electric current can turn the needle of a magnet above or below the current. The years 1822–23 saw him again studying abroad. On his return he founded the Society for the Spread of Physics, and he was the leading initiator behind the founding of the **Polytechnic** in 1829, of which he became director until his death. He also became a member of the Society for the Proper Use of **Press** Freedom (Selskabet for Trykkefrihedens rette Brug or Trykkefrihedsselskabet). His final tour abroad was in 1846, when he met, among others, Michael Faraday. In March 1851, he was taken ill suddenly with a chest complaint and died in a few days in Copenhagen. Apart from the discovery of electromagnetism, Ørsted discovered aluminum (in 1824) and made a number of important contributions to physics. His discoveries in electrical research did much to advance the invention of the electric telegraph.

Among other references, Kierkegaard praises Ørsted in his journals and papers (1835) as a researcher in science who has been able to bring the details of his scientific knowledge together in a complete picture viewable from the right perspective. In 1846, however, he indirectly suggests that Ørsted is not the profound philosopher that some think, an ironic remark indicating a repudiation of Ørsted's way of thinking. As Bruce Kirmmse points out, Ørsted believed in the unity of religion and human nature, and his philosophical work *The Spirit in Nature* (*Aanden*

in Naturen) (1850) expresses a romantic philosophy that inspired the outlook of Golden Age Denmark generally. Major themes of this type of philosophy include a yearning for a lost past unity of everything, the unity of religion and culture, emphasis on religion and **art**, and the celebration of the godlike figure of the **genius**. For Ørsted, **science** and religion are primally closely connected; **existence** is a kingdom of **reason**. The universe discloses the unity of **knowledge**, beauty (art), and morality. Ørsted thinks that a realization of the wholeness of everything will mean that science and religion can be restored to their lost unity, a unity that includes poetry. The cultivation of science thus becomes the exercise of religion.

Bibliography

INTRODUCTION

To write a bibliography of Kierkegaard is a daunting task, not least because his thought is dealt with by almost any discipline one may care to name. Also, since Kierkegaard study has for many years been a field of research in its own right, material on Kierkegaard has mushroomed, if not flowered, profusely. Many of the works on Kierkegaard already contain fair-sized bibliographies, including the Copenhagen-published international journal *Kierkegaardiana*. Since 1979, I have been compiling the *International Kierkegaard Newsletter*, an annual paper that provides readers with current bibliographical information. Although this publication runs into many pages, it but scratches the surface of what is published, despite its reference to the work of other Kierkegaard bibliographers. It therefore has to be noted at the outset that even a reasonably select bibliography in these pages might well take up the entire book twice over and still not catch everything.

The reader will find this situation to some extent remedied through the "Bibliographical and Lexical Aids" section of this bibliography, where reference is made to a number of other major Kierkegaard bibliographies and electronic resources for locating the very latest publications. This section also indicates some of the history of Kierkegaard bibliographical research through the works mentioned (e.g., bibliographies by Jens Himmelstrup, Aage Jørgensen, and François H. Lapointe). Also, while it is not possible to name the work of Stéphane Hogue in Canada in the section on bibliographies (because his bibliography is no longer available), tribute should be paid to Hogue, who, in the 1980s, computerized the main bibliographical sources on Kierkegaard, thus providing an extremely helpful search tool and anticipating the kind of help now available on CD-ROM databases in libraries. Since 1979, the *International Kierkegaard Newsletter* has also done its best to mention material published in all languages (e.g., Bulgarian, Finnish, Russian), and in 1994, the *Newsletter* was put on the Internet on the Web site *International Kierkegaard Information* together with backnumbers. There is thus an extremely comprehensive electronic database available to everyone on the Internet. The Søren Kierkegaard Research Centre at the University of Copenhagen also has plans (in conjunction with the Royal Library Copenhagen) for the creation of a bibliographical database for Kierkegaard scholars, using Hogue's previous work.

One problem in attempting to document international literature on Kierkegaard is that there is a huge but unavoidable hole in all Western bibliographical work, a hole caused by the difficulties hitherto presented by the existence of material in languages with different alphabets such as Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. Moreover, in some countries bibliographies of early Kierkegaard bibliographical material have yet to be compiled. Where Japanese Kierkegaard research is concerned, however, we are fortunate in having the bibliography compiled in recent years by Professor Jun Hashimoto and his colleagues (see Bibliographical and Lexical Aids).

In compiling a Kierkegaard bibliography, the two main aims are to create satisfactory categories and to include only good material. Here, the bibliographer encounters first the problem of deciding on the categories in relation to the variegated material. While it is helpful if one has categories such as, for example, "Kierkegaard and Politics" and "Kierkegaard and Psychoanalysis," essays on Kierkegaard and these subjects are widely spread in books and articles. Not only would it take several years to collect the material together, but also a lot of space would be required because of the unavoidable repetition of bibliographical information resulting from excessive cross-referencing and the overlap of topics. Given that such material is now becoming easily available on the Internet (see the section Electronic Materials) so that it is becoming ever easier to download the relevant bibliographies and do a scan for one's topic of interest, the presentation here uses only a few categories and does not attempt to cram everything into them.

In assembling this bibliography, I have thus decided to divide it up into 10 sections and an appendix. (It should be noted that like the dictionary, the bibliography follows the Danish alphabet, so words beginning with *AA* should come before *A*, while words beginning with *Æ* and *Ø* come after Z.) Since an obvious category is that of primary Danish sources, the first section deals with the original Danish texts. Here I have mentioned the first and second edition of the relevant work or works. The reader will be able to trace further editions by using *Jens Himmelstrup's Søren Kierkegaard International Bibliografi* (see Bibliographical and Lexical Aids). In the second section, Kierkegaard Texts in Translation, I have stayed almost entirely with English texts because of the current impossibility of mentioning texts from all the countries that have translated Kierkegaard. For further help in this direction, the reader should check bibliographies such as Himmelstrup, François Lapointe's *Kierkegaard and His Critics*, Aage Jørgensen's bibliographies, and the *International Kierkegaard Newsletter*, all of which make an attempt to do this. It should be noted that Calvin Evans's bibliography (*Søren Kierkegaard Bibliographies: Remnants*), also mentioned under Bibliographical and Lexical Aids, tries to pick up unusual material not mentioned in the other bibliographies. The third section, Introductory Works, attempts to include, for new Kierkegaard readers, publications from as many countries as possible. These works introduce Kierkegaard from a wide variety of perspectives, and they vary in size from works of a few pages to fairly sizeable ones such as Walter Lowrie's *Kierkegaard*. The next section, Background Material, contains works dealing with the general historical and political background of Kierkegaard's time and also

with people and situations in his time. This section is followed by three sections listing works that deal with Kierkegaard from respectively an aesthetic, ethical, and religious perspective. These are followed by the section Kierkegaard and Other Thinkers, in which studies of Kierkegaard in relation to other thinkers are listed. All other works, except bibliographical and lexical ones, go into the next section, Other Studies. It is hoped that this approach will help the reader quickly find relevant material without becoming swamped in a sea of categories. As already noted, the following section deals with Bibliographical and Lexical Aids, and it is divided into a section on printed materials and one on electronic materials. The appendices give detailed information about the contents of Kierkegaard's writings in Danish and English, a list of his pseudonyms, and some useful historical notes about Denmark and Kierkegaard.

Concerning the second aim of including only good material in a bibliography, the difficulty for the Kierkegaard bibliographer is to decide what counts as "good." My experience has been that a book or article one eminent scholar finds outstanding, another equally eminent scholar finds deplorable. At least in Kierkegaard research, "good" appears to have a lot to do with what the scholar in question finds important about Kierkegaard's writings. Much therefore depends on the scholar's area of specialization. One obvious way of cutting the gordian knot concerning choice of the good is to stick to what one finds relevant and interesting about Kierkegaard in relation to one's own field of research. Apart from this being an unavoidably narrow approach to the problem, whoever takes it, this can result in the "bad" books become good through the quality of annoyed scholarly reaction provoked, an annoyance that can provoke the writing of insightful articles and books. So in this bibliography there are at least two books and some articles that I find appalling, but I include them in the hope that they will succeed in stimulating the reader in the way they stimulated me. My experience has therefore made me wary of trying definitively to sort material into "good" and "bad," and I have, instead, tried to include a wide variety of types of material, so that readers will get as broad a picture as possible of the scope and extent of Kierkegaard research. Dissertations as a category have been omitted, because many of these are not available to the general public and because detailed lists can be found on the Internet as well as through *Dissertation Abstracts*.

If I have to declare which books were helpful to me when I started studying Kierkegaard many years ago, Walter Lowrie, Johannes Hohlenberg, Peter Rohde, Thomas Croxall, and Ronald Grimsley provided much helpful introductory material, while the works of Gregor Malantschuk and Reidar Thomte were a "must" for reference concerning knotty problems such as the place of the concept of humor in Kierkegaard's thought. Otherwise, most of my energy went into learning Kierkegaard's Danish. I would thus like to leave the reader with what I hope is good advice. First, the general reader should avoid getting sucked into the sea of secondary literature on Kierkegaard; otherwise, that reader will never make the coast of primary Kierkegaard material. On the contrary, she or he will be utterly confused by the many Kierkegaards encountered and by the many different major intentions he apparently had with his authorship. Most important, therefore, for the one reading

Kierkegaard for the first time is the acquisition of an accurate edition or translation of the Kierkegaard work in question. Next, one or two introductory works will be helpful for the one who knows no more than Kierkegaard's name and the work she or he happened to discover. Secondary literature initially should thus be taken on board sparingly and in relation to themes that the reader finds perplexing. I hope that this historical dictionary will help such a reader especially through the material provided in the dictionary section.

For the person intending to do serious Kierkegaard research, though, it is important to learn to read Danish. No translation is a substitute for the original Kierkegaard text, while much important secondary material is written in that language. Having said that, between the person who reads Kierkegaard only in English or some other major language and the one who reads Kierkegaard fluently in Danish, there is also the reader who wishes to master some Danish terms and titles of works in the original language. This bibliography also tries to cover the needs of that reader. So this Kierkegaard bibliography is for readers of all kinds. I hope that it will in every way assist both the general reader and the dedicated researcher on the path to discovering Kierkegaard.

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A. Freire Ashbaugh: Platonism. An Essay on Repetition and Recollection; Cornelio Fabro: Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Jørgen Pedersen: Augustine and Augustinianism: George L. Stengren: Thomism; Regin Prenter: Luther and Lutheranism; Marie Mikulová Thulstrup: Pietism; Jerry H. Gill: Kantianism. Bibliography.

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Value concepts in Kierkegaard's authorship. Fr.-Eb. Wilde: Established Order (Det Bestaaende); Decision; Søren Holm: The Nineteenth Century; Openness; N. H. Søe: Anthropology; Emanuel Skjoldager: The Child; Anna Paulsen: Education; Robert Widenman: Character; Crime; Per Lønning: Experience; Lars Bejerholm: Affect; Paul Sponheim: Ethical Reflection; Responsibility; Kresten Nordentoft: Recollection (Erindring); Loneliness; Dreams; Erotic Love; Engagement (Forlovelse); Palle Hoff; The Art of Breaking Off; G. E. Arbaugh; Deceit, Deception; Demoralization; Egoism; Wolfdietrich von Kloeden and Per Lønning: Dread; Cornelio Fabro: Desperation; Marie Mikulová Thulstrup: Suffering. Bibliography.

Vol. 8, 1981: *The Legacy and Interpretation of Kierkegaard.*

The reception of Kierkegaard. Paulus Svendsen: Norwegian Literature; Nils Åke Sjöstedt: Swedish Literature; Wolfdietrich von Kloeden: Einfluss und Bedeutung im deutsch-sprachigen Denken; Nelly Viallaneix: Lectures françaises; Ronald Grimsley: French Existentialism; Chestov; Alessandro Cortese: Italy; J. Heywood Thomas: Influence on English Thought; Lewis A. Lawson: Small Talk on the "Melancholy Dane." In America; Kalle Sorainen: Brøchner; Høffding; F. J. Billeskov Jansen: Brandes; N. H. Søe: Geismar; Karl Barth; Lars Bejerholm: Bohlin; Jørgen K. Bukdahl: Bultmann; Robert L. Perkins: A Philosophic Encounter with Buber. Bibliography.

Vol. 9, 1981: *Kierkegaard Literary Miscellany.*

Literary themes and figures in Kierkegaard's world and work. Kalle Sorainen: Imagery; Allegory; Bournonville; A Night at Bullar-Lake; Lars Bejerholm: Anonymity and Pseudonymity; Winfield E. Nagley: Irony in the "Diapsalmata;" Ronald Grimsley: Figures; Søren Holm: Comedy; Clara Raphael; F. J. Billeskov Jansen: Remarks on Fable and Fairy-Tale; Holberg; Baggesen; Oehlenschläger; Ulla Albeck: Blicher; Carl Bernhard; Ove Kreisberg and F. J. Billeskov Jansen: H.C. Andersen; Niels Thulstrup: The Contemporary Reception of the *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* and the External Circumstances; Alessandro Cortese: Dante; L. Nedergaard-Hansen: Bayle; Ronald Grimsley: Cervantes; Chateaubriand; Boieldieu; Goldsmith; Gulliver; Figaro; Robert Widenman: Farinelli; Robert L. Perkins: Agnes and the Mermaid. Bibliography.

Vol. 10, 1982: *Kierkegaard's Teachers.*

Steen Johansen: Michael Nielsen; Niels Thulstrup: Mynster; H. N. Clausen; Daub; Robert Widenman: Sibbern; H. P. Rohde: Poul Møller; Albert Anderson: Hamann; Claus A. Bormann: Lessing; Marie Mikulová Thulstrup: Baader; J. H. Schiørring: Martensen. Bibliography.

Vol. 11, 1986: *The Copenhagen of Kierkegaard.*

Niels Thulstrup: Highlights of Copenhagen's History; A Stroll through Copenhagen; Copenhagen's Fortifications, the Ramparts; Kierkegaard's Residences; The Borgerdydskole; The Buildings of Københavns Universitet; The Universitetsbibliotek; The Students' Union, Academicum and Athenaeum; Bookstores, Publishers and Antiquarian Bookshops; Strøget; Church Buildings; The Bishop's Palace; The Regensen; Palaces and Mansions; Some Public Buildings and Places; Squares and Marketplaces; Christianshavn; Beyond the Ramparts; Frederiksberg; The Dyrehave; Fredensborg; Copenhagen as Reality and Symbol for Kierkegaard. Bibliography.

Vol. 12, 1983: *Kierkegaard as a Person.*

Influences and situations in Kierkegaard's life. Emanuel Skjoldager: The Family; The Friend; His Residences; An Unwanted Ally: Magnus Eiriksson; His View of Denmark; His Personal Prayers; Wolfdietrich von Kloeden: Der Vater M. P. Kierkegaard; Niels Thulstrup: The Brother Peter Christian; Regine; The Borgerdyd School; The University; His Library; Skat Arildsen: His Theological Examination; Robert Widenman: His Servant: A. C. Westergaard; Hakon Stangerup: His Polemic with the Press; Elias Bredsdorff: The Corsair; H. P. Clausen: The King; Marie Mikulová Thulstrup: His Selfunderstanding as a Christian; Robert Widenman and C. Jørgensen: His Death. Bibliography.

Vol. 13, 1984: *Kierkegaard and the Church of Denmark.*

Niels Thulstrup: The Church as Institution; The Official Books of the Church; The Clergy and their Functions; The Pastoral Seminary; Churches and Bishops, Deans and Priests in Copenhagen in the Time of Søren Kierkegaard; Divine Service and Ritual Acts; Clerical Conferences (Convents); Martensen's *Dogmatics* and its Reception; Grundtvig; The Church Struggle; Conclusion: Corrective and Unscientific Perspective.

Vol. 14, 1985: *Kierkegaard's Classical Inspiration.*

The influence of Classical Greece on Kierkegaard. Søren Holm: Antiquity; Povl Johs. Jensen: Antigone; Aristophanes; Robert M. Cooper: Plato on Authority, Irony, and True Riches; Marie Mikulová Thulstrup: Plato's Vision and its Interpretations; Wolfdietrich von Kloeden: Sokrates; Robert Widenman: Aristotle's Prime Mover. Bibliography.

Vol. 15, 1987: *Kierkegaard Research.*

Paul Sponheim: America; Wolfdietrich von Kloeden: Die deutschsprachige Forschung; Ronald Grimsley: England; Kalle Sorainen: Finland; F. J. Billeskov Jansen: The Study in France; Bernard Delfgaauw and Geert van den Bos: Holland (The Netherlands); Niels Thulstrup: Scandinavia. Bibliography.

Vol. 16, 1988: *Some of Kierkegaard's Main Categories.*

Marie Mikulová Thulstrup: The Single Individual; The Concept of the World; Jørgen Pedersen: Conception of Freedom. Principal Perspectives; Karstein Hopland: Reason/Intellectuality; Passion (Lidenskab); N. H. Søe: Subjektivität ist Wahrheit; Niels Thulstrup: Trial, Test, Tribulation, Temptation; Robert Widenman: The Concept of Stages; Cornelio Fabro: Edification; Louis Reimer: Die Erlösung. Die Wiederholung der Ursprünglichkeit. Bibliography. Index of Themes (for all volumes).

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Watkin, Julia. *International Kierkegaard Newsletter,* Copenhagen, 1979– . Annual newsletter providing a source of shared information about the latest books, journals, articles, and dissertations on Kierkegaard, particularly the latest bibliographical material. It also contains information about Kierkegaard centers, libraries, societies, conferences, media events, and computer aids.

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Electronic Materials

http://www.utas.edu.au/docs/humsoc/kierkegaard
International Kierkegaard Information

1. the *International Kierkegaard Newsletter* (1991 onward) in an electronic edition;
2. links to Kierkegaard societies and institutions all over the world;
3. current conferences, courses, meetings, calls for papers, and so forth;
4. a section ("Resources") with scholarly research tools and details of theses on Kierkegaard (British theses and UMI theses [now known as Bell & Howell Information and Learning]);
5. links to some other electronic Kierkegaard sites

Some Other Electronic Sites

D. Anthony Storm's Web site on Kierkegaard: http://home.pacbell.net/newcov/sk
Kierkegaard on the Internet: http://www.webcom.com/kierke/
Royal Library Denmark Kierkegaard Manuscripts:
http://www.kb.dk/kultur/expo/sk-mss/bil6/6–3.htm or http://www.kb.dk/
The Kierkegaard Computer Workshop (texts) (Alastair McKinnon):
http://www.skcw.com/
Kierkegaard Lecture Hall:
http:// mobydicks.com/lecture/Kierkegaardhall/www.board.html
Søren Kierkegaard Forskningscenteret: http://www.sk.ku.dk
Howard V. Hong & Edna H. Hong Kierkegaard Library
http://www.stolaf.edu/library/kierkegaard/
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Denmark: Søren Kierkegaard, Life and Work:
http://www.um.dk/english/danmark/danmarksbog/kap9/9.asp

Appendix A
Kierkegaard's Writings

Please note that where possible, the Hong translations of titles are used from *Kierkegaard's Writings*, ed. Howard V. Hong (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978–1998).

JOURNALS AND PAPERS

Contains his journals (1833–1855), drafts of published material (including complete ready-to-print book manuscripts), drafts of unpublished works, notes and letters.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES UNDER HIS OWN NAME OR PUBLISHED POSTHUMOUSLY

"To Mr. Orla Lehmann," *Copenhagen's Flying Post*, Interim Paper, 87, April 10, 1836, col. 1-8.

Til Hr. Orla Lehmann: Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post, Interimsblad, 87, April 10, 1836, Sp. 1-8.

The Concept of Irony with continual reference to Socrates. 1841 (dissertation).

Om Begrebet Ironi med stadigt hensyn til Socrates, 1841 (afhandling).

"Public Confession," *The Fatherland*, 904, June 12, 1842.

Aabenbart Skriftemaal: Fædrelandet, 904, Juni 12, 1842.

Johannes Climacus or De omnibus dubitandum est: A Narrative. 1842–43 published posthumously.

Johannes Climacus eller De omnibus dubitandum est: En Fortælling. 1872 (Barfod & Gottsched: Efterladte Papirer, II).

Two Upbuilding Discourses. May 16, 1843. The Expectancy of Faith. Every Good and Perfect Gift Is from Above.

To opbyggelige Taler. 1843. Troens Forventning. Al god og al fuldkommen Gave er ovenfra.

"A Little Explanation," *The Fatherland* 1236, May 16, 1843.

En lille Forklaring: Fædrelandet 1236, Mai 16, 1843.

Three Upbuilding Discourses. October 16, 1843. Love Will Hide a Multitude of Sins. Love Will Hide a Multitude of Sins. Strengthening in the Inner Being.

Tre opbyggelige Taler. 1843. Kjerlighed skal skjule Synders Mangfoldighed. Kjerlighed skal skjule Synders Mangfoldighed. Bekræftelsen i det indvortes Menneske.

Four Upbuilding Discourses. December 6, 1843. The Lord Gave, and the Lord Took Away; Blessed Be the Name of the Lord. Every Good Gift and Every Perfect Gift Is from Above. Every Good Gift and Every Perfect Gift Is from Above. To Gain One's Soul in Patience.

Fire opbyggelige Taler. 1843. Herren gav, Herren tog, Herrens Navn være lovet. Al god Gave og al fuldkommen Gave er ovenfra. Al god Gave og al fuldkommen Gave er ovenfra. At erhverve sin Sjel i Taalmodighed.

Two Upbuilding Discourses. March 5, 1844. To Preserve One's Soul in Patience. Patience in Expectancy.

To opbyggelige Taler. 1844. At bevare sin Sjel i Taalmodighed. Taalmod i Forventning.

Three Upbuilding Discourses. June 8, 1844. Think about Your Creator in the Days of Your Youth. The Expectancy of an Eternal Salvation. He Must Increase; I Must Decrease.

Tre opbyggelige Taler. 1844. Tænk paa din Skaber i din Ungdom. Forventningen af en evig Salighed. Ham bør det at voxe, mig at forringes.

Four Upbuilding Discourses. August 31, 1844. To Need God Is a Human Being's Highest Perfection. The Thorn in the Flesh. Against Cowardliness. One Who Prays Aright Struggles in Prayer and Is Victorious—in That God Is Victorious.

Fire opbyggelige Taler. 1844. At trænge til Gud er Menneskets høieste Fuldkommenhed. Pælen i Kjødet. Imod Feighed. Den rette Bedende strider i Bønnen og seirer—derved, at Gud seirer.

Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions. April 29, 1845. On the Occasion of a Confession. On the Occasion of a Wedding. At a Graveside.

Tre Taler ved tænkte Leiligheder. 1845. Ved Anledningen af et Skriftemaal. Ved Anledningen af en Brudevielse. Ved en Grav.

"An Explanation and a Little More," *The Fatherland* 1883, May 9, 1845.

En Erklæring og Lidt til. Fædrelandet 1883, Mai 9, 1845.

A Literary Review. (Two Ages), March 30, 1846.

En literair Anmeldelse. To Tidsaldre. 1846.

The Book on Adler. 1846-47 [published posthumously].

Bogen om Adler. 1872 (Barfod & Gottsched: Efterladte Papirer, II).

Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits. March 13, 1847. *An Occasional Discourse*: On the Occasion of a Confession Purity of Heart Is to Will One Thing. *What We Learn from the Lilies in the Field and From the Birds of the Air:* To Be Contented with Being a Human Being. How Glorious It Is to Be a Human Being. What Blessed Happiness Is Promised in Being a Human Being. *The Gospel of Sufferings Christian Discourses*: What Meaning and What Joy There Are in the Thought of Following Christ. But How Can the Burden Be Light If the Suffering Is Heavy? The Joy of It That the School of Sufferings Educates for Eternity. The Joy of It That in Relation to God a Person Always Suffers as Guilty. The Joy of It That It Is Not the Road That Is Hard but That Hardship Is the Road. The Joy of It That the Happiness of Eternity Still Outweighs Even the Heaviest Temporal Suffering. The Joy of It That Bold Confidence Is Able in Suffering to Take Power from the World and Has the Power to Change Scorn into Honor, Downfall into Victory.

Opbyggelige Taler i forskjellig Aand. 1847. *En Leiligheds-Tale:* Ved Anledningen af et Skriftemaal. *Hvad vi Lære af Lilierne paa Marken og af Himmelens Fugle:* at nøies med det at være Menneske. Hvor herligt det er at være Menneske. Hvilken Salighed der er forjættet det at være Menneske. *Lidelsernes Evangelium Christelige Taler:* Hvad der ligger i, og hvad Glædeligt der ligger i den Tanke at følge Christum efter. Hvor kan dog Byrde være let, naar Lidelsen er Tung? Det Glædelige i, at Lidelsernes Skole danner for Evigheden. Det Glædelige i, at et Menneske i Forhold til Gud altid lider skyldig. Det Glædelige i, at det er ikke Veien, der er trang, men Trængselen, der er Veien. Det Glædelige i, at selv naar den timelige Lidelse tynger meest, har dog Evighedens Salighed Overvægt. Det Glædelige i, at Frimodigheden formaaer lidende at tage Magten fra Verden og har Magten at forvandle Forhaanelse til Ære, Undergang til Seier.

Works of Love. September 29, 1847. First series: Love's Hidden Life and Its Recognizability by Its Fruits. You *Shall* Love. You Shall Love *the Neighbour. You* Shall Love the Neighbour. Romans 13:10. Love Is the Fulfilling of the Law. Love Is a Matter of Conscience. Our Duty to Love the People We See. Our Duty to Remain in Love's Debt to One Another. Second series: Love Builds Up. Love Believes All Things—and Yet Is Never Deceived. Love Hopes All Things—and Yet Is Never Put to Shame. Love Does Not Seek Its Own. Love Hides a Multitude of Sins. Love

Abides. Mercifulness, a Work of Love Even If It Can Give Nothing and Is Able to Do Nothing. The Victory of the Conciliatory Spirit in Love, Which Wins the One Overcome. The Work of Love in Recollecting One Who Is Dead. The Work of Love in Praising Love.

Kjerlighedens Gjerninger. 1847. Første Følge: Kjerlighedens skjulte Liv og dets Kjendelighed paa Frugterne. Du *skal* elske. Du skal elske *Næsten. Du* skal elske Næsten. Kjerligheden er Lovens Fylde. Kjerligheden er Samvittighedens Sag. Vor Pligt at elske de Mennesker, vi see. Vor Pligt at blive i Kjerlighedens Gjeld til hverandre. Anden Følge: Kjerlighed opbygger. Kjerlighed troer Alt—og bliver dog aldrig bedragen. Kjerlighed haaber Alt—og bliver dog aldrig til Skamme. Kjerlighed søger ikke sit Eget. Kjerlighed skjuler Syndernes Mangfoldighed. Kjerlighed bliver. Barmhjertighed, en Kjerligheds Gjerning, selv om den Intet kan give, og Intet formaaer at gjøre. Forsonlighedens Seier i Kjerlighed, som vinder den Overvundne. Den Kjerlighedens Gjerning at erindre en Afdød. Den Kjerlighedens Gjerning at anprise Kjerlighed.

The Dialectic of Communication of the Ethical and the Ethical-Religious. 1847 [published posthumously].

Den ethiske og den ethisk-religieuse Meddelelses Dialektik. 1877 (Barfod & Gottsched: Efterladte Papirer, III).

The Point of View for My Work as an Author. 1848 [published posthumously].

Synspunktet for min Forfatter-Virksomhed. 1859.

Three Notes Concerning My Work as an Author. 1848 [published posthumously].

Tre Noter betræffende min Forfatter-Virksomhed. 1859.

Christian Discourses. April 26, 1848. Part One: The Cares of the Pagans: The Care of Poverty. The Care of Abundance. The Care of Lowliness. The Care of Loftiness. The Care of Presumptuousness. The Care of Self-Torment. The Care of Indecisiveness, Vacillation, and Disconsolateness. Part Two: States of Mind in the Strife of Suffering: The Joy of It: That One Suffers Only Once But Is Victorious Eternally. The Joy of It: That Hardship Does Not Take Away But Procures Hope. The Joy of It: That the Poorer You Become the Richer You Are Able to Make Others. The Joy of It: That the Weaker You Become the Stronger God Becomes in You. The Joy of It: That What You Lose Temporally You Gain Eternally. The Joy of It: That When I "Gain Everything" I Lose Nothing at All. The Joy of It: That Adversity Is Prosperity. Part Three: Thoughts that Wound from Behind—for Upbuilding: Watch Your Step When You Go to the House of the Lord. "See, We Have Left Everything and Followed You; What Shall

We Have?" (Matthew 19:27)—and What Shall We Have? All Things Must Serve Us for Good—*When* We Love God. There Will Be the Resurrection of the Dead, of the Righteous—and of the Unrighteous. We Are Closer to Salvation Now—Than When We Became Believers. But It Is Blessed—to Suffer Mockery for a Good Cause. He Was Believed in the World. Part Four: Discourses at the Communion on Fridays: Luke 22:15. Matthew 11:28. John 10:27. I Corinthians 11:23. II Timothy 2:12-13. I John 3:20. Luke 24:51.

Christelige Taler. 1848. Første Afdeling: Hedningernes Bekymringer. Armodens Bekymring. Overflodens Bekymring. Ringhedens Bekymring. Høihedens Bekymring. Formastelighedens Bekymring. Selvplagelsens Bekymring. Tvivlraadighedens, Vankelmodighedens, Trøstesløshedens Bekymring. Anden Afdeling: Stemninger i Lidelsers Strid: Det Glædelige i: at man lider kun een Gang men seier evigt. Det Glædelige i: at Trængselen ikke berøver men forhverver Haab. Det Glædelige i: at jo fattigere Du bliver, desto rigere kan Du gjøre Andre. Det Glædelige i: at jo svagere Du bliver, desto stærkere bliver Gud i Dig. Det Glædelige i: at hvad Du taber timeligt, det vinder Du evigt. Det Glædelige i: at naar jeg "vinder Alt," saa taber jeg jo slet Intet. Det Glædelige i: at Modgang er Medgang. Tredie Afdeling: Tanker, som saare bagfra—til Opbyggelse: Forvar Din Fod, naar Du gaaer til Herrens Hus. "See, vi have forladt alle Ting og fulgt Dig, hvad skulle vi have?" (Matt. XIX, 28)—og hvad skulle vi have? Alle Ting maae tjene os til Gode—*naar* vi elske Gud. De Dødes Opstandelse forestaaer, de Retfærdiges—og de Uretfærdiges. Vi ere nu Frelsen nærmere—end da vi bleve Troende. Det er dog saligt—at lide Forhaanelse for en god Sag. Han er troet i Verden. Fjerde Afdeling: Taler ved Altergangen om Fredagen: Lucas XXII,15. Matthæus XI,28. Johannes X,27. I Corinthier XI,23. 2 Timotheum II, 12-13. 1 Johannes III,20. Lucas XXIV,51.

The Lily of the Field and the Bird of the Air. May 14, 1849. Look at the Birds of the Air; Look at the Lily in the Field. No One Can Serve Two Masters, for He Must Either Hate the One and Love the Other or Be Devoted to the One and Despise the Other. Look at the Birds of the Air; They Sow Not and Reap Not and Gather Not into Barns—*without Worries about Tomorrow.* Look at the Grass in the Field, *Which Today Is.*

Lilien paa Marken og Fuglen under Himlen. 1849. Seer til Himmelens Fugle; betragter Lilien paa Marken. Ingen kan tjene to Herrer; thi han maa enten hade den ene og elske den anden, eller holde sig til den ene og foragte den anden. Seer til Himlens Fugle; de saae ikke, og høste ikke, og sanke ikke i Lader—*ubekymrede om den Dag imorgen.* Betragter Græsset paa Marken—*som er idag.*

"The High Priest"—"The Tax Collector"—"The Woman Who Was a Sinner," Three Discourses at the Communion on Fridays. November 14, 1849.

"Ypperstepræsten"—"Tolderen"—"Synderinden," tre Taler ved Altergangen om Fredagen. 1849.

Armed Neutrality or my Position as a Christian Author in Christendom. Appendix to "The Point of View for My Work as an Author." 1849 [published posthumously].

Den bevæbnede Neutralitet eller min Position som Christelig Forfatter i Christenheden. Tillæg til "Synspunktet for min Forfatter-Virksomhed." 1880 (Barfod & Gottsched: Efterladte Papirer, V).

An Upbuilding Discourse. December 12, 1850. The Woman Who Was a Sinner.

En opbyggelige Tale. 1850. Synderinden.

"An Open Letter Prompted by a Reference to Me by Dr. Rudelbach," *The Fatherland* 26, January 31, 1851.

Foranledigt ved en Yttring af Dr. Rudelbach mig betræffende, Fædrelandet 26, Januar 31, 1851.

Two Discourses at the Communion on Fridays. August 7, 1851. But One Who Is Forgiven Little Loves Little. Love Will Hide a Multitude of Sins.

To Taler ved Altergangen om Fredagen. 1851. Men hvem Lidet forlades elsker lidet. Kjerligheden skal skjule Syndernes Mangfoldighed.

On My Work as an Author. August 7, 1851.

Om min Forfatter-Virksomhed. 1851.

For Self-Examination. September 10, 1851.

Til Selvprøvelse. 1851.

Judge for Yourself! 1851-52 [published posthumously].

Dømmer Selv! 1876.

"Was Bishop Mynster a 'Witness to the Truth'? One of 'the Genuine Witnesses to the Truth'—Is This the Truth?" *The Fatherland,* December 18, 1854.

"Var Biskop Mynster et 'Sandhedsvidne,' et af 'de rette Sandhedsvidner'—er dette Sandhed?" *Fædrelandet,* 1854.

"There the Matter Rests," *The Fatherland,* December 30, 1854.

"Derved bliver det!" *Fædrelandet,* 1854.

"A Challenge to Me from Pastor Paludan-Møller," *The Fatherland,* January 12, 1855.

"En Opfordring til mig fra Pastor Paludan-Müller," *Fædrelandet,* 1855.

"The Point at Issue with Bishop Martensen, as Christianly Decisive for the Christianly Viewed, Dubious Previously Established Ecclesiastical Order," *The Fatherland,* January 29, 1855.

"Stridspunktet med Biskop Martensen; som, christeligt, afgjørende for det i Forveien, christeligt seet, mislige kirkelige Bestaaende," *Fædrelandet,* 1855.

"Two New Truth-Witnesses," *The Fatherland*, January 29, 1855.

"To nye Sandhedsvidner," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"On Bishop Mynster's Death," *The Fatherland*, March 20, 1855.

"Ved Biskop Mynsters Død," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"Is This Christian Worship, or Is It Making a Fool of God?" *The Fatherland*, March 21, 1855.

"Er dette christelig Gudsdyrkelse eller er det at holde Gud for Nar?" *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"What Must be Done—It Will Happen Either through Me or through Someone Else," *The Fatherland*, March 22, 1855.

Hvad der skal gjøres—det skee nu ved mig eller ved en Anden. Fædrelandet, 1855.

"The Religious Situation," *The Fatherland,* March 26, 1855.

"Den religieuse Tilstand," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"A Thesis—Just One Single One," *The Fatherland*, March 28, 1855.

"En Thesis—kun een eneste," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"Salt;" Because "Christendom" Is: The Decay of Christianity; "A Christian World" Is: a Falling Away from Christianity. *The Fatherland*, March 30, 1855.

"Salt"; thi 'Christenhed' er: Christendoms Forraadnelse; 'en christen Verden' er: Affaldet fra Christendommen," *Fædrelandet,* 1855.

"What Do I Want?" *The Fatherland*, March 31, 1855.

"Hvad jeg vil?" *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"On the Occasion of an *Anonymous* Proposal to Me in No. 79 of This Newspaper," *The Fatherland*, April 7, 1855.

"I Anledning af et *anonymt* Forslag til mig i dette Blads Nr. 79," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"Would It Be Best Now to 'Stop Ringing the Alarm'?" *The Fatherland,* April 7, 1855.

"Var det rigtigst nu at 'standse med Klemtningen'?" *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"Christianity with a Royal Certificate or Christianity without a Royal Certificate," *The Fatherland*, April 11, 1855.

"Christendom med kongelig Bestalling og Christendom uden kongelig Bestalling," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"What a Cruel Punishment!" *The Fatherland*, April 27, 1855.

"Hvilken grusom Straf!" *Fædrelandet,* 1855.

"A Result," *The Fatherland*, May 10, 1855.

"Et Resultat," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"A Monologue," *Fatherland*, May 10, 1855.

"En Monolog," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"Concerning a Fatuous Pompousness in Regard to Me and the Conception of Christianity to Which I Am Calling Attention," *The Fatherland*, May 15, 1855.

"Angaaende en taabelig Vigtighed lige over for mig og den Opfattelse af Christendom, som jeg gjør kjendelig," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

"For the New Edition of *Practice in Christianity*," *The Fatherland*, May 16, 1855.

"Til det nye Oplag af *Indøvelse i Christendom*," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

This Has To Be Said, So Let It Now Be Said. May 24, 1855. With accompanying papers. "That Bishop Martensen's Silence Is, Christianly, (1) Indefensible; (2) Ludicrous; (3) Obtuse-Sagacious; (4) in More Than One Regard Contemptible," *The Fatherland*, May 26, 1855.

"Dette skal siges; saa være det da sagt. 1855. Følgeblade. At Biskop Martensens Taushed er (1) christeligt uforsvarlig; (2) latterlig; (3) dum-klog; (4) i mere end een Henseende foragtelig," *Fædrelandet*, 1855.

The Moment, No. 1, May 24, 1855. 1. Exordium. 2. Addition to *This Must Be Said*, or How Is Something Decisive to Be Introduced? 3. Is It Defensible for the State—the Christian State!—to make, if Possible, Christianity Impossible? 4. Take an Emetic!

Øieblikket. Nr. 1. 1855. 1. Stemning. 2. Til "dette skal siges"; eller hvorledes anbringes et Afgjørende? 3. Er det forsvarligt af Staten—den christelige Stat!—om muligt at umuliggjøre Christendom? 4. "Tag et Bræk-Middel!"

"An Accompanying Paper: The Moment."

"Et Følgeblad: Øieblikket."

The Moment, No. 2, June 4, 1855. 1. To *My Reader!* 2. That the Task Has a Double Direction. 3. Comfort and—the Concern for an Eternal Happiness. 4. The Human Protects (Protegerer) the Divine! 5. A Eulogy in Praise of the Human Race or Evidence That the New Testament Is No Longer the Truth. 6. We All Are Christians. 7. A Difficulty with the New Testament. 8. If We Actually Are Christians—What Then Is God? 9. If We Actually Are Christians, If Everything Is in Order with "Christendom," "a Christian World,"—Then the New Testament Is *eo ipso* No Longer Guidance for the Christian, Cannot Be That. 10. How Fortunate That Not All of Us Are Pastors!

Øieblikket. Nr. 2. 1855. 1. Til "min Læser." 2. At Opgaven er i en dobbelt Retning. 3. Det Comfortable og—Bekymringen for en evig Salighed. 4. Det Menneskelige beskytter (protegerer) det Guddomelige. 5. Lovtale over Menneske-Slægten eller Beviis for, at det nye Testamente ikke mere er Sandhed.6. Vi ere Alle Christne. 7. En Vanskelighed ved det nye Testamente. 8. Ere vi virkelig Christne, hvad er saa Gud? 9. Dersom vi virkeligen ere Christne, er eo ipso det nye Testamente ikke mere Veiledning for den Christne, kan ikke være det. 10. Hvilke Lykke at vi ikke Alle er Præster!

Christ's Judgement on Official Christianity. June 16, 1855.

Hvad Christus Dømmer om officiel Christendom. 1855.

The Moment, No. 3, June 27, 1855. 1. State/Christianity. 2. Is It Defensible, Christianly, for the State to Entice Some of the Young Students? 3. Is It Defensible for the State to Accept an Oath That Not Only Cannot be Kept but That in Being Taken Is a Self-Contradiction? 4. Is It Defensible, Christianly, for the State to Mislead People or to Mislead Their Judgement of What Christianity Is? 5. Have the State Check the Accounting, and It Will Soon Be Evident That the Accounting Is Fundamentally Wrong. 6. If the State Truly Wants to Serve Christianity, Then Let It Eliminate the 1000 Livelihoods.

Øieblikket. Nr. 3. 1855. 1. Stat—Christendom. 2. Er det forsvarligt af Staten, christeligt, at forlokke en Deel af den studerende Ungdom? 3. Er det forsvarligt af Staten at modtage en Eed, som ikke blot ikke holdes, men hvis Aflæggelse er en Selvmodsigelse? 4. Er det forsvarligt af Staten, christeligt, at vildlede Folket, eller at vildlede Folkets Dom om hvad Christendom er? 5. Lad Staten gjøre Prøve paa Regningen, og det skal snart vise sig, at Regningen er grundforkeert. 6. Vil Staten i Sandhed tjene Christendommen, saa lad den tage de 1000 Levebrød bort.

The Moment, No. 4, July 7, 1855. 1. The Medical Opinion. 2. This Is What Is Shocking. 3. Truth and Livelihood. 4. True Christians/Many Christians. 5. In "Christendom" All Are Christians; If All Are Christians, *eo ipso* the Christianity of the New Testament Does Not Exist at All; Indeed, It Is Impossible. 6. The Difficulty of my Task. 7. The Official/the Personal.

Øieblikket. Nr. 4. 1855. 1. Læge-Skjønnet. 2. Det der er det Oprørende. 3. Sandhed og Levebrød. 4. Sande Christne: Mange Christne. 5. I "Christenhed" ere Alle Christne; naar Alle ere Christne, er eo ipso det nye Testamentes Christendom ikke til, ja, den er umulig. 6. Min Opgaves Vanskelighed. 7. Det Officielle—det Personlige.

The Moment, No. 5, July 27, 1855. 1. We All Are Christians—Without Ever Having an Intimation of What Christianity Is. 2. A Genius/A Christian. 3. The Christianity of the Spiritual Person; The Christianity of Us Human Beings. 4. The Christianity of the New Testament; the Christianity of "Christendom". 5. If We All Are Christians, *eo ipso* Christianity Does Not Exist. 6. A Rebellion in Defiance—a Rebellion in Hypocrisy, or About the Fall from Christianity. 7. Taking an Oath or the Official/the Personal. 8. The New-fashioned Religious Assurances (Guarantees). 9. "Beware of Those Who Like to Go about in Long Robes!" (Mark 12:38; Luke 20:46).

Øieblikket, Nr. 5, 1855. 1. Vi ere Alle Christne—uden engang at have Anelse om, hvad Christendom er. 2. Et Genie—en Christen. 3. Aands-Menneskets Christendom; vi Menneskers Christendom. 4. Det nye Testamentes Christendom—"Christenheds" Christendom. 5. Naar Alle ere *Christne, er eo ipso Christendommen ikke til. 6. Et Oprør i Trods—et* Oprør i Hyklerie eller om Affaldet fra Christendom. 7. En Eeds Aflæggelse eller det Officielle: det Personlige. 8. Nymodens religieuse Betryggelser (Garantier). 9. "Vogter Eder for dem, som gjerne gaa i lange Klæder" (Mc. 12,38; Luc. 20,46).

The Moment, No. 6, August 23, 1855. 1. Brief and to the Point. 2. The Measure of Distance, and Thereby in Turn the Actual Difficulty with Which I Have to Contend. 3. Fear Most of All to Be in Error! 4. That We, That "Christendom," Cannot Appropriate Christ's Promises at All, Because We, "Christendom," Are Not Where Christ and the New Testament Require One to Be in Order to Be a Christian. 5. What Does the Fire Chief Say? 6. Minor Remarks.

Øieblikket, Nr. 6, 1855. 1. Kort og Spidst. 2. Afstands-Maal; og herved igjen om den egentlige Vanskelighed jeg har at kæmpe med. 3. Frygt meest af Alt at være i en Vildfarelse! 4. At vi, at "Christenhed" slet ikke kan tilegne sig Christi Forjættelser; thi vi, "Christenhed" er ikke der, hvor Christus og det nye Testamente fordrer, at man skal være for at være Christen. 5. Hvad siger Brand-Majoren? 6. Smaa-bemærkninger.

The Moment, No. 7, August 30, 1855. 1. Why Do "People" Love "the Poet" above All? and Why, in a Godly Sense, Is Precisely "the Poet" the Most Dangerous of All? 2. Fishing for People. 3. The Sort of Person Who Is Called a Christian. 4. "*First* the Kingdom of God." A Kind of Short Story. 5. That "Christendom" from Generation to Generation Is a Society of Non-Christians, and the Formula for the Way This Happens. 6. Confirmation and the Wedding; Christian Comedy or Something Worse. 7. That the Christian Family's Christian Upbringing of Children, So Highly

Praised, Especially in Protestantism, Is, Christianly, Based on a Falsehood, a Downright Falsehood. 8. The Truth about "the Pastor's" Importance for Society. 9. About the Interest That Is Shown in My Cause.

Øieblikket Nr. 7, 1855. 1. Hvorfor elsker "Mennesket" fremfor Alle "Digteren"? og Hvorfor er, gudeligt, just "Digteren" den Allerfarligste? 2. Menneske-Fiskeriet. 3. Hvad man saadan kalder en Christen. 4. "Først Guds Rige." Et Slags Novelle. 5. At "Christenhed" er fra Slægt til Slægt et Samfund af Ikke-Christne; og Formelen, hvorefter dette foregaaer. 6. Confirmationen og Vielsen; christeligt Comedie-Spil eller Det, som værre er. 7. At den, især i Protestantismen, saa meget priste det christelige Familie-Livs christelige Børne-Opdragelse er, christeligt, baseret paa en Løgn, idel Løgn. 8. Sandheden af "Præstens" Betydning for Samfundet. 9. Om den Interesse, der vises min Sag.

The Unchangeableness of God: A Discourse. September 3, 1855.

Guds Uforanderlighed: En Tale. 1855.

The Moment, No. 8, September 11, 1855. 1. Contemporaneity; What You Do in Contemporaneity Is Decisive. 2. One Lives Only Once. 3. An Eternity for Repenting. 4. What Can Be Recollected Eternally? 5. A Picture of Life and A Picture from Life. 6. Divine Justice. 7. Tremble—Because in One Sense It Is So Infinitely Easy to Fool God!

Øieblikket. Nr. 8, 1855. 1. Samtidigheden; hvad Du gjør i Samtidigheden er det Afgjørende. 2. Man lever kun een Gang. 3. En Evighed til at fortryde. 4. Hvad der evigt lader sig erindre? 5. Et Billede paa Livet, og, et Billede af Livet. 6. Den guddommelige Retfærdighed. 7. Skjælv—thi Gud er det i een Forstand saa uendelig let at narre!

The Moment, No. 9, September 24, 1855. 1. So That Is How the Matter Stands. 2. That the Ideals Should Be Proclaimed—Otherwise Christianity Is Radically Falsified. 3. A Dose of Life-Weariness. 4. Be a Blatherskite—and You Will See, All Difficulties Vanish! 5. That the Pastors Are Cannibals, and in the Most Abominable Way. 6. The Pastor Not Only Demonstrates the Truth of Christianity, but He Simultaneously Refutes It.

Øieblikket. Nr. 9, 1855. 1. Altsaa saaledes staaer Sagen. 2. At Idealerne skulle forkyndes—ellers er Christendommen i dybeste Grund forfalsket. 3. En Dosis Livslede. 4. Vær Piat—Og Du skal see, alle Vanskeligheder forsvinde! 5. At Præsterne ere Menneske-Ædere, og paa den afskyeligste Maade. 6. Præsten ikke blot beviser Christendommens Sandhed, men han modbeviser den med det samme.

The Moment, No. 10, 1855 [published posthumously]. 1. What I Call an Optical Illusion. 2. "How Can You Have Faith, You Who Receive Glory from One Another?" (John 5:44). 3. What the Rejoinder Replies. 4. That

"Christendom's" Crime Is Comparable to Wanting to Appropriate an Inheritance Unjustly. 5. When Is "the Moment"? 6. My Task. 7. Minor Remarks.

Øieblikket. Nr. 10. 1881 (Barfod & Gottsched, Efterladte Papirer, VIII). 1. Det jeg kalder Øienforblindelse. 2. "Hvorledes kunne I troe, I, som tage Ære af hverandre?" (Joh. 5,44). 3. Hvad Gjensvaret svarer. 4. At "Christenheds" Forbrydelse er at sammenligne med det, uberettiget at ville tilvende sig en Arv. 5. Naar er "Øieblikket"? 6. Min Opgave. 7. Smaa-Bemærkninger.

PSEUDONYMOUS BOOKS AND ARTICLES OR PUBLISHED POSTHUMOUSLY

A: "Another Defense of Woman's Great Abilities," *Copenhagen's Flying Post*, Interim Paper, 34, December 17, 1834, col. 4-6.

A: *Ogsaa et Forsvar for Qvindens høie Anlæg, Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post, Interimsblad.* 1834.

B: "The Morning Observations in The Copenhagen Post No. 43," *Copenhagen's Flying Post*, Interim Paper, 76, February 18, 1836, col. 1-6.

B: *Kjøbenhavnspostens Morgenbetragtninger i Nr. 43, Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post, Interimsblad.* 1836.

B: "On the Polemic of *The Fatherland*," *Copenhagen's Flying Post*, Interim Paper, 82, March 12, 1836, col. 1-8, and 83, March 15, 1836, col. 1-4.

B: *Om Fædrelandets Polemik, Kjøbenhavnspostens flyvende Post, Interimsblad.* 1836.

One Still Living: *From the Papers of One Still Living: Andersen as a Novelist with Continual Reference to His Latest Work: Only a Fiddler.* September 7, 1838.

En endnu Levende: *Af en endnu Levendes Papirer. Om Andersen som Romandigter med stadigt Hensyn til Hans sidste Værk: "Kun en Spillemand."* 1838.

One Still Living: *The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars.* 1838 [published posthumously].

En endnu Levende: *Striden mellem den gamle og den nye Sæbekielder.* 1838.

Anonymous: ascribed to Kierkegaard: A Letter, *Berling's Times* 33, February 5, 1843.

Muligvis Kierkegaard: *Et Brev*, *Berlingske Tidende* 33, Februar 5, 1843.

Anonymous: ascribed to Kierkegaard: Another Letter, *Berling's Times* 35, February 7, 1843.

Muligvis Kierkegaard: *Endnu et Brev*, *Berlingske Tidende*. 1843.

The Writer of the Letter: Ascribed to Kierkegaard, The Writer of the Letter: A Letter, *Fatherland* 1143, February 8, 1843.

Brevets Forfatter: Muligvis Kierkegaard: Brevets Forfatter: *et brev*, *Fædrelandet*. 1843.

Anonymous: ascribed to Kierkegaard: Literary Quicksilver or A Venture in the Higher Lunacy with Lucida Intervalla, *New Portefeuille*, I, 7, February 12, 1843, col. 198-216.

Muligvis Kierkegaard: *Litterært Qvægsølv eller Forsøg i det høiere Vanvid, samt Lucida Intervalla, Ny Portefeuille*. 1843.

Victor Eremita (ed.): *Either/Or*, February 20, 1843. I: Diapsalmata. The Immediate Erotic Stages or the Musical-Erotic. The Tragic in Ancient Drama Reflected in the Tragic in Modern Drama. Silhouettes. The Unhappiest One. The First Love. Rotation of Crops. The Seducer's Diary. II: The Esthetic Validity of Marriage. The Balance between the Esthetic and the Ethical in the Development of the Personality. Ultimatum The Upbuilding that Lies in the Thought That in Relation to God We Are Always in the Wrong.

Victor Eremita (ed.): *Enten-Eller*. 1843. I: Diapsalmata. De umiddelbare erotiske Stadier eller det Musicalsk- Erotiske. Det antike Tragiskes Reflex i det moderne Tragiske. Skyggerids. Den Ulykkeligste. Den første Kjærlighed. Vexeldriften. Forførerens Dagbog. II: Ægteskabets æsthetiske Gyldighed. Ligevægten mellem det Æstetiske og Ethiske i Personlighedens Udarbeidelse. Ultimatum. Det Opbyggelige, der ligger i den Tanke, at mod Gud have vi altid Uret.

A.F..... : "Who Is the Author of Either/Or," *The Fatherland* 1162, February 27, 1843.

A.F.....: *Hvo er Forfatteren af Enten-Eller*," *Fædrelandet*. 1843.

Victor Eremita: "A Word of Thanks to Professor Heiberg," *The Fatherland* 1168, March 5, 1843.

Victor Eremita: *"Taksigelse til Hr. Professor Heiberg," Fædrelandet*. 1843.

Johannes de silentio: *Fear and Trembling*, October 16, 1843.

Johannes de silentio: *Frygt og Bæven*. 1843.

Constantin Constantius: *Repetition*, October 16, 1843.

Constantin Constantius: *Gjentagelsen*. 1843.

Johannes Climacus: *Philosophical Fragments*, June 13, 1844.

Johannes Climacus: *Philosophiske Smuler*. 1844.

Vigilius Haufniensis: *The Concept of Anxiety*, June 17, 1844.

Vigilius Haufniensis: *Begrebet Angest*. 1844.

Nicolaus Notabene: *Prefaces*, June 17, 1844.

Nicolaus Notabene: *Forord.* 1844.

Hilarius Bookbinder (ed.): *Stages on Life's Way*, April 30, 1845. Lectori Benevolo! "In Vino Veritas": A Recollection Related by William Afham. Some Reflections on Marriage in Answer to Objections, by a Married Man. "Guilty?"/"Not Guilty?" A Story of Suffering An Imaginary Psychological Construction by Frater Taciturnus.

Hilarius Bogbinder (ed.): *Stadier paa Livets Vei.* 1845. Lectori Benevolo! "In Vino Veritas": en Erindring efterfortalt af William Afham. Adskilligt om Ægteskabet mod Indsigelser. Af en Ægtemand. "Skyldig?"/"Ikke-Skyldig?" En Lidelseshistorie. Psychologisk Experiment af Frater Taciturnus.

A: "A Cursory Observation Concerning a Detail in Don Giovanni," *The Fatherland*, Feuilleton, 1890–91, May 19–20, 1845.

A: *"En flygtig Bemærkning betræffende en Enkelthed i Don Juan," Fædrelandets Feuilleton.* 1845.

Frater Taciturnus: "The Activity of a Travelling Aesthetician and How He Still Happened to Pay for the Dinner," *The Fatherland* 2078, December 27, 1845.

Frater Taciturnus: *En omreisende Æsthetikers Virksomhed, og hvorledes han dog kom til at betale Gjæstebudet. Fædrelandet*, 1845.

Frater Taciturnus: "The Dialectical Results of a Literary Police Action," *The Fatherland* 9, January 10, 1846.

Frater Taciturnus: *Det dialektiske Resultat af en literair Politi-Forretning. Fædrelandet*, 1846.

Johannes Climacus: *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, February 28, 1846. Part One: The Objective Issue of the Truth of Christianity. 1. The Historical Point of View. 2. The Speculative Point of View. Part Two: The Subjective Issue, the Subjective Individual's Relation to the Truth of Christianity, or Becoming a Christian. Section I: Something about Lessing. 1. An Expression of Gratitude to Lessing. 2. Possible and Actual Theses by Lessing. Section II: The Subjective Issue, or How Subjectivity Must be Constituted in Order that the Issue Can be Manifest to It. 1. Becoming Subjective. 2. Subjective Truth, Inwardness; Truth is Subjectivity. Appendix: A Glance at a Contemporary Effort in Danish Literature. 3. Actual Subjectivity, Ethical Subjectivity; the Subjective Thinker. 4. The Issue in *Fragments:* How Can an Eternal Happiness Be Built on Historical Knowledge? 5. Conclusion. Appendix: An Understanding with the Reader. A First and Last Explanation.

Johannes Climacus: *Afsluttende uvidenskabelig Efterskrift.* 1846. Første Deel: Det objektive Problem om Christendommens Sandhed. 1. Den his-

toriske Betragtning. 2. Den spekulative Betragtning. Anden Deel: Det subjektive Problem, Subjektets Forhold til Christendommens Sandhed, eller det at blive Christen. Første Afsnit: Noget om Lessing. 1. Yttring af Taknemmelighed mod Lessing. 2. Mulige og virkelige Theses af Lessing. Andet Afsnit: Det subjektive Problem eller hvorledes Subjektiviteten maa være for at Problemet kan vise sig for den. 1. Det at blive subjektiv. 2. Den subjektive Sandhed, Inderligheden; Sandheden er Subjektiviteten. Tillæg: Henblik til en samtidig Stræben i dansk Litteratur. 3. Den virkelige Subjektivitet, den ethiske; den subjektive Tænker. 4. "Smulernes" Problem: hvorledes kan en evig Salighed bygges paa en historisk Viden? 5. Slutning. Tillæg: Forstaaelsen med Læseren. En første og sidste Forklaring.

Inter et Inter: "The Crisis and A Crisis in the Life of an Actress." Feuilleton articles in *The Fatherland* 188–91, July 24–27, 1848.

Inter et Inter: *Krisen og en Krise i en Skuespillerindes Liv. Fædrelandet,* 1848.

Procul: "Mr. Phister as Captain Scipio. A Recollection and for Recollection." 1848 [published posthumously].

Procul: *Hr. Phister som Captain Scipio. En Erindring og for Erindring.* 1848.

H.H.: *Two Minor Ethical-Religious Essays.* May 19, 1849. Does a Human Being Have the Right to Let Himself Be Put to Death for the Truth? The Difference between a Genius and an Apostle.

H.H.: *Tvende ethisk-religieuse Smaa-Afhandlinger.* 1849. Har et Menneske Lov til at lade sig ihjelslaae for Sandheden? Om Forskjellen mellem et Genie og en Apostel.

Anti-Climacus: *The Sickness unto Death.* July 30, 1849.

Anti-Climacus: *Sygdommen til Døden.* 1849.

Anti-Climacus: *Practice in Christianity.* September 27, 1850.

Anti-Climacus: *Indøvelse i Christendommen.* 1850.

Appendix B
Kierkegaard's Pseudonyms

A: Author of "Another Defense of Woman's Great Abilities" and of "A Cursory Observation Concerning a Detail in Don Giovanni." There does not seem to be any special link between the two articles. With the second article, Kierkegaard possibly has in mind the person of A in *Either/Or* (see later discussion).

A: An aesthete or pleasure seeker, author of sections of *Either/Or* and recipient of Judge William's letters. Judge William calls him "young person," but only in the way an older person might refer to someone aged 30 as young. Victor Eremita calls him "A" since no author is given for the aesthetic papers he allegedly finds. A can be characterized as an unhappy ironist, and as an aesthete takes up a middle position between passion and reflection in that his ironic stance is derived from his emotions rather than his reason.

A.F.....:Author of "Who Is the Author of Either/Or." "A.F." stands for the Danish for "By the Author" (*Af Forfatteren*) and thus refers here to Victor Eremita.

Anti-Climacus: Author of *The Sickness unto Death* and *Practice in Christianity*. Anti-Climacus views himself as being exceptionally religious (Christianity). His name is derived from that of his contrasting opposite number, Johannes Climacus (see later entry), with *Anti* meaning both "contrast" or "opposite" and "ante" or "before." Anti-Climacus comes before, or takes precedence over, Johannes Climacus because of the superiority of his ethical-religious life. As Kierkegaard explains in his Journals, Anti-Climacus is related to Climacus but is his opposite concerning his approach to Christianity.

A-O: The pseudonym Kierkegaard thought might be used for published works explaining his authorship. Birgit Bertung suggests the pseudonym comes from *Author* (*Autor* = *Forfatter*). Another possibility is that Kierkegaard is thinking of the Greek alphabet, of the notion of beginning and ending. Here, the beginning and ending of his authorship

would be indicated but also his limitation in being unable to exemplify the Christian life.

B: Author of "The Morning Observations in The Copenhagen Post No. 43," and "On the Polemic of *The Fatherland.*" Kierkegaard probably used *B* as an alternative to the *A* of his article on women.

B: Used as an alternative for "Judge William," a mature ethicist in *Either/Or* and in *Stage's on Life's Way* (see later discussion). The nameless aesthete is called "A" by Victor Eremita the editor, so the Judge receives the appellation "B" to match.

Constantin Constantius: Author of *Repetition* and a character in the first section of *Stages on Life's Way.* An aesthete advanced in the aesthetic or pleasure-seeking way of life. He is described by Kierkegaard in his journals as representing the hardening of the understanding. The occurrence of the idea of "constant" in both names serves to reinforce the idea of persistence. Constantin is an ironist, one who persists in treating life from the standpoint of ironic rationality. Even his attempt to "repeat" the pleasure of a previous trip to Berlin is thus rationalized.

Fashion Designer, The [Modehandleren]: A character in the first section of *Stages on Life's Way.* The fashion designer has an idea of values, in that he has contempt for the way women follow fashion as a value and as one set by others. Instead of protesting at this state of affairs, all his fashion designs are aimed at making women look ridiculous. He is a figure of "demonic despair" because he does his work in a spirit of furious, evil defiance.

Frater Taciturnus: Author of a section of *Stages on Life's Way,* as well as "The Activity of a Traveling Esthetician and How He Still Happened to Pay for the Dinner" and "The Dialectical Result of a Literary Police Action." A name meaning "Brother Silent." Frater Taciturnus is also editor of "Quidam's Diary" (see Quidam). He represents the position of humor—that is, the position of one who sees and understands in his own person the inevitable failure of humans to be moral. However, such a person is silent, keeps guilt at an intellectual level, is amused by human weakness, and does not resort to religious (here Christian) ideas of grace and forgiveness.

H.H.: Author of *Two Ethical-Religious Minor Essays:* "Has a Person the Right to Let Himself Be Put to Death for the Truth?" and "Of the Difference between a Genius and an Apostle." Both were originally part of the unpublished *Book on Adler.* It is difficult to see the significance of the name, not least because Kierkegaard experimented with a number of possible pseudonyms when he altered the various sections of the *Book on*

Adler: Johannes Climacus, Petrus Minor, Thomas Minor, Vincentius Minor, Ataraxius Minor. We can note that H.H. indicates a higher-level (see Anti-Climacus) rather than a lower-level pseudonym. He is capable of describing the genius but also of psychologizing about a higher level, the figure of the apostle/martyr. His writing is suitable for theologians, and he wants them to think in a new way. However, he expresses his qualifications modestly on the title page of the essays, suggesting he is at the level of the poet-genius rather than that of the apostle. H.H. might indicate the Danish word for *higher* (høiere), with the use of initials at the same time expressing his modesty of pretension.

Hilarius Bookbinder (Hilarius Bogbinder): Editor of *Stages on Life's Way*. After the Church Father Hilary (ca. 300–367 A.D.), "the Athanasius of the West." In 1838, Kierkegaard notes the publication of an edition of Hilary's work *De Trinitate* (On the Trinity). Birgit Bertung suggests a connection between the title of Hilary's book and the publication of the three parts of *Stages on Life's Way* as one book (three in one). H. P. Rohde suggests that Kierkegaard may have used as a model his own bookbinder N. C. Møller of Grey Friars Square. (In that case, the "Literatus," also mentioned in connection with Hilarius, is perhaps Kierkegaard's secretary and proofreader, philologist and writer Israel Levin.) There may be an intended reference to the Latin meaning of the name *cheerful (hilaris)*. Hilarius is a bookbinder, so Kierkegaard can achieve a parallel with the publication of the *Either/Or* papers. *Stages on Life's Way* acts in a number of ways as a sequel to *Either/Or*. Thus, with the latter book, Victor the editor arranges the found papers for publication; with the former, Hilarius stitches them together in the order he chooses.

Inter et Inter: Author of "The Crisis and A Crisis in the Life of an Actress." Kierkegaard at one point thought of using instead here "Felix de St. Vincent" or "One Dead" (See One Still Living). "N.N." (*Nomen, Nomen* = Name, Name, or *Nomen Nescio* = I don't know the name) has also been discarded in a draft. It is not clear why Kierkegaard finally chose this mysterious pseudonym (meaning Between and Between). Stephen Crites thinks it suggests the intermission at the theater and that the article is an interlude in relation to Kierkegaard's main task of writing religious works. Kierkegaard in Part I of *The Point of View for My Work as an Author* says that at that point he is a religious author, the time of the pseudonyms is past. The "little aesthetic article" is "a testimony" and "a precaution." It is to remind the reader of the entire authorship, including all the other pseudonyms, and thus be a precaution against people regarding Kierkegaard as a special religious figure. Howard Hong speaks

of the change from the old lower-level pseudonyms to the new higher-level religious ones (See H.H. and Anti-Climacus). There is thus a "between" what has gone before and what is coming, and one can also see a "between" in the change, from the publication of a major aesthetic work accompanied by published discourses, to a pattern of publication of major religious works (here, *Christian Discourses*) accompanied by published minor aesthetic works.

Johannes Climacus: Author of *Philosophical Fragments,* and of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript.* "Johannes Climacus" (ca. 570–649 A.D.) was abbot of the monastery on Mount Sinai and author of *Ladder of Paradise,* a guide to achieving spiritual perfection presented in 30 chapters or steps. Kierkegaard's pseudonym also investigates (from an intellectual and psychological angle) the steps or stages in the spiritual life. "Johannes Climacus" also occurs in the title of an unpublished work in which a student attempts to doubt his way step by reasoned step to the truth. Unlike the real Johannes Climacus, Kierkegaard's pseudonym is intellectually knowledgeable about Christianity, can speak about steps in the Christian life, but he is at the standpoint of Humor (See Frater Taciturnus) and does not think he is a Christian.

Johannes de silentio: Author of *Fear and Trembling.* His name means "John the Silent." As will be apparent, "Johannes" (John) appears in three pseudonyms. Ole Morsing suggests the appeal of the name may be the connection with John the Baptist, as a voice preparing the way for Jesus, and also with the apostle John (love, rather than severity, as the path to God). "Silence" here is in connection with the one in an ethical-religious dilemma that cannot be resolved by putting forward arguments others are going to understand, because there are none they will understand. Through the analysis of the story of Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac, the book is also a "silent" communication of the motive behind Kierkegaard's need to sacrifice his love for Regina Olsen. Grethe Kjær points out the connection with Grimm's fairytale, "Trusty John," in which the faithful servant is obliged to keep silent to do his duty. In a draft to this work, Kierkegaard at one point considered using "Simon Stylites" as the pseudonym, the Byzantine Christian saint who lived on the top of a pillar near Antioch in the fifth century A.D.

Johannes the Seducer (Johannes Forføreren): Author of "The Seducer's Diary" in *Either/Or,* and also occurring as a character in *Stages on Life's Way.* The main reason that the Seducer is called Johannes (See Johannes de silentio) is because he parallels Don Juan/Don Giovanni, who is made to represent purely instinctive seduction in *Either/Or.* By contrast, Jo-

hannes the Seducer is sheer reflective seduction, conducting his affairs in a totally calculating manner. He is a man who is damned, lost as a person, because his state of demonic despair is one of detached, intellectual defiance. He has dedicated himself deliberately to the pleasure-seeking way of life, but he lacks even the passion of a man like the Fashion Designer. Nothing is left that might take his life in a new direction. It has been suggested that Johannes was modeled on Danish critic Peder Ludvig Møller (1814–65).

Judge William (Assessor Wilhelm): The figure representing ethics over and against the aesthetic or pleasure-seeking way of life. As his name indicates, he assesses or evaluates the problems presented by such a life. Birgit Bertung suggests that he is called William (Wilhelm) because the name (derived from the Old German for "will" and "helmet") means that the will is a protection. The judge's commitment to ethics means that his will is in control. He is not swayed by the winds of uncontrolled feeling as the aesthete A is. His code of ethics comes from Balle's (Lutheran) catechism, in which a mild altruism is combined with thriving in the world while doing one's duty. In *Either/Or*, marriage is the highest duty for the judge because it combines the temporal and spiritual realms of existence. (He uses the pseudonym "A Married Man" in *Stages on Life's Way*). In *Stages on Life's Way*, the judge gives further consideration to the possibility of ethical dilemma and conflict, something barely touched upon in *Either/Or*. He also realizes that there is a higher level of Christian religiousness than marriage and a happy, godly life in this world. For some, there is the possibility of a call to renouncing marriage and this world. Grethe Kjær suggests that Judge William is modeled on the figure of Henrik Ferdinand Lund, husband of Kierkegaard's sister Petrea.

Married Man, A (En Ægtemand): Pseudonym used by Judge William.

Nicolaus Notabene: Author of *Prefaces*, a book of prefaces aimed at the influence of Hegel's speculative philosophy in Denmark. The title of the work parodies Hegel's comments on philosophical prefaces in his preface to *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. Unlike Hegel and the Danish Hegelians, this pseudonym does not speak authoritatively. He refers to himself as "N.N." (see Inter et Inter), while the "Notabene" of his name indicates the "N.B." used to indicate additional notes. He thus presents himself as a peripheral figure—a note to the main text of life. *Nicolaus* means "Victorious people," though it may have been chosen here merely for the sake of finding a name starting with N. This is an anti-Hegelian, lower-level pseudonym.

N.N.: Used by Nicolaus Notabene of himself.

One Still Living (En Endnu Levende): Author of *From the Papers of One Still Living*, a review of Hans Christian Andersen's novel *Only a Fiddler*. While the name of the pseudonymous author appears only indirectly, the review is still ascribed to this pseudonym. Several reasons have been given for the choice of name: deaths among Kierkegaard's family and of a friend; his interest in the topic of suicide at that time. A likely explanation is that of H. P. Rohde, who suggests the literary fashion set by Hermann Pückler-Muskau in the 1830s for letters and papers "from one deceased." This pseudonym is also the author of the draft of Kierkegaard's unpublished play *The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars*. Although unpublished, the sketch of this play (which sends up contemporary political and philosophical trends), indicates the author to be "One Still Living." Kierkegaard at one stage thought of using "One Deceased" as a pseudonym for "The Crisis and A Crisis in the Life of an Actress" (see Inter et Inter).

Procul: Author of "Mr. Phister as Captain Scipio: A Recollection and for Recollection." It is difficult to see why Kierkegaard chose this pseudonym. Unlike *The Crisis* (see Inter et Inter), Kierkegaard did not publish this review of actor Joachim Phister's performance. Judging from a comment in his journals, he probably decided it was too unfinished to publish. *Procul* means "Keep off" or "Keep away" in the quotation from Virgil's Aeneid: "procul o, procul este, profani" (Keep off, whatever is unholy). Kierkegaard uses this quotation in *Either/Or*. Here, it may possibly suggest that the review is only for those interested in the theater.

Quidam: Author of the diary section "Guilty?—Not Guilty?" in *Stages on Life's Way*; *quidam* means "a certain person" (masculine). The alleged finder of the diary, Frater Taciturnus, gives the names Quidam and Quaedam (feminine form) to the two main (unnamed) characters in the diary. The diary explores the question of guilt concerning a broken engagement (thus reflecting Kierkegaard's own broken engagement). Quidam wishes to arrive at certainty, concerning the extent of his culpability, so he can know what he must repent. He finds himself, however, involved in a labyrinth of speculation from which there is seemingly no escape. His standpoint is that of humor (see Frater Taciturnus and Johannes Climacus), but he is at a slightly higher level than Frater Taciturnus, since he is sufferingly, passionately involved in the question, whereas Taciturnus rationalizingly keeps the guilt question at an objective distance. Quidam is at the point where he could go in a specifically religious direction by choosing to see himself as guilty, without further calculation, or he could use the process of

deliberation about guilt as a way of procrastinating and avoiding repentance (the direction of the demonic).

Victor Eremita: Editor of *Either/Or* and author of "A Word of Thanks to Professor Heiberg." Victor Eremita also appears as a character in the first part of *Stages on Life's Way*. The name signifies the "Victorious Hermit." Victor is an aesthete or pleasure seeker, but his standpoint is described as that of "sympathetic irony." His ironic observations about life are not without a touch of romanticism, while he clearly views a pleasure seeker such as Johannes the Seducer as an evil character. There is, however, a hidden meaning in the pseudonym: Kierkegaard wrote *Either/Or* for Regina Olsen as a way of setting them both free (even though part of him hoped that marriage with her might still be possible). "Victor Eremita" thus also indicates Kierkegaard himself. Kierkegaard writes this work under an aesthetic pseudonym (in that Victor, like the other aesthetes, lives for the pleasure of the senses), yet, as he says in *The Point of View for My Work as an Author*, he was already "religiously in the monastery" when he wrote the book.

Vigilius Haufniensis: Author of *The Concept of Anxiety*. The name means "The Watchman of Copenhagen." Kierkegaard initially thought of publishing this work under his own name, and throughout his authorship he views himself as watchman, scout, police agent, alert passenger on the ship. A part of his task as author is to try to make people understand for themselves the situation they are in. As "the watchman" in *The Concept of Anxiety*, he is a psychologist, one applying his psychological insights to the concept of anxiety, guilt, and sin.

William Afham: *Wilhelm Afham* or "William by Him" (though *af* can also mean "of" or "from"). In a draft to this work, Kierkegaard has in one place "*Rapport ad se ipsum*" (report to himself). Both this and *Afham* suggest not only the simple meaning of "By Him"—namely, that he has written or is responsible for the material—but also something referring back to itself (or, here, himself). He is an aesthete, a pleasure seeker, who allegedly believes in the art of "recollection," a method of preserving pleasurable occasions by a conscious, selective memorizing of them, like taking a photograph of an event. This would be one way of "referring back to oneself." The mysterious figure of Afham apparently gives an example of recollection—the banquet that is described in detail. However, he does not figure among the five party guests, nor does it thus appear possible for him to be the equally mysterious person called by the Hegelian term "pure being," who alleges (in a send-up of Hegel) that he is nothing at all and steals Judge William's manuscript from Victor

Eremita. One cannot press Kierkegaard too far here, since Victor Eremita now seems familiar with the judge he previously encountered only through a manuscript, while Johannes the Seducer who, in *Either/Or* was possibly only a fictional figure in a work by the aesthete A, now appears to be definitely a real person. It is not clear why Afham is "William," except, perhaps, that Kierkegaard may be presenting him here as the chief aesthetic counterpart to Judge William.

Writer of the Letter, The (Brevets Forfatter): A signature given in a published letter ascribed to Kierkegaard, February 8, 1843.

Young Person, The (usually translated as "The Young Man") (Det unge Menneske): An aesthete or pleasure seeker, a character occurring in the first section of *Stages on Life's Way.* The young man in *Stage's on Life's Way* is in his early 20s and plausibly the same young man occurring in *Repetition.* In *Repetition,* the young man characterizes feeling and passion and is thus the opposite of Constantin Constantius. It can be noted that although Judge William in *Either/Or* uses "young" of A, the aesthete, he asserts that A is not young.

Appendix C
Some Historical Notes

Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) belongs to Denmark's "Golden Age," which covers 1800 to 1870. It was a time affected not only by contemporary political events but, of course, also by the results of prior events. It was a time that saw a transition from rural serfdom to the modern world, from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. There was political disturbance in Europe and national disasters for Denmark (stemming chiefly from the Napoleonic Wars). Nonetheless, the country retained sufficient political stability for there to be a dramatic flowering of the arts and sciences.

MONARCHS

Christian VII (1749–1808), king 1766–1808.
Frederik VI (1768–1839), ruling crown prince 1784–1808, king 1808–39.
Christian VIII (1786–1848), king 1839–48.
Frederik VII (1808–1863), king 1848–63 (beginning of constitutional monarchy)

HISTORICAL EVENTS (CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

Prince Frederik takes rightful control of the Danish government through a bloodless coup	1784
Abolition of serfdom in Denmark	1788
French Revolution	1789
Napoleonic Wars	1793–1802
Disastrous Fires in Copenhagen	1794 and 1795
Ordinance of September 27, 1799, introduces a degree of press censorship	1799
Battle of Copenhagen	1801

Napoleonic Wars	1803–15
Bombardment of Copenhagen and theft of fleet by the British	1807
War with Sweden	1808
Danish national bankruptcy	1813
Denmark's loss of Norway	1814
French July Revolution	1830
Introduction of Provincial Consultative Assemblies in Denmark to advise the king	1834
Proposed legislation to strengthen censorship of the press	1834
Petition to the king against the press censorship legislation proposal	1835
The Society for the Proper Use of Freedom of the Press founded	1835
Rebellion in the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein	1848
The people demand a democratic Constitution for Denmark	1848
First Slesvig War	1848–50
Written Danish constitution (also guaranteeing religious freedom)	1849
Full freedom of the press	1851

PLACES WHERE KIERKEGAARD LIVED IN COPENHAGEN

Nytorv 2 (now 27), May 5, 1813–October 1837
Løvstræde 7, Fall 1837–April 1838
Nytorv 2, April 1838–39
Kultorvet 11, 1st sal, 1839–1840
Nørregade 38, 1st sal, 1840–44
Nytorv 2, October 1844–Easter Day 1848 (sells house December 24, 1847)
Rosenborggade 9 (on corner with Tornebuskgade), April 1848–October 1848
Rosenborggade 7, October 1848–April 1850
Nørregade 35, 2d sal, April 1850–April 1851
Østerbroggade (in house called *Dalen*), April 1851–1852
Klædeboderne 5—6 (= Skindergade 38, 1st sal), 1852–October 2, 1855
Frederiks Hospital 1st sal (now Museum of Decorative Art [*Kunstindustrimuseet*]), Bredgade, October 2–November 11, 1855

About the Author

Julia Watkin (B.A. University of Bristol; Ph.D., University of Bristol) is senior lecturer in philosophy at the University of Tasmania and an internationally known Kierkegaard specialist. Her previous work includes *Kierkegaard* (in the series Outstanding Christian Thinkers), *Early Polemical Writings* (the first volume in the series Kierkegaard's Writings, general editor Howard V. Hong), publication of Kierkegaard's *Nutidens religieuse Forvirring* (The Book on Adler), and *A Key to Kierkegaard's Abbreviations and Spelling/Nøgle til Kierkegaards Forkortelser og Stavemåde.* Not only has her work been published in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, but her articles and papers have also appeared in scholarly books and journals in a number of other countries, including Japan, the Netherlands, and Spain. She has contributed to publications such as the *Journal of Psychology and Christianity, Kierkegaardiana,* the *Journal of the History of European Ideas,* and *International Kierkegaard Commentary.* In 1979, she started the *International Kierkegaard Newsletter* (with the Internet Web site *International Kierkegaard Information* begun in 1994), and in 1991, she became member of the International Advisory Board of the American series International Kierkegaard Commentary (edited by Robert L. Perkins). She was on the team of the American translation project "Kierkegaard's Writings" for 14 years and has been assistant director of the Department of Kierkegaard Research at Copenhagen University. She currently directs the Søren Kierkegaard Research Unit at the University of Tasmania. In 1969, she became a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in connection with the previous award of a silver medal for English. In 1997, in her other area of specialization, the philosophy of religion and science, she won a John Templeton Foundation Science and Religion Course Competition Prize. She is a member of several scholarly societies and has taught and supervised students from many countries.