S. Kierkegaard.

Kierkegaard

II

Herman H. J. Lynge & Søn A/S

2025

Kierkegaard II

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VOLUME II

SECTION II:
BOOKS FROM KIERKEGAARD'S LIBRARY

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Kierkegaard, Søren.

Original handwritten letter for "Min Kjære Carl" [i.e. My Dear Carl], signed "din Onkel K" [i.e. Your Uncle K.].

Dated "Berlin." "D. 8 Dec. 41".

8vo. Closely written in a small, neat, Gothic script on both recto and verso, 34 lines to each. Two vertical and three horizontal folds. Neat restoration to a few of the folds. All words are legible, and the letter in overall very good condition.

SKS notes that it goes for all letters that have been folded to an envelope and sealed that the opening of it has caused small damage to the manuscript. In this case, the damage is absolutely minimal, with a tiny paper flaw at the second horizontal fold at lines 3-4 from the bottom (see SKS note 3 to Letter 171).

A lengthy and truly magnificent original handwritten letter from Kierkegaard to his nephew Carl Lund, written during Kierkegaard's first stay in Berlin right after the termination of his engagement to Regine. Original letters by Kierkegaard are of the utmost scarcity and only eight are known on private hands.

In all, 318 of Kierkegaard's letters are known, either preserved or otherwise rendered. Of these, 21 are now lost, and of the 297 still extant ones, 289 are in public institutions, almost all in Denmark. The remaining eight letters are on private hands, this being one. Needless to say, letters by Kierkegaard hardly ever appear on the market, and we have been able to trace merely two at auction or in the trade over the last 50 years.

SKS has divided all of Kierkegaard's letters into 14 groups, of which one contains the letters to the Lund family, consisting in 37 letters sent to Kierkegaard's nephews and nieces, being children of his sisters Petrea (married to Ferdinand Lund) and Nicoline (married to Christian Lund). Of the 37 letters, eight are written during his seminal first stay in Berlin. The earliest of these letters is the present one, for Carl Lund, dated December 8, 1841, less than six weeks after Kierkegaard left for Berlin.

We know from Henriette Lund (see her *Erindringer fra Hjemmet*) that it was of great importance for Kierkegaard to correspond with his nephews and nieces while he was abroad. Shortly before he left, he gathered his nephews and nieces and collectively urged them to write to him while he was away. They all agreed, but in tears that he was leaving the country – as was Kierkegaard himself. And they kept their promises, as is evident from the Kierkegaard letters that are still preserved. Sadly, none of the letters *from* his nieces and nephews have been preserved. Kierkegaard had a very close relationship with his nieces and nephews and undoubtedly wanted to stay in contact with them to follow their development, keep in touch with his family, and to uphold the close connection with them while abroad. But the

correspondence was also important to Kierkegaard for another reason. He hoped to hear news about Regine. And the more he could rely on news from Copenhagen, the more he could hope to hear glimpses of news, however small, about his one big love, the one he left Copenhagen because of.

Having broken off his engagement (see more about Regine and the engagement below, after Section II in vol. II), Kierkegaard almost immediately flees Copenhagen and the scandal surrounding the broken engagement. He leaves for Berlin, the first of his four stays there, clearly tortured by his decision, but also intent on not being able to go through with the engagement. This, his first stay in Berlin, is one of legend. It is a determining factor for his life as an author, with Regine as the inevitable and constant backdrop. It is here that it all really begins. It is here he begins writing *Either-Or*, parts of which can be read as an almost autobiographical rendering of his failed engagement.

Kierkegaard left for Berlin on October 25th, 1841 and returned on March 6th, 1842, with large parts of the manuscript for *Either-Or* in his suitcase. We have the young existentialist genius in the making, broken and awoken by a self-torturing decision to leave his only beloved, spending four and a half months in a foreign city having fled a horrifying scandal in his hometown and finding himself as an author. This is possibly one of the most interesting and moving periods in Kierkegaard's personal life, and holding in one's hand a letter from him from this period cannot but move the heart of any Kierkegaard enthusiast.

The present letter, written merely six weeks after having left Copenhagen, is both interesting and in many ways touching. It is written for Kierkegaard's then 11-year old nephew Carl, who was the youngest living child of Nicoline and Christian Lund (see Index of Personal Names for the Lund family tree) and is affectionately signed "Your uncle K". The letter is warm and personal and shows us a side of Kierkegaard that we never see in his presentation inscriptions and that is not evident in his printed works.

We see him as a caring uncle, one who makes sure to mention things from Berlin that are amusing for a child to hear about – vivid descriptions of things you would not see in Copenhagen. Of Thirgarten and of various animals here. Of how in Berlin they use dogs to pull carriages with milk from the countryside, like small horses, and how once, Kierkegaard saw a young boy acting as coachman for one of these carriages, speeding through the city. We also see him as an engaged uncle, who knows his nephew well and also cares about his intellectual progress. He is obviously concerned with Carl's writing and spelling abilities, but he also tells him not to worry too much about writing well enough or spelling correctly – "you write very well and with the exception of one letter, everything is so grammatically and calligraphically well that a Master of Arts could have put his name to it".

It is clear that he is not writing to a very young nephew, but to one who is old enough to understand slightly philosophical considerations, such as musings over time passing – "Time changes everything, and so it has also… changed you… In the light of this, you can now also understand how much it pleases me that you, in spite of this complete transformation, this metamorphosis… will remain unchanged in your relation to me".

The provenance of this extraordinary letter, perhaps the only Kierkegaard-letter one will ever have the opportunity to buy, is the Høyernielsen-family, descendants of Kierkegaard's sister Nicoline.

The letter is no. 171 in SKS. SKS 28: 281-82.

[illegible]

[illegible] Du

[illegible] Du

[illegible] Wilhelm

[illegible] fra mig.

[illegible]

[illegible]

98

[Herman H.J. Lynge].

Fortegnelse over Dr. Sören Kierkegaards efterladte Bogsamling som bortsælges ved offentlig Auction Tirsdagen den 8de April 1856 og fölgende Dage i Klædeboderne Nr. 5 – 6. Alt imod Betaling til Procurator J. Maagg, Klædeboderne Nr. 101. [The Auctioneer's Sales Record of the Library of Søren Kierkegaard].

Kjöbenhavn, S.L. Möller, (1855).

8vo. Bound in an exquisite later light brown half calf binding with elegant gilding and five raised bands to spine (bound by renowned Swedish bookbinder Hedberg). With the gilt super ex libris of the great Swedish collector Gustav Bernström to front board. First and last leaf recto and verso respectively dusty, as they act as self-wrappers. Otherwise very nice and clean. (2), 87, (1) pp.

The exceedingly scarce first printing of the auction catalogue of Kierkegaard's book collection, sold shortly after his death. The catalogue is of the utmost scarcity with merely 10 copies or so still known to exist.

The auction catalogue is one of the most important works for the understanding of Kierkegaard. It is a pivotal testament to the way Kierkegaard worked, collected, published, and was inspired, and it provides a wealth of information about the great philosopher. It is an indispensable tool for anyone interested in Kierkegaard, both his life and work, and it has played a significant role in Kierkegaard scholarship since the time of his death.

"The catalogue has long served as one of the most valuable tools in Kierkegaard studies and has been actively used by commentators, translators, and researchers. Scholars quickly recognized the potential importance of this catalogue primarily for tracing the various sources of Kierkegaard's thought." (Nu, Schreiber, & Stewart: The Auction Catalogue of Kierkegaard's Library, p. (vii)).

The catalogue was printed in 278 copies, but as always with this kind of document, only very few copies survived. We have only ever had one other copy (the one kept in the shop, as it was made by Herman H.J. Lynge), and the original printing has only been on the market very few times. According to Plesner, merely 10 copies still exist, which fits with the infrequency with which we have seen it.

"Søren Kierkegaard died on the 11th of November 1855. Only a few months later, at the beginning of April 1856, his books were put up for sale. There was not much time to list the collection, and it is evident that the printed catalogue was got together in haste. It was probably Herman H.J. Lynge, the best known second-hand bookseller of that time, who compiled the catalogue, as the placard announcing the sale stated that the catalogue "was obtainable" at his shop.

The sale was an event which created stir among scholars all over Denmark. People came long distances to make their own bids and to satisfy themselves of the condition of the books. Seldom before or afterwards has a book sale in Denmark been advertised so widely. From the 8th of March there were ten advertisements alone in the "Adresseavisen" until the big advertisement on the front of the paper on the 8th of April.

The sale which lasted three days from the 8th to the 10th of April 1856, was held in Søren Kierkegaard's flat in 5-6 Klædeboderne, the present 38 Skindergade… The event drew crowds… Bidding was lively and the average price for the single items was nearly a rix-dollar a very high price for that time. Lynge was completely overwhelmed by the high bids. In a letter of the 22nd of May (The Royal Library, Recent Letters, D.) to the famous collector F.S. Bang…, he wrote: "At the sale of Dr. Søren Kierkegaard's books everything went at very high prices, especially his own works, which brought 2 or 3 times the published prices"." (Rohde Auction Catalogue, p. LVIJ).

People came from near and far to get a piece of the recently deceased legend. Many authors, philosophers, and scholars were present in the auction room, which was completely full, as was the Royal Library, who bought ca 80 lots (though Rohde says ca 50).

Some of the lots were withdrawn from the catalogue before the auction, by the heirs, namely those of his own books that had annotations, markings or notes by Kierkegaard himself in them. "Many of the books, not only his own, were paid for with much higher prices than in the book shops; especially such writings about which one thought that he had used them frequently, were much desired and paid for with high prices, but even more so were the books, in which he had noted some remark, however small, until in the end these were excluded from the sale, as the heirs prohibited them being sold." (In Morgenposten no. 99, 30. April 1856, written by "P.", translated from Danish).

It was not customary at the time to report on sales in the papers, but contrary to tradition, *Morgenposten* (*The Morning Post*, a paper sympathetic to the peasant movement), three weeks after the auction sale, issued a lengthy report taking up almost the entire front page. It is evident from this that Kierkegaard through his last struggle – the Church Feud (see XXXII in Section I) – continued directly affecting the Danish population after his death. *The Morning Post* is clearly on Kierkegaard's side in the fight against the official Christendom and interprets the crowds of people interested in the auction sale of his books as evidence of the immense influence he exercised and the many people he made see the truth. After having attacked the clergy, the *Morning Post* continues "Though thank god, the sale – and that is the reason for its mention – gave many important and gratifying indications that Kierkegaard has not lived, has not suffered and struggled in vain, but that his words have penetrated many hearts and that during his lifetime he opened the eyes of many to the false and demoralizing effects of lethargy and self-glorification of the clergy…"

The article vividly describes the ambience in the sales room, where the audience was primarily present in order to obtain a relic from the deceased "saint".

Kierkegaard had a comprehensive library, but it did not count among the largest private libraries of the period. It was necessary for him to have a wide selection of especially philosophical and theological works, but he did not want it to be too large. As Johannes the Seducer says in *Either-Or*, "One must limit oneself – that is a primary condition for all pleasure". But Kierkegaard was also a collector, and he also let himself be tempted by books he did not need, but merely desired or for some reason was attracted to. Theological works constitute the main part of his book collection and make up approximately half of the collection he left behind when he died; but he had a wide range of philosophy, Greek and Latin classics, literature – most well represented is Danish and German literature –, and he had a solid collection of bibliographical and other reference works.

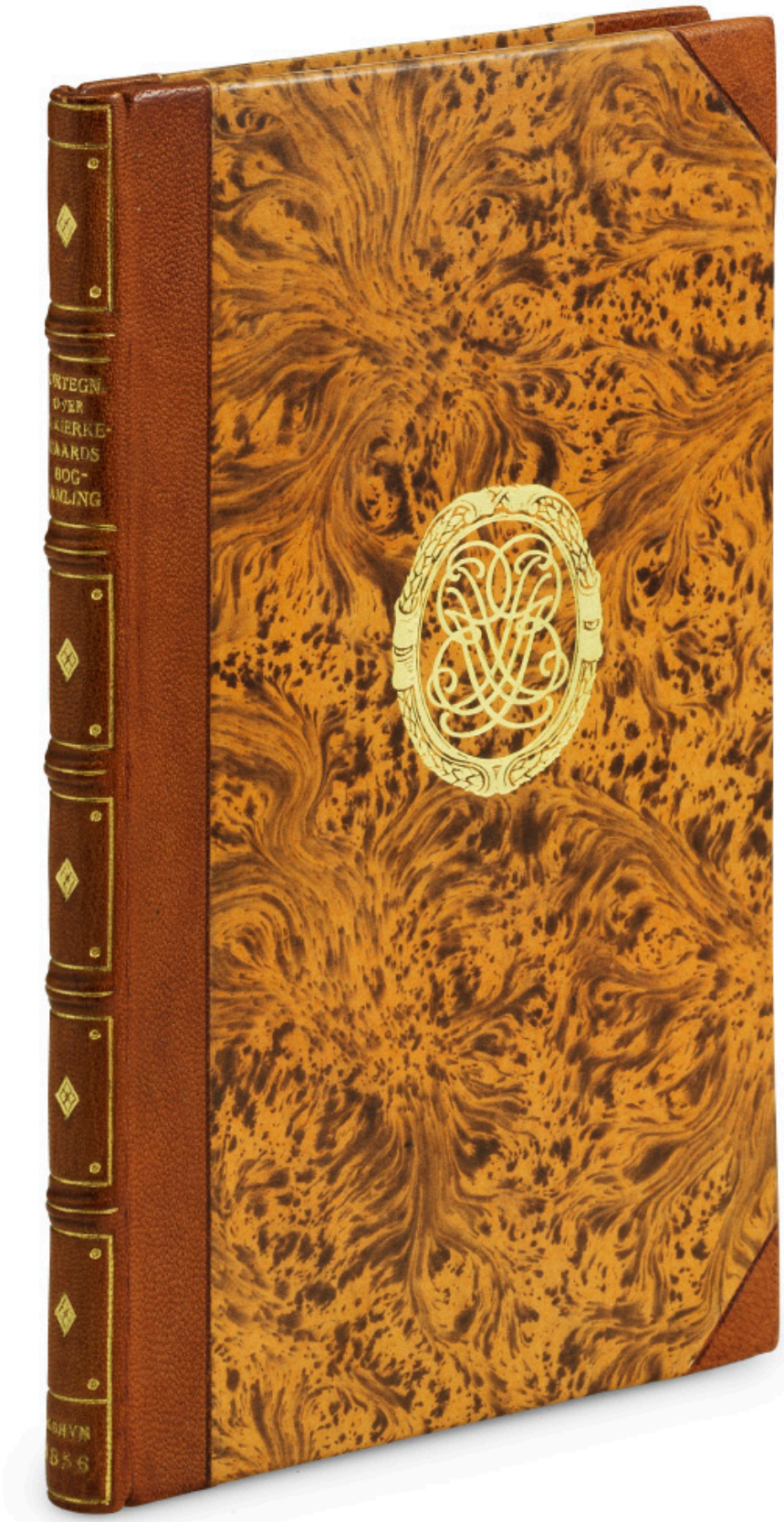
Throughout his life, he has owned more than the ca. 2.000 books that he had in his collection when he died, but these books, registered in the auction record, are the only ones we know for certain that he had, and the auction record is an invaluable source of knowledge about the books that Kierkegaard owned and read. In fact, this auction record is the basis of a wealth of knowledge about Kierkegaard, his reading habits, his collecting habits, his book binding habits, and his relation to his own books. It is one of the most frequently used tools in Kierkegaard research and is an indispensable bibliographical work.

In 1957, Niels Thulstrup issued the catalogue anew, with an introduction. He did not include the appendices, however. It is still disputed whether the books listed in the appendices belonged to Kierkegaard or not, but they were part of the original catalogue and are certainly worth considering. Furthermore, contrary to what Thulstrup states in the preface, not all the numbers of the original auction catalogue are in fact included in the new edition. Thulstrup simply omitted some of the numbers that he did not find relevant. Thus, this new edition was by no means complete, and in 1967, a new edition appeared. This edition of the catalogue was made by H.P. Rohde, has an excellent preface in both Danish and English, and contains all the information from the original printing. Furthermore, Rohde has added all available information about the individual copies that he could find as well as the auction protocol's registration of the buyers of the individual books.

"Today it [the original printing] is a very rare book. According to the auction protocol, it was merely printed in 278 copies, and most of these seem to be lost. It was therefore very commendable of the Søren Kierkegaard-Society when some years ago it decided to effect a new edition. Everyone with an interest in Kierkegaard has need of that. … What one expects from such an edition is first and foremost that it simply *replaces* the original catalogue, which is now unobtainable." (Rohde, Fund og Forskning VIII, 1968, p. 85).

"[t]he catalogue represents an invaluable point of departure for any deeper understanding of Kierkegaard and his sources." (Nun, Schreiber, & Stewart, p. xvi).

Himmelstrup 3133.


FORTEGN.
OVER
KIERKE-
GAARDS
BOG-
SAMLING
KØBHVN
1856

697 Nielsen, Erasmus, De Spiritualitate
tandæ methodo. Hauniæ 1848

698 Nielsen, R., Forelæsningsgrundlag
Philosophie. Kbhvn. 1

699 Nielsen, R., Den pro

700 Nielsen, R., Evan
hed. Kbhvn.

701 Nielsen, R.
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702 N

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land von Kant bis
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lichkeit der Seele. Berlin
hael, Gedanken und Meinungen
de; ins Deutsch übersetzt

703 Nielsen, R., Evangelietroen og Theologien. Kbhvn. 1850. nit.
læsninger.
704 Nielsen, R., Dr. H. Martensens dogmatiske Ophyl.
ninger. Kbhvn. 1850. nit.
705 Nielsen, Rasmus, Skjæbne og Forsyn. Kbhvn. 1853.
sonlighed. Kbhvn. 1854. nit.
706 Nork, F., Der Mystagog oder Deutung
lehren Symbole und Feste der ch
Leipzig (s. a.)
Orellius, J. C., Opuscul
moralia:
1819.

Fortegnelse

over

Dr. Sören A. Kierkegaards

efterladte

Bogsamling

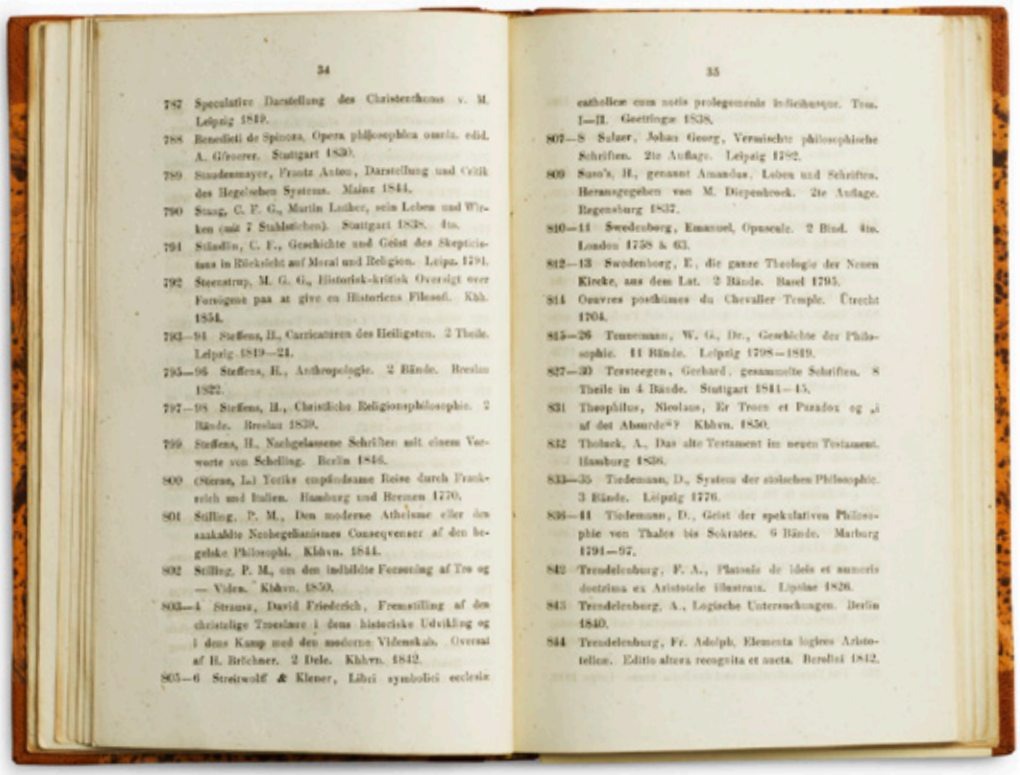
som bortsælges ved offentlig Auction Tirsdagen den 8de April 1856 og fölgende Dage i Klædeboderne Nr. 5—6. Alt imod Betaling til Procurator J. Maag, Klædeboderne Nr. 101.

Commissioner modtages af D'Herrer:

Boghandler *H. Hagerup*, Gothersgade 338.
— *H. H. J. Lynge*, st. Kjöbmagergade 49.
— *O. Schwartz*, Pilestræde 121.

Kjöbenhavn.

Trykt i *S. L. Möllers* Bogtrykkeri.



34

787 Speculative Darstellung des Christenthums v. M. Leipzig 1849.

788 Benedicti de Spinoza, Opera philosophica omnia, edid. A. Gfrörer. Stuttgart 1830.

789 Staudenmayer, Franz Anton, Darstellung und Critik des Hegel'schen Systems. Mainz 1844.

790 Stang, C. F. G., Martin Luther, sein Leben und Wirken (mit 7 Stahlstichen). Stuttgart 1838. 4to.

791 Stäudlin, C. F., Geschichte und Geist des Skepticismus in Rücksicht auf Moral und Religion. Leipz. 1791.

792 Steenstrup, M. G. G., Historisk-kritisk Oversigt over Forsøgene paa at give en Historiens Filosofi. Kbh. 1854.

793—94 Steffens, H., Caricaturen des Heiligsten. 2 Theile. Leipzig 1819—21.

795—96 Steffens, H., Anthropologie. 2 Bände. Breslau 1822.

797—98 Steffens, H., Christliche Religionsphilosophie. 2 Bände. Breslau 1839.

799 Steffens, H., Nachgelassene Schriften mit einem Vorworte von Schelling. Berlin 1846.

800 (Sterne, L.) Yorike empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien. Hamburg und Bremen 1770.

801 Stilling, P. M., Den moderne Atheisme eller den saakaldte Neohegelianismes Consequenser af den hegelske Philosophi. Kbhvn. 1844.

802 Stilling, P. M., om den indbildte Forening af Tro og — Viden. Kbhvn. 1850.

803—4 Strauss, David Friederich, Fremstilling af den christelige Troslære i dens historiske Udvikling og i dens Kamp med den moderne Videnskab. Oversat af H. Brüchner. 2 Dele. Kbhvn. 1842.

805—6 Streiwolf & Klener, Libri symbolici ecclesiæ catholicæ cum notis prolegomenis in Scriptura. Tom. I—II. Goettingæ 1838.

807—8 Sulzer, Johan Georg, Vermischte philosophische Schriften. 2te Auflage. Leipzig 1792.

809 Suso's, H., genannt Amandus, Leben und Schriften. Herausgegeben von M. Diepenbrock. 2te Auflage. Regensburg 1837.

810—11 Swedenborg, Emanuel, Opuscula. 2 Bind. 4to. London 1758 & 63.

812—13 Swedenborg, E., die ganze Theologie der Neuen Kirche, aus dem Lat. 2 Bände. Basel 1795.

814 Oeuvres posthumes du Chevalier Temple. Utrecht 1704.

815—26 Tennemann, W. G., Dr., Geschichte der Philosophie. 11 Bände. Leipzig 1798—1819.

827—30 Tersteegen, Gerhard, gesammelte Schriften. 8 Theile in 4 Bände. Stuttgart 1841—45.

831 Theophilus, Nicolaus, Er Troen et Paradox og „i af det Absurde"? Kbhvn. 1850.

832 Tholuck, A., Das alte Testament im neuen Testament. Hamburg 1836.

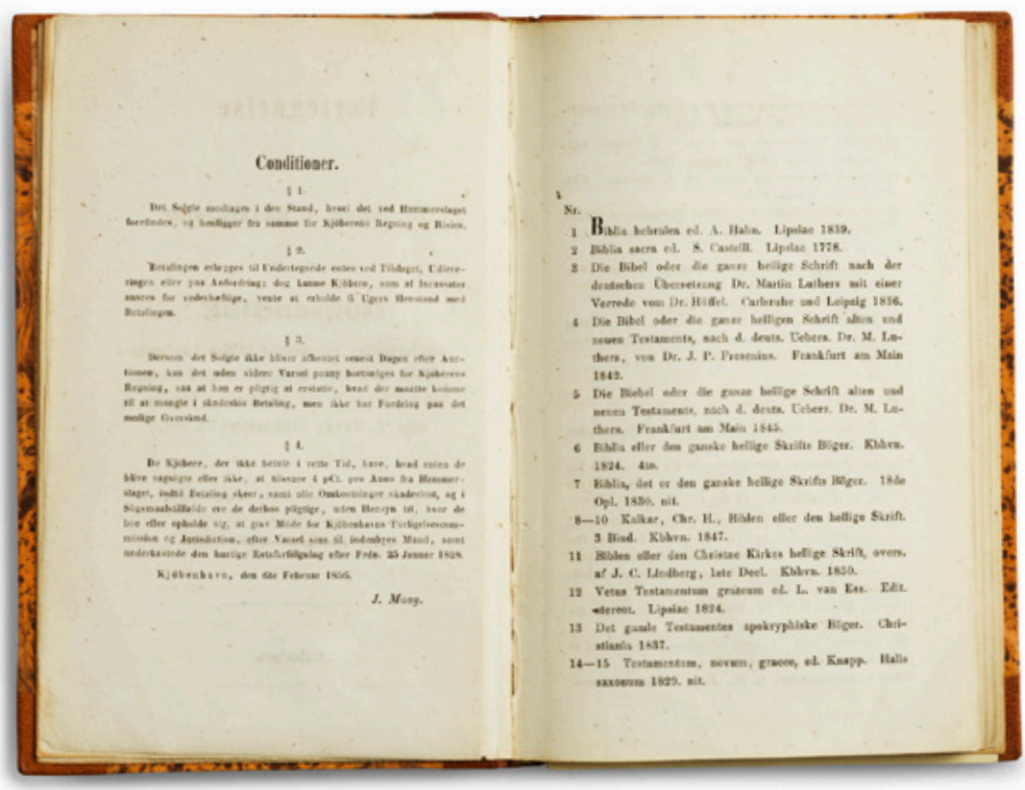
833—35 Tiedemann, D., System der stoischen Philosophie. 3 Bände. Leipzig 1776.

836—41 Tiedemann, D., Geist der spekulativen Philosophie von Thales bis Sokrates. 6 Bände. Marburg 1791—97.

842 Trendelenburg, F. A., Platonis de ideis et numeris doctrina ex Aristotele illustrata. Lipsiæ 1826.

843 Trendelenburg, A., Logische Untersuchungen. Berlin 1840.

844 Trendelenburg, Fr. Adolph, Elementa logices Aristotelicæ. Editio altera recognita et aucta. Berolini 1842.



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Kjøbenhavn, den 6te Februar 1856.

J. Mosy.

Nr.

1 Biblia hebraica ed. A. Hahn. Lipsiae 1839.

2 Biblia sacra ed. S. Castell. Lipsiae 1778.

3 Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers mit einer Vorrede von Dr. Höffel. Carlsruhe und Leipzig 1836.

4 Die Bibel oder die ganze heiligen Schrift alten und neuen Testaments, nach d. deuts. Uebers. Dr. M. Luthers, von Dr. J. P. Fresenius. Frankfurt am Main 1842.

5 Die Biebel oder die ganze heilige Schrift alten und neuen Testaments, nach d. deuts. Uebers. Dr. M. Luthers. Frankfurt am Main 1845.

6 Biblia eller den ganske hellige Skrifts Bøger. Kbhvn. 1824. 4to.

7 Biblia, det er den ganske hellige Skrifts Bøger. 18de Opl. 1850. nit.

8—10 Kalkar, Chr. H., Bibelen eller den hellige Skrift. 3 Bind. Kbhvn. 1847.

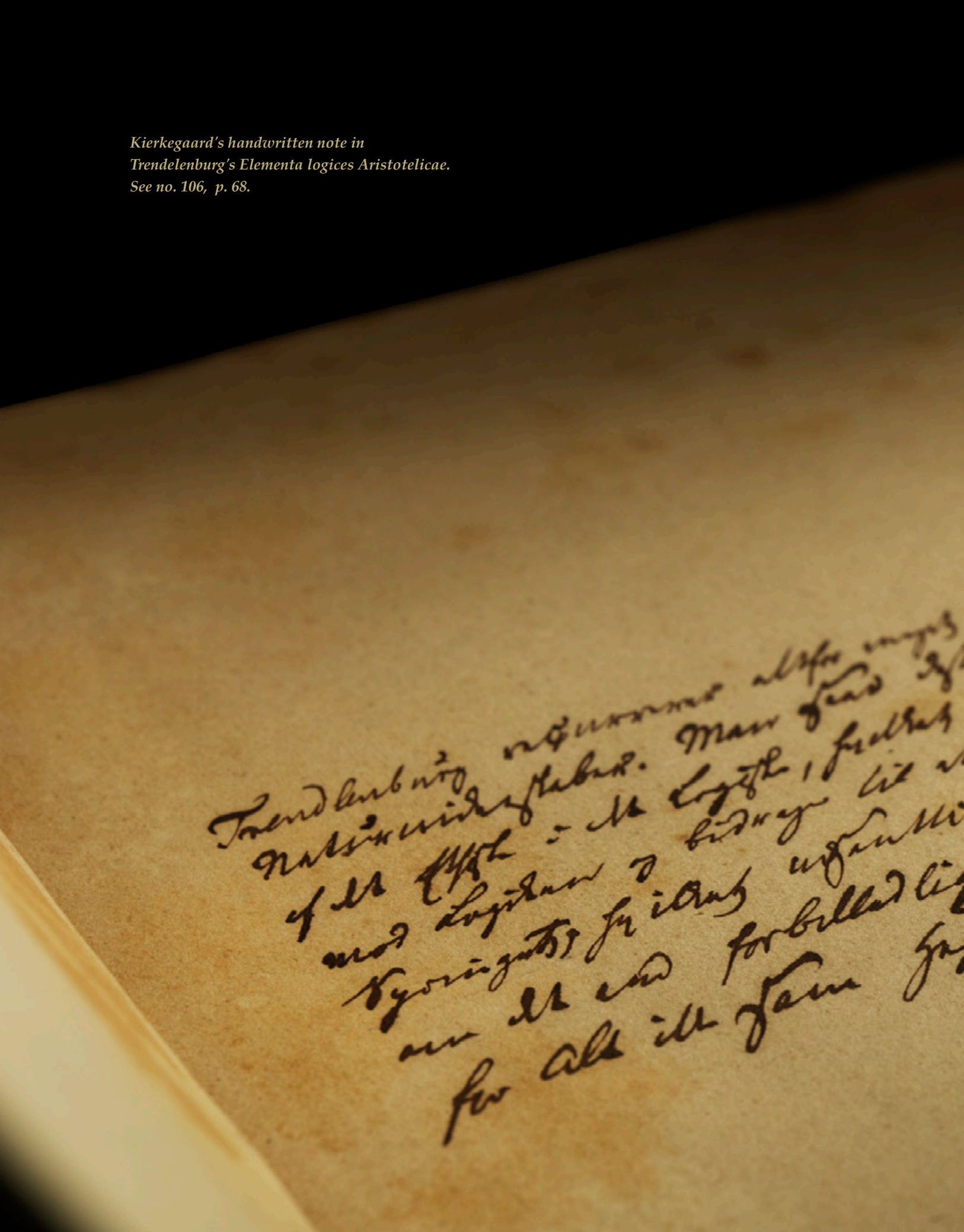
11 Bibelen eller den Christne Kirkes hellige Skrift, overs. af J. C. Lindberg, 1ste Deel. Kbhvn. 1850.

12 Vetus Testamentum græcum ed. L. van Ess. Edit. stereot. Lipsiae 1824.

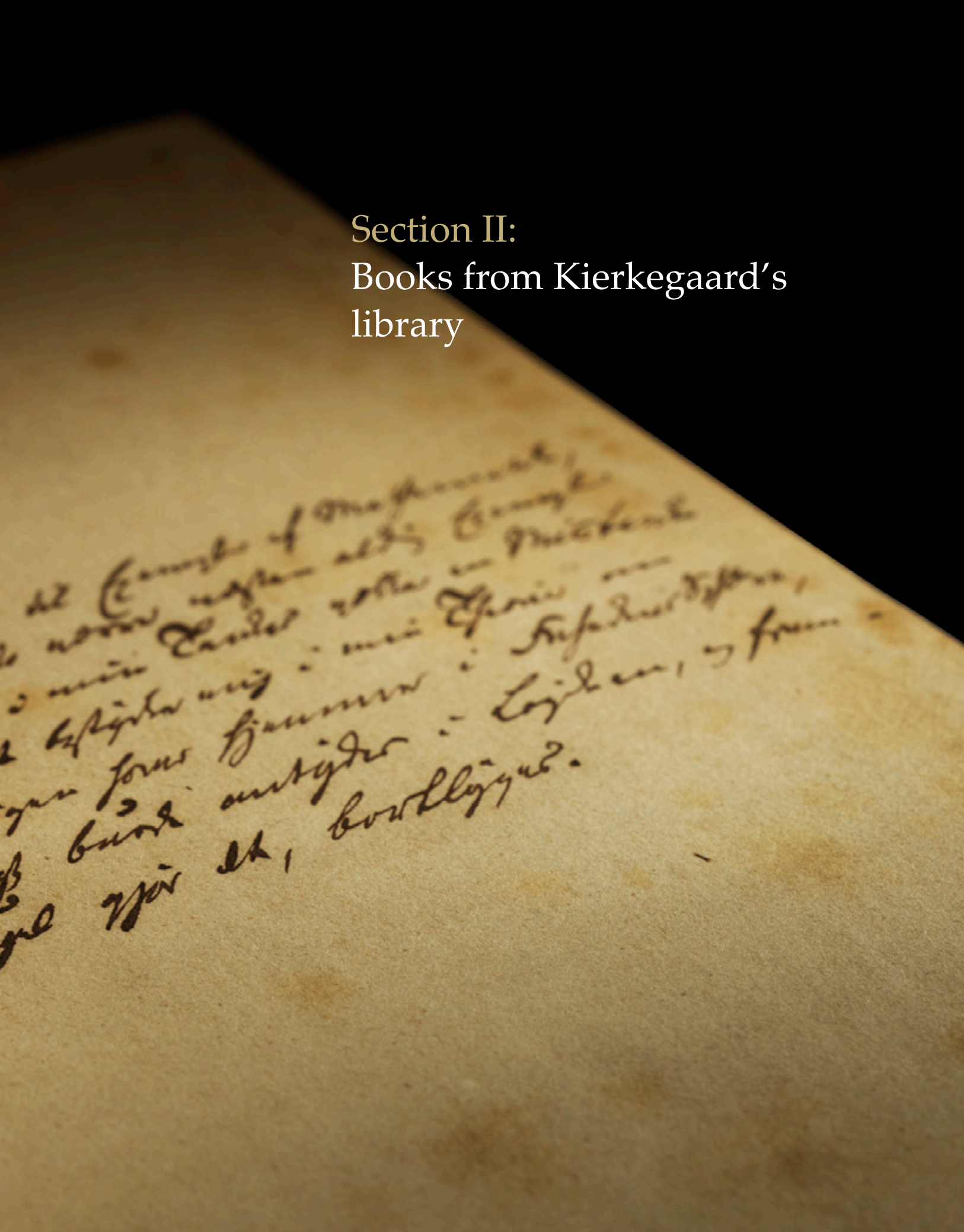
13 Det gamle Testamentes apokryphiske Bøger. Christiania 1837.

14—15 Testamentum, novum, græce, ed. Knapp. Halis saxonum 1829. nit.

Kierkegaard's handwritten note in Trendelenburg's Elementa logices Aristotelicae.
See no. 106, p. 68.



Section II:
Books from Kierkegaard's library



Kierkegaard's library

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS in the catalogue are all from Kierkegaard's library – either books that he bought himself or books that he was given. These copies all come from Kierkegaard's book collection, almost all of them sold after his death and listed in the auction catalogue. The number at the beginning of the descriptions is a reference to the auction catalogue above (corresponding to those of Rohde's edition as well as Nun, Schreiber, and Stewart's English edition). A few of them are not featured in the catalogue but have still belonged to Kierkegaard at some point.

"A new or relatively new area in Kierkegaard scholarship is the book collection of Søren Kierkegaard. The hunt for the books he owned himself has begun. One wants to know which books he preferred to read – and how he read them. Markings of one kind or the other in books that can be confirmed as having belonged to Kierkegaard can contribute decisively to our knowledge about his world of thought or the genesis of his works. Understood as such, the book collection that he left behind becomes a kind of appendix to the papers he left behind…

Some books were bought by libraries where they still are today, others were bought by private people, who sometimes wrote their names in the front of the books and thus, indirectly, stated that they came from Kierkegaard's book collection…

The edition (of the auction catalogue, 1967) registers all books from Kierkegaard's book collection that it has hitherto been possible to identify – either in public or in private ownership… All in all, nearly a couple of hundred volumes – i.e. ca. 10 % – of the Kierkegaardian book collection is said to be rediscovered….

One is arguably allowed to conclude that in his collection one will have the opportunity of finding many books that have been of very specific meaning to him." (H.P. Rohde. Opklaring af et Kierkegaard-citat. In: Kierkegaard Studiet Nr. 5, 1968, pp. 15-16)

"The Royal Library bought ca 80 volumes [i.e. at the auction], some lots are now in the Kierkegaard Archive, and in private ownership only very few are known." (Thulstrup, Søren Kierkegaards Bibliotek, p. 8)

"Søren Kierkegaard's posthumous papers are now in the Royal Library under the name Kierkegaard-arkivet. Physically, the papers are placed in a modern, climate regulated vault-storage and surrounded by strict security measures. Neither regularly curious nor scholars with well-defined and respectable purposes are allowed access to the storage." (Translated from Garff, Skriftbilleder, p. 76, translated from Danish)

As can be deduced from the introduction above, books from Kierkegaard's library are of the utmost scarcity. Only very few are still possible to acquire, and they hardly ever appear on the market.

There are several ways to determine whether a book belonged to Kierkegaard, the easiest being

if a book has a presentation-inscription for him. These are extremely rare. On some occasions, Kierkegaard has not kept the book that was given to him and it will thus not be present in the auction catalogue, telling us perhaps even more about Kierkegaard and his relation to the author.

An even rarer kind of book from Kierkegaard's library is one with his owner's inscription in it. Only very few of these are known, and he only wrote his name in his books on rare occasions. As Nicolai Bøgh says "As is well known, Kierkegaard never wrote his name in his books, but he had made an exception with the small first edition of Christian Winther's Haandtegninger, a book he often carried around with him in the inside pocket of his coat" [no. 1593 in the Auction Catalogue].

Nicolai Bøgh was not correct in assuming that Winther's *Haandtegninger* was the only book that Kierkegaard wrote his name in. But he was correct in stating that he only very rarely did so. His ownership signature is extremely rare, and it also does not remain the same throughout the years.

The earliest known ownership signature is in a copy of *The New Testament* in Greek from 1829, in which he signs himself "S.A. Kierkegaard". He very soon looses the A., which he also does not use for his publications (apart from his dissertation, where he had to sign his name in the officially correct manner). A few books with early ownership signatures are known and can be identified in the auction record, but later on, from ca. 1830-32, one only very rarely finds his ownership signature in his books. A few exceptions are from a couple of books that he bought in Berlin in 1841/1842. By this time, the A is gone, and his signature has reached its final form – "S. Kierkegaard".

The auction protocol is the next possible way of establishing whether a book has belonged to Kierkegaard. The auction catalogue lists the books in his collection with indication of edition, printing place, year, etc. In some cases, inaccurately, but in almost all cases it has been possible to identify the exact edition from this information. Adding to that, the auction protocol, preserved at the Royal Library, lists the buyers of the individual lots when known, which is in most cases. H.P. Rohde has included all this information in his edition of the auction catalogue, and it is an invaluable source for identifying the specific copies. If the exact same copy is in the auction catalogue with the owner's name being the buyer that we know bought this copy at the auction, there is no doubt that this copy was indeed Kierkegaard's.

Finally, many buyers at the auction have written notes in the books they bought testifying to having bought these specific copies at the auction of Kierkegaard's books. This testimony, of course, is a little less certain, if we do not have the name of the buyer in the auction protocol. Generally, there will be no reason to doubt the contemporary provenance documented in the volumes. But one does not have the same 100% certainty as with the other ways of establishing provenance.

"Kierkegaard treated his books very carefully. He sometimes made notes or underlined words; he did this usually only in actual text-books, but sometimes in books of another type as well. It soon becomes evident that he had an elaborate method of marking what he read; he really used a whole set of different signs and marks, and he also used different coloured inks or pencils and writing of different sizes. In certain cases he turned back the corners of the pages, sometimes at the top, sometimes at the bottom of the page – these broad "dog-ears" are perhaps especially characteristic of Kierkegaard as a reader; one should look for them if one suspects that a book has belonged to him. On the whole all these signs and marks are made carefully and with a keen appreciation for the aesthetic..." (Rohde, Introduction, pp. LIX-LX).

Kierkegaard would also use pencil for his underlinings, and as we see also in his posthumous

papers, he favoured pencil for side numberings. His dog's ears are very characteristic, always done in the same manner, and are of particular interest to many Kierkegaard scholars.

Kierkegaard's books are usually beautifully bound, and in most cases he used his favourite bookbinder N.C. Møller. The auction catalogue describes some copies, especially those of his own works, as "daintily bound", but as Thulstrup also states, "these are exceptions". (Thulstrup, Søren Kierkegaards Bibliotek, p. 8).

"Kierkegaard was and remained a bibliophile. Only, he had his own pattern… Kierkegaard understood how to distinguish – here as elsewhere. He let less important books bind in modest bindings. More important books got better bindings. And books that he cared especially for or that mattered especially to him for one reason or the other, were bound with extra elegance." (Rohde, Fund og Forskning, 1961, p. 103).

"In the majority of his books the signs of use are few – both inside and outside the volumes look almost new. As a general rule his books were bound. It was not unusual for him to buy his books, also the newly published ones, ready bound at the bookseller's, but usually he probably had them bound himself. The usual types of bindings are half-leather, half or full cloth and glazed paper. On the cloth bindings the decorations on the spine are, for the most part, confined to a title and a row of horizontal lines in gold. The half-bindings here have somewhat more gilt. More resplendent bindings are the exception. All in all, Kierkegaard's library consisting of nothing but bound and well-kept books has been a very striking decoration in his home, characterized by luxury as it was." (Rohde, Introduction to the Auction Protocol, pp. LIX-LX).

As we have said already, it is extremely rare to find books from Kierkegaard's library. But it is even scarcer to find books with his signature in them, with his dog's-ears, his underlinings, his markings of any kind, not to mention his notes. As we have also mentioned above, books with extensive notes or markings were supposed to have been removed from the catalogue, by the heirs, and only few have escaped this omittance and are still on the market. Almost everything original by Kierkegaard, in his hand, is now in the Royal Library.

"Finally, the archive (i.e. the Kierkegaard Archive at The Royal Library) contains the remains of Kierkegaard's collection. Most of the collection was sold at an auction half a year after Kierkegaard's death, and already then, a part of the books, about fifty, was bought by the Royal Library. Together with others that have later been bought or donated to the library, they now constitute a special part of the Kierkegaard-archive. There is naturally a specific interest in seeing which works the philosopher had on his bookshelves, and in which editions. But especially the books in which he during reading made notes or underlinings invite a closer study. And for the particularly eager scholars with a proclivity towards bold hypotheses, the books in which he as per custom has merely bent single corners of leaves must be an alluring topic. Kierkegaard's dog's ears need their interpreter." (Translated from Garff, Skriftbilleder, p. 94).

ἀνάγκη οὐσίαν εἶναι τοῦ πράγματος. οἷον τριάδι ὑπάρχει πάσῃ ἀριθμός, τὸ περιττὸν, τὸ πρῶτον ἀμφοτέρως καὶ ὡς μὴ μετρεῖσθαι ἀριθμῷ καὶ ὡς μὴ συγκεῖσθαι ἐξ ἀριθμῶν. τοῦτο τοίνυν ἤδη ἐστὶν ἡ τριὰς, ἀριθμὸς περιττὸς πρῶτος καὶ ὡδὶ πρῶτος· τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον, τὰ μὲν καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ τῇ δυάδι, πάντα δὲ οὐδενί. (analyt. post. II. 13.)

(56) §. 58. Χρὴ δὲ, ὅταν ὅλον τι πραγματεύηταί τις, διελεῖν τὸ γένος εἰς τὰ ἄτομα τῷ εἴδει τὰ πρῶτα, οἷον ἀριθμὸν εἰς τριάδα καὶ δυάδα. (analyt. post. II. 13.)

Πᾶν γένος ταῖς ἀντιδιῃρημέναις διαφοραῖς διαιρεῖται, καθάπερ τὸ ζῷον τῷ πεζῷ καὶ τῷ πτηνῷ καὶ τῷ ἐνύδρῳ. (top. VI. 6.)

Τὸ δ' ἅπαν ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὴν διαίρεσιν, ἂν ᾖ ἀντικείμενα ὧν μή ἐστι μεταξύ, οὐκ αἴτημα· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἅπαν ἐν θατέρῳ αὐτῶν εἶναι, εἴπερ ἐκείνου διαφορὰ ἔσται. (analyt. post. II. 13.)

Ἔτι στερήσει μὲν ἀναγκαῖον διαιρεῖν καὶ διαιροῦσιν οἱ διχοτομοῦντες. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ διαφορὰ στερήσεως ἡ στέρησις· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἴδη εἶναι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, οἷον τῆς ἀποδίας ἢ τοῦ ἀπτέρου ὥσπερ πτερώσεως καὶ ποδῶν. (de partib. animal. I. 3.)

(57) §. 59. Ὁ ὁρισμὸς ἐκ γένους καὶ διαφορῶν ἐστίν. (top. I. 8.)

Δεῖ μὲν διὰ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ὁρίζεσθαι τὸν καλῶς ὁριζόμενον, ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἁπλῶς γνωριμωτέρων καὶ προτέρων τοῦ εἴδους ἐστίν. — —

Τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἐκ προτέρων τρεῖς εἰσὶ τρόποι. πρῶτος μὲν εἰ διὰ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τὸ ἀντικείμενον ὥρισται, οἷον διὰ τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν· ἅμα γὰρ τῇ φύσει τὰ ἀντικείμενα. ἐνίοις

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Auction catalogue no. 7

Biblia, det er: den ganske Hellige Skrifts Bøger, med Flid efterseete og rettede efter Grundtexten, saa og med mangle Parallelsteder og udførlige Indholdfortegnelser forsynede. Attende Oplag.

Kiøbenhavn, det Kongelige Vaisenhuses Bogtrykkerie, trykt af C. F. Schubert, 1830.

8vo. Bound in an absolutely magnificent, sumptuous full black fine morocco binding with lavishly gilt spine and broad richly ornamented gilt borders to boards. Edges of boards gilt and broad inner gilt dentelles. All edges gilt. Pink silk moiré end-papers. Top front hinge weak and upper capital a bit worn. Leather on boards a bit scratched. Spine with a vertical even crease down the middle, where the gilding is worn off, clearly from having lain open thus. Inner front hinge a little weak. Overall in splendid condition. Internally very nice and clean. 1400 + 364 pp. With a dried leaf laid in at the opening of The New Testament.

Housed in an excellent full black calf box with elegantly gilt spine. Inside of box with black silk (elbel libro 2019).

Front free end-paper with book-plate (K.H.C.H) and neat handwritten owner's inscription: "Fanny Beuthner 1836 (efter S. Kierkegaard)" (in correspondence with registration of the copy in the Auction Protocol).

Quite simply one of the most desirable books from the auction catalogue – Kierkegaard's copy of the Bible.

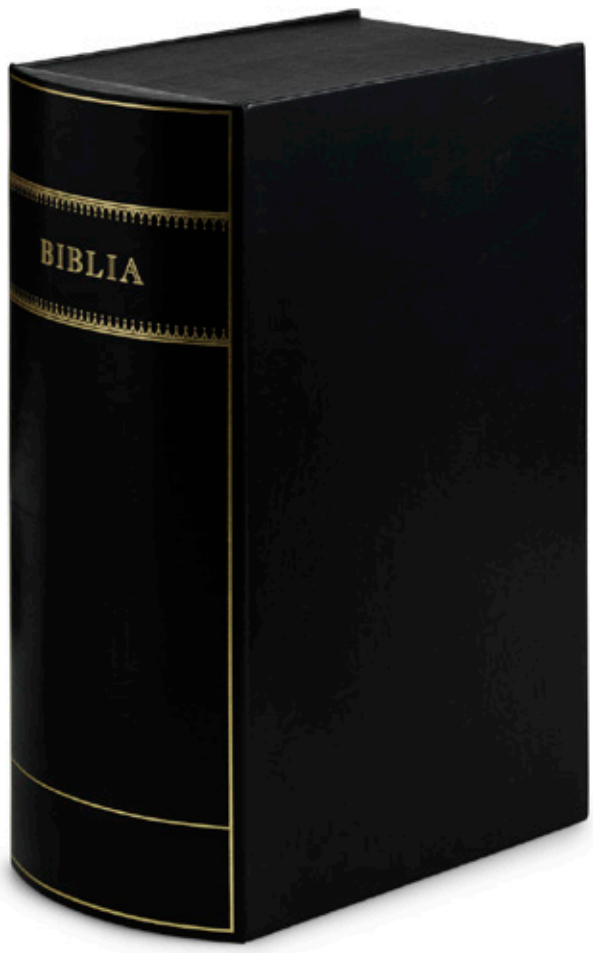
"Kierkegaard's relation to the Bible was a crucial element both in his life and in his authorship, although it has been significantly under-examined in the secondary literature. Yet as a person who had a strict religious upbringing involving weekly Church-attendance and then went on to become a theology student in a Lutheran theology faculty the Bible was a ubiquitous presence in virtually every aspect of his life and work." (George Pattison, Translation Problems in Relation to Theological Aspects of Kierkegaard's Texts, pp. (575)-576).).

Kierkegaard undoubtedly had this copy of the Bible bound for himself, in the style of his most lavishly bound gift-bindings, only slightly more elaborate than those. The binding is quite overwhelming and displays the importance that this copy of the Bible had for Kierkegaard. As Cappelørn notes in his *Forligelsen*, this Bible edition has the version of the *New Testament* that Kierkegaard used most frequently (see p. 621).

As Cappelørn agrees, the crease down the middle of the spine indicates that Kierkegaard would have had this Bible lying open on eg. a pedestal in his apartment. With a binding like this, it will have had pride of place in his library and has materially symbolized the importance the Bible had in his life and work.

Naturally, for a splendid theologian like Kierkegaard, this was not the only copy of *The Bible* in his library. He owned working copies of the *Old Testament* in Greek and Hebrew, *The New Testament* in Greek and Latin versions, *The Old* and *New Testament* in German and Danish versions, etc. These Bible editions take up the first part of the auction catalogue (nrs. 1-34).

The 1830-edition, however, occupies a special place in the Bible-section of Kierkegaard's catalogue, which is also reflected in the sumptuous way he had it bound. It has the authorized translation of the *Old Testament* from 1740 and the new authorized version of the *New Testament* from 1819, which was of special importance to Kierkegaard. It was the brand new authorized edition of *The New Testament* translated into Danish, revised and published by the Danish Bible Society, which had newly been founded, in 1814, modelled on the English Bible Society. This was the Danish Bible Society's first edition of the Bible, and it was somewhat controversial. Not everyone was happy with the revision, which included many rewritings and new translations of key phrases. But Kierkegaard took it to heart and absorbed it completely.



Pattison provides an excellent example of how the new version of *The New Testament* worked in his favour and how he completely accepted it as opposed to many other theologians and scholars of his time: "Even though Denmark did not have a single dominant translation of the Bible in the Post-Reformation period (as was the case in England and Germany), the translations used generated a common fund of biblical expressions, stories, names and images. Kierkegaard himself alludes to this situation in a particularly fascinating discussion of the biblical word in the beginning of the discourse *The Thorn in the Flesh.* He writes:

"Since the intent of Holy Scripture is to help men interpret the divine, since it calls for the learner to learn everything from the ground up, it naturally follows that its language has shaped the way in which those who fear God talk about divine matters, that its words and expressions are repeatedly heard in holy precincts, at every festal discourse on divine matters, whether the speaker seeks to interpret the biblical word by giving the word the things that are the word's, or seeks to draw upon the biblical word as clearly and completely epitomizing how the many things he has talked about are to be interpreted." (Fire opbyggelige Taler, in SKS 5, 317).

…

The "word" in question here is, of course, the "thorn in the flesh" of the discourse's title, a phrase familiar in widely used biblical translations. However, the picture is more complicated than it seems… Kierkegaard's *Pælen in Kødet* [i.e. The Pole in the Flesh]… had recently been superseded by the 1819 authorised translation of the Bible's rendering *Torn I Kjødet* [i.e. Thorn in the Flesh]… Clearly, however, it serves Kierkegaard's purpose here precisely to mirror the form that had entered everyday language." (Pattison, p. 577-78).

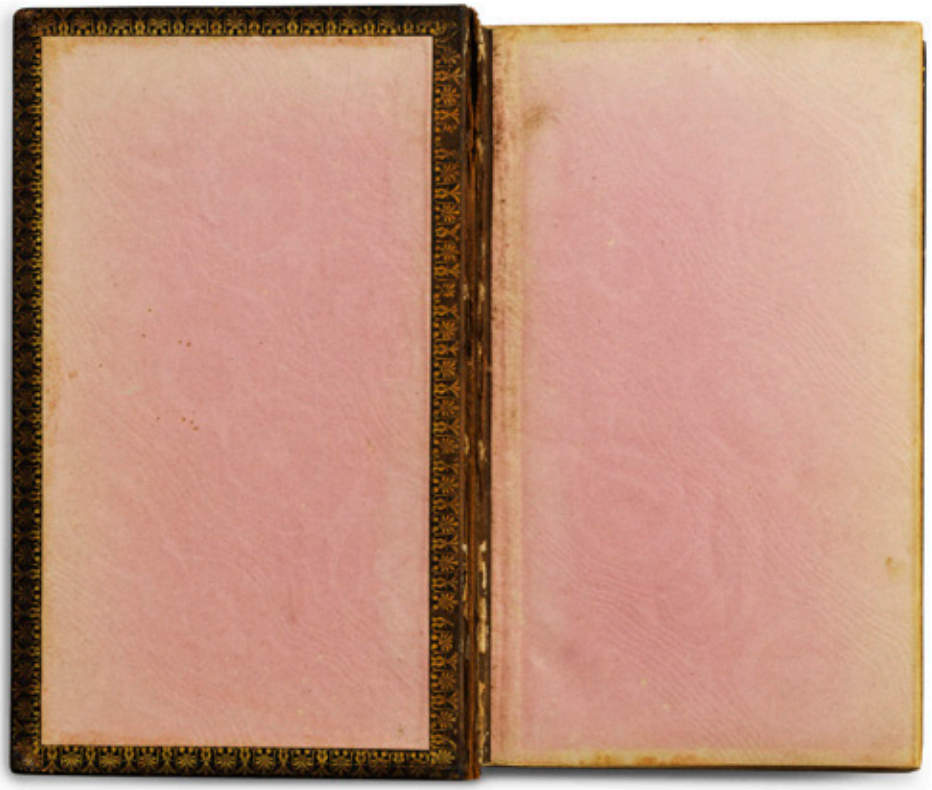
This version of the *New Testament* in Danish remained the dominant throughout Kierkegaard's lifetime and for nearly another century to come.

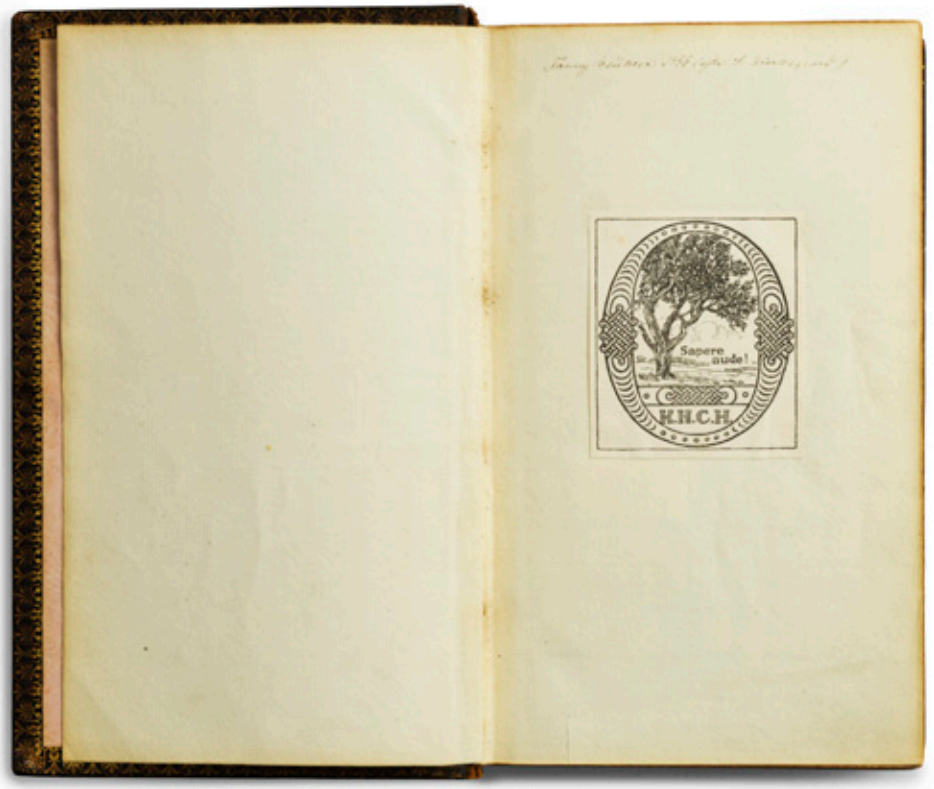
But Kierkegaard was not only inspired by the contents of this new version of the Bible, he was also inspired by the novel typography. As we know, nothing in the printing of Kierkegaard's own works was left to chance. Everything, from the format, the layout, the font, the printing type, and the typography, had a specific meaning or importance. In the pamphlets of *Upbuilding Discourses* (1843-44), one will notice that the quotations from the Bible at the beginning of a discourse is set with a significantly larger font and leading than the ordinary text. "This has not happened by chance, but deliberately. It was supposed to imitate the grand type in *Forordnet Alterbog for Danmark* from 1830, which had its texts from the new Translation of The New Testament, authorized by the King in 1819, and which Kierkegaard had at home in a beautiful reading copy and used diligently." (Translated from Tekstspejle p. 47).

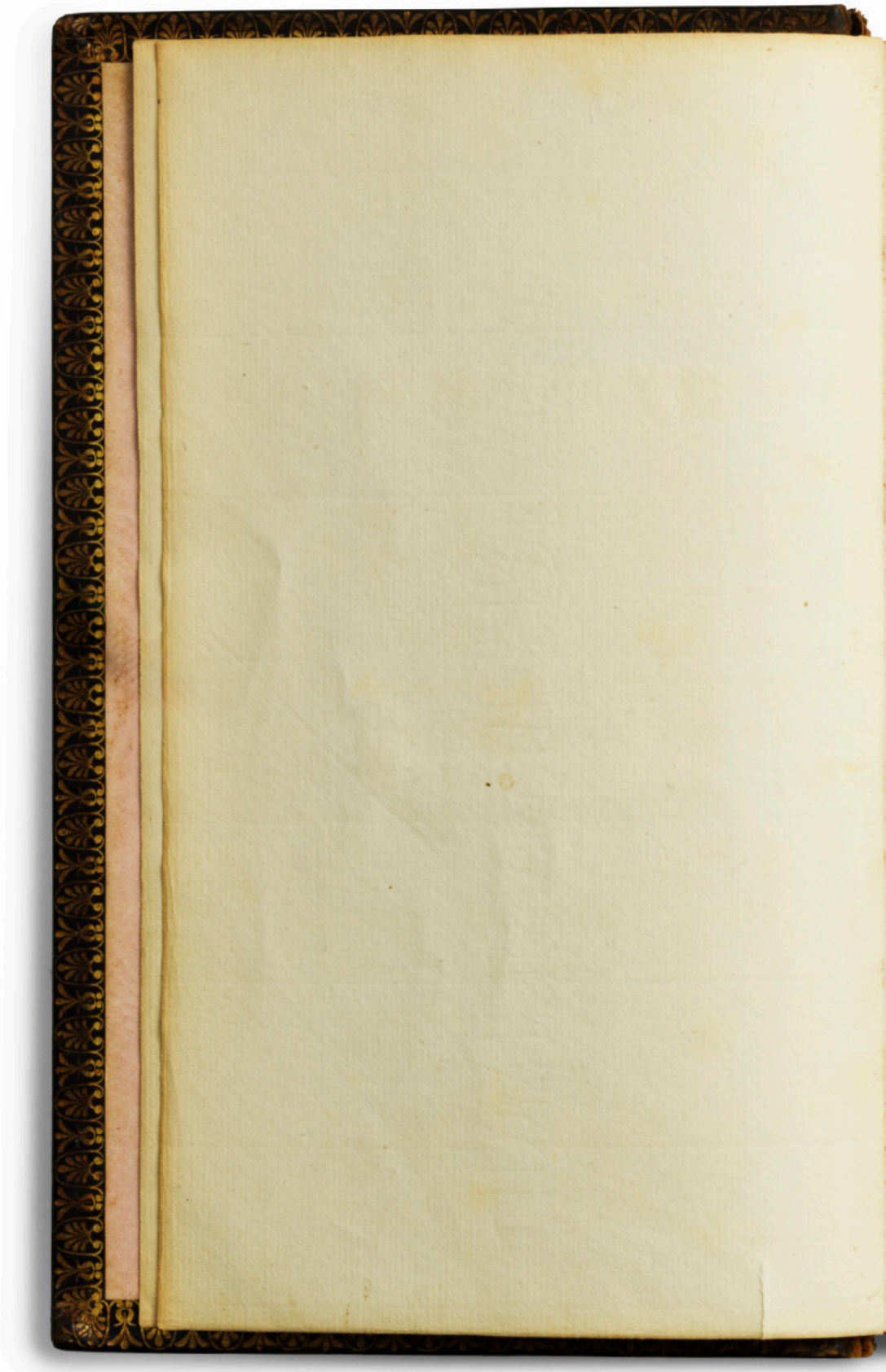
This copy of the Bible was one of only two of the Bible versions Kierkegaard owned that was described as "daintily bound"; the other one is now in the Royal Library.

To our knowledge, the present copy of the Bible is the only of Kierkegaard's bibles known to still exist on private hands.

Bibliotheca Danica: I, 10-11.




Sapere
aude!
K.H.C.H.



BIBLIA,

det er:

den ganske

Hellige Skrifts

Bøger,

med Flid efterseete

og rettede efter Grundtexten,

saa og

med mange Parallelsteder

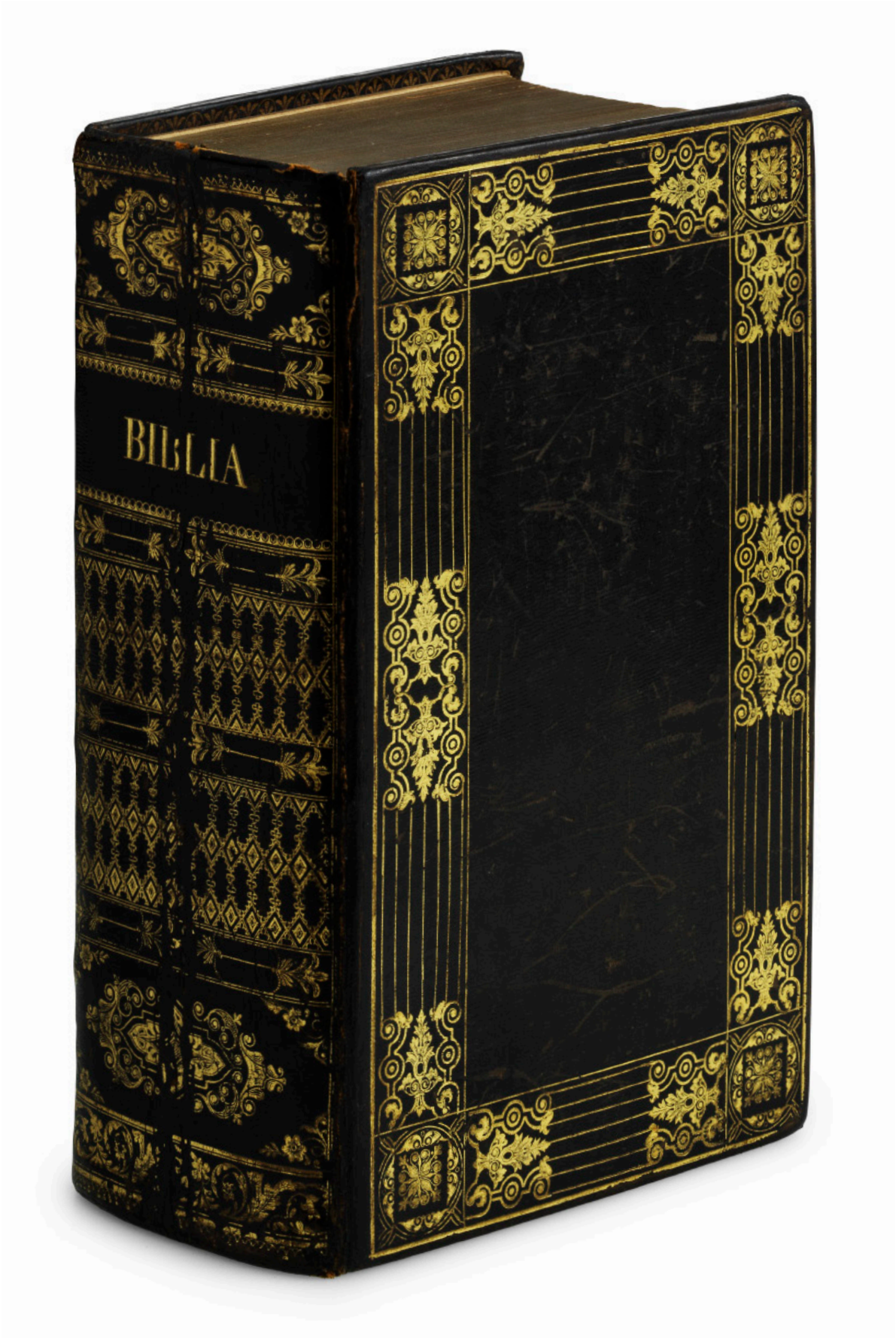
og

udførlige Indholdsfortegnelser

forsynede.

Attende Oplag.

Kiøbenhavn, 1830.
udi det Kongelige Vaisenhuses Bogtrykkerie,
og paa dets Forlag,
trykt af C. F. Schubart.


BIBLIA

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Auction catalogue no. 135

S. Aurelius Augustinus.
De Doctrina Christiana. Libri Quatuor et Enchiridion ad Laurentium. Ex Benedictinorum recensione recognitos edidit Car. Herm. Bruder. Editio stereotypa.

Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1838.

Small 8vo. (13 x 9 cm). Contemporary full granulated brown cloth. All edges gilt. Very used and worn. Spine missing ¾, but spine tight and fine underneath. Binding still holding, back board firmly attached, front board partly detached at top, but still holding. Edges of boards worn. Front board with a discoloured border; discoloured edge to back board. Internally fine and clean, but with many signs of use – numerous underlinings in the text and numerous marginal line-markings, all in pencil, as well as dog's ears, one of them (p. (167)) straightened out again. A later pencil annotation to p. (166). XXXIV, 252 pp.

Bound by N.C. Møller, with his bookbinder's etiquette to inside of back board.

With Kierkegaard's ownership signature, "S. Kierkegaard", to inside of front board.

An eminently important work from Kierkegaard's library, his own copy with his ownership signature, of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, one of the most important works in the history of Christian thought and undoubtedly a work of massive importance to Kierkegaard's Christian theology.

"The *De Doctrina Christiana* (*On Christian Teaching*) is one of Augustine's most important works on the classical tradition. Undertaken at the same time as the *Confessions*, it sheds light on the development of Augustine's thought, especially in the areas of ethics, hermeneutics, and sign theory.

De doctrina Christiana… consists of four books that describe how to interpret and teach the Scriptures. The first three of these books were published in 397 and the fourth added in 426. By writing this text, Augustine set three tasks for Christian teachers and preachers: to discover the truth in the contents of the Scriptures, to teach the truth from the Scriptures, and to defend scriptural truth when it was attacked." (Augustine: On Christian Teaching, R.P.H. Green transl. Oxford World's Classics, 2008).

One does not have to know much about the Christianity of Kierkegaard to see how this resonates with Kierkegaard's writings. And Kierkegaard, indeed, references Augustine on numerous occasions in his journals, bearing witness to his reading of this massively influential Church Father.

"Kierkegaard's relation to the Patristic and Medieval traditions has been a rather neglected area of research in Kierkegaard studies. This is somewhat surprising given the fact that the young Kierkegaard learned about the Patristic authors during his studies at the University of Copenhagen and was clearly fascinated by many aspects of their writings and the conceptions of Christian religiosity found there. With regard to the medieval tradition, in addition to any number of theological issues, medieval mysticism, medieval art, the medieval church, troubadour poetry and the monastic movement were all themes that exercised Kierkegaard during different periods of his life. Although far from uncritical, he seems at times to idolize both the Patristic tradition and the Middle Ages as contrastive terms to the corrupt and decadent modern world with its complacent Christianity. While he clearly regards the specific forms of this Medieval appropriation of Christianity to be misguided, he is nonetheless positively disposed toward the general understanding of it as something to be lived and realized by each individual.
…
Bishop, theologian, controversialist and author of a monastic rule, Augustine (AD 354-430) has cast a long shadow over the history of Christian thought and practice. The vast collection of his surviving writings, most significant among them Confessiones, De Civitate dei, De doctrina Christiana, and De Trinitate, as well as hundreds of sermons and letters, have exercised an influence in all areas of theology,

from Christology and soteriology to ecclesiology, worship, mysticism, and beyond. Known by Bernard of Clairveaux as the "hammer of the heretics," Augustine's battles against Manichaeism, Donatism, and Pelagianism are well documented, and each spurred the further development of his ideas. In his struggle against the Manichees, Augustine would refine his understanding of the nature of one triune God and the origins of evil (with assistance from Neoplatonic philosophers). Against the Donatists, who claimed to be the true "church of the martyrs," Augustine would become a staunch defender of the Catholic Christian community in North Africa, which enjoyed imperial support. And against the Pelagians, he would clarify his doctrines of original sin, grace and redemption." (Robert Puchniak: Augustine: Kierkegaard's Tempered Admiration of Augustine. Routlege, 2008).

"Kierkegaard's understanding of "the self" is thoroughly Augustinian, and there is good reason to consider Augustine a primary influence, especially for the works of Kierkegaard's pseudonym, Anti-Climacus…

Although nowhere in Kierkegaard's works does he admit reading Augustine's Confessions, his definition of "the self" (and its possible states of despair) betrays a particular resonance with the evolution of self-consciousness found in the fifth century spiritual classic authored by the Bishop of Hippo. ... When Kierkegaard sought to communicate what it meant to appropriate, as a single individual, the "eternal decision" of New Testament Christianity, he seems to have found an exemplar in the person of Augustine of Hippo (354–430). This is especially true for Kierkegaard's creation of the pseudonym, Anti-Climacus, that author who could offer anthropological contemplation upon the nature of despair and Christian existence. It seems more than a coincidence that during the year when the pseudonym, Anti-Climacus, was taking shape (that is, more specifically, during the spring of 1848 and the writing of The Sickness unto Death), there are hints of admiration for Augustine left in Kierkegaard's journals. Kierkegaard laments the lack of "God consciousness" about "the way men talk"—some wish to postpone the chore ("I want to enjoy life first, "they say), others cannot be bothered to spare the time at all." (Robert B. Puchniak: Kierkegaard's "Self" and Augustine's Influence).

According to the auction catalogue, Kierkegaard owned two editions of works written by Augustine – the Maurist edition of his works from 1797-1807, in 18 volumes (auction catalogue 117-34) and the present separate edition of *De Doctrina Christiana*, which is thus the only work by Augustine that he owned in a separate edition. One cannot help think that this is the work by Augustine that was most important to him.

Kierkegaard's ownership signature is of the utmost scarcity (see introduction to the Auction Catalogue) and is present in only very few of the books he owned. Although the copy is now worn, it was clearly beautifully bound at the time, presumably under Kierkegaard's instructions, by his favoured bookbinder, N.C. Møller.

The many underlinings and marginal line-markings in pencil are possibly by Kierkegaard himself and correspond to the way he would usually mark passages of importance to him. Furthermore, there are a few dog's ears that could also possibly be his.

iam non norimus. Ille quippe qui non solum perrenientibus possessionem, sed etiam viam praebere se voluit venientibus ad principium[1]) viarum, voluit carnem adsumere. Unde est etiam illud: *Dominus creavit me in principio viarum suarum*[2]), ut inde ineiperent, qui vellent venire. Apostolus igitur quamvis adhuc ambularet in via, et ad palmam supernae vocationis sequeretur vocantem Deum, tamen ea quae retro sunt obliviscens, et in ea quae ante sunt extentus[3]), iam principium viarum transierat, hoc est, eo non indigebat; a quo tamen adgrediendum et exordiendum iter est omnibus, qui ad veritatem pervenire, et in vita aeterna permanere desiderant. Sic enim ait[4]): *Ego sum via et veritas et vita*, hoc est, per me venitur, ad me pervenitur, in me permanetur. Quum enim ad ipsum pervenitur, etiam ad patrem pervenitur, quia per aequalem ille, cui est aequalis, agnoscitur, vinciente et tamquam adglutinante nos spiritu sancto, quo in summo atque incommutabili bono permanere possimus. Ex quo intelligitur, quam nulla res in via tenere nos debeat, quando nec ipse Dominus, in quantum via nostra esse dignatus est, tenere nos voluerit, sed transire, ne rebus temporalibus, quamvis ab illo pro salute nostra susceptis et gestis, haereamus infirmiter, sed per eas potius curramus alacriter, ut ad eum ipsum, qui nostram naturam a temporalibus liberavit et collocavit ad dexteram patris, provehi atque pervehi[5]) mereamur.

C. XXXV. Omnium igitur, quae dicta sunt, ex quo de rebus tractamus, haec summa est, ut intelligatur legis et omnium divinarum scripturarum plenitudo et finis esse dilectio rei, qua fruendum est, et

1) Am., Er., Cal. et codd. Theodosicensis et Lips.: *ad ea principium.* 2) Prov. 8, 22. 3) Cf. Phil. 3, 13. s. 4) Joh. 14, 6. 5) „In editis: *pervenire*, cuius loco in Mss.: *pervehi*." Ben.

rei, quae nobiscum ea re frui potest; quia, ut se quisque diligat, praecepto non opus est. Hoc ergo ut nossemus atque possemus, facta est tota pro salute nostra per divinam providentiam dispensatio temporalis, qua debemus uti non quasi mansoria quadam dilectione atquè delectatione, sed transitoria potius, tamquam viae, tamquam vehiculorum vel aliorum quorumlibet instrumentorum, aut si quid congruentius dici potest, ut ea, quibus ferimur, propter illud, ad quod ferimur, diligamus.

C. XXXVI. Quisquis igitur scripturas divinas vel quamlibet earum partem intellexisse sibi videtur, ita ut eo intellectu non aedificet istam geminam caritatem Dei et proximi, nondum intellexit. Quisquis vero talem inde sententiam duxerit, ut huic aedificandae caritati sit utilis, nec tamen hoc dixerit, quod ille, quem legit, eo loco sensisse probabitur, non perniciose fallitur, nec omnino mentitur. Inest quippe in menticate voluntas falsa dicendi: et ideo multos invenimus, qui mentiri velint; qui autem falli, neminem. Quum igitur hoc sciens homo faciat, illud nesciens patiatur, satis in una eademque re adparet, illum qui fallitur, eo qui mentitur esse meliorem; quando quidem pati melius est iniquitatem, quam facere. Omnis autem, qui mentitur, iniquitatem facit; et si cuiquam videtur utile aliquando esse mendacium, potest videri utilem aliquando esse iniquitatem. Nemo enim mentiens in eo, quod mentitur, servat fidem. Nam hoc utique vult, ut cui mentitur fidem sibi habeat, quam tamen ei mentiendo non servat. Omnis autem fidei violator iniquus est. Aut igitur iniquitas aliquando utilis est, quod fieri non potest, aut mendacium semper inutile est. Sed quisquis in scripturis aliud sentit, quam ille qui scripsit, illis non mentientibus fallitur. Sed tamen, ut dicere coeperam, si ea sententia fallitur, qua aedificet caritatem, quae finis praecepti est, ita fallitur, ac si

quod profecto utile est, multi praedicatores veritatis fiunt, nec multi magistri, si unius veri magistri id ipsum dicant omnes, et non sint in eis schismata. Nec deterrendi sunt isti voce Ieremiae prophetae, per quem Deus arguit eos, qui furantur verba eius, unusquisque a proximo suo.[1]) Qui enim furatur, alienum auferunt; verbum autem Dei non est ab eis alienum, qui obtemperant ei, potiusque ille dicit aliena, qui quum dicat bene, vivit male. Quaecumque enim bona dicit, eius excogitari videntur ingenio; sed ab eius moribus aliena sunt. Eos itaque dixit Deus furari verba sua, qui boni volunt videri, loquendo quae Dei sunt, quum mali sint faciendo quae sua sunt. Nec sane ipsi dicunt bona quae dicunt, si diligenter adtendas. Quomodo enim dicunt verbis, quod negant factis? Non enim frustra de talibus ait apostolus[2]): *Confitentur se nosse Deum, factis autem negant.* Modo ergo quodam ipsi dicunt, et rursus alio modo non ipsi dicunt, quoniam utrumque verum est, quod veritas ait. De talibus enim loquens: *Quae dicunt*, inquit[3]), *facite; quae autem faciunt, facere nolite;* hoc est: quod ex ore illorum auditis, facite; quod in opere videtis, facere nolite; *dicunt enim*, inquit, *et non faciunt.* Ergo quamvis non faciant, dicunt tamen. Sed alio loco tales arguens: *hypocritae*, inquit[4]), *quomodo potestis bona loqui, quum sitis mali?* Ac per hoc et ea quae dicunt, quando bona dicunt, non ipsi dicunt, voluntate scilicet atque opere negando quod dicunt. Unde contingit, ut homo disertus et malus sermonem, quo veritas praedicetur, dicendum ab alio non diserto, sed bono, ipse componat; quod quum fit, ipse a se ipso tradit alienum, ille ab alieno accipit suum. Quum vero boni fideles bona fidelibus hanc operam commodant, utrique sua di-

1) Cf. Ier. 23, 30. 2) Tit. 1, 16. 3) Mat. 23, 3. 4) Matth. 12, 34.

cunt, quia et Deus ipsorum est, cuius sunt illa quae dicunt, et ea sua faciunt, quae non ipsi componere potuerunt, qui secundum illa composite vivunt.

C. XXX. Sive autem apud populum vel apud quoslibet iamiamque dicturus, sive quod apud populum dicendum, vel ab eis qui voluerint aut potuerint legendum est dictaturus, oret ut Deus sermonem bonum det in os eius. Si enim regina oravit Esther, pro suae gentis temporaria salute locutura apud regem, ut in os eius Deus congruum sermonem daret[1]), quanto magis orare debet, ut tale munus accipiat, qui pro aeterna hominum salute in verbo et doctrina laborat! Illi vero qui ea dicturi sunt, quae ab aliis acceperunt, et antequam accipiant, orent pro eis, a quibus accipiunt, ut eis detur, quod per eos accipere volunt, et quum acceperint, orent, ut bene et ipsi proferant, et illi ad quos proferunt sumant; et de prospero exitu dictionis eidem gratias agant, a quo id se accepisse non dubitant, ut qui gloriatur in illo glorietur, in cuius manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri.[2])

C. XXXI. Longior evasit liber hic, quam volebam quamque putaveram. Sed legenti vel audienti, cui gratus est, longus non est. Cui autem longus est, per partes eum legat, qui habere vult cognitum. Quem vero cognitionis eius piget, de longitudine non queratur. Ego tamen Deo nostro gratias ago, quod in his quatuor libris, non qualis ego essem, cui multa desunt, sed qualis esse debeat, qui in doctrina sana, id est, Christiana, non solum sibi, sed etiam aliis laborare studet, quantulacumque potui facultate, disserui.

1) Cf. Esth. 4, 16. sq. apud LXX., ubi haec: δὸς λόγον στόματι μου ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ etc. 2) Cf. Sap. 7, 16.

S. AURELII AUGUSTINI DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA LIBRI QUATUOR ET ENCHIRIDION AD LAURENTIUM.

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EDITIO STEREOTYPA.

LIPSIAE

SUMTIBUS ET TYPIS CAROLI TAUCHNITII.

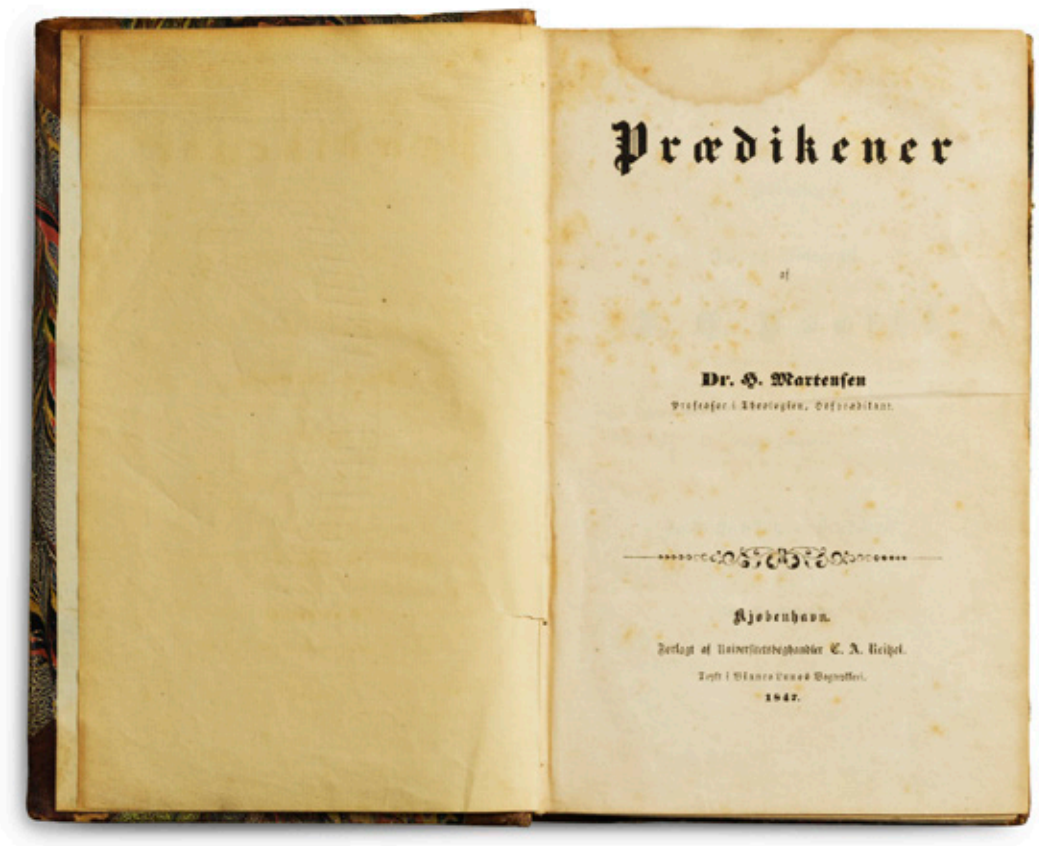
1838.

101

Auction catalogue no. 227

H. Martensen.
Prædikener + Prædikener. Anden Samling.
[i.e. Sermons, part (one) + two].

Kjøbenhavn, Reitzel, 1847 + 1849.



Prædikener

af

Dr. H. Martensen

Kjøbenhavn.

1847.

8vo. Bound in one lovely, contemporary brown half calf with richly gilt spine. A bit of wear along hinges, and edges and corners worn. Overall very nice. Some brownspotting in both parts. Lower blank part of the last leaf of part (1) with a closed tear, not affecting text. (8), 263 + (4), 304 pp.

Bound by N.C. Møller (in 1849 – see below), with his bookbinder etiquette to inside of back board. Back board with later owner's pencil annotations describing the history of the copy.

With a later dedication-inscription from P.S. Hammer to Immanuel Friis, dated 1861, to front free end-paper.

With contemporary inscription to inside of front board: "Kjøbt paa Auctionen efter S. Kjerkegaard." (i.e. bought at the auction after S. Kierkegaard). We know from the auction protocol that the copy was bought by Fausbøll, being the seminal Danish philologist M.V. Fausbøll (1821-1908), pioneer of Pāli scholarship (please see more in the Index of Personal names).

Magnificent association-copy of this splendid book from Kierkegaard's library, namely his copy of Martensen's *Sermons*, which we know that Kierkegaard bought at Reitzel's and had bound with his favourite bookbinder N.C. Møller.

Martensen played an enormously important role in Kierkegaard's life and career, and their complicated relationship, both personal and professional, is one of the most studied and significant in Kierkegaard scholarship.

"Søren Aabye Kierkegaard had a fascinating relationship with Hans Lassen Martensen. Martensen was an important source for Kierkegaard's development as a religious thinker. Kierkegaard carefully attended to Martensen and received information that helped determine his agenda." (Thompson, in: Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries II, p. (227)).

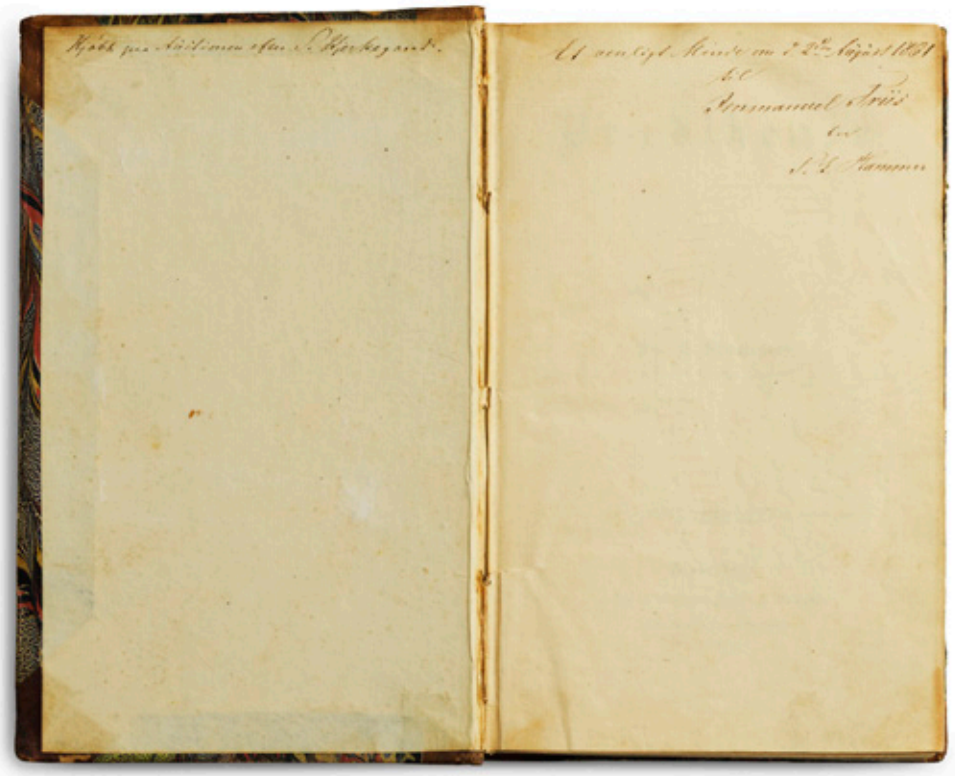
"[A] Danish contemporary of Kierkegaard who greatly influenced his thinking, even though the two never really saw things eye-to-eye" (Ibid.).

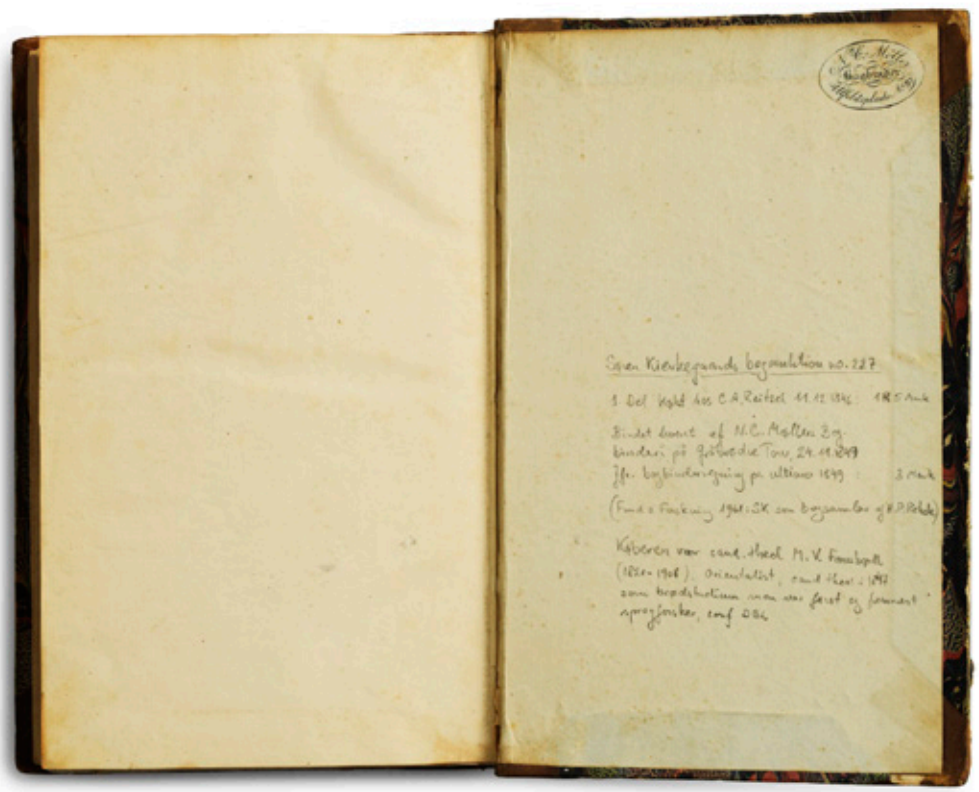
Kierkegaard read everything that Martensen wrote, and his works are among the most frequently mentioned in Kierkegaard's notes and diaries. He also followed his lectures and was both greatly influenced and in great disagreement with him, making him one of the most fascinating people around Kierkegaard.

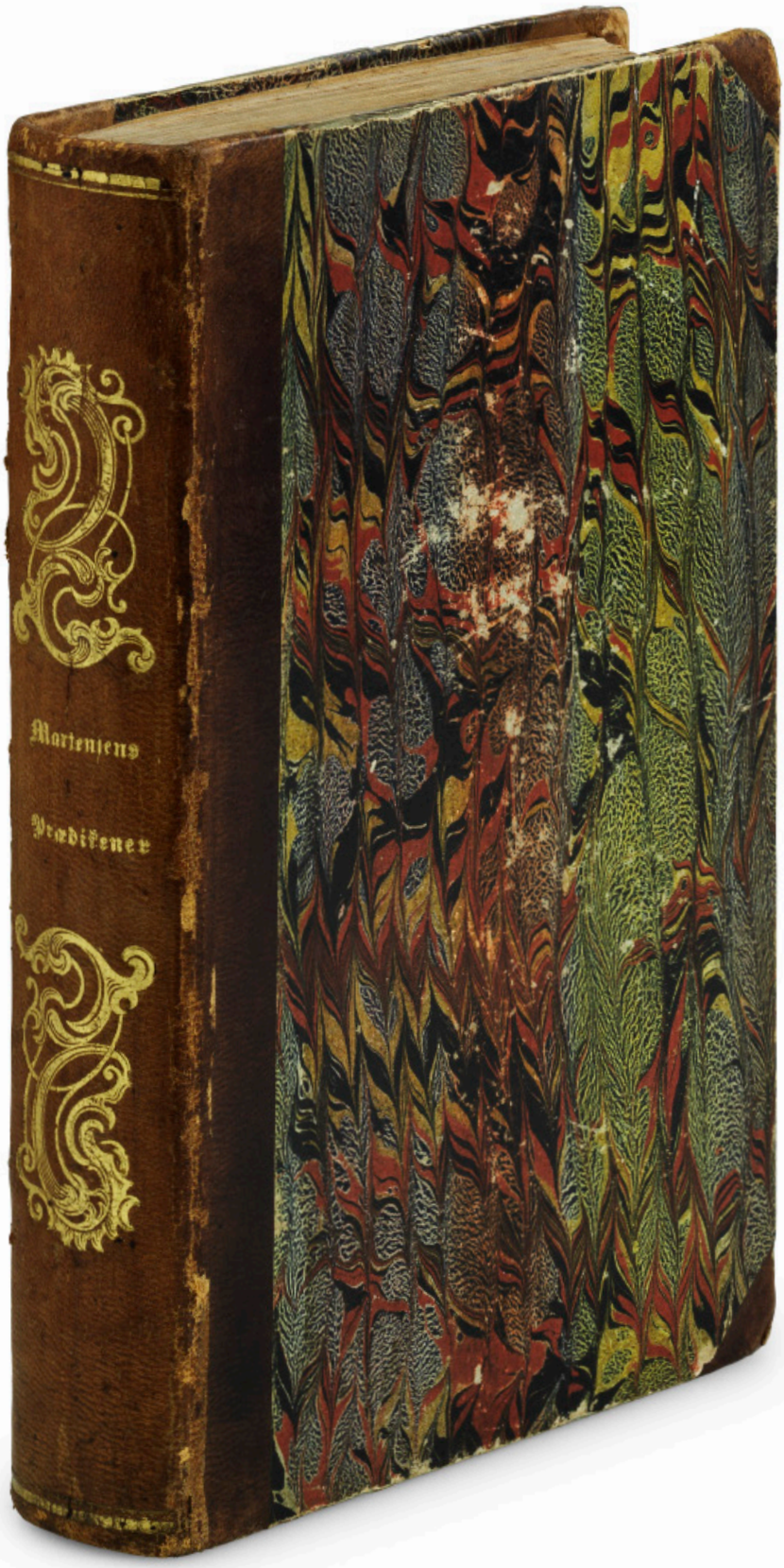
"Martensen was the leading theological voice in Denmark, and Kierkegaard had a multi-faceted relationship with him. Therefore, identifying Martensen as a contemporary Danish source for Kierkegaard's writing is a complex matter. Kierkegaard owned and read the writings Martensen had published… Kierkegaard makes many hundreds of references to Martensen in his journals and notebooks." (ibid, p. 237).

Having studied receipts from booksellers and bookbinders among Kierkegaard's posthumous papers as well as the records of Reitzel, Philipsen, and those of N.C. Møller, Rohde was able to, in 1961, trace the acquisition and binding of a remarkable number of the books that Kierkegaard had in his library. Among them is the present copy of Martensen's *Sermons*, no. 227 of the auction catalogue. The first part, which appeared in 1847 (year on the title-page, but evidently published late 1846), he bought from Reitzel on December 11, 1846. We are missing the register from 1848, on which the second part will have presumably figured, but we know that Kierkegaard had both parts bound together, at N.C. Møller's, on November 24, 1849. (See H.P. Rohde: Søren Kierkegaard som bogsamler. In: Fund og Forskning VIII, 1961, pp. 115 & 121).

For more on Martensen and his relation to Kierkegaard, please see the Index of Personal Names.





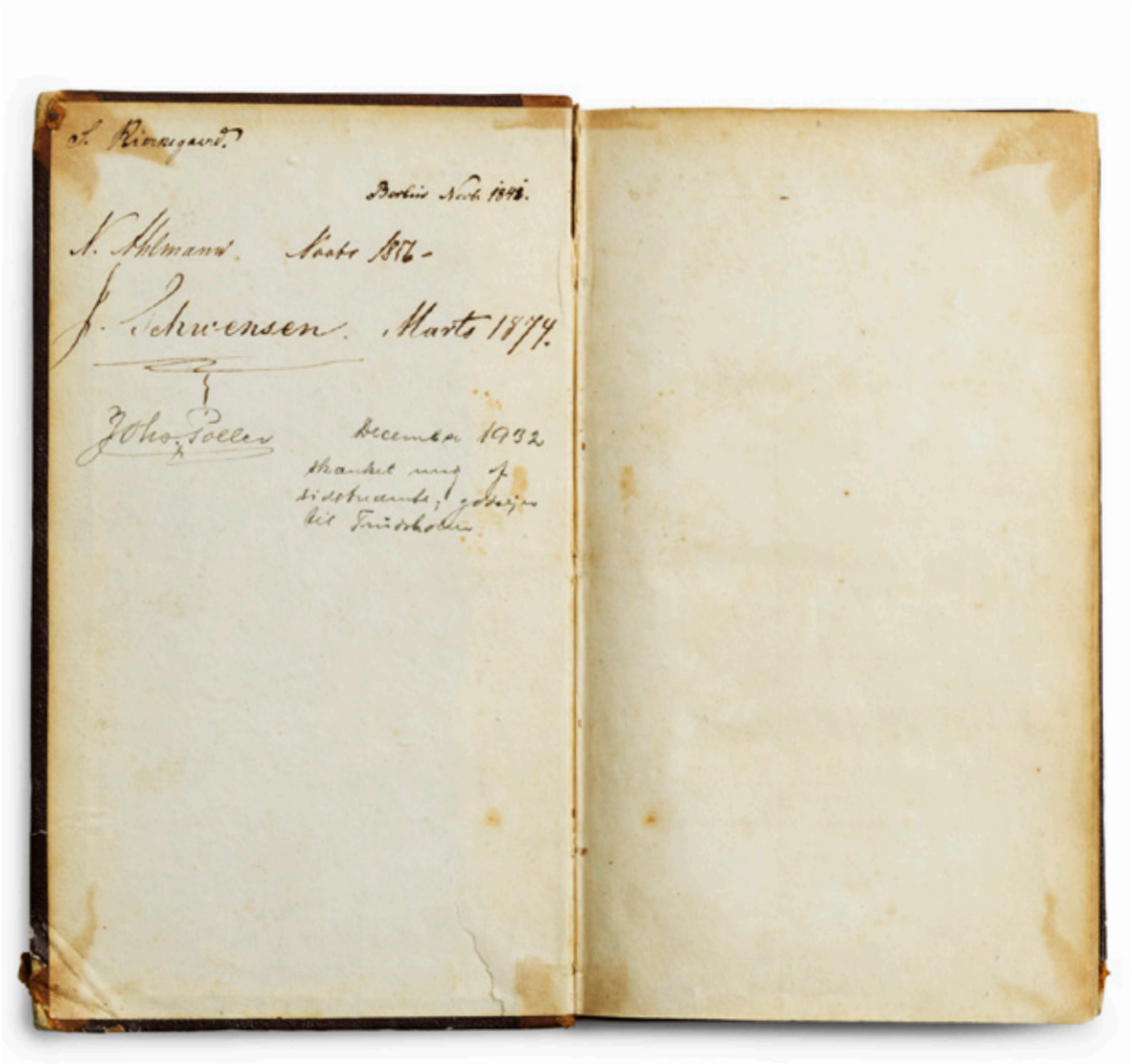

Martensens
Prædikener

102

Auction catalogue no. 238-41

Schleiermacher, Friedrich.
Predigten. Vier Bände Neue Ausgabe. [Being vols. 1-4 of Friedrich Schleiermachers Sämmtliche Werke].

Berlin, Reimer, 1834-35.



8vo. Bound in four very nice, elegant contemporary brown half calf bindings with richly gilt ornamentation to spines. Hinges with some wear, some with a crack, but all bindings tight. Corners bumped and a couple of capitals worn. Despite the wear, a lovely set. Occasional brownspotting, mostly to title-pages. Bound with all the general title-pages for *Werke* as well as the specific ones for *Predigten*. (4), 692; (8), 758; X, 789; XVI, 840 pp.

With many pencil markings in the margins and numerous pencil underlinings, mostly to the first two volumes.

A three-line ink note in German to the half-title to Siebente Sammlung in vol. 2: "Predigten in Bezug auf die Feier der Uebergabe der Augsburgschen Konfession".

Inside of front board with ownership inscriptions: First, that of Kierkegaard, "S. Kierkegaard" along with "Berlin Novb: 1841" (corrected from 1842), also in his hand; second, that of N. Ahlmann (presumably the politician and estate owner Nicolai Ahlmann) along with "Novbr 1856"; third, J. Schwensen along with "Marts 1874"; fourth, Johs. Pollen along with "December 1932 / skænket mig af / sidstnævnte; godsejer / til Trudsholm" (i.e. given to me by the latter (i.e. Jørgen Schwensen); estate owner of Trudsholm (a Danish estate that Schwensen took over in 1885)). The ownership signature of Schwensen is also present in the other volumes.

Kierkegaard's copy of Schleiermacher's sermons, with Kierkegaard's rare ownership signature and his acquisition note "Berlin 1842", which he has changed to 1841, bought in Berlin shortly after the termination of his engagement to Regine.

The year 1841 is a momentous one in Kierkegaard's life. It is the year that he completes his dissertation and commences his sojourn in Berlin, but it is also the defining year in his personal life, namely the year that he breaks off his engagement with Regine Olsen. And finally, it is the year that he begins writing *Either-Or*.

Two weeks after defending his dissertation, *On the Concept of Irony*, on October 12th, 1841, Kierkegaard broke off his engagement with Regine Olsen (for the implications of this event, please see p. 102), and on October 25th, he leaves for Berlin. In November, i.e. very shortly after having arrived in Berlin, he buys the present copy of Schleiermacher's sermons.

When he returns to Copenhagen, in March 1842, he has the volumes bound and writes his ownership signature, "Berlin", and the erroneous date of November 1842, which he then corrects to 1841, being the actual year that he bought them, not the year he returned and had them bound.

The copy is depicted and described in Tekstspejle p. 135: "Kierkegaard's copy of Friedrich Schleiermacher's *Predigten* in four volmues… Bound in half calf with richly gilt spines and clothlike reddish brown paper over boards. On the inside of the front board of volume one, in the top left corner, Kierkegaard has written: "S. Kierkegaard" and a little below at the right margin: "Berlin Novb. 1842", but has changed the year to 1841. It tells us that he has bought the four volumes during his stay in Berlin from October 1841 to March 1842 and presumably had them bound after returning [to Copenhagen] and then initially forgotten that he had bought them in 1841 [not 1842]." (translated from Danish).

Concerning the collection of sermons in Kierkegaard's book collection, Cappelørn writes in Tekstspejle (p. 135): "Of non-Danish sermons one particularly notes a collection in German … by Johannes Krysostomos… [a]nd *Predigten* in four volumes of the German-reform theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher, published in 1834 (no. 238-41)" (Translated from Danish).

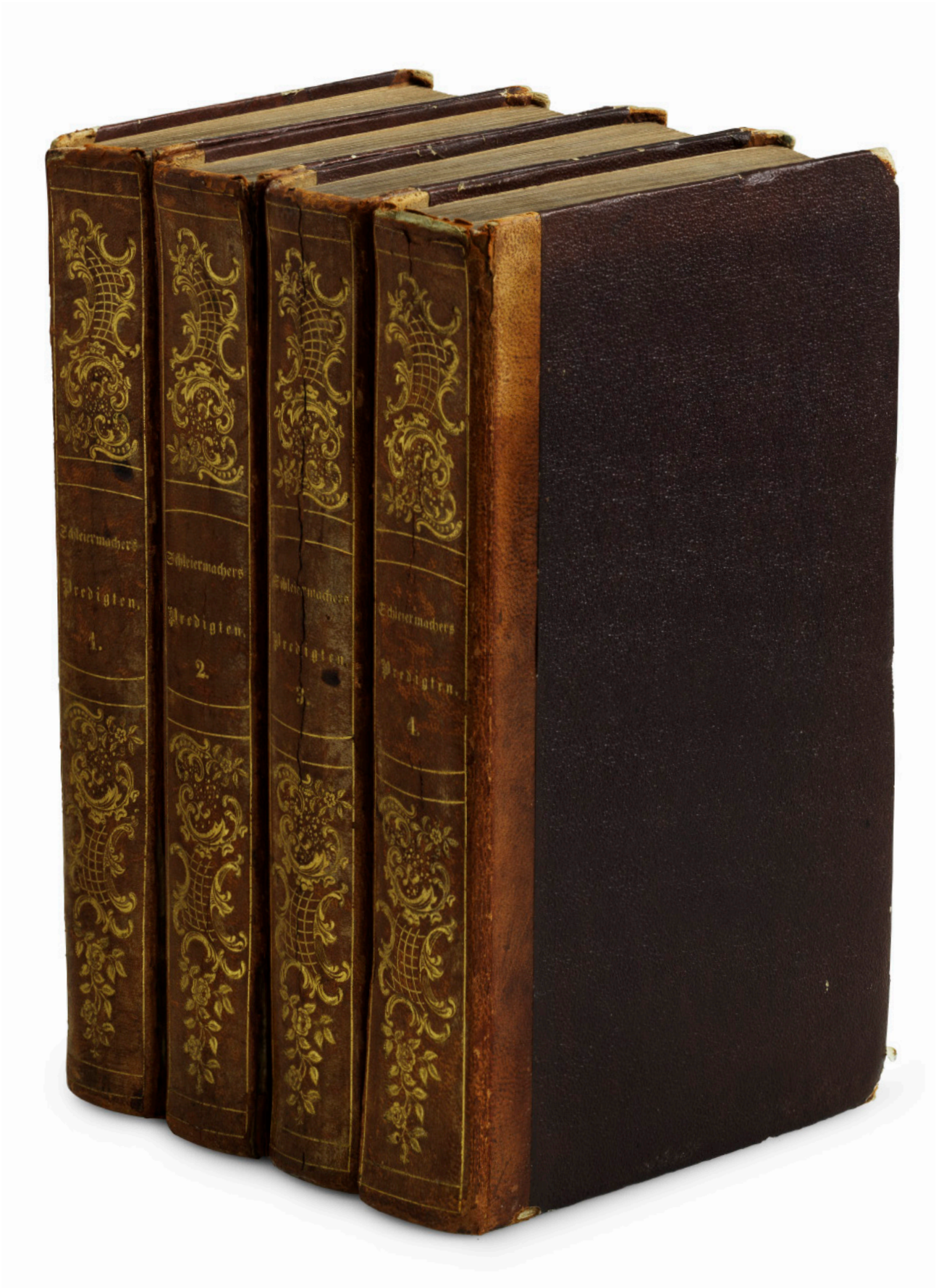
Kierkegaard's first sojourn in Berlin was of crucial importance to him, personally as well as professionally. As we have seen, this journey was partly caused by the need to leave Copenhagen due to the disastrous termination of his engagement to Regine, but it also had a tremendous impact upon his literary production. "If there was anything that could make Kierkegaard productive, it was travelling; to be in "extreme isolation" abroad made him write and write, so that he returned home loaded with "an enormous number of manuscripts". At least that is what he did when he returned from his first stay in Berlin from October 1841 to March 1842, shortly after the break with Regine Olsen. In his luggage he had with him numerous drafts for *Either-Or.* After returning he dedicated himself to further reworking and within 11 months he had finished the book for publication." (Garff, in: Skriftbilleder, pp. 138-39, translation from Danish).

Schleiermacher played a crucial role in Kierkegaard's thought, and he studied and used him studiously. Especially his sermons inspired Kierkegaard greatly, and he doubtlessly drew on them extensively for his own religious interpretations, both positively and negatively.

"Keywords: Gefühl, German romanticism, The present, Experiential expressivism. A wave of scholarship within the Schleiermacher-Kierkegaard discussion has persuasively demonstrated that Schleiermacher's work influenced Kierkegaard to a much greater extent than has traditionally been acknowledged. One key reason that Kierkegaard's debt to Schleiermacher has been overlooked, however, is a criticism in which Kierkegaard incriminates Schleiermacher along with a group whom he attacks most vehemently throughout his authorship: the Hegelian philosopher-theologians who conflate "faith" with "the immediate." Over the past few decades, scholars like Crouter (1994, 2006, 2007) have argued that the bonds that bind Schleiermacher and Kierkegaard together remain firm despite Kierkegaard's occasional reproofs—presumably including this one." (Chandler D. Rogers: Schleiermacher, Kierkegaard, and the Problem of First Immediacy. In: International Journal for Philosophy of Religion. P. 1).

It is highly interesting to note that it is exactly from the time of his first sojourn in Berlin and his acquisition of Schleiermacher's Sermons in 1841 that Kierkegaard's appreciation of Schleiermacher peaks to its highest intensity.

"As Crouter (2007) carefully argues, Kierkegaard's attitude toward Schleiermacher ranges from uneasy appreciation (1837) to highest praise and appropriation (1841-1844) to inexplicable hostility (1850)." (Ibid., p. 2).


Schleiermachers
Predigten.
1.
Schleiermachers
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Schleiermachers
Predigten.
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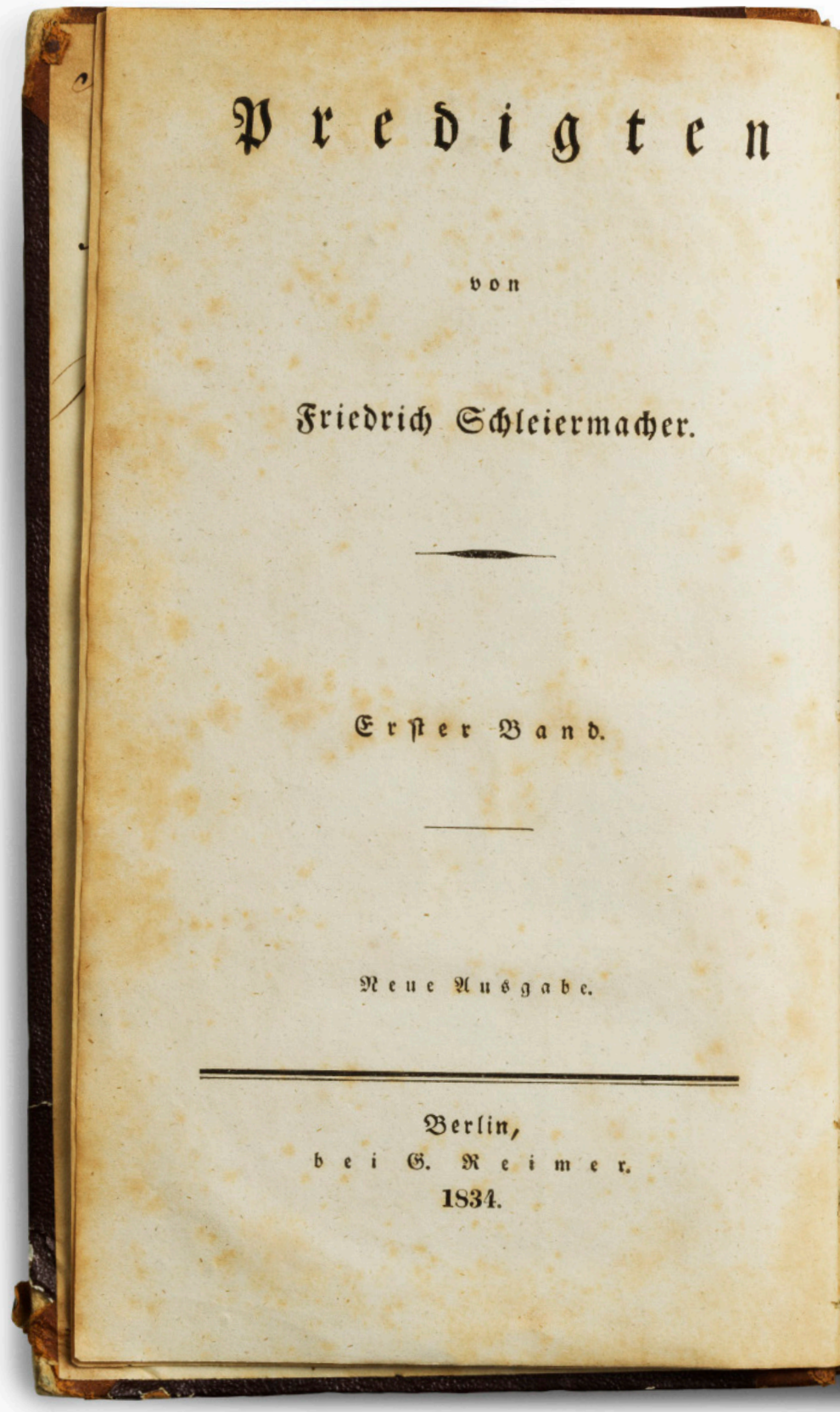
Schleiermachers
Predigten.
4.



Predigten

von

Friedrich Schleiermacher.

Erster Band.

Neue Ausgabe.

Berlin,
bei G. Reimer.
1834.

Friedrich Schleiermacher's

sämmtliche Werke.

Zweite Abtheilung.

Predigten.

Erster Band.

Berlin,
bei G. Reimer.
1834.

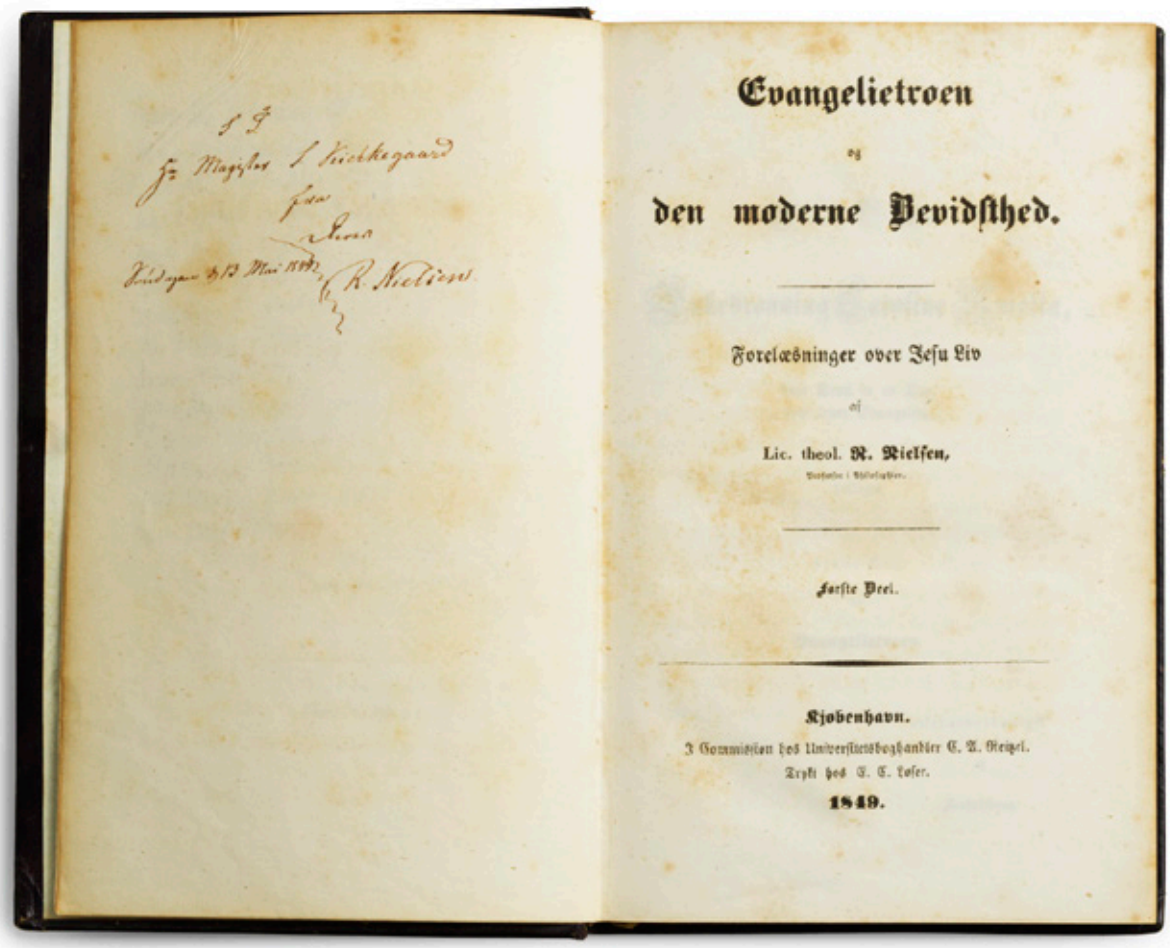
103

Auction catalogue no. 700

Nielsen, R.

Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed. Forelæsninger over Jesu Liv. Første Deel (all that appeared).

Kjøbenhavn, Reitzel, 1849.



Evangelietroen

og

den moderne Bevidsthed.

Forelæsninger over Jesu Liv

af

Lic. theol. R. Nielsen,

Første Deel.

Kjøbenhavn.

I Commission hos Universitetsboghandler C. A. Reitzel.

Trykt hos F. E. Løser.

1849.

8vo. Exceedingly beautiful and exquisite gift-binding of full black morocco with elaborately gilt spine. Boards with a wide gilt border inside which a gilt line border. Inside this another gilt line-border with ornamental corner-pieces. Gilt line to edges of boards. All edges gilt. White moiré end-papers. Printed on extra fine paper. Some brownspotting throughout. X, (2), 530 pp.

With two ex libris to inside of front board: Bent Juel-Jensen and Gerhard Jensen. Later owners' pencil annotations to front free end-paper explaining that the book is from Kierkegaard's library.

Inscribed by Rasmus Nielsen to Søren Kierkegaard on verso of front fly-leaf: "S T / Hr. Magister S. Kierkegaard / fra / Deres / R. Nielsen / Søndagen d 13 Mai 1849" [S T (i.e. Salvo Titolo – with precaution for titles) / Mr. Master of Arts S. Kierkegaard / from / your / R. Nielsen / Sunday May 13 1849].

Magnificent presentation-copy from one of the most important people in Kierkegaard's life, Ramus Nielsen, of his great work on the life of Jesus, which itself constitutes a pivotal moment in Kierkegaard's life. The book resulted in a wealth of diary entries and constant worries, irritations and anger from Kierkgaard's side, as he concluded that his close and dear friend had plagiarized him and used their philosophically intimate weekly conversations to write his work. It is this work (along with the following (see no. 104)) that caused Kierkegaard to terminate his friendship with Nielsen.

"Nielsen was one of Denmark's greatest philosophers during a period that witnessed a blooming of Danish philosophy. Moreover, Nielsen played a role in most every phase of Kierkegaard's life. Kierkegaard owned several of Nielsen's works, and his journals are full of references to him" (Jon Stewart in: Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries I, p. 180).

Nielsen's (in)famous work on the life of Jesus, *Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed*, appeared in May 19, 1849 (N:B: Nielsen thus gave this copy to Kierkegaard a whole six days before it was officially published). In it, Nielsen juxtaposes the principle of faith in the Gospels with the principle of modern, scientific speculation. He provides no final conclusion, but, clearly under Kierkegaardian influence, describes the question as a legal process, a case to be determined by the reader, the conscience of the reader being the jury that will give the final verdict.

Having earlier had mixed feelings about Rasmus Nielsen and his work, from 1846, Kierkegaard had begun to see the appeal and value of his thought. "For example, Nielsen anticipates Kierkegaard's juxtaposition of Hegelian mediation with the problem of motion in the Eleatics. Nielsen also speaks of a qualitative leap in connection with his account of Hegel's analysis of his idea." (Ibid. pp. 187-88). And despite Kierkegaard's many public attacks on him, Nielsen was aware of the value of Kierkegaard's unique thinking. Thus, the two philosophers approached each other and soon developed a very close relationship, something as rare as a friendship. They began going on their famous weekly Thursday walks together, where they would discuss their work and thoughts as well as key philosophical and theological issues. From 1848 onwards, we have letters documenting their close relationship. By 1849, a most crucial time in Kierkegaard's career, Rasmus Nielsen was one of the people closest to him.

"It is clear right from the start that Kierkegaard regarded his relation with Nielsen as a very special one. He was constantly evaluating it in the privacy of his own mind as is evidenced in his journals. There can be no doubt that Nielsen was a highly significant figure in his life during these few years." (Ibid. p. 188).

This would change, however, and one of the main reasons was the publication of Rasmus Nielsen's *Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed* (the present book) and the following *Evangelietroen og Theologien* (no. 104 of the catalogue).

"Now speaking of Rasmus Nielsen, he also presented Kierkegaard with his two books from 1849 and 1850 respectively, *Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed. Forelæsninger over Jesu Liv* (no. 700) and *Evangelietroen og Theologien. Tolv forelæsninger holdt ved Universitetet i Kjøbenhavn i Vinteren 1849-50* (no. 702), daintily bound and with presentation-inscription. Understandably, seeing that – at least according to Kierkegaard – they were the fruits of their continued conversations during this time, but they were – still according to Kierkegaard – also plagiarisms of their conversations and of the pseudonymous writings, especially *Afsluttende uvidenskabelig Efterskrift* by Johannes Climacus. The two Nielsen books, especially the first, provokes a shower of (diary) entries; Kierkegaard is furious, feels robbed, plundered, and partly breaks with his professional confidante." (Tekstspejle, p. 148, translated from Danish).

"Kierkegaard was very displeased with the book, because he felt that in it, he could see proof that R. Nielsen had primarily gotten close to him in order to use him for his own recognition." (Cappelørn: Fire "nye" Kierkegaard-dedikationer, p. 252, translated from Danish).

Kierkegaard was not only unhappy with the book, he was furious. Nielsen had used Kierkegaard's pseudonymous writings, without reference to them – he had simply plundered them without giving credit to the author of the pseudonymous writings; he had also used ideas from their conversations during their Thursday walks, also without citing Kierkegaard. The entire work, according to Kierkegaard, was "An incredible wealth of petty plagiarism, and poor plagiarism" (Pap. X, 6 B 84, p. 92). And, adding to that, he had failed in his choice of juxtaposing faith and doubt, i.e. here, evangelist faith and modern consciousness.

The work (along with the following, no. 104 of the catalogue) is of the utmost importance to Kierkegaard, both professionally and personally, causing him endless scruples. This magnificently bound, exquisite book with a presentation-inscription from Nielsen to Kierkegaard epitomizes the relationship between these two most significant Danish philosophers of the period, representing both their friendship and the rupture of it.


Evangelietroen
af
K. Nielsen.
I.

104

Auction catalogue no. 702

Nielsen, R.
Evangelietroen og Theologien. Tolv Forelæsninger, holdte ved Universitetet i Kjøbenhavn i Vinteren 1849-50.

Kjøbenhavn, Reitzel, 1850.

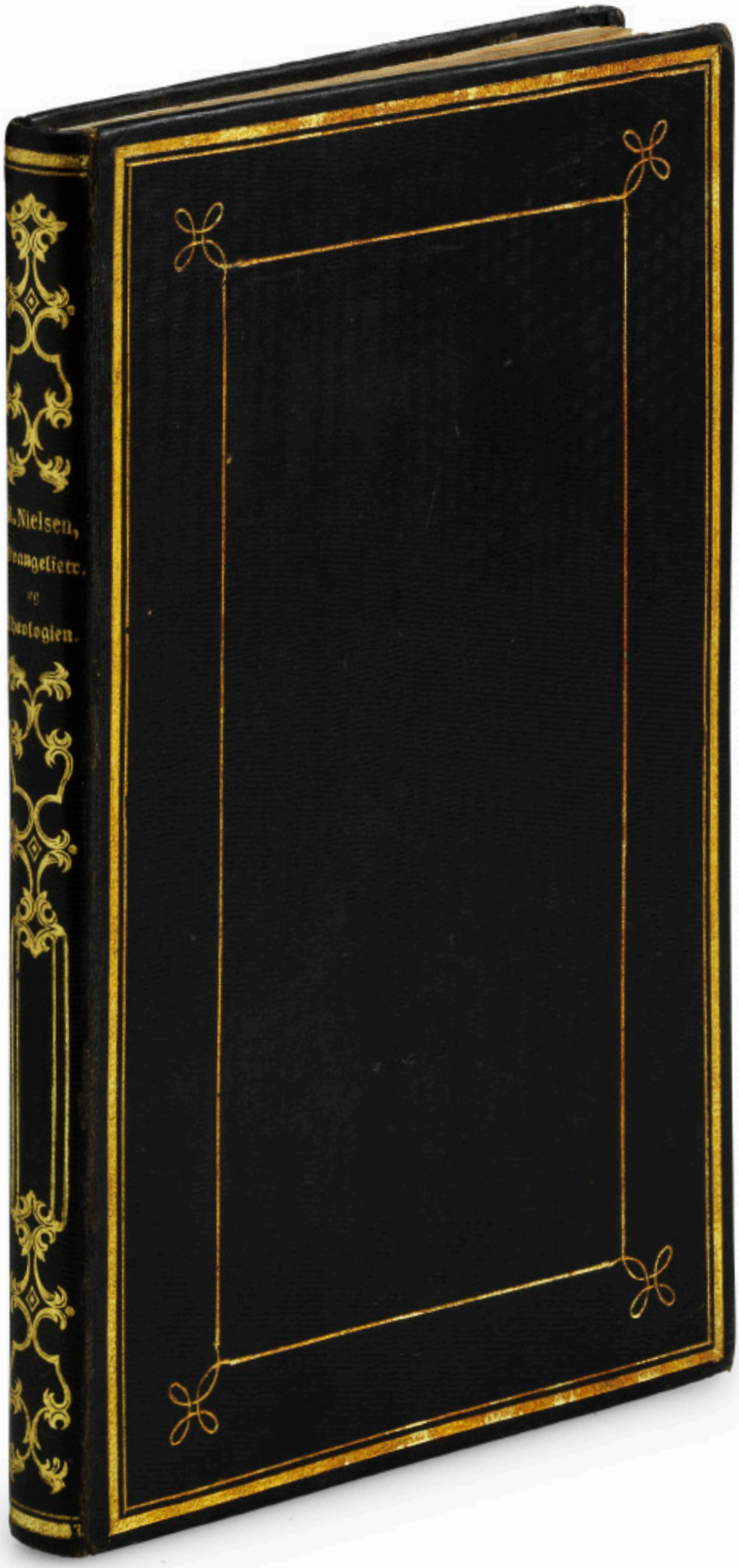
8vo. Exceedingly beautiful and exquisite gift-binding of full black morocco with elaborately gilt spine. Boards with a wide gilt border inside which a gilt line border. Inside this another gilt line-border with ornamental corner-pieces. All edges gilt. White moiré end-papers. Printed on extra fine paper. Some brownspotting throughout and marginal damp stain to end-papers. Slight bumping to corners. All in, the binding is in splendid condition. VIII, 174, (2) pp.

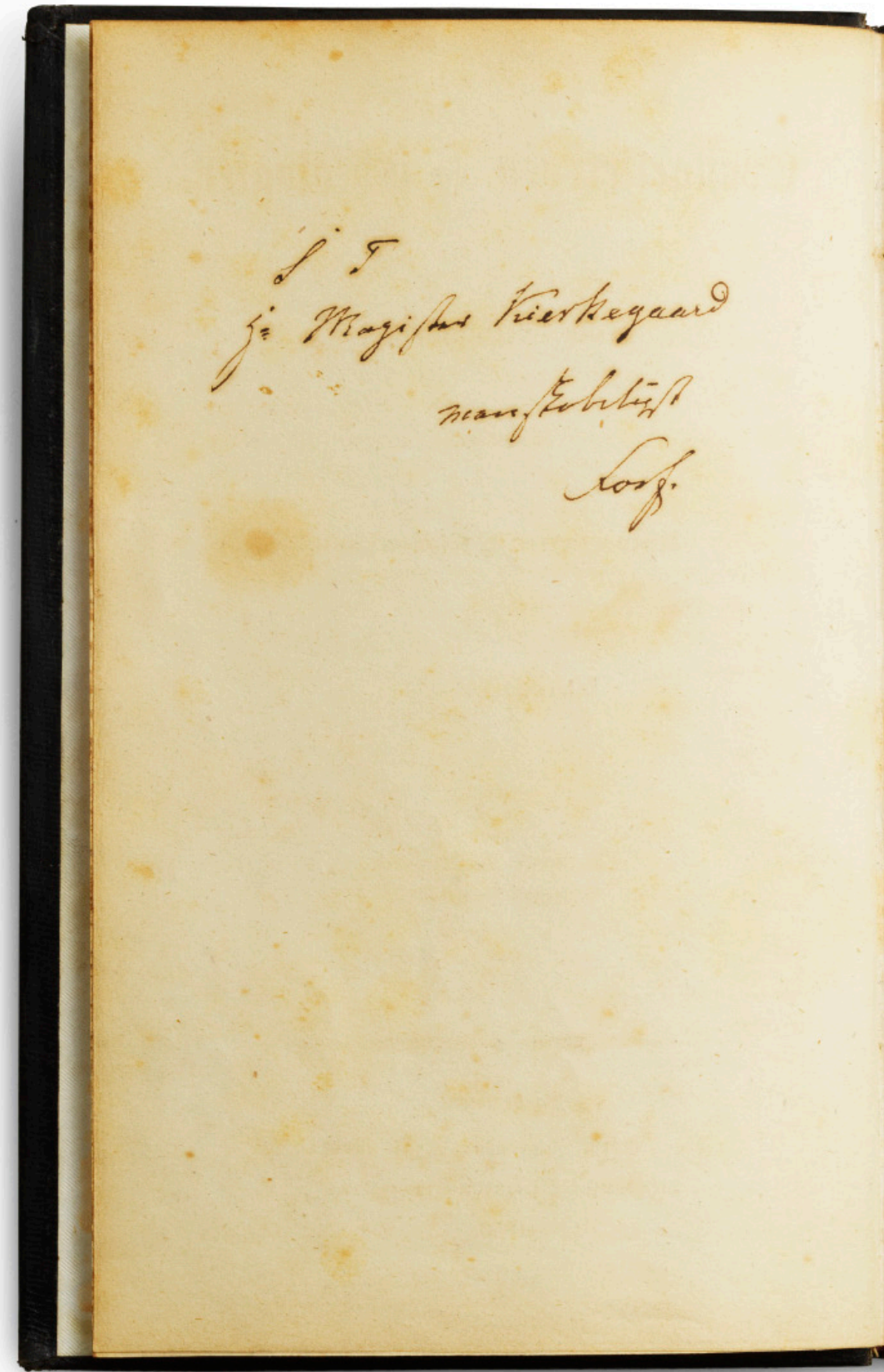
Inscribed by Rasmus Nielsen to Søren Kierkegaard on verso of front fly-leaf: "S T / Hr. Magister Kierkegaard / venskabeligst / Forf."[S T (i.e. Salvo Titolo – with precaution for titles) / Mr. Master of Arts Kierkegaard / with friendship / the auth.].

Magnificent presentation-copy from one of the most important people in Kierkegaard's life, Rasmus Nielsen, of the sequel to *Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed* (no. 103 above). Together, these two works caused Kierkegaard to terminate his friendship with Nielsen.

This book of twelve lectures on the thought of the Gospels and Theology was published the year after the *Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed*, but already now we witness the cooling relationship – Nielsen's presentation inscription here, in 1850, is a lot less elaborate and warm than the previous one.

Please see the note for no. 103 as well as the Index of Personal Names, under Rasmus Nielsen, for a full grasp of the relationship between the two philosophers and how the present work affected it.


Nielsen,
angelierr.
og
ologien.



Evangelietroen og Theologien.

Tolv Forelæsninger,

holdte ved

Universitetet i Kjøbenhavn

i

Vinteren 1849—50.

Af

Lic. theol. R. Nielsen,
Professor i Philosophien.

Kjøbenhavn.
Hos Universitetsboghandler C. A. Reitzel.
Trykt hos Kgl. Hofbogtrykker Bianco Luno.
1850.

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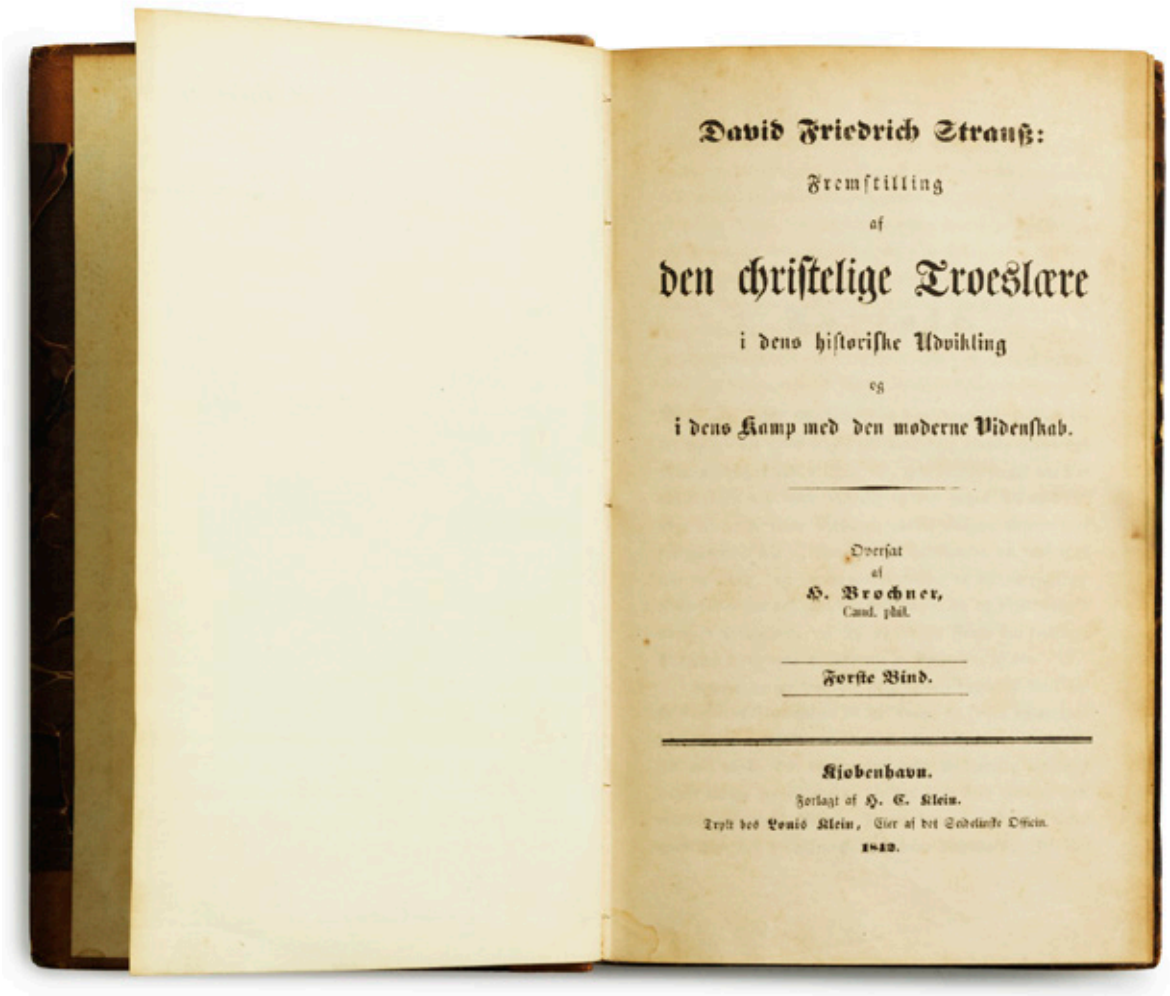
Auction catalogue no. 803-4

Strausz, David Friedrich.
Fremstilling af den christelige Troeslære i dens historiske Udvikling og i dens Kamp med den moderne Videnskab. Oversat af H. Brøchner. 2 Bind.

Kjøbenhavn, H. C. Klein, 1842.



David Friedrich Strauß:
Fremstilling
af
den christelige Troeslære
i dens historiske Udvikling
og
i dens Kamp med den moderne Videnskab.

Oversat
af
H. Brøchner,
Cand. phil.

Første Bind.

Kjøbenhavn.
Forlagt af H. C. Klein.
Trykt hos Louis Klein, Eier af det Sødeliske Officin.
1842.

2 volumes 8vo. Bound in two contemporary uniform brown half calf bindings with gilt spines. Capitals, corners and edges of boards with wear, and the spine of volume 1 with a vertical crack down the middle. Internally evenly a little browned and light occasional brownspotting. VIII, (4), 620; (6), 601, (1) pp.

Vol. 1, pp. 120 and 150 with handwritten additions in pencil. On p. 120 has been added an "ikke" (i.e. "not") and on p. 150 "desværre kun" (i.e. "unfortunately only"). Two lines under this addition, **two lines have been underlined in pencil**. The additions and underlinings could be by either Kierkegaard or Brøchner. The previous owner, H.P. Rohde thinks that the addition on p. 150 as well as the underlining are in Kierkegaard's hand. We think the additions are in Brøchner's hand, whereas the underlining is so characteristic for those of Kierkegaard and in a different pencil that this is most likely by Kierkegaard. Furthermore, the lines that have been underlined end with "Springet" (i.e. The Leap), which has been double underlined!

There are other pencil underlinings, markings, and smaller corrections in both volumes. We deem these to be in Brøchner's hand.

With the ownership signature of Hans Brøchner (the translator) to both volumes and his neat note stating that he bought the book at Kierkegaard's auction.

An exceedingly interesting book from Kierkegaard's library, namely Hans Brøchner's copy of his own translation – being the first into Danish – of Strauss' groundbreaking Christliche Glaubenslehre (On Christian Doctrine), the contents of which was in stark contrast to the Christian doctrine of the period, not least that of Kierkegaard. With two lines, ending with "The Leap", underlined, presumably in Kierkegaard's hand.

Hans Brøchner, who was remotely related to Kierkegaard, and consorted with him from 1836 to 1855, embraced him with much love, devotion, and respect. And the feeling was mutual. Although the two philosophers had deeply diverging opinions about the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, they respected each other and maintained an amicable relationship. Under the influence of Strauss and Feuerbach, Brøchner had broken with Christianity and come to a monastic philosophy, where the fundamental principle was one of teleology.

"In spite of having already at the age of 20 after a study of David Friedrich Strauss', Ludwig Feuerbach's, and Bruno Bauer's writings rejected the fundamental doctrines of Christianity…, he never lost the sympathy of Kierkegaard… There can hardy be any doubt that Kierkegaard preferred a sincere atheist to a lukewarm Christian." (C.H. Koch, Hans Brøchners Forelæsninger om Kierkegaard, p. 223, translated from Danish).

Strauss' two main works are his *Life of Jesus and his Christian Dogma* from 1840 (the present work), in which he offers a radical new perspective on the nature of faith and the meaning of the Bible. This groundbreaking study of Christian theology was highly controversial, claiming that the history of Christian doctrines has basically been the history of their disintegration; after having published it, Strauss took leave of theology for over twenty years.

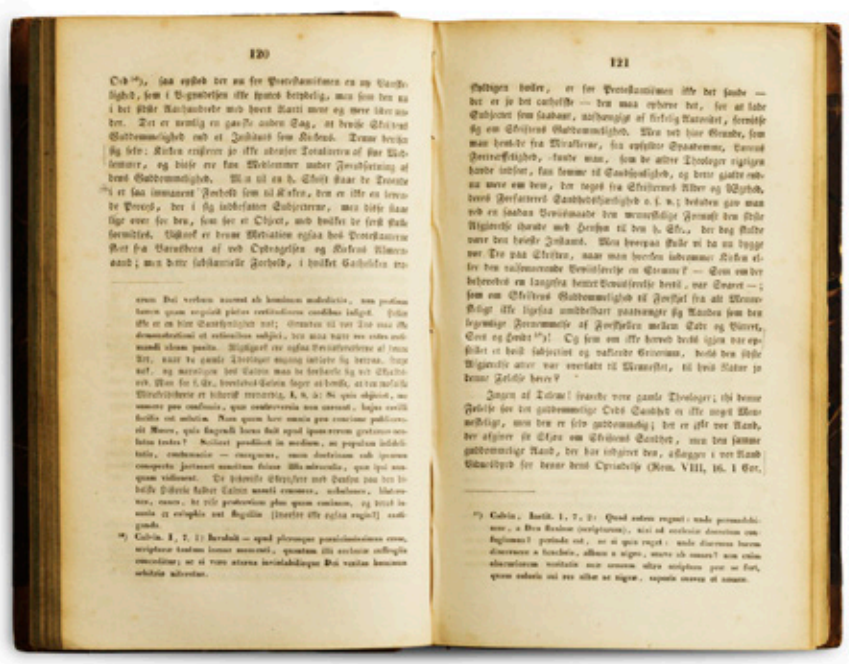
Brøchner's translation of this groundbreaking work was very important and brought these novel biblical interpretations to Denmark. Ascribing to these doctrines, as Brøhner did, was not cost free for the young theology student. Due to having publicly accepted the doctrines of Strauss and Feuerbach, the Theological Faculty of Copenhagen denied him permission to be nominated for examination for the theological degree.

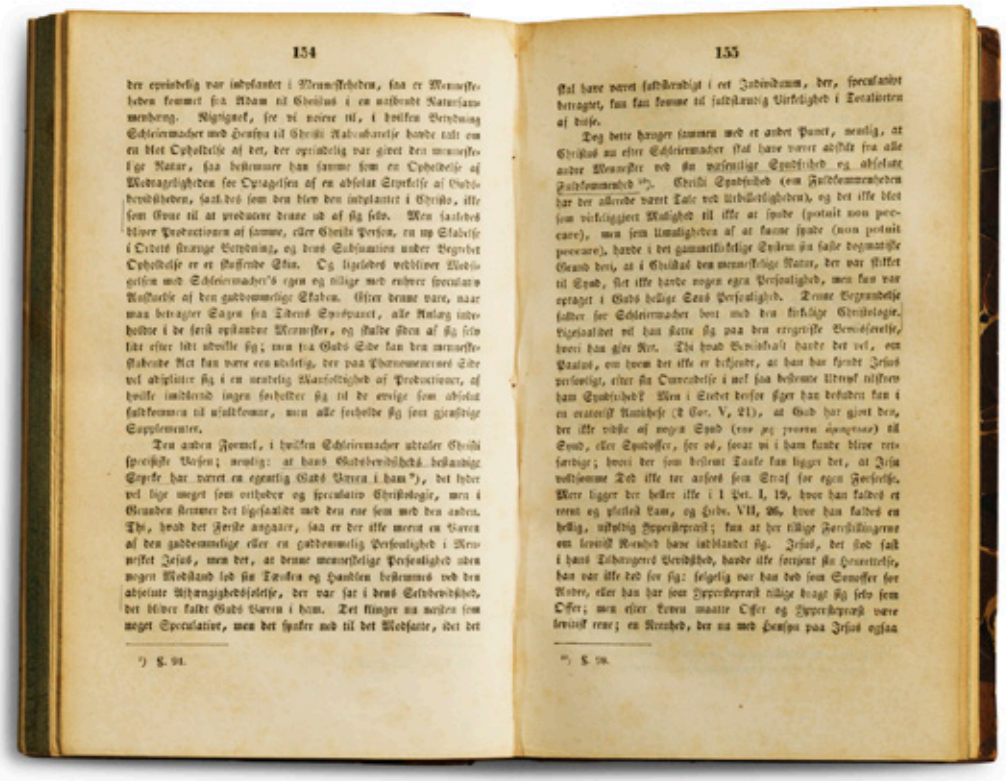
"A following study of David Friedrich Strauss', Ludwig Feuerbach's and Bruno Bauer's works confirmed him in his rejection of the central doctrines of Christianity. A result of these studies was his translation of Strauss' "*Die christliche Glaubenslehre.*"… Having gathered further information from him about his point of view, the theological faculty refused his request. The case awoke great public attention and was mentioned in both the provincial press and that of the capital." (C.H. Koch in: Den danske Idealisme, p. 496, translated from Danish).

Instead of a theological degree, Brøchner continued his philosophical and philological studies and ended up becoming professor of philosophy.

Brøchner also wrote a memoir about Kierkegaard, 1871-72, which is considered the best, most accurate, and most noteworthy contemporary account of Kierkegaard as a person.

It is noteworthy that Kierkegaard owned this highly controversial book against Christian doctrine, translated by, but not given to him by, his friend Hans Brøchner, who in Denmark was as controversial as Strauss in Germany. What is even more noteworthy and says a lot about their relationship is that Brøchner bought this copy of his own book, having belonged to his friend Søren Kierkegaard, at the auction of his books after his death (see the entry of the auction catalogue, where the ownership signature of Brøchner, his acquisition note and the fact that he was the buyer at the auction is registered).





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der oprindelig var indplantet i Menneskeheden, saa er Menneskeheden fremmet fra Adam til Christus i en uafbrudt Natursammenhæng. Nærmeget, for vi nærme os, i hvilken Betydning Schleiermacher med Hensyn til Christi Naturkundskabe havde taalt om en blot Oplysningsalder af det, der oprindelig var givet den menneskelige Natur, saa bestemmer han saamme som en Oplysningsalder af Modtagelighedens for Optagelsen af en absolut Skyttelse af Guddommeligheden, saa dog som den blev den indplantet i Christo, ikke som Evne til at producere denne ud af sig selv. Men saaledes bliver Productionen af samme, eller Christi Person, en ny Skabelse i Ordets strænge Betydning, og hans Subsumtion under Begrebet Oplysningsalder er et Skjærende Skin. Og ligeledes vedbliver Modtagelsen med Schleiermacher's egen og ikke med enhver speculativ Analyse af den guddommelige Skaben. Efter denne vare, naar man betragter Sagen fra Idræts Synspunct, alle Anlæg indholdte i de første oplandte Mennesker, og skulde Øen af sig selv lidt efter lidt udvikle sig; men fra Guds Side kan den menneskelige Natur kun være en udstedig, der paa Phænomenernes Side vel afgiftiser sig i en uendelig Mangfoldighed af Productioner, af hvilke imidlertid ingen forholder sig til de evige som absolut fuldkommen til ufuldkomne, men alle forholde sig som gjensidige Supplementer.

Den anden Formel, i hvilken Schleiermacher udtaler Christi specielle Væsen; nemlig: at hans Gudsbevidsthed bestandige Styrke har været en egentlig Guds Virken i ham *), det lyder vel lige meget som ortodox og speculativ Christologi, men i Grunden kommer det ligefaaldt med den ene som med den anden. Thi, hvad det første angaaer, saa er der ikke meent en Virken af den guddommelige eller en guddommelig Personlighed i Mennesket Jesus, men det, at denne menneskelige Personlighed uden nogen Modstand lod sin Tænken og Handlen bestemmes ved den absolute Afhængighedsfølelse, der var sat i hans Gudsbevidshed, det bliver kaldt Guds Virken i ham. Det klinger nu nærmere som meget Speculation, men det fører ved til det Modsatte, idet det

*) § 94.

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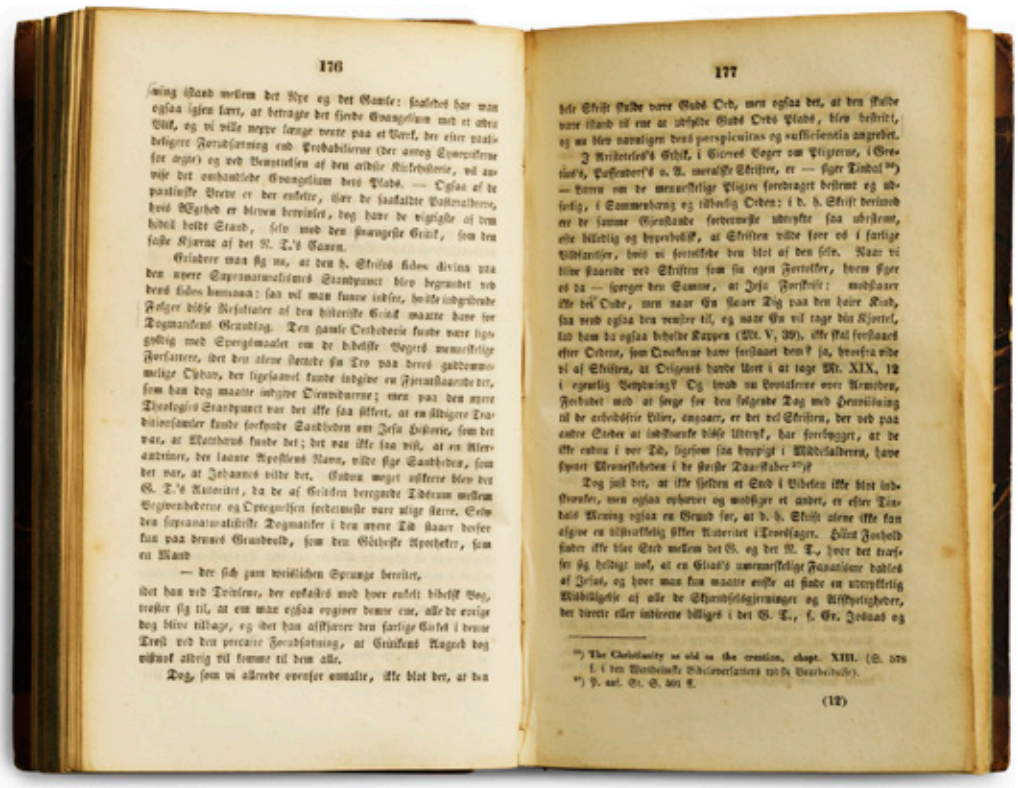
skal have været fuldkomdigt i et Individuum, der, specielt betragtet, kun kan komme til fuldstændig Virksighed i Totaliteten af disse.

Dog dette hænger sammen med et andet Punct, nemlig, at Christus nu efter Schleiermacher skal have været absolut som alle andre Mennesker ved sin væsentlige Syndfrihed og absolute Fuldkommenhed **). Christi Syndfrihed (som Fuldkommenheden har der allerede været Tale ved Udviklingsideen), og det ikke blot som virkeliggjort Mulighed til ikke at synde (potuit non peccare), men som umuligheden af at kunne synde (non potuit peccare), havde i det gammeltkirkelige System sin fulde dogmatiske Grund deri, at i Christus den menneskelige Natur, der var tilkaldt til Synd, slet ikke havde nogen egen Personlighed, men kun var optaget i Guds hellige Søns Personlighed. Denne Begrundelse falder for Schleiermacher bort med den kirkelige Christologi. Ligesaalidt vil han lette sig paa den ærgerlige Bemærkning, hvori han giver Ret. Thi hvad Gudsbevidsthed havde det vel, om Paulus, om hvem det ikke er bestridt, at han har kjendt Jesus personligt, efter sin Omvendelse i mel saa bestemte Udtryk udtrykte hans Syndfrihed? Men i Sandhed derfor fører han dokuden kun i en oratorisk Antithese (2 Cor. V, 21), at Gud har gjort den, der ikke vidste af nogen Synd (τον μη γνοντα αμαρτιαν) til Synd, eller Syndoffer, for ved, forat vi i ham kunde blive retfærdige; hvori der som bestemt Tanke kan ligge det, at Jesu voldsomme Død ikke var anseet som Straf for egen Forseelse. Mere ligger der heller ikke i 1 Pet. I, 19, hvor han kaldes et renet og pletfrit Lam, og Hebr. VII, 26, hvor han kaldes en hellig, uskyldig Ypperstepræst; kun at her ikke Forskjellingerne om levnede Renhed have indblandet sig. Jesus, der født saa i hans Tilhængeres Bevidshed, havde ikke forinden sin Henrettelse, han var ikke død for sig: følgelig var han død som Sonoffer for Andre, eller han var jeg Ypperstepræst ikke bragt sig selv som Offer; men efter Loven maatte Offer og Ypperstepræst være levnet rene; en Renhed, der nu med Hensyn paa Jesus ogsaa

**) § 98.



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ning stand mellem det Nye og det Gamle: saaledes har man ogsaa igjen lært, at betragte det hellige Evangelium med et andet Blik, og vi ville nyde lange vente paa et Værk, der efter paaliggende Forudsætning end Probabilierne (der ansee Synspunkterne for ægte) og ved Benytteelse af den ældste Kirkehistorie, vil anvise det ombandlede Evangelium dets Plads. — Ogsaa af de paulinske Breve er der endelige, skjønt de saakaldte Pastoralbreve, hvis Ægthed er blevet betvivlet, dog have de vigtigste af dem haft deres Stand, selv med den strangeste Grænt, som den fulde Kjerne af det N. T.'s Canon.

Grundere man sig nu, at den h. Christus fides divina paa den nyere Supernaturalisments Standpunct blev begrundet ved dens fides humana: saa vil man kunne indse, hvilke indgribende Følger disse Resultater af den historiske Grænt maatte have for Dogmatikens Grundlag. Den gamle Orthodoxie fande nøie tilgodtig med Spørgsmaalet om de bibelske Vøgers menneskelige Forfattere, idet den alene fordrede sin Tro paa deres guddommelige Ophav, der ligesaavel kunde indgive en Fjerntaaende der, som han dog maatte indgive Øiemaalerne; men paa den nyere Theologis Standpunct var det ikke saa klart, at en ældgiere Traditionssamler kunde forkynde Sandheden om Jesu Historie, som det var, at Matthæus fande det; det var ikke saa vist, at en Alexandriner, der laante Apostlens Navn, vilde føre Sandheden, som det var, at Johannes vilde det. Endnu meget usikkere blev det G. T.'s Autoritet, da de af Geiden betingede Tidsrum mellem Begivenhederne og Optegnelsen fordetmeste vare ulige større. Selv den supernaturalistiske Dogmatiker i den nyere Tid staaer derfor kun paa denne Grundvold, som den Göttheske Apotheker, som en Mand

— der sich zum weiblichen Sprunge bereitet,

idet han ved Drømme, der opkaldes ved hver enkelt bibelsk Bog, trøster sig til, at om man ogsaa ødelægger denne eller alle de øvrige dog blive tilbage, og idet han afslutter den farlige Gaade i denne Trøst ved den precaire Forudsætning, at Gudskens Nadeb dog vidnet altid vil komme til dem alle.

Dog, som vi allerede ovenfor omtalte, ikke blot det, at den

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hele Christi Skulde være Guds Ord, men ogsaa det, at den Skulde være stand til ene at udfylde Guds Ords Plads, blev bestridt, og nu blev navnligen dens perspicuitas og sufficientia angrebet.

I Ariberies's Ethik, i Giesers Breve om Pligterne, i Gresland's, Pustendorf's o. A. moralske Skrifter, er — siger Tindal ***) — Loven om de menneskelige Pligter forebragt bestemt og udførlig, i Sammenhæng og tilbørlig Orden: i d. h. Skrift derimod er de samme Gjenstande forekomne udenfor saa ubestemt, ene blidtlig og hyperbolisk, at Skriften vilde fare os i farlige Vildfarelser, hvis vi fortalte den blot af den selv. Naar vi blive spurgte ved Skriften som sin egen Fortæller, hvem fører os da — spørger den Samme, at Jesu Forskrift: modhaarer ikke det Onde, men naar En haver Dig paa den høire Kind, saa vend ogsaa den venstre til, og naar En vil tage din Kjortel, tag ham da ogsaa hele Kappen (Mt. V, 39), eller skal forstaaes efter Ordene, som Overfarne have forstaaet dem? ja, hvorfra vide vi af Skriften, at Origenes havde lovt i at tage Mt. XIX, 12 i egentlig Betydning? Og hvad om Levitarne over Armenen, Forbudet med at søge for den følgende Dag med Hensyn til de enkeltstaaende Ting, angaaer, er det ved Skriften, der ved paa andre Steder at indskrænke dette Udtryk, har foreskrevet, at de ikke endnu i vor Tid, hvorfom saa hyppigt i Middelalderen, have fyldt Menneskeheden i de første Taarefloder ****)?

Dog just det, at ikke fødten et Ord i Bibelen ikke blot indskrænker, men ogsaa ophæver og modsiger et andet, er efter Tindals Mening ogsaa en Grund for, at d. h. Skrift alene ikke kan afgive en tilstrækkelig Øiemærke i Troesspørgsmaal. Hans Forhold finder ikke blot Ord mellem det G. og det N. T., hvor det trøster sig heldigt nok, at en Gud's umenneskelige Faraonisme dødes af Jesus, og hvor man kun maatte søge at finde en utvetydig Mildhedsgrænse af alle de Skjærdsfølgjerninger og Afskyelighedere, der direkte eller indirekte billiges i det G. T., f. Ex. Jedaad og

***) The Christianity as old as the creation, chapt. XIII. (S. 579 f. i den Wordsworthske Bibelversamens tyske Bearbeidelse).
****) f. ant. Ex. S. 301 f.

(12)

stus, mod hvis Opstandelse jeg ikke kan indvende noget Historisk af Vigtighed, paa Grund af den har udgivet sig for Guds Søn, at hans Disciple af samme Grund have holdt ham derfor, det troer jeg hjertelig gjerne. Thi disse Sandheder, som Sandheder af een og samme Classe, følge ganske naturligt af hinanden. Men nu at springe over i en ganske anden Classe af Sandheder med hiin historiske Sandhed, og at forlange af mig, at jeg skal omdanne alle mine metaphysiske og moralske Begreber efter den, at fordre af mig, at jeg, fordi jeg ikke kan stille noget troværdigt Vidnesbyrd mod Christi Opstandelse, skal forandre alle mine Grundideer om Guddommens Væsen derefter: naar det ikke er en μεταβασις, saa veed jeg ikke, hvad Aristoteles har forstaaet ved dette Ord. Nu siger man rigtignok: men just denne Christus, om hvem du historisk maa lade det gjælde, at han har opvakt Dede, at han selv er opstanden, har selv sagt, at Gud havde en Søn, der var ham liig i Væsenet, og at han var denne Søn. Det vilde være ganske godt, hvis det blot ikke igjen kun var historisk vist, at Christus havde sagt det. Hvis man nu vilde gaae mig endnu mere paa Klingen, og sige: Det er dog i Sandhed mere end historisk vist; thi inspirerede Historieskrivere, der ikke kunne feile, forsikre det: — saa er det ogsaa historisk vist, at hine Historieskrivere vare inspirerede og ikke kunde feile. Det, det er den fæle brede Grav, som jeg ikke kan komme over, saa ofte og alvorlig jeg end har forsøgt Springet[23]).

Naar man nu paa dette nye Standpunkt vænnede sig til, idetmindste foreløbigen at betragte Forfatterne til de bibelske Bøger som Skribenter, der ikke vare forskjellige fra alle Andre, og af hvis menneskelige Troværdighed Sandheden af de Fortællinger skulde udledes, der skulde godtgjøre, at de vare inspirerede Skribenter: saa maatte man ved en saadan Betragtningsmaade opdage Meget hos dem, som ikke kunde forenes med de tidligere Forestillinger om deres Inspiration. Forunderligt nok beraabte de sig, naar man undtager enkelte Stykker i Propheterne, ingensteds paa Inspiration eller guddommelig Befaling; men

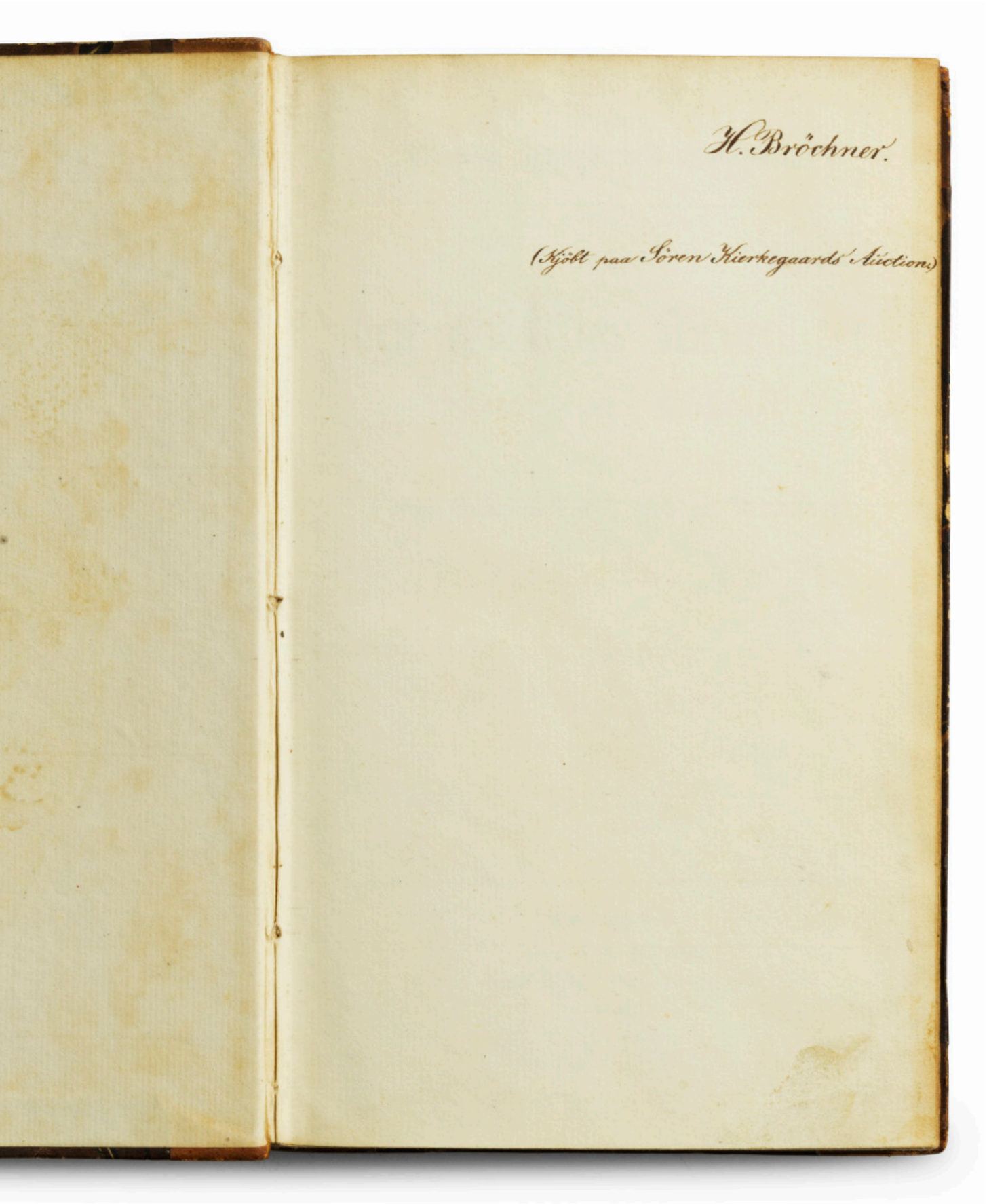
[23]) Lessing, über den Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft. W. W. VI, S. 318 ff.

blandt Historieskriverne beraabte f. Ex. Lucas sig i sin Fortale (hvilket, som vi ovenfor have bemærket, allerede Kirkefædrene have fundet mærkværdigt), paa flittig Forskning[24]), blandt Lærerne beraabte f. Ex. Paulus sig undertiden paa en Overlevering fra Christus, undertiden paa sin egen Anskuelse, som han udtrykkelig adskiller fra Christi Befaling, undertiden vel ogsaa paa en overordentlig Aabenbaring, eller paa Christi Aand, som besjælede ham, hvilket imidlertid endnu ikke var en inspiratio rerum ac verborum omnium[25]); men overhovedet stemmede den ræsonnerende og argumenterende Stiil i hans Breve ikke overeens med Antagelsen af en guddommelig Indgivelse[26]). Det

[24]) Hugo Grotius, pro pace eccles. De canone script. Opp. theol. IV, p. 673: Si Lucas divino afflatu dictante sua scripsisset, inde potius sibi sumsisset auctoritatem, ut prophetæ faciunt, quam a testibus, quorum fidem est secutus. Sic in iis quæ Paulum agentem vidit scribendis nullo ipsi dictante afflatu opus. Spinoza, tr. th. p. c. XI (p. 183): Nullibi legimus, quod apostoli jussi sint scribere etc.

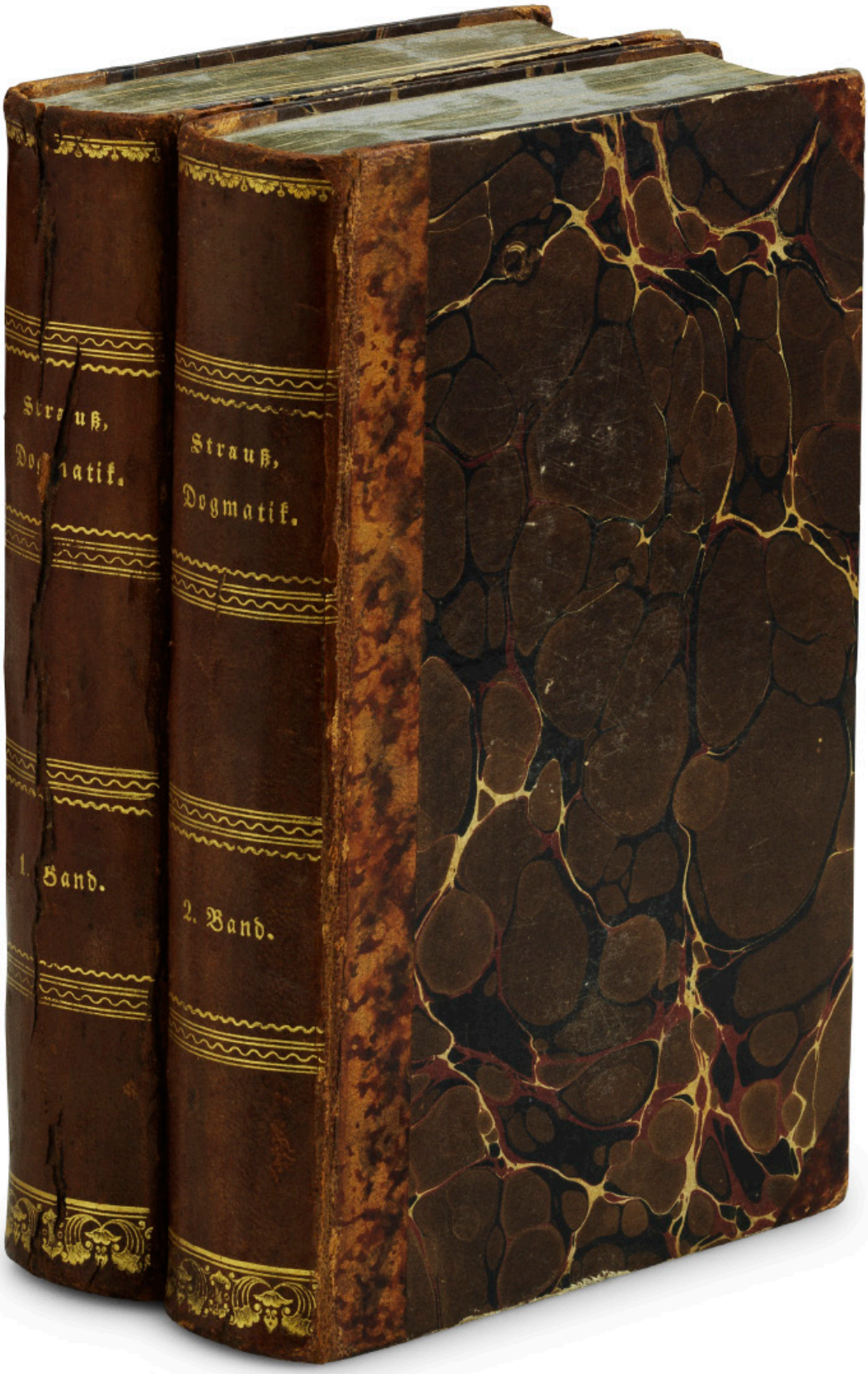
[25]) Spinoza, tract. theol. pol. c. 11 (p. 181 f.): An apostoli epistolas suas tanquam apostoli et prophetæ, an vero tanquam doctores scripserint): Si ad earum stylum attendere volumus, eum a stylo prophetico alienissimum inveniemus. Nam prophetis usitatissimum erat, ubique testari, se ex ore Dei loqui; nempe: sic dicit Deus etc. — At in epistolis apostolorum nihil simile legimus; sed contra in 1 Cor. VII, 40, Paulus secundum suam sententiam loquitur. — Præter hoc alii inveniuntur modi loquendi, ab auctoritate prophetica plane remoti. Nempe: Hoc autem dico ego tanquam infirmus, non autem ex mandato (1 Cor VII, 6); Consilium do tanquam vir, qui a Dei gratia fidelis est (1 Cor. VII, 25); et sic alia multa; et notandum, quod cum in prædicto cap. aït, se præceptum Dei — habere vel non habere, non intelligit præceptum Dei sibi a Deo revelatum, sed tantum Christi documenta, quæ discipulos in monte docuit.

[26]) Samme, sammest.: Præterea, si ad modum etiam attendamus, quo in his epistolis apostoli doctrinam evangelicam tradunt, eum etiam a modo prophetarum valde discedere videbimus. Apostoli namque ubique ratiocinantur, ita ut non prophetare sed disputare videantur etc. (p. 183): longas Pauli deductiones et argumentationes, quales in ep. ad Rom. reperiuntur, nullo modo ex revelatione supernaturali scriptas fuisse concedo.



H. Bröchner.

(Kjøbt paa Søren Kierkegaards Auction.)


Strauß,
Dogmatik.
1. Band.
Strauß,
Dogmatik.
2. Band.

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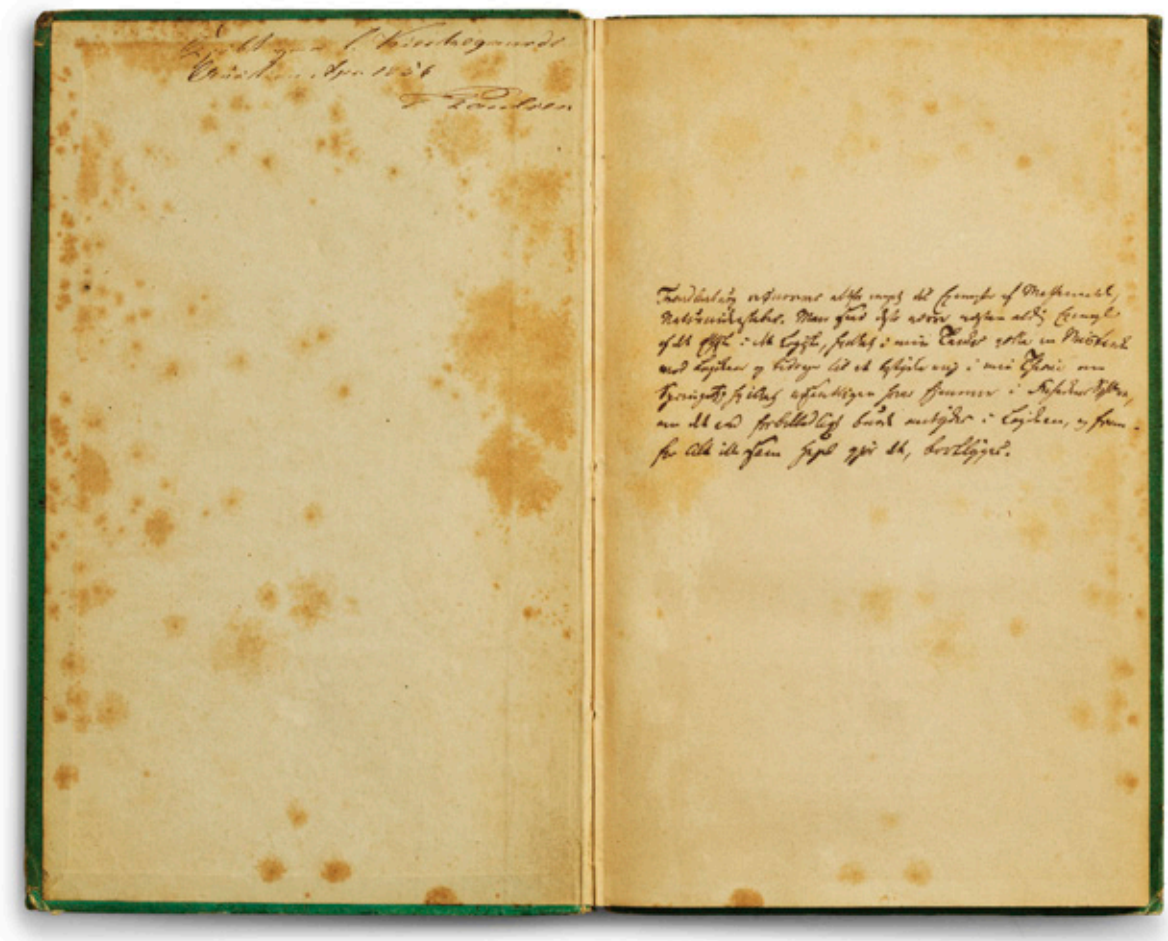
Auction catalogue no. 844

Trendelenburg, Friedr. Adolph.
Elementa Logices Aristotelicae. In usum scholarum.
Ex Aristotele excerpsit convertit illustravit.
Editio altera recognita et aucta.

Berlin, 1842.



8vo. Bound in an exquisite glitted green paper binding with gilt leather title-label and single gilt lines to spine. Wear to hinges and capitals and to edges of boards. The book is completely unrestored and has traces of being studiously used, but it is still nice and tight and in overall lovely condition. XIV, 145, (1) pp.

With a seven-line note in Kierkegaard's hand to front free end-paper and with extensive annotations and markings in the Greek text, also in Kierkegaard's hand: Marginal line markings in pencil and red crayon, notes (incl. a reference to Trendelenburg's Erläterungen, "tekmerion" in Greek handwriting, "nærmeste Slægt – specifike Forskjel" (i.e. "nearest genus – specific difference" – Kierkegaard's explanation of the Greek of §59, p. 18 from Aristotle's *Topics*), his own numbering – 1), 2), 3) – of passages in Aristotle's *Topics*, a question mark (in a passage from Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*), and numerous pencil underlinings – all of this in Kierkegaard's hand.

These extensive markings and notes are in 34 passages in all, spanning the pages 1 to 20, being the entire original Greek of various passages from Aristotle's logical works.

Apart from these numerous markings and notes in Kierkegaard's hand, the book is internally clean with a bit of scattered brownspotting.

Ownership inscription to inside of front board, signed "Poulsen", stating that the book was bought at S. Kierkegaard's auction in April 1856. 20th century ownership details in pencil to back free fly-leaf.

Laid-in is a loose leaf with the ex libris of art historian Torben Holck Colding with extensive notes on the copy, the ownership history (explaining that the owner "Poulsen" on the inside of front board might be Tobias Poulsen and that it later belonged to the philologist and historian J.L. Heiberg), on exactly where in the *Papers* of Kierkegaard the copy is described, the further history of the copy, where in his papers Kierkegaard mentions Trendelenburg, and with a transcription of the long note in Kierkegaard's hand to the front free end-paper.

Kierkegaard's own seven-line handwritten note on the front free end-paper reads: "Trendelenburg recurrerer altfor meget til Exempler af Mathematik. Naturvidenskaber. Man seer desto værre næsten aldrig Exempler af det Ethiske i det Logiske, hvilket i mine Tanker vækker en Mistanke mod Logiken og bidrager til at bestyrke mig i min Theorie om Springet, hvilket væsentligen hører hjemme i Frihedens Sphære, om det end forbilledligt burde antydes i Logiken, og fremfor Alt ikke som Hegel gjør det, bortlyves." (i.e. "Trendelenburg regresses too much to examples of mathematics. Natural sciences. Regrettably, one almost never sees examples of the ethical in the logical, which in my thoughts raises a suspicion against logic and contributes to strengthen my theory about The Leap, which primarily belongs in the sphere of freedom, even though it ideally ought to be implied in logic and above all not like Hegel does, lies away" – NB we have not been able to find this note translated into English and have done our best to render it accurately ourselves).

This truly magnificent copy of the second expanded edition of Trendelenburg's *Elementa* – a selection of passages from Aristotle's logical works with Latin translation and notes, containing the substance of Aristotle›s logical doctrine – is arguably the most important book in Kierkegaard's library still on private hands. We have never before come across as lengthy a note in a book by another author owned by Kierkegaard, and it contains a large number of underlinings, markings, and notes of different

kinds, all in Kierkegaard's hand, in the Greek text. Furthermore, both Trendelenburg and naturally Aristotle's Logical works were of the utmost importance to Kierkegaard's philosophy.

The seven-line long note – which for some reason is regrettably not registered in SKS (otherwise hailed as the edition that collects *everything* that Kierkegaard wrote, including single words on scraps of paper) – is of enormous importance to the understanding of the key Kierkegaardian concept "The Leap", both in connection with freedom, with logic, and with the exact sciences as such. Furthermore, Kierkegaard includes Hegel, not only his failure to not include The Leap in Logic, but to outright "lie it away".

It is difficult to think of a note by Kierkegaard that in seven lines binds together so much of his philosophy.

Although mysteriously omitted from SKS (the editors of which may not have known about it?), the note (along with the underlinings and all the other pencil-notes and -annotations) is included in Heiberg and Kuhr's edition of Kierkegaard's Papers, in vol. V. The Preface here says: "A copy of Trendelenburg's "Elementa Logices Aristotelicae", in which Kierkegaard has added numerous pencil-underlinings etc. in the text and on a front free end-paper made a note… Has gone from the auction of his [i.e. Kierkegaard's] books into private ownership. The present owner J.L. Heiberg… has kindly made it possible for the editors to record these things in their place in the present volume." (p. (VII) – translated from Danish). Volume V of the Papers spans the period March to December 1844, during which period the editors place the handwritten notes, markings, and underlinings in the present book.

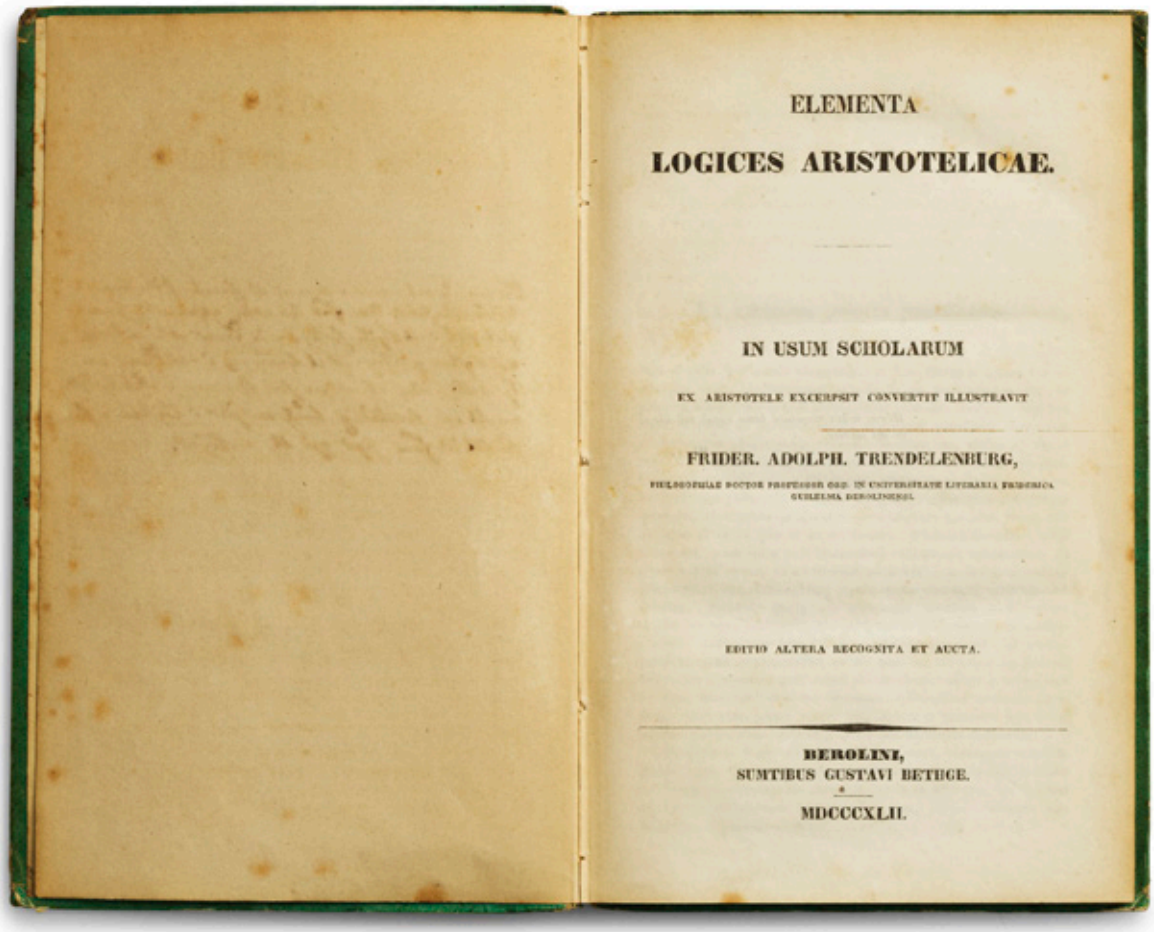
The notes, underlinings, etc. are thoroughly recorded as C11-12 on pp. 375-279, listing also every single word that is underlined or referred to.

Due to the surviving bookseller bills from Philipsen, we know that Kierkegaard bought the book on February 13th, 1843 (see Rohde, Kierkegaard som Bogsamler, in: Fund og Forskning VIII, 1961, p. 118). The copy is extensively described in Rohde's edition of the Auctioneer's Record of the Library of Søren Kierkegaard, including mention of the notes, underlinings, and additions in Kierkegaard's hand, the previous ownership history, and reference to Pap. V.

Aristotle played an enormous role in Kierkegaard's authorship, and it seems to be primarily through Trendelenburg that he gets properly acquainted with his logic. The Aristotelian logic becomes very significant for his understanding of how The Leap fits with the sciences – and how Hegel misses this altogether.

Although having been not too fond of Trendelenburg while in Berlin and having in 1844 concluded that "Trendelenburg seems not at all aware of the Leap" (JJ: 266 – in the same entry he refers to two of the underlined passages of the present book), as is elaborated upon further in the note in the present copy of the *Elementa*, Kierkegaard later grows to appreciate him greatly. He often refers to him in his journals and also in his printed works (see *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*).

Late in 1844 or 1845, Kierkegaard already states, in connection with Hegel and the Greeks, "Praise to Trendelenburg; one of the most soberly thinking philologists that I know", having noted right above "But



ELEMENTA

LOGICES ARISTOTELICAE.

IN USUM SCHOLARUM

EX ARISTOTELE EXCERPSIT CONVERTIT ILLUSTRAVIT

FRIDER. ADOLPH. TRENDELENBURG,

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR PROFESSOR ORD. IN UNIVERSITATE LITERARIA FRIDERICA GUILELMA BEROLINENSI.

EDITIO ALTERA RECOGNITA ET AUCTA.

BEROLINI,
SUMTIBUS GUSTAVI BETHGE.

MDCCCXLII.

the Greeks remain my consolation. The damned mendacity which was ushered into philosophy with Hegel, the unending insinuation and betrayal and the marshalling and belaboring one or another Greek passage!" (JJ: 288).

In 1847, he goes on to say that "It is unbelievable what a benefit Trendlenburg has been to me; I now have the apparatus for what I have been working out for several years." (Not 13:55).

Also in 1847, in NB:132, Kierkegaard goes on about how much he has benefitted from reading Trendelenburg, how he had not yet read him, when he wrote *Repetition*, and how, now that he has read him, everything is so much clearer.

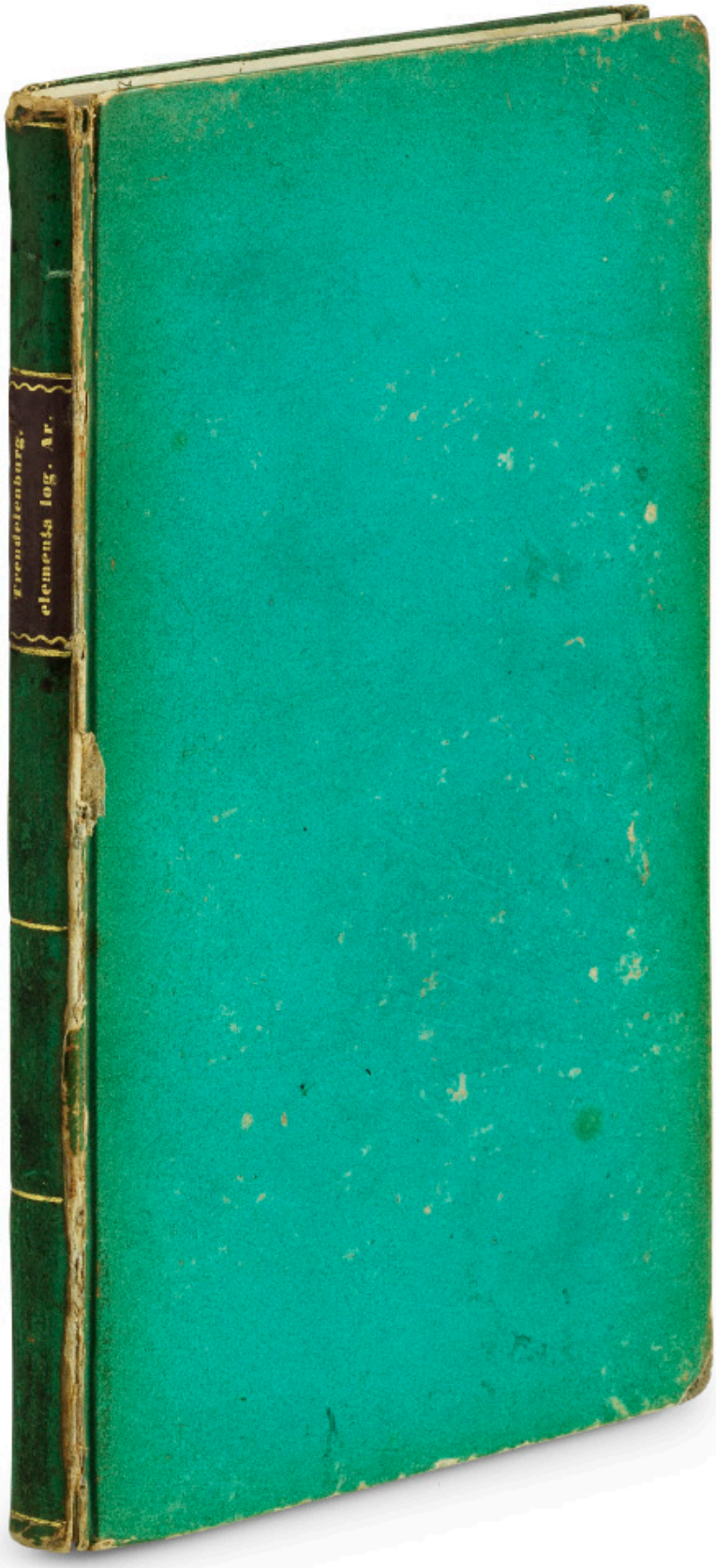
The handwritten note in the present work, predating *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* by more than a year seems almost to constitute working notes on the essence of the part that has to do with movement ("Bevægelse") in Hegel – with the exact sciences, mathematics and logic, in connection with Hegel, the concept of the Leap, and Trendelenburg, before Kierkegaard realized that Trendelenburg in fact comprehended "Bevægelsen" as the prerequisite for that in which thinking and being unite and had understood the shortcomings of Hegel:

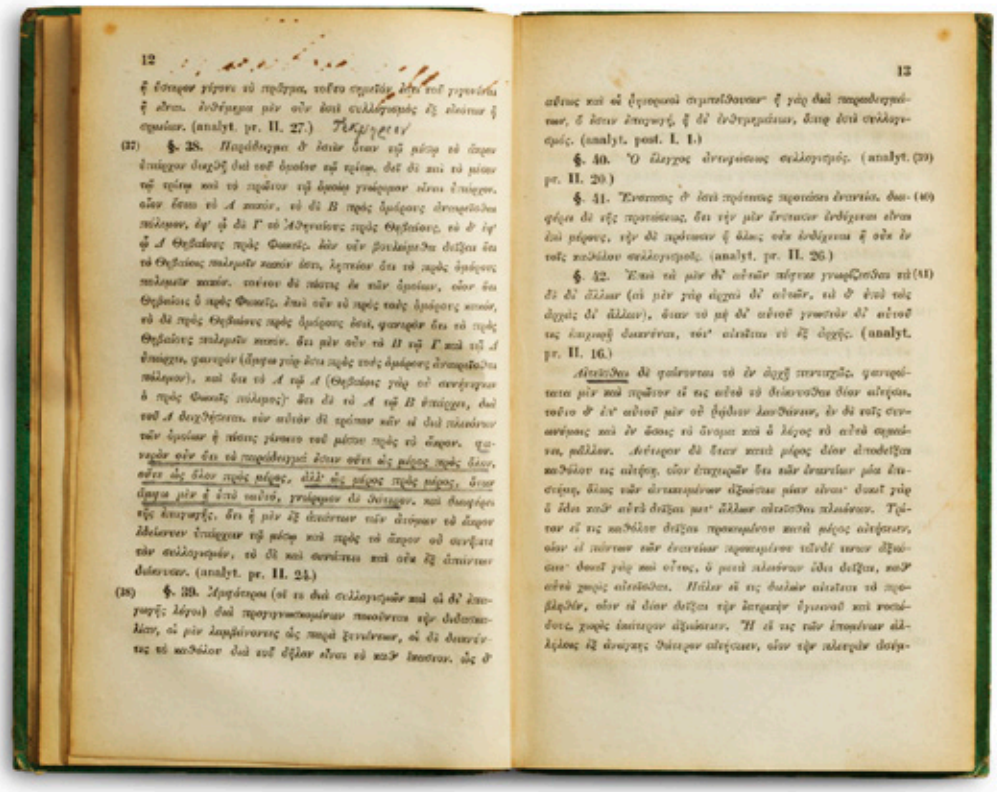
"It is indeed curious to make movement the basis in a sphere in which movement is inconceivable or to have movement explain logic, whereas logic cannot explain movement. On this point, however, I am very happy to be able to refer to a man who thinks soundly and fortunately is educated by the Greeks (rare qualities in our age!); a man who has known how to extricate himself and his thought from every trailing, groveling relation to Hegel, from whose fame everyone usually seeks to profit, if in no other way, then by going further, that is, by having absorbed Hegel; a man who has preferred to be content with Aristotle and with himself – I mean Trendlenburg (*Logische Untersuchungen*). One of his merits is that he comprehended movement as the inexplicable presupposition, as the common denominator in which being and thinking are united, and as their continued reciprocity. I cannot attempt here to show the relation of his conception to the Greeks, to Aristotelian thought, or to what, oddly enough, although in a popular sense only, bears a certain resemblance to his presentation: a small section in Plutarch's work on Isis and Osiris. It is by no means my view that Hegelian philosophy has not had a salutary influence on Trendlenburg, but it is fortunate that he has perceived that wanting to improve Hegel's structure, to go further etc., will not do (a mendacious approach by which many a botcher in our age arrogates Hegel's celebrity to himself and mendicantly fraternizes with him); on the other hand, it is fortunate that Trendlenburg, sober like a Greek thinker, without promising everything and without claiming to beatify all humankind, does indeed accomplish much and beatifies whoever would need his guidance in learning about the Greeks.

In a logical system, nothing may be incorporated that has a relation to existence, that is not indifferent to existence. The infinite advantage that the logical, by being the objective, possesses over all other thinking is in turn, subjectively viewed, restricted by its being a hypothesis, simply because it is indifferent to existence understood as actuality. This duplexity distinguishes the logical from the mathematical, which has no relation whatever toward or from existence but has only objectivity – not objectivity and the hypothetical as unity and contradiction in which it is negatively related to existence.

The logical system must not be a mystification, a ventriloquism, in which the content of existence emerges cunningly and surreptitiously, where logical thought is startled and finds what the Herr Professor or the licentiate has had up his sleeve. Judging between the two can be done more sharply by answering the question: In what sense is a category an abbreviation of existence, whether logical thinking is abstract after existence or abstract without any relation to existence. I would like to treat this question a little more extensively elsewhere, and even if it is not adequately answered, it is always something to have inquired about it in this way." (Concluding Unscientific Postscript, Second Part, First Section, 106a ff.

This extraordinary copy is mentioned and depicted in Tekstspejle pp. 166-67.


Trendelenburg.
elementa log. Ar.



12

ἢ ὅταν γίνωνται τὸ πρῶτον, τοῦτο σημεῖον λέγω τοῦ γιγνώσκειν ἢ οἴεσθαι. ἐνθύμημα μὲν οὖν ἐστι συλλογισμὸς ἐξ εἰκότων ἢ σημείων. (analyt. pr. II. 27.)

(37) §. 38. *Παράδειγμα δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τῷ μέσῳ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπάρχον διεχθῇ διὰ τοῦ ὁμοίου τῷ τρίτῳ, δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέσον τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῷ ὁμοίῳ γνώριμον εἶναι ὑπάρχον. οἷον ἔστω τὸ Α κακόν, τὸ δὲ Β πρὸς ἀμύνοντας ἀντιπαράταξιν πόλεμον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ Γ τὸ Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Θηβαίους, τὸ δ' ἐφ' ᾧ Δ Θηβαίους πρὸς Φωκεῖς. λέγω οὖν βουλόμεθα δεῖξαι ὅτι τὸ Θηβαίους πολεμεῖν κακόν ἐστι, λεκτέον ὅτι τὸ πρὸς ἀμύνοντας πολεμεῖν κακόν. τοίνυν δὲ πάντες ἐκ τῶν ἀμύνων, οἷον ὅτι Θηβαίοις ὁ πρὸς Φωκεῖς. ἔστι οὖν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμύνοντας κακόν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Θηβαίους πρὸς ἀμύνοντας ἐστί, φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ πρὸς Θηβαίους πολεμεῖν κακόν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ Β τῷ Γ καὶ τῷ Δ ὑπάρχει, φανερόν (ἅμα γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς ἀμύνοντας ἀντιπαράταξις πόλεμον), καὶ ὅτι τὸ Α τῷ Δ (Θηβαίοις γὰρ οὐ συνέφερεν ὁ πρὸς Φωκεῖς πόλεμος)· ὅτι δὲ τὸ Α τῷ Β ὑπάρχει, διὰ τοῦ Δ δεχθήσεται. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον κἂν εἰ διὰ πλειόνων τῶν ὁμοίων ἢ πίστις γίνοιτο τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον. φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι τὸ παράδειγμα ὅλων ἐστὶν ὡς μέρους πρὸς ὅλον, οὐκ ὡς ὅλου πρὸς μέρος, ἀλλ' ὡς μέρους πρὸς μέρος, ὅταν ἅμα μὲν ᾖ ἐπὶ τοῦτο, γνώριμον δὲ θάτερον. καὶ διαφέρει τῇ ἐπαγωγῇ, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀναγκαίων τῶν ἀνώνων τὸ ἄκρον τῷ μέσῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον οὐ συνέβαινε τὸν συλλογισμόν, τὸ δὲ καὶ συνέπιπτε καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἀπίστων ἐδείκνυον.* (analyt. pr. II. 24.)

(38) §. 39. *Μᾶλλον δὲ* (εἰ τε διὰ συλλογισμῶν καὶ εἰ δὲ ἐπαγωγῇ λόγοι) *διὰ προγυμνασμάτων ποιοῦντες τὴν διδασκαλίαν, οἱ μὲν λαμβάνοντες ὡς παρὰ ξενίοις, οἱ δὲ διανέμοντες τὸ καθόλου διὰ τοῦ ἴδιον εἶναι τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον. ὡς δ'*

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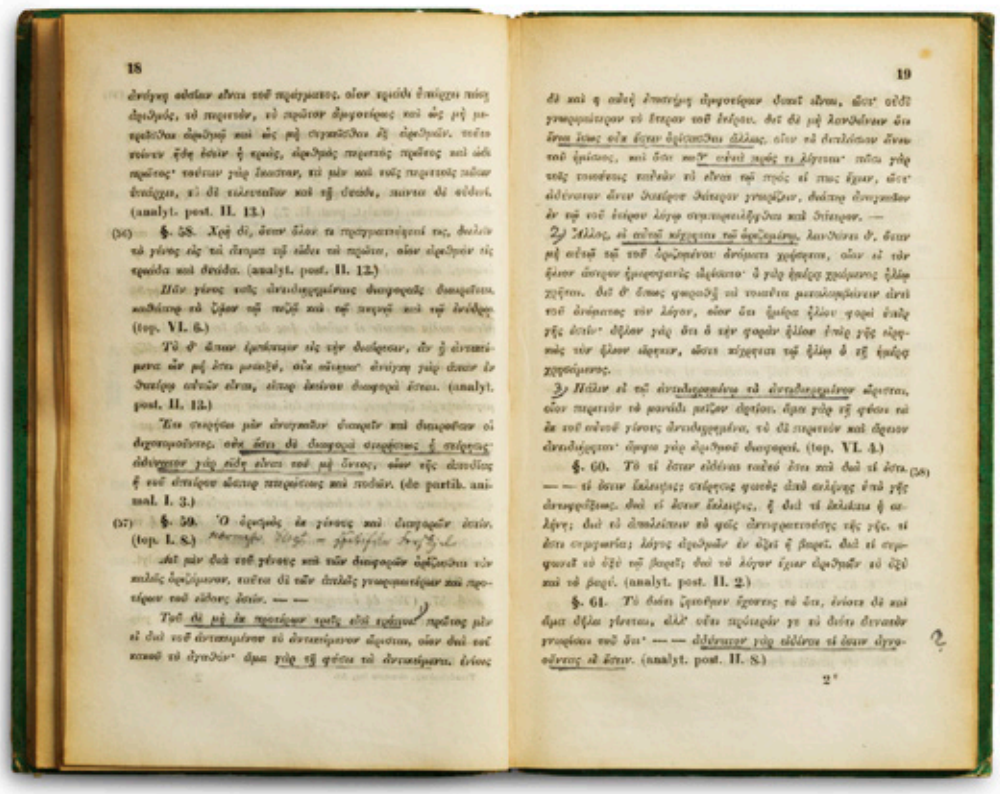
αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ ῥητορικοὶ συμπείθουσιν· ἢ γὰρ διὰ παραδειγμάτων, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπαγωγή, ἢ δὲ ἐνθυμήματα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ συλλογισμός. (analyt. post. I. 1.)

§. 40. *Ὁ ἔλεγχος ἀντιφάσεως συλλογισμός.* (analyt. (39) pr. II. 20.)

§. 41. *Ἔνεστιν δ' ἐστὶ πρότασις περιστικὴ ἀναγκαία, διο-* (40) *φέρει δὲ τῆς προτάσεως, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀναγκαίαν ἀνάγκαι εἶναι ἐστὶ ῥῆσις, τὴν δὲ περιστικὴν ἢ ὅλως οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἢ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς καθόλου συλλογισμοῖς.* (analyt. pr. II. 26.)

§. 42. *Ἔστι τὰ μὲν δ' αὐτῶν πίστεις γνωρίζεσθαι τὰ* (41) *δὲ δ' ἄλλων* (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὰ δ' αὐτῶν, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς δ' ἄλλων), *ὅταν τὸ μὲ δ' αὐτοῦ γνωστὸν δ' αὐτοῦ τις ἐκμαθῇ δυνάσται, τότ' αἰτεῖται τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.* (analyt. pr. II. 16.)

Μάλιστα δὲ φαίνονται τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ πιστικῷ, φανερώτατα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον εἰ τις αὐτὸ τὸ διδόναι δίον αἰτεῖται, τοῦτο δ' ἐν' αὐτοῦ μὲν οὐ ῥᾴδιον λαμβάνειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς συναμφοῖν καὶ ἐν ὅσοις τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ὁ λόγος τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει, ῥᾴδιον. Δεύτερον δὲ ἔστι κατὰ μέρος δίον ἀποδεῖξαι καθόλου τις αἰτῇ. οἷον ἐπιχειρῶν ὅτι κἂν ἀναιρῶν μία ἐπιστήμη, δίως τῶν ἀντικειμένων εἰδοῖτο μίαν εἶναι· δοκεῖ γὰρ ὃ ἴδια καθ' αὐτὰ δεῖξαι μετ' ἄλλων αἰτεῖσθαι πλείονα. Τρίτον εἴ τις καθόλου δείξαι προκειμένου κατὰ μέρος αἰτήσαιτο, οἷον εἰ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων προκειμένου τοῦδέ τινος εἰδοῖτο· δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος, ὃ μετὰ πλείονα ἴδια δεῖξαι, καθ' αὐτὸ χωρὶς αἰτεῖσθαι. Πάλιν εἴ τις δυοῖν αἰτεῖται τὸ προβλῆθέν, οἷον εἰ δίον δεῖξαι τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐγκυκλοῦ καὶ τοιοῦδε, χωρὶς ἑκάτερον ἐξιούσιον ἐξιούσιον. Ἢ εἴ τις τῶν ἐπομένων ἀλλήλοις ἐξ ἀνάγκης θάτερον αἰτήσαιτο, οἷον τὴν πλευρὰν διάμ-



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ἀνάγκη αὐξάνειν εἶναι τοῦ περάματος. οἷον κρείττω ὑπάρχει τῷ ἀριθμῷ, τὸ περιττόν, τὸ πρῶτον ἀμφοτέροις καὶ ὡς μὴ μετρεῖσθαι ἀριθμῷ καὶ ὡς μὴ συγκεῖσθαι ἐξ ἀριθμῶν. τοῦτο τοίνυν ἤδη ἐστὶν ἡ κρεῖττ, ἀριθμὸς περιττὸς πρῶτος καὶ ἀδὶ πρῶτος· τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον, τὸ μὲν καὶ τοῦ περιττοῦ πλεῖον ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐξ ἀναίτου, πάντα δὲ αὐξανεῖ. (analyt. post. II. 13.)

(36) §. 58. *Χρὴ δὲ, ὅταν ὅλον τι παραγματεύῃ τις, διαλεῖν τὸ γένος εἰς τὰ ἄτομα τῷ εἴδει τὰ πρῶτα, οἷον ἀριθμὸν εἰς τριάδα καὶ δυάδα.* (analyt. post. II. 13.)

Πᾶν γένος τοῦς ἀνειδιμμένοις διαφορᾶς διαιρεῖται, καθάπερ τὸ ζῷον τῷ πεζῷ καὶ τῷ πτηνῷ καὶ τῷ ἐνύδρῳ. (top. VI. 6.)

Τὸ δ' ἄτομον ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὴν διαίρεσιν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντιπίπτει ἂν μέ ὅτι μείζω, οὐκ οἴεται· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἄτομον ἐν διαίρεσι αὐτῶν εἶναι, εἴπερ ἐκείνου διαφορὰ ἔσται. (analyt. post. II. 13.)

Ἔτι σκεπτέον ἀνάγκαιον διαφεῖν καὶ διαιρεῖσθαι οἱ διορισμοίσιος, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ διαφορὰ συμβεβηκός ἢ στέρησις· ἀδύνατον γὰρ οὐδὲ εἶναι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, οὔτε τῆς ἀστοῦς ἢ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς ἢ τοῦ ἀτελοῦν ἀλλὰ τὴν περιττὸν καὶ πολύν. (de partib. animal. I. 3.)

(37) §. 59. *Ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἐκ γένους καὶ διαφορῶν ἐστίν.* (top. I. 8.)

Δεῖ μὲν διὰ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἀφίζεσθαι τὸν πολλὰς ἀφιζόμενον, ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἀτελῶς γνωριστέων καὶ πρώτων τοῦ εἴδους ἐστίν. — —

Τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἐκ πρωτέων τοῦ εἴδους τρόπου πρῶτος μὲν εἰ διὰ τοῦ ἀντικείμενου τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἀφοῖτο, οἷον διὰ τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν· ἅμα γὰρ τῇ φύσει τὰ ἀντικείμενα. ἔνιος

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δὲ καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἀμφοτέρων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οἷον· οὐδὲ γνωριούσιμον τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου. δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἔνια ἔνιοις οὐκ ἔχει ἀρίζεσθαι ἄλλως, οἷον τὸ ἀτελέστον ἄνευ τοῦ ἡμίσεος, καὶ ὅσα καθ' αὐτὰ πρὸς τι λέγεται· πάντα γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ταὐτὸν τὸ εἶναι τῷ πρός τι ἔχειν, οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἄνευ θατέρου θάτερον γνωρίζειν, διόπερ ἀνάγκαιον ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἑτέρου λόγῳ συμπαραλήφθαι καὶ θάτερον. —

2) Ἄλλος, εἰ αὐτοῦ κέχρηται τοῦ ἀριζομένου, λανθάνει δ', ὅταν μὴ αὐτῷ τῷ τοῦ ἀριζομένου ὀνόματι χρήσηται, οἷον εἰ τὸν ἥλιον ἄστρον ἡμερογαιὸν ὠρίσατο· ὁ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ χρώμενος ἥλιῳ χρῆται. δεῖ δ' ὅπως φυλάττῃ καὶ τοιούτοις μεταλαμβάνειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τὸν λόγον, οἷον ὅτι ἡμέρα ἥλιου φορὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἐστίν· ἥλιον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ τὴν φορὰν ἥλιον ὑπὸ γῆς νομίζων τὸν ἥλιον ὠρίκεν, ὥστε κέχρηται τῷ ἥλιῳ ὁ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ χρησάμενος.

3) Πάλιν εἰ τοῦ ἀνειδιμμένου τὸ ἀνειδιμμένον ὠρίσται, οἷον πιστεύω τὸ φανάδι μείζον ἀρίζειν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ φύσει τὰ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἀνειδιμμένα, τὸ δὲ πιστεύω καὶ ἄρτιον ἀνειδίμεται· ἅμα γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ διαφορά. (top. VI. 4.)

§. 60. *Τὸ τί ἐστιν εἰδέναι ταὐτό ἐστι καὶ διὰ τί ἐστι* (38) *— — τί ἐστιν ἐκλειψις; στέρησις φωτὸς διὰ σελήνης ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναφερόμενος. διὰ τί ἐστιν ἔκλειψις, ἢ διὰ τί ἐκλείπει ἡ σελήνη; διὰ τὸ ἀπολείπειν τὸ φῶς ἀναφερόμενος τῆς γῆς. τί ἐστι συμφωνία; λόγος ἀριθμῶν ἐν ὀξεῖ ἢ βαρεῖ. διὰ τί συμφωνεῖ τὸ ὀξὺ τῷ βαρεῖ; διὰ τὸ λόγον ἔχειν ἀριθμῶν τὸ ὀξὺ καὶ τὸ βαρύ.* (analyt. post. II. 2.)

§. 61. *Τὸ δοκεῖ ζητοῦμεν ἔχοντες τὸ ὅτι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἅμα ὀλίγα γνόντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ πρότερόν γε τὸ δοκεῖ ἀντικεῖν γνωρίσαι τοῦ ὅτι· — — ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἰδέναι τί ἐστιν ἀγνοοῦντας τί ἐστιν.* (analyt. post. II. 8.)

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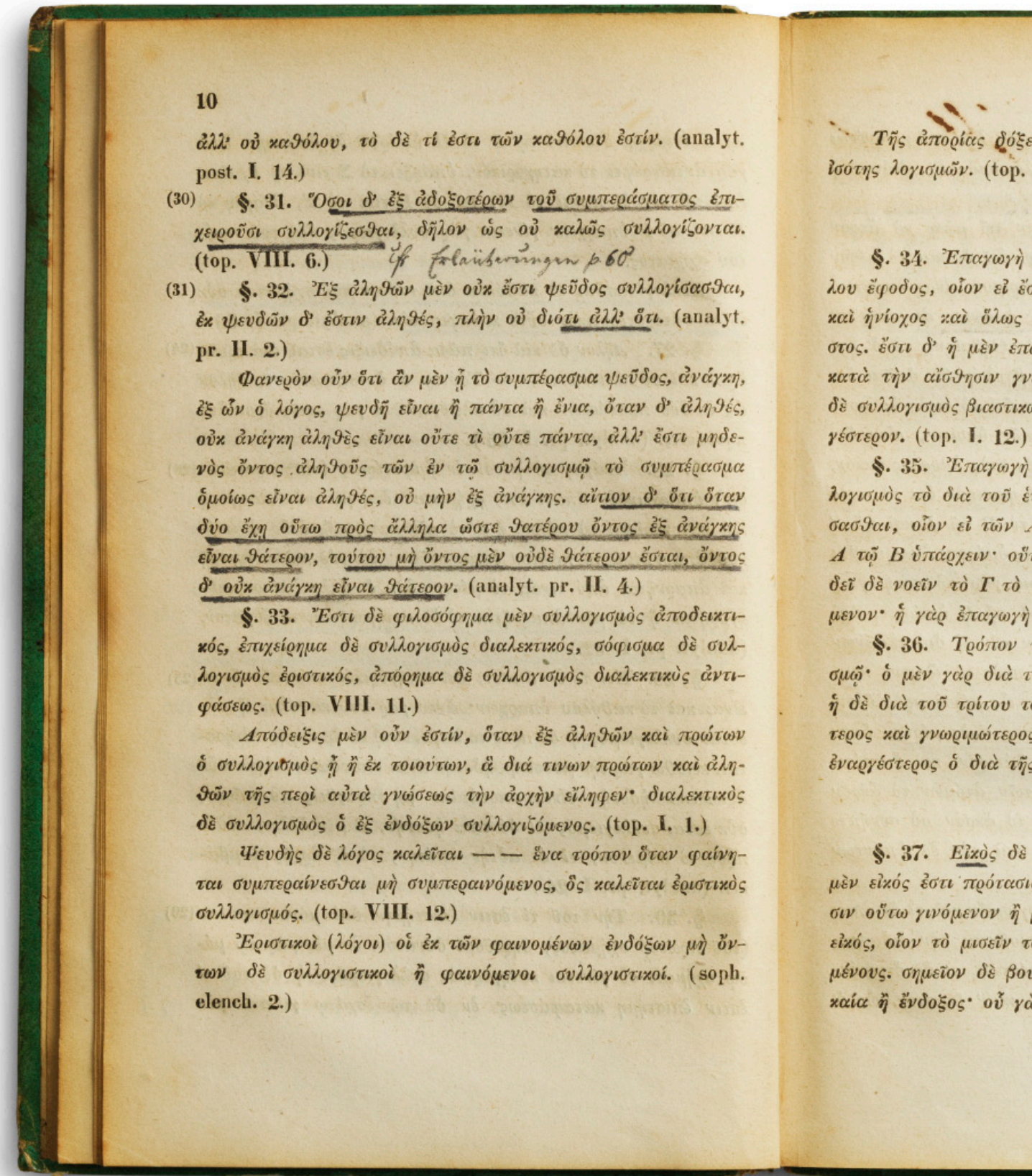


ἀλλ' οὐ καθόλου, τὸ δὲ τί ἐστι τῶν καθόλου ἐστίν. (analyt. post. I. 14.)

(30) §. 31. Ὅσοι δ' ἐξ ἀδοξοτέρων τοῦ συμπεράσματος ἐπιχειροῦσι συλλογίζεσθαι, δῆλον ὡς οὐ καλῶς συλλογίζονται. (top. VIII. 6.) Cf Erläuterungen p 60

(31) §. 32. Ἐξ ἀληθῶν μὲν οὐκ ἔστι ψεῦδος συλλογίσασθαι, ἐκ ψευδῶν δ' ἔστιν ἀληθές, πλὴν οὐ διότι ἀλλ' ὅτι. (analyt. pr. II. 2.)

Φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι ἂν μὲν ᾖ τὸ συμπέρασμα ψεῦδος, ἀνάγκη, ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ψευδῆ εἶναι ἢ πάντα ἢ ἔνια, ὅταν δ' ἀληθές, οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἀληθὲς εἶναι οὔτε τὶ οὔτε πάντα, ἀλλ' ἔστι μηδενὸς ὄντος ἀληθοῦς τῶν ἐν τῷ συλλογισμῷ τὸ συμπέρασμα ὁμοίως εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι ὅταν δύο ἔχῃ οὕτω πρὸς ἄλληλα ὥστε θατέρου ὄντος ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι θάτερον, τούτου μὴ ὄντος μὲν οὐδὲ θάτερον ἔσται, ὄντος δ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη εἶναι θάτερον. (analyt. pr. II. 4.)

§. 33. Ἔστι δὲ φιλοσόφημα μὲν συλλογισμὸς ἀποδεικτικός, ἐπιχείρημα δὲ συλλογισμὸς διαλεκτικός, σόφισμα δὲ συλλογισμὸς ἐριστικός, ἀπόρημα δὲ συλλογισμὸς διαλεκτικὸς ἀντιφάσεως. (top. VIII. 11.)

Ἀπόδειξις μὲν οὖν ἐστίν, ὅταν ἐξ ἀληθῶν καὶ πρώτων ὁ συλλογισμὸς ᾖ ἢ ἐκ τοιούτων, ἃ διά τινων πρώτων καὶ ἀληθῶν τῆς περὶ αὐτὰ γνώσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν εἴληφεν· διαλεκτικὸς δὲ συλλογισμὸς ὁ ἐξ ἐνδόξων συλλογιζόμενος. (top. I. 1.)

Ψευδὴς δὲ λόγος καλεῖται — — ἕνα τρόπον ὅταν φαίνηται συμπεραίνεσθαι μὴ συμπεραινόμενος, ὃς καλεῖται ἐριστικὸς συλλογισμός. (top. VIII. 12.)

Ἐριστικοὶ (λόγοι) οἱ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ἐνδόξων μὴ ὄντων δὲ συλλογιστικοὶ ἢ φαινόμενοι συλλογιστικοί. (soph. elench. 2.)

Τῆς ἀπορίας δόξε
ἰσότης λογισμῶν. (top.

§. 34. Ἐπαγωγὴ
λου ἔφοδος, οἷον εἰ ἔ
καὶ ἡνίοχος καὶ ὅλως
στος. ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν ἐπ
κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν γν
δὲ συλλογισμὸς βιαστικ
γέστερον. (top. I. 12.)

§. 35. Ἐπαγωγὴ
λογισμὸς τὸ διὰ τοῦ ἐ
σασθαι, οἷον εἰ τῶν
Α τῷ Β ὑπάρχειν· οὔ
δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν τὸ Γ τὸ
μενον· ἡ γὰρ ἐπαγωγὴ

§. 36. Τρόπον
σμῷ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τ
ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ τρίτου τ
τερος καὶ γνωριμώτερος
ἐναργέστερος ὁ διὰ τῆς

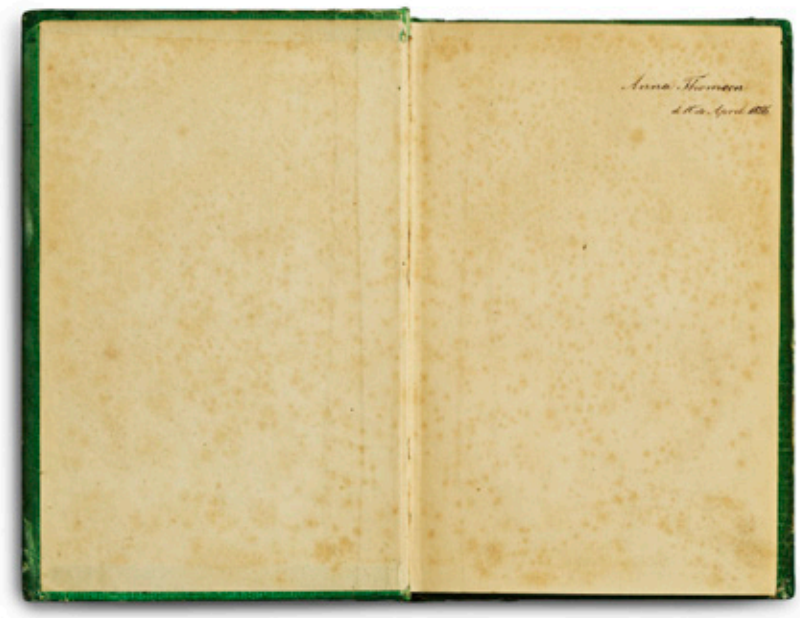
§. 37. Εἰκὸς δὲ
μὲν εἰκός ἐστι πρότασι
σιν οὕτω γινόμενον ἢ
εἰκός, οἷον τὸ μισεῖν τ
μένους. σημεῖον δὲ βο
καία ἢ ἔνδοξος· οὐ γ

107

Auction catalogue no. 1633

Eichendorff, Joseph von.
Dichter und ihre Gesellen. Novelle.

Berlin, 1834.



8vo. Bound in an exquisite glitted green paper binding with gilt leather title-label and single gilt lines to spine. Neatly rebacked preserving 90% of the contemporary spine. Corners neatly restored. A bit of overall wear, but a lovely copy. Internally a bit of mostly light brownspotting. (4), 380 pp.

Front free end-paper with the inscription "Anna Thomsen / d. 10de April 1856" in Hans Brøchner's neat, characteristic handwriting. Pasted down back end-paper with previous owner's neat pencil annotations describing the provenance of the copy: belonging first to Kierkegaard, bought at his auction by Brøchner, who gave it to Anna Thomsen. Later, the copy was bought by H.P. Rohde from an antiquarian book shop in Copenhagen and then bought by the previous owner at the auction Rohde's Bøger. The notes also explain that the dogs' ears are presumably Kierkegaard's.

The scarce first edition of Eichendorff's great novel, which counts as the epitome of the romantic novel, with a truly magnificent provenance – not only from the library of Kierkegaard, but also with a further history that binds together some of the people closest to Kierkegaard.

As mentioned in the introduction to the Autioneer's Record above, Kierkegaard would use dog's ears to point to passages that were of particular interest to him. These dog's ears are very characteristic, always done in the same manner, and are of particular interest to many Kierkegaard scholars. The dog's ears in the present copy (pp. 10-18 + 304-6) are done in the exact style of Kierkegaard and are presumably his.

The copy and the history of it is thoroughly described in Kierkegaard literature, predominantly by H.P. Rohde in his *Trolddom* (see Gaadefulde Stadier paa Kierkegaards Vej), where he tells the story of how he came by it.

As we saw above (no. 105), the important, interesting, and controversial philosopher Hans Brøchner, who was remotely related to Kierkegaard, wrote what is considered the best memoir of our great philosopher. And it is with this memoir that the story of this book is rediscovered.

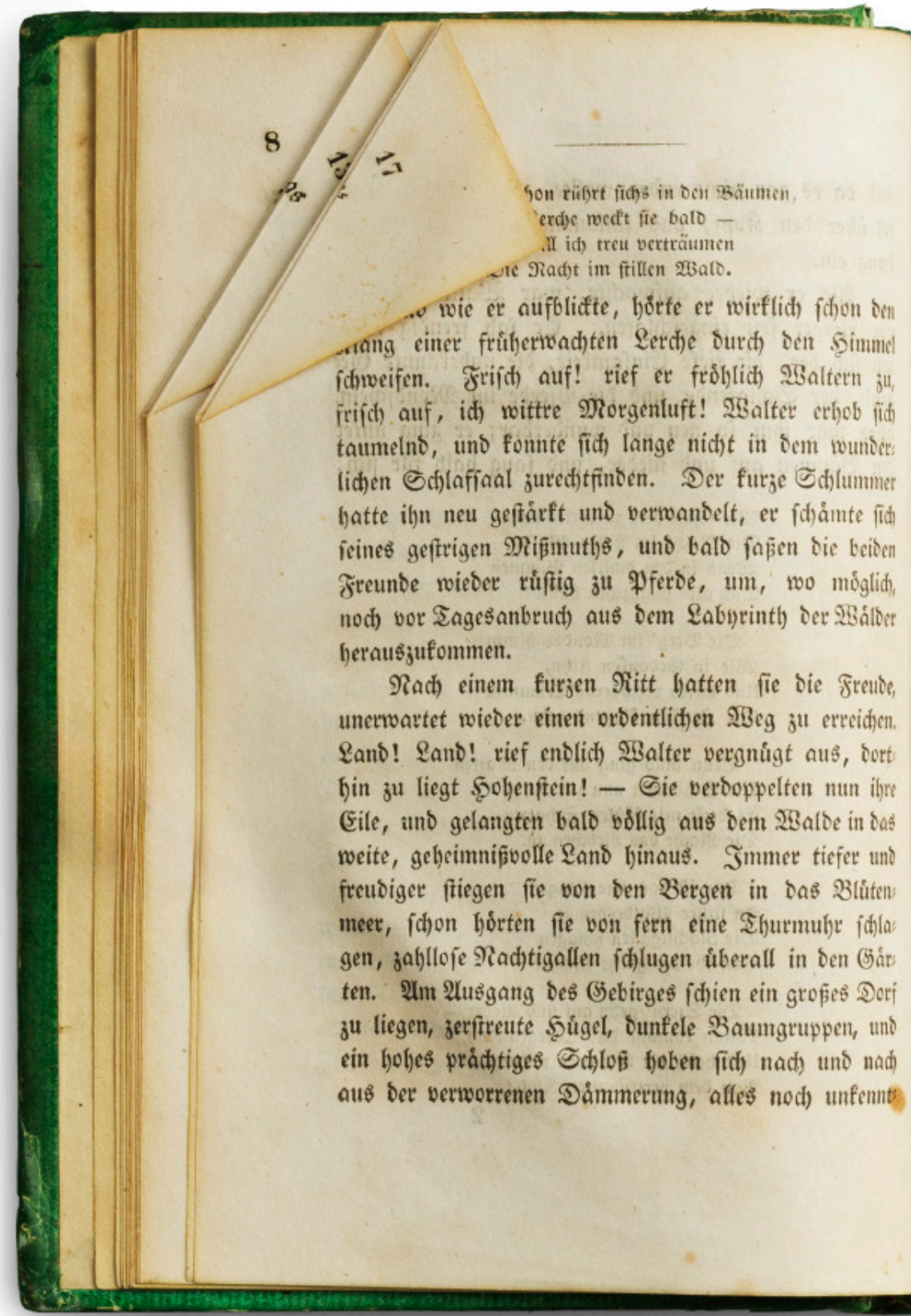
Reading the memoir, Rohde comes across an anecdote where Brøchner recalls an evening of dining out with Kierkegaard, during which Kierkegaard asks him about his knowledge of the German romanticists. Brøchner admits to knowing very little about them, and Kierkegaard implores him to follow him back to his apartment, where he lends him Eichendorff's *Dichter und Gesellen* (the present book, present copy). Brøchner recounts having returned the book to Kierkegaard two weeks later. After that, the copy stayed in Kierkegaard's collection and was sold at the auction after his death. As we know from the auction protocol, Brøchner (who we now know had very specific memories pertaining to this copy) bought the book at the auction, on April 10th, 1856.

As Rohde goes on to illustrate, Brøchner visited his cousin Julie Thomsen, who was also a cousin of Kierkegaard, on the same day that he bought the book at the auction and gave it to her daughter Anna Thomsen, with whom he seems to have been in love at the time. There is no doubt that the neat inscription on the front free end-paper is in Brøchner's characteristic hand; thus, he went straight from the auction of Kierkegaard's books to the beloved household of Julie Thomsen and gave the book to the lovely Anna. Julie Thomsen – and the entire Thomsen household – plays a significant role in the lives of both Kierkegaard and Brøchner. Julie Thomsen was an extraordinary woman, who possessed a great intellect. As Brøchner, she was related to Kierkegaard, but more than that, she was his confidante and one of the very few significant women in his life.

Anna Thomsen, Julie Thomsen's daughter, was renowned for her beauty, wit, and charm. Reading contemporary letters of people who visited the household, one gets the impression of an altogether spellbinding girl/young woman. She seems to have also been in love with Brøchner, but for some reason they never ended up together.

This splendid copy is bound exactly like the copy of Cousin's "Über französische und deutsche Philosophie" from the same year that The Royal Library bought at the auction of Kierkegaard's books. Kierkegaard presumably had the two books bound at the same time.

The story of how Kierkegaard lent Brøchner this book, shows that Kierkegaard held Eichendorff in high esteem and apparently felt that this was one of the best books to use as an introduction to the German romanticists. Cappelørn, in Tekstspejle (p. 196) mentions this copy, along with no. 134 of the catalogue, but erroneously describes the two together as "two collections of poems" (translated from Danish).



8

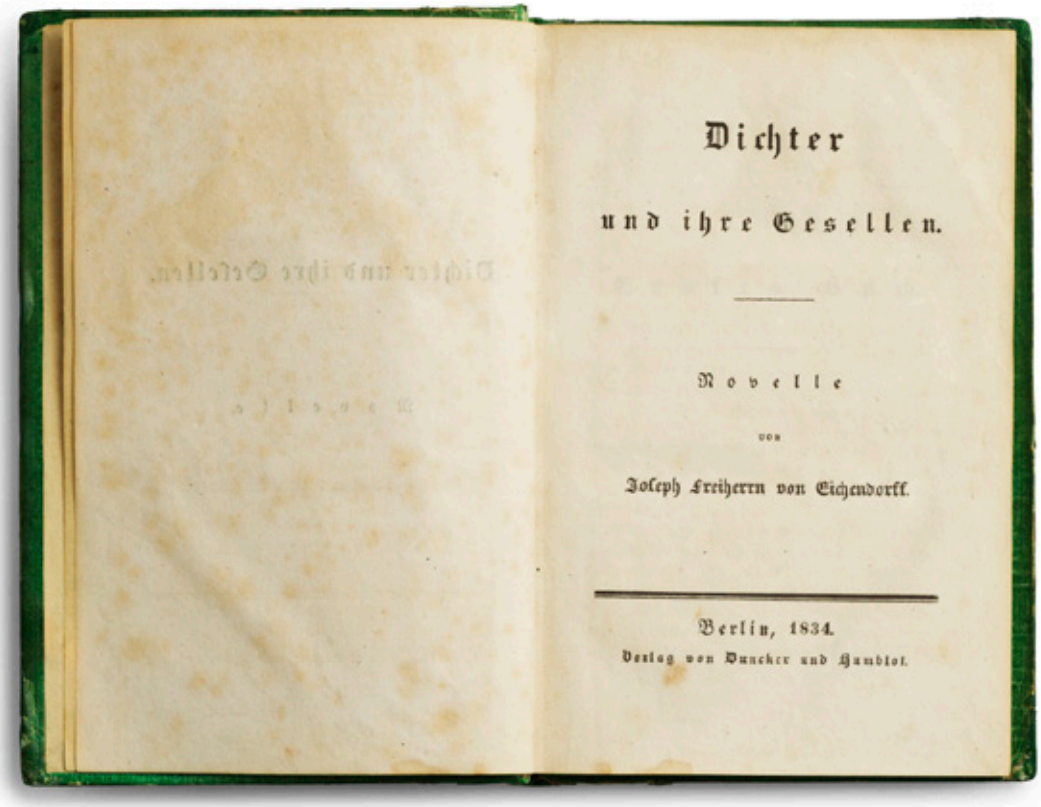
hon rührt sichs in den Bäumen,
erche weckt sie bald —
ll ich treu verträumen
ie Nacht im stillen Wald.

wie er aufblickte, hörte er wirklich schon den
ang einer früherwachten Lerche durch den Himmel
schweifen. Frisch auf! rief er fröhlich Waltern zu,
frisch auf, ich wittre Morgenluft! Walter erhob sich
taumelnd, und konnte sich lange nicht in dem wunder-
lichen Schlafsaal zurechtfinden. Der kurze Schlummer
hatte ihn neu gestärkt und verwandelt, er schämte sich
seines gestrigen Mißmuths, und bald saßen die beiden
Freunde wieder rüstig zu Pferde, um, wo möglich,
noch vor Tagesanbruch aus dem Labyrinth der Wälder
herauszukommen.

Nach einem kurzen Ritt hatten sie die Freude,
unerwartet wieder einen ordentlichen Weg zu erreichen.
Land! Land! rief endlich Walter vergnügt aus, dort-
hin zu liegt Hohenstein! — Sie verdoppelten nun ihre
Eile, und gelangten bald völlig aus dem Walde in das
weite, geheimnißvolle Land hinaus. Immer tiefer und
freudiger stiegen sie von den Bergen in das Blüten-
meer, schon hörten sie von fern eine Thurmuhr schla-
gen, zahllose Nachtigallen schlugen überall in den Gär-
ten. Am Ausgang des Gebirges schien ein großes Dorf
zu liegen, zerstreute Hügel, dunkele Baumgruppen, und
ein hohes prächtiges Schloß hoben sich nach und nach
aus der verworrenen Dämmerung, alles noch unkennt-

lich und räthselhaft, wie in Träumen. So waren sie in eine hohe Kastanienallee gekommen, als Walter plötzlich an einem zierlichen Gitterthor still hielt. Sie schlafen noch alle, sagte er, wir wollen indeß hier in den gräflichen Garten gehen, und die Erwachenden überraschen.

Sie banden nun ihre Pferde an den Zaun, und schwangen sich von den steinernen Sphinxen, die den Eingang bewachten, über das Gitter in den Garten hinein. Da war noch alles still und duftig, einzelne Marmorbilder tauchten eben erst aus den lauen Wellen der Nacht empor. Das alte finstere Schloß im Hintergrunde mit seinen dichtgeschlossenen Jalousien stand wie eine Gewitterwolke über einem freundlichen Nebengebäude, von dem man vor lauter Weinlaub fast nur das rothe Ziegeldach sah. Unter den hohen Bäumen vor dem letztern fanden sie einen Tisch und mehrere Stühle, als wären sie eben erst von einer Gesellschaft verlassen worden. — Da hat sie schon wieder ihre Guitarre draußen vergessen, sagte Walter kopfschüttelnd. — Wer denn? fragte Fortunat, — die schöne Amtmannstochter, von der du mir erzählt hast? — Ja, Florentine, erwiederte Walter; das ist des Amtmanns Wohnung, und dort oben nach dem Garten hinaus ihre Schlafstube. — Du weißt hier gut Bescheid, entgegnete Fortunat. — Walter wurde roth und schwieg verlegen. Fortunat aber ergriff ohne weiteres



Dichter

und ihre Gesellen.

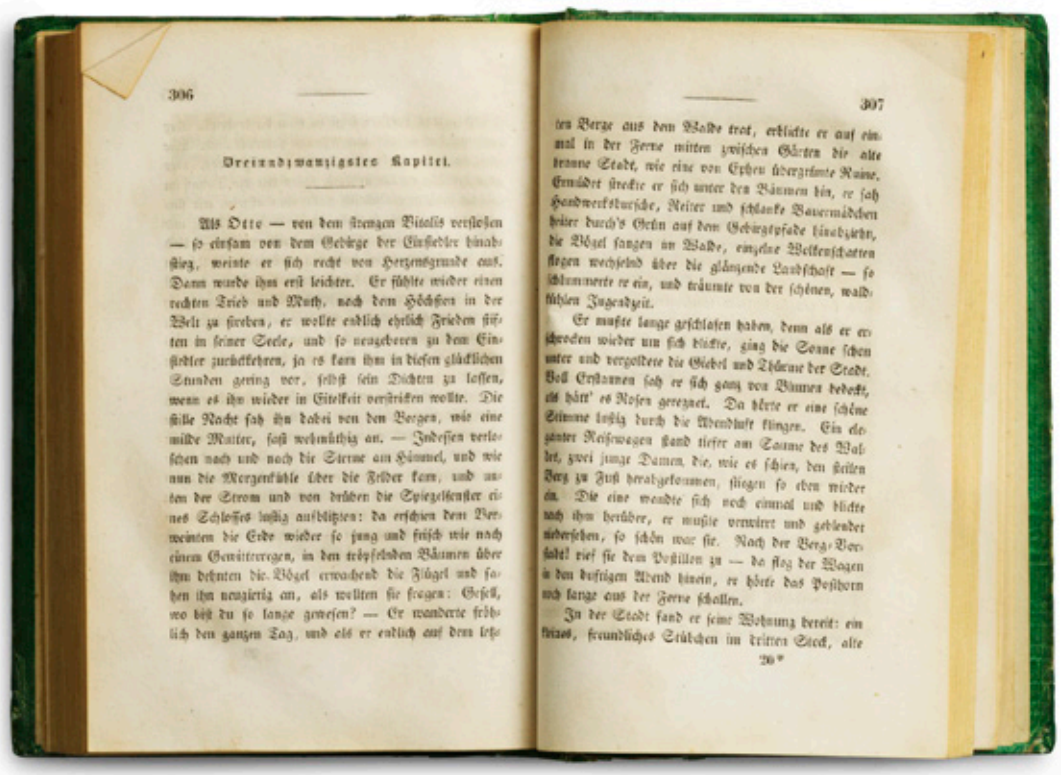
Novelle

von

Joseph Freiherrn von Eichendorff.

Berlin, 1834.

Verlag von Duncker und Humblot.

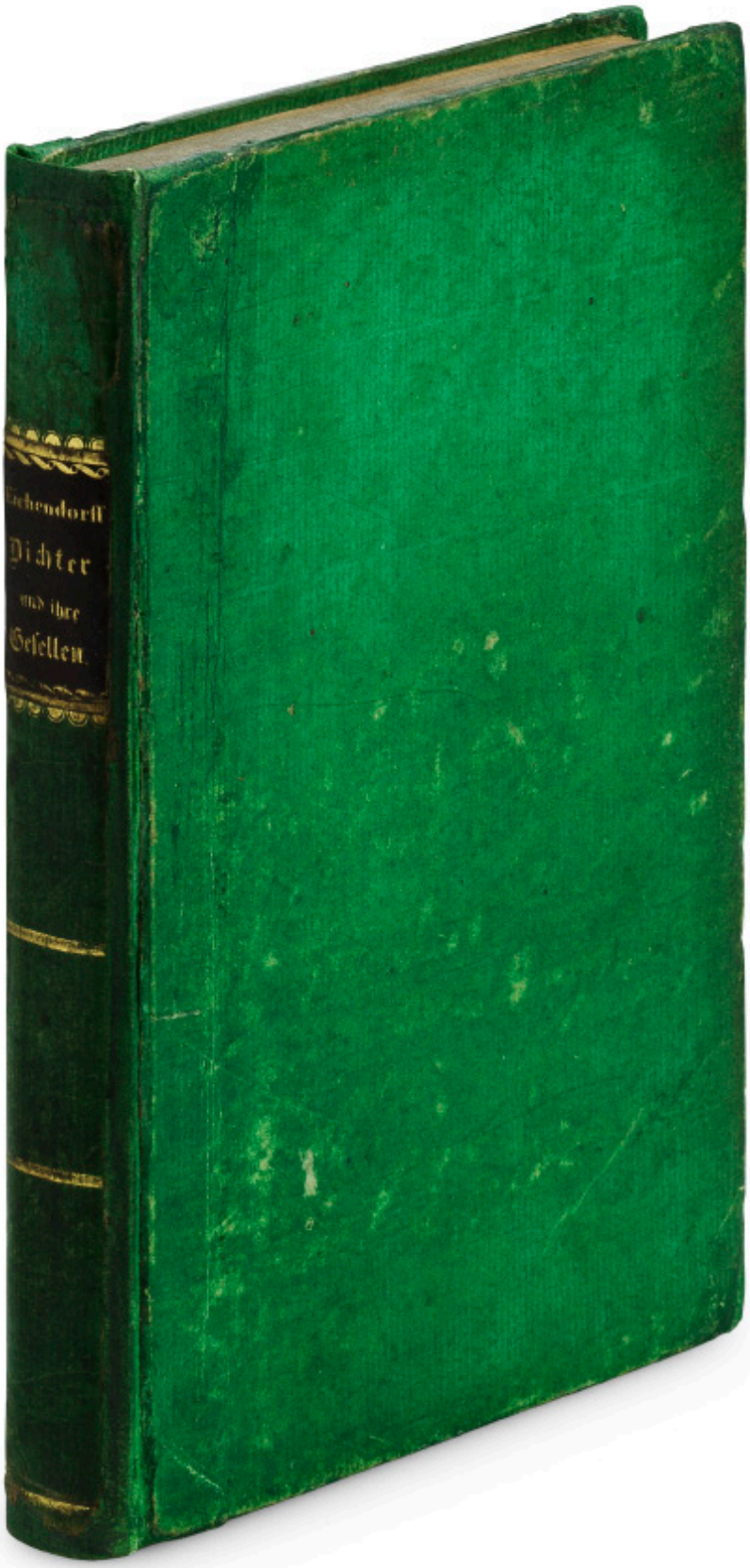


Dreiundzwanzigstes Kapitel.

Als Otto — von dem strengen Vitalis verstoßen — so einsam von dem Gebirge der Einsiedler hinabstieg, weinte er sich recht von Herzensgrunde aus. Dann wurde ihm erst leichter. Er fühlte wieder einen rechten Trieb und Muth, nach dem Höchsten in der Welt zu streben, er wollte endlich ehrlich Frieden stiften in seiner Seele, und so neugeboren zu dem Einsiedler zurückkehren, ja es kam ihm in diesen glücklichen Stunden gering vor, selbst sein Dichten zu lassen, wenn es ihn wieder in Eitelkeit verstricken wollte. Die stille Nacht sah ihn dabei von den Bergen, wie eine milde Mutter, fast wehmüthig an. — Indessen verlosch nach und nach die Sterne am Himmel, und wie nun die Morgenkühle über die Felder kam, und unten der Strom und von drüben die Spiegelfenster eines Schlosses lustig aufblitzten: da erschien dem Verweinten die Erde wieder so jung und frisch wie nach einem Gewitterregen, in den tröpfelnden Bäumen über ihm dehnten die Vögel erwachend die Flügel und sahen ihn neugierig an, als wollten sie fragen: Gesell, wo bist du so lange gewesen? — Er wanderte fröhlich den ganzen Tag, und als er endlich auf den letzten Berge aus dem Walde trat, erblickte er auf einmal in der Ferne mitten zwischen Gärten die alte braune Stadt, wie eine von Epheu übergrünte Ruine. Ermüdet streckte er sich unter den Bäumen hin, er sah Handwerksburschen, Reiter und schlanke Bauermädchen heiter durch's Grün auf dem Gebirgspfade hinabziehn, die Vögel sangen im Walde, einzelne Wolkenschatten flogen wechselnd über die glänzende Landschaft — so schlummerte er ein, und träumte von der schönen, waldfrischen Jugendzeit.

Er mußte lange geschlafen haben, denn als er erschrocken wieder um sich blickte, ging die Sonne schon unter und vergoldete die Giebel und Thürme der Stadt. Voll Erstaunen sah er sich ganz von Bäumen bedeckt, als hätt' es Rosen geregnet. Da hörte er eine schöne Stimme lustig durch die Abendluft klingen. Ein eleganter Reisewagen stand tiefer am Saume des Waldes, zwei junge Damen, die, wie es schien, den steilen Berg zu Fuß herabgekommen, stiegen so eben wieder ein. Die eine wandte sich noch einmal und blickte nach ihm herüber, er mußte verwirrt und geblendet niedersehen, so schön war sie. Nach der Berg-Vorstadt! rief sie dem Postillon zu — da flog der Wagen in den duftigen Abend hinein, er hörte das Posthorn noch lange aus der Ferne schallen.

In der Stadt fand er seine Wohnung bereit: ein kleines, freundliches Stübchen im dritten Stock, alte


Eichendorff
Dichter
und ihre
Gesellen

108

Auction catalogue no. 1729-30

Jacobi, J. G.
Sämmtliche Werke. 4 Bände.

Zürich, 1825.

8vo. Four volumes bound in two lovely, uniform, contemporary brown half calf bindings with raised bands and richly gilt spines. Blindstamped ornamental line to boards. The bindings are well used and have creases down the spine, wear to extremities and hinges, and upper part of front hinge of the first volume is cracked. Despite the wear, the set is lovely, fine, and tight. Internally brownspotted. Portrait + 384 + 448 + 456 + 448 pp.

With contemporary inscription to front free end-paper of first volume: "Kjøbt efter Søren Kierkegaard." (i.e. Bought after Søren Kierkegaard) and the ownership signature of Poul Madsen along with the date October 1902 to both front fly-leaves.

Kierkegaard's copy of the poet Johann Georg Jacobi's Works from 1825.

For some reason, this copy is erroneously described in Thulstrup's edition of the auction catalogue, where number 1729-30 is entered as "J.G. Jacobi's sämmtliche Werke. Bd. 1-8. Zürich 181-22 (3. Ausg.).", despite the original version of the auction catalogue stating, correctly "Jacobi's, J.G., sämmtliche Werke. 4 B Bände m. Portr. Zürich 1825.

Perhaps Thulstrup had been unable to identify any such edition and then entered another edition that came close. In any case, the correct edition, this specific copy, has been entered in the official edition of the auction catalogue by Rohde, recording it as it its here (and in the original version of the catalogue) and adding that now [i.e. 1967] it belongs to H.F. Garde, that it bears the inscription "Bought after Søren Kierkegaard" in volume one and that doctor Poul Madsen has written his name and the date "October 1902" in it. The correct registration has also been recorded by Rohde in his additions to *Søren Kierkegaard som Bogsamler* in *Fund og Forskning*, 1963, p. 161.

We also have two letters of a correspondence between Rohde and the son-in-law of Poul Madsen pertaining to the provenance of this copy, helping to establish that this is indeed the copy in Kierkegaard's collection.

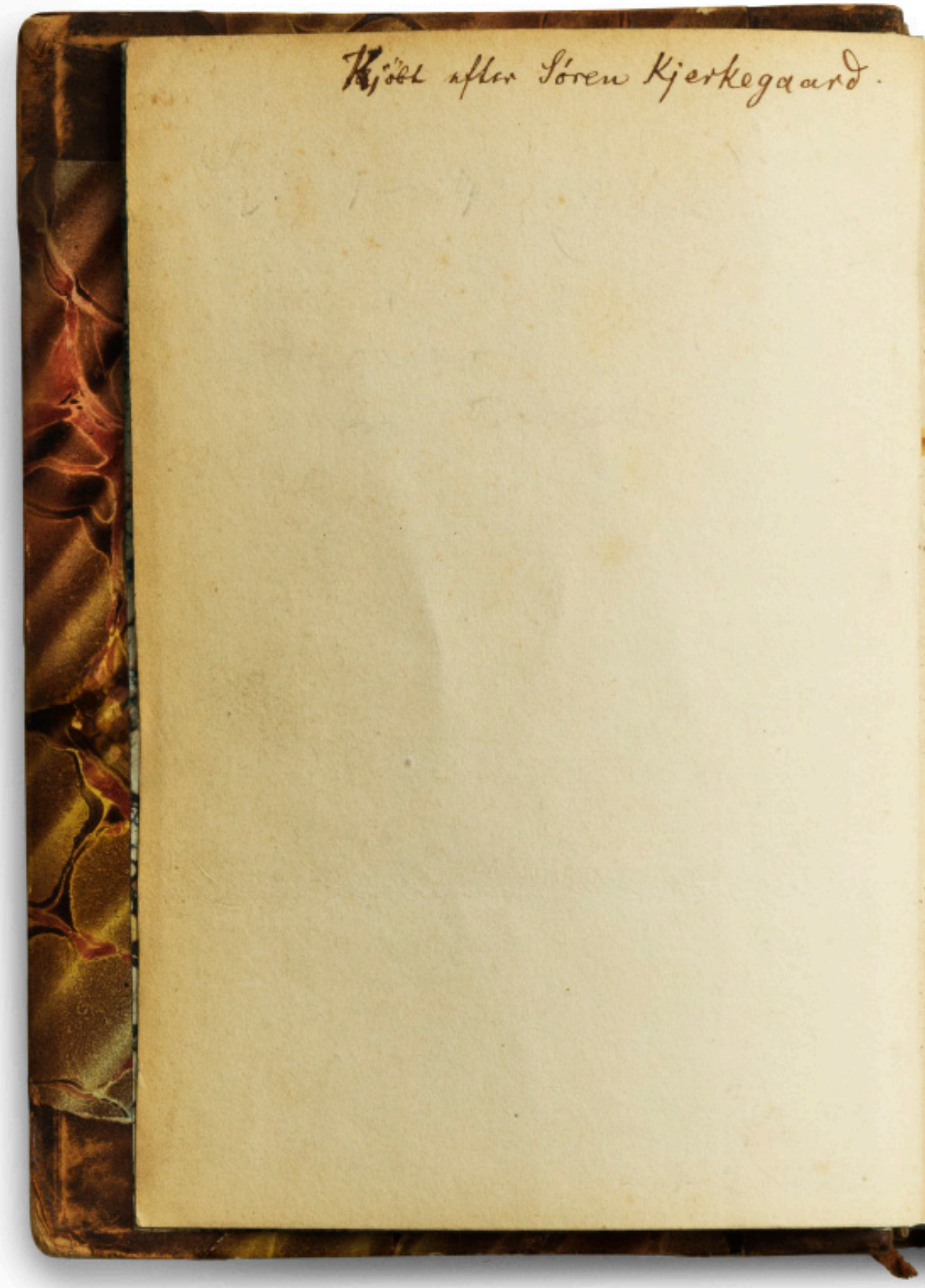
Johann Georg Jacobi, not to be confused with his brother the philosopher Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, was both a theologian and professor of philosophy, but he is primarily known for his poetry. He wrote a number of anacreontic poems and sonnets that were widely disregarded by his contemporaries. Herder called Jacobi›s anacreontic poetry tasteless nonsense, Goethe criticized the verses stating that they only impressed women, and Lichtenberg ridiculed Jacobi as a "doctorem jubilatum".

Nonetheless, Jacobi gained wide renown and became very popular. In 1784, he was appointed professor of fine arts and sciences at the University of Freiburg, thereby becoming the first Protestant professor there, greatly provoking Freiburg's Catholic population as well as his colleagues. By 1791, however, most of the antipathy towards him had vanished, and he became the first Protestant rector of the university.

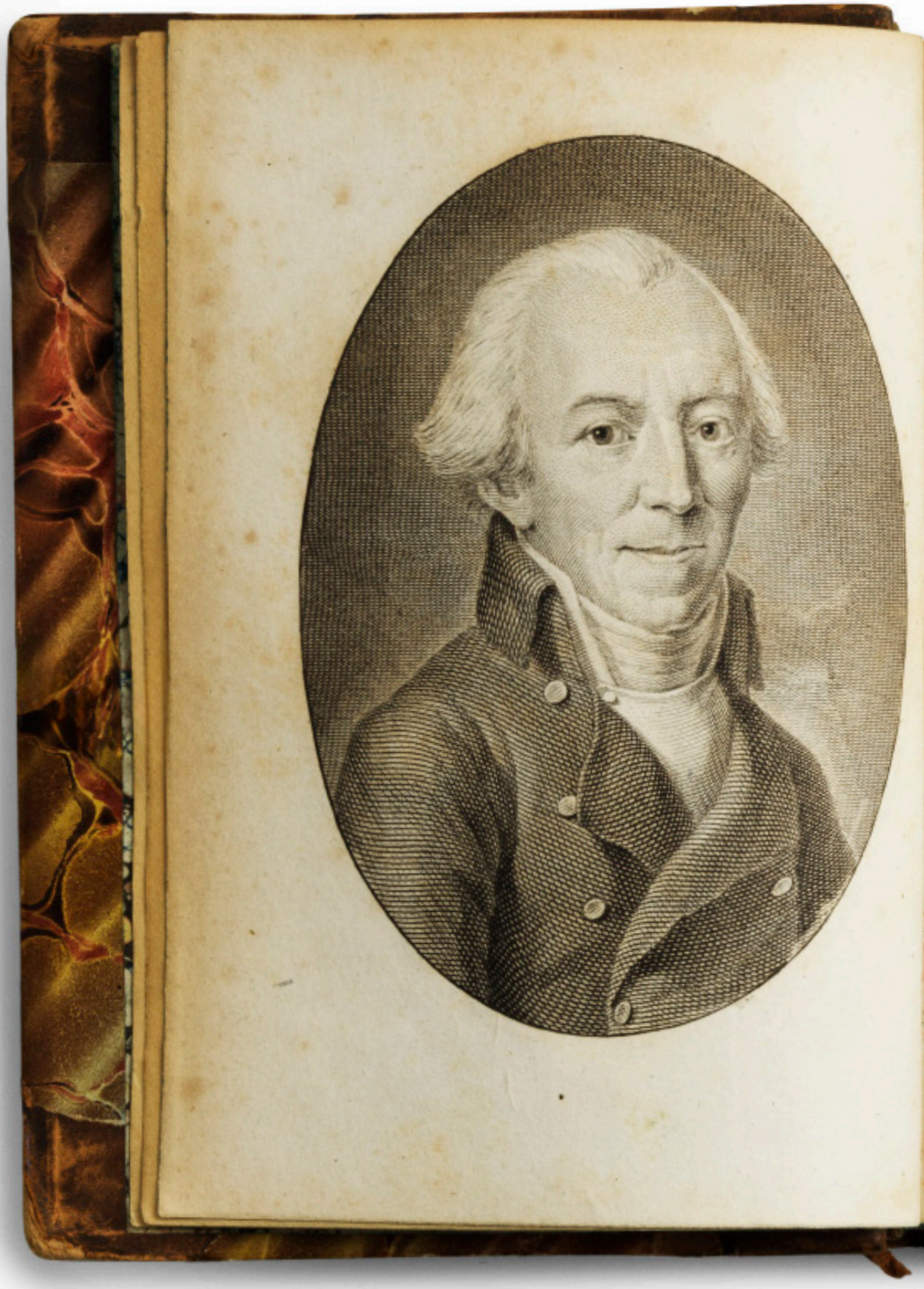
Jacobi was extremely popular with the ladies, and it is said that more female admirers than students followed his lectures.

One can speculate whether Kierkegaard might have been fascinated by the seemingly nonchalant Jacobi so popular with the ladies. Could he have been part inspiration for the Seducer? Also, a Protestant moving up in the Catholic hierarchy of the university must have been intriguing.

As far as we can see, the only evidence that Kierkegaard read Jacobi is the fact that he owned the present copy of his *Werke*.


Kjøbt efter Søren Kjerkegaard.

Poul Madsen.
October 1902.



J. G. Jacobi's

sämmtliche Werke.

Erster Band.

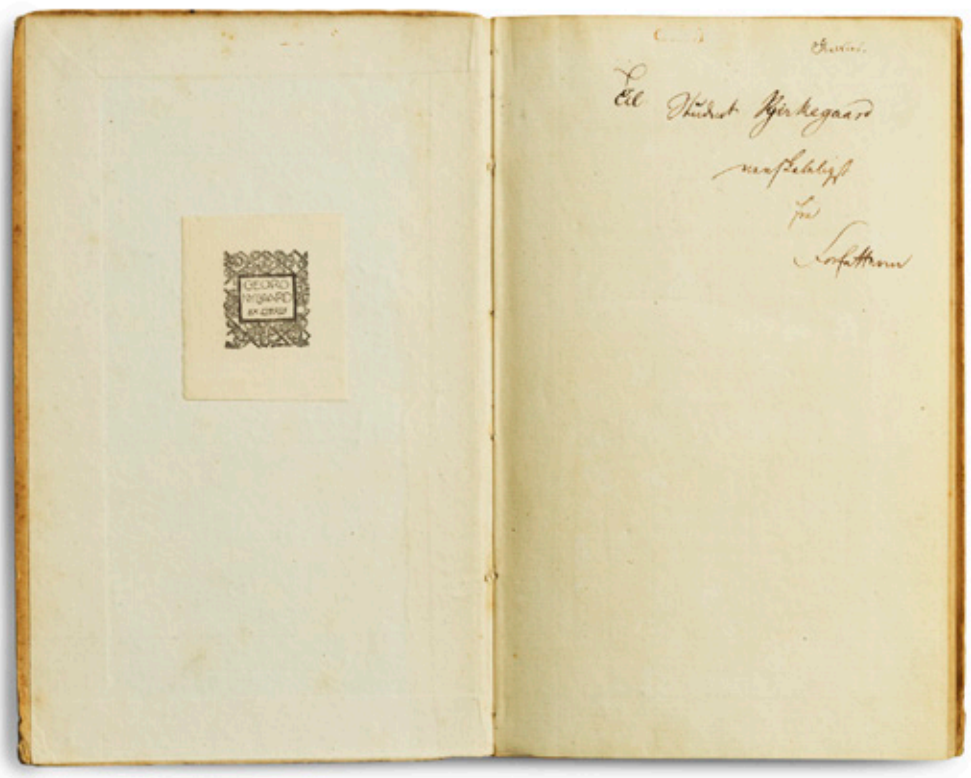
Zürich,
bey Orell, Füßli und Compagnie.
1825.

109

Auction catalogue no. 1950

Hammerich, Martin.
Om Ragnaroksmythen og dens Betydning i den oldnordiske Religion. Udgivet for Magistergraden. [i.e. About the Ragnarok Myth and its Meaning in Old Norse Religion].

Kjøbenhavn, 1836.



8vo. Original printed boards. The spine, part of which is missing (ca. ¼), has been glued on. Corners worn. Otherwise very nice. Internally only a bit of brownspotting. XII, (4), 167, (1) pp. + (4 – i.e. Theses) pp.

Housed in a very nice red half morocco box with gilt lettering and gilt ornamentations to spine. Lovely marbled boards. Signed in gilt lettering to inside of spine: Anker Kysters Eftf. Gilt by Hagel Olsen. With the ex-libris of Georg Nygaard to inside of front board.

Presentation-inscription to front free end-paper: "Til Student Kjerkegaard / venskabeligst / fra / Forfatteren" [i.e. For Student Kjerkegaard / in friendship / from / the author"].

With pencil underlinings on pp. 23-24, possibly by Kierkegaard. Laid in is a note referring to the auction catalogue and saying that the copy has a presentation inscription to Kierkegaard and Kierkegaard's pencil underlinings (Georg Nygaard). The underlined passage concerns the Greek tragedies, in which the hero does not die, in opposition to the Nordic drama, which in the end would be able to destroy any "earthly one-sided endeavour".

Kierkegaard's copy, inscribed to him by the author, of Hammerich's important magnum opus, his 1836 master's degree on the Ragnarok myth, which not only contributed significantly to the understanding of Old Norse religion, but which is also the first thesis written in Danish at the University of Copenhagen.

In the present dissertation, which is his most significant work, Hammerich examines the significance of the myth in Old Norse religion and its influence upon society and culture.

Arguing that treating a Nordic subject in Latin seems unreasonable, Hammerich was given dispensation from the normal requirement of writing in Latin and was granted permission from King Frederik VI to hand in his thesis in Danish. The present thesis is the first to have been given this dispensation, and it is this that Kierkegaard leans upon when he himself, five years later, applies for the same dispensation, for his *On the Concept of Irony*. Hammerich's preface thoroughly describes his lengthy arguments for applying to write the thesis in Danish, which is exactly what Kierkegaard uses in his application, which is also very lengthy and repeats many of the same arguments, specifically mentioning Hammerich's treatise.

Kierkegaard, as we know, was also granted permission – as the third in the country – to write his dissertation in Danish. Like Hammerich, Kierkegaard also added his Theses in Latin. It was not until 1854 that general permission was given to dispute in Danish.

Kierkegaard was a fellow theology student of Hammerich and clearly knew him well. At the time of Hammerich's dissertation, Kierkegaard was " "among the older students". The usual period of study was five years, so he ought to soon apply for theological master's degree. Instead, he threw himself into philosophical, especially aesthetic, subjects. On January 29, 1836, he takes off time to hear Peter Christian defend his thesis on true Christian theology for the theological licientiate degree…

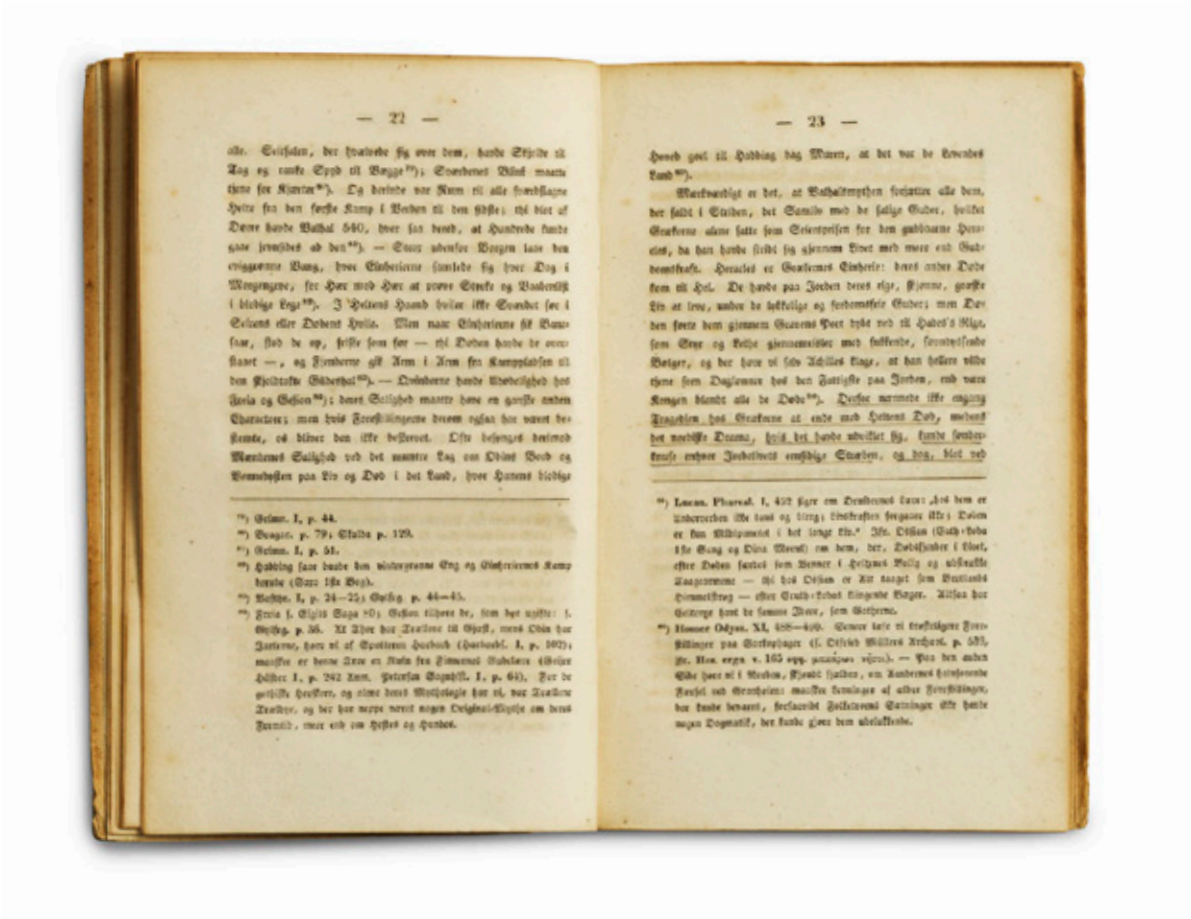
On April 5., Peter Christian's friend Martin Hammerich defends his thesis for the master's degree in philosophy. His dissertation *om Ragnaroksmythen og dens Betydning i den oldnordiske Religion* stands out in being the first that with Royal grant has been authored in Danish instead of Latin. Kierkegaard receives a copy with an inscription: "Til Student Kjerkegaard venskabeligst fra Forfatteren"." (Tudvad, Kierkegaards København p. 181, translated from Danish).

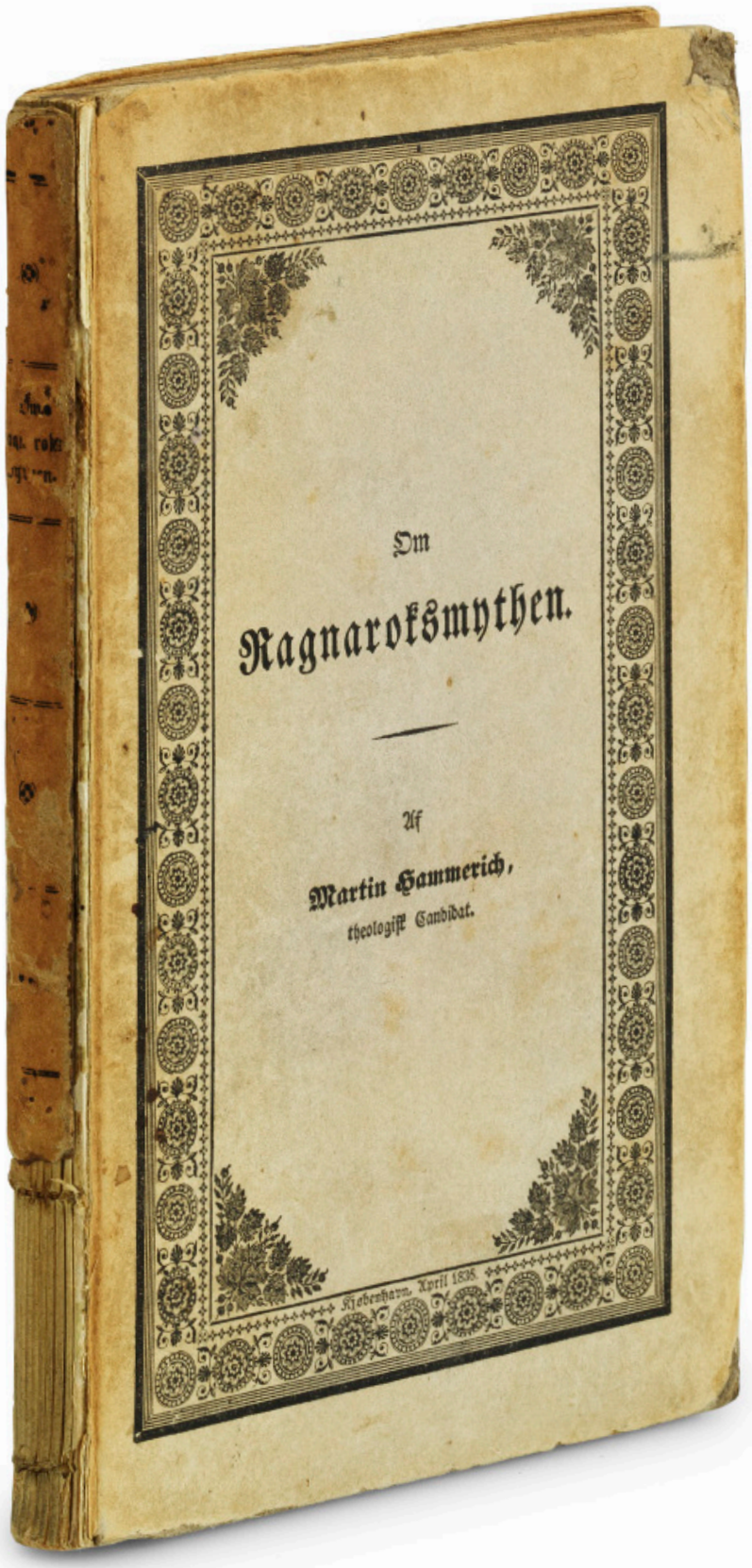
The inscription as well as the provenance of the copy is thoroughly described by Rohde in the auction protocol. Here, it is also registered that Georg Nygaard bought the copy at the Reverend Kalkar's auction on October 29, 1928, and that Gustaf Bernström owned it after Georg Nygaard.

Kierkegaard had an intimate knowledge of Greek, Roman, and Nordic mythology, and he frequently uses stories of the gods, demi-gods, and heroes in his works. He regularly includes references to the old Nordic world, the end of the world, and the old Norse pantheon. Their lives and stories are often used as metaphors and illuminating examples, and the myth of Ragnarok, the end of the world, is no exception, being appropriate to the sense of melancholy and anxiety.

"In Norse mythology the Fenris wolf, Fenrir, is the bound demon upon whose escape the fateful events of Ragnarök, the apocalypse, begin to unfold. He is the enemy of the supreme god of the Norse pantheon, Odinn, whom he will kill in the ultimate battle, and thus he symbolizes the constant threat, the realization of which the gods, called the Æsir, cannot prevent. Nonetheless, precisely this is their intention in binding the dreadful monster. The wolf is only unable to destroy the third of the three fetters laid upon him by the gods, and of all the elements in the myth, it is this tie, called Glaipnir, that most captivated Kierkegaard's attention." (Henrike Fürstenberg: The Fenris Wolf, p. (229)).

Kierkegaard uses the myth of the Fenris Wolf, chained until Ragnarok, in e.g. the Diapsalmata (no. 68) of *Either-Or*: "What is it that binds me? From what was this chain formed that bound the Fenris Wolf? It was made of the noise of cats' paws walking on the ground, of the beards of women, of the roots of cliffs, of the grass of bears, of the breath of fish, and of the spittle of birds. I, too am bound in the same way by a chain formed of gloomy fancies, of alarming dreams, of troubled thoughts, of fearful presentiments, of inexplicable anxieties. This chain is "very flexible, soft as silk, yields to the most powerful strain, and cannot be torn apart." " (SKS 2, 43 – EO1, 34).





Om

Ragnaroksmythen.

Af

Martin Hammerich,

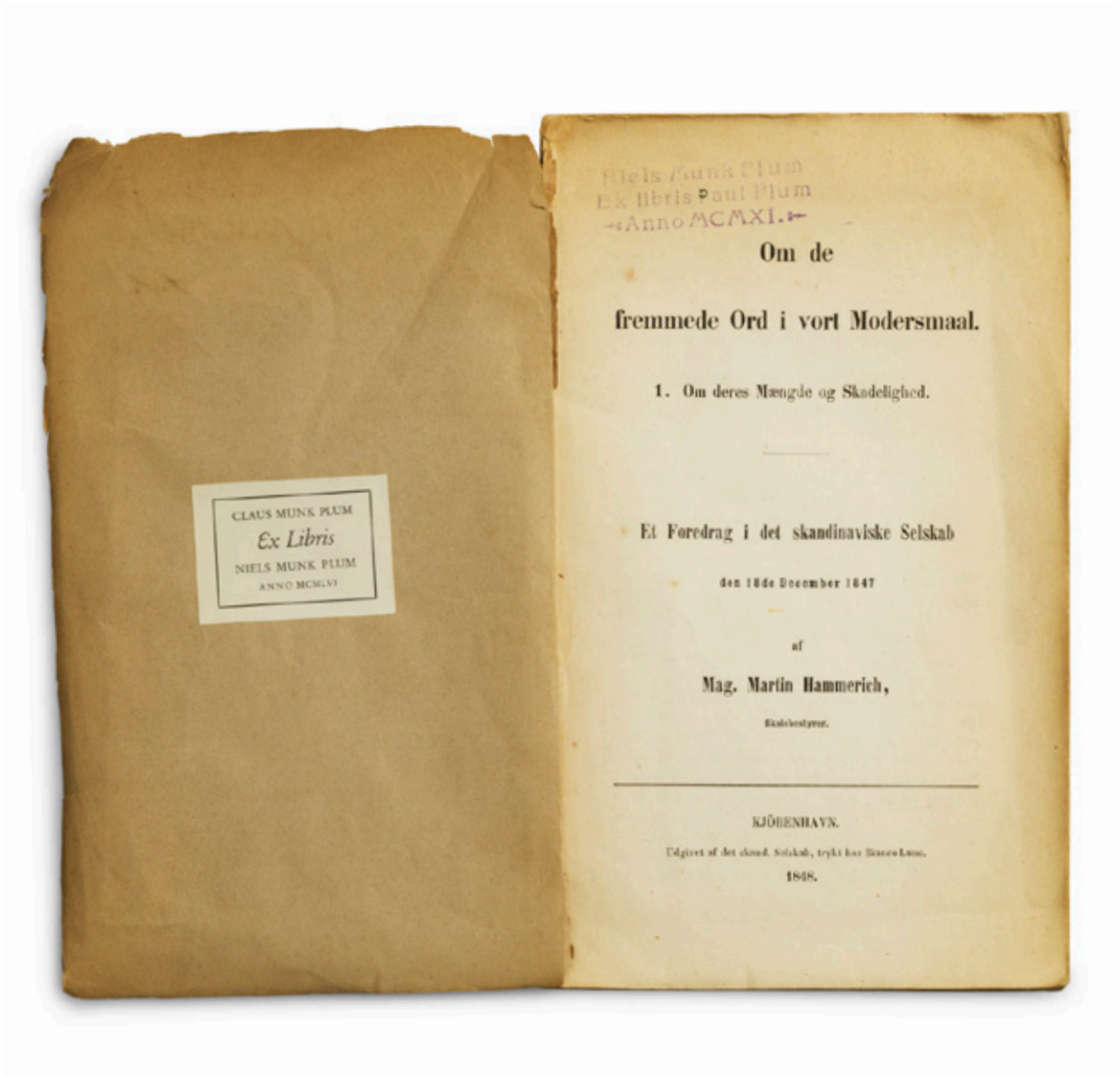
theologiæ Candidat.

Kiøbenhavn, April 1838.

110

Hammerich, Martin.
Om de fremmede Ord i vort Modersmaal.
1. Om deres Mængde og Skadelighed. Et Foredrag i det Skandinaviske Selskab den 18de December 1847.
[i.e. About the Foreign Words in our Mother Tongue].

Kjøbenhavn, 1848.



8vo. Uncut in the original blank wrappers. Missing paper at spine and extremities worn. Lacking ca. 3x3 cm of the top of back wrapper and small pieces of the top of front wrapper. Internally fine with only very light brownspotting. 29 pp.

With the ex libris of Claus and Niels Munk Plum, dated 1956, to inside of front board and the ownership stamp of Niels Munk Plum, dated 1911, to title-page.

Inscribed to the front wrapper: "Hr. Mag, S. Kierkegaard / venskabeligst fra / Forf." [i.e. Mr. Mag (i.e. Master of Arts), S. Kierkegaard / with friendship from / the auth.].

Kierkegaard's copy, given to him by the author, of Hammerich's slim treatise on the foreign words that have crept in to the Danish language and their damaging effects.

As we established above, Kierkegaard knew Hammerich from their student days, during which there are no signs of Kierkegaard bearing any ill will towards him. On the contrary, he follows Hammerich's example and also writes his master's thesis in their mother tongue (instead of Latin – see above, no. 109). One would think that the present pamphlet would be of interest to Kierkegaard, one of the other few of a very select crowd having written his thesis in his mother tongue at the University of Copenhagen. This theory seems even more likely considering Kierkegaard's scattered statements about his love for his mother tongue and the importance of it - see eg. SKS 3, 306: "I love my mother tongue, which liberates my thoughts; I find that in it I can express extremely well what I may have to say in the world." (*Either-Or*, vol. 2, p. 324).

SKS 6, 450 : "I feel fortunate to be bound to my mother tongue, bound as perhaps only few are, bound as Adam was to Eve because there was no other woman, bound because it has been impossible for me to learn another language and thus impossible for me to be tempted to be supercilious and snobbish about my native language. But I am also happy to be bound to a mother tongue that is rich in intrinsic originality when it stretches the soul and with its sweet tones sounds voluptuously in the ear; a mother tongue that does not groan, obstructed by difficult thought, and perhaps the reason some believe it cannot express it is that it makes the difficulty easy by articulating it; a mother tongue that does not puff and sound strained when it stands before the unutterable but works at it in jest and in earnest until it is enunciated; a language that does not find far off what is close at hand or seek deep down what is readily available …" (*Stages on Life's Way*, p. 489).

Not 8 :10: "You really feel how much you lack when you can't speak a language in the way you can your mother tongue – all the intermediate shades and tones."

But this was certainly not the case!

Having continued his studies, in Sanskrit and ancient Indian culture, in Bonn and Oxford, Hammerich later, in 1842, became headmaster of the renowned Borgerdyskolen. This is also the position he holds when he writes the present work, which he had given as a speech at the Scandinavian Society a few months earlier.

Before we venture on to Kierkegaard's view on the present work by Hammerich, it must be added that not long before, Hammerich had played a part in an unpleasant story involving *The Corsair* (which, as we know, Kierkegaard detested) and Frederik Ludvig Høedt, who was a teacher at Borgerdydskolen, and for whom Kierkegaard had great sympathy.

Both Kierkegaard and Høedt had been ridiculed in *The Corsair*, in a caricatured *Catalogue of Prize Dahlias* chosen to "from time to time be exhibited in The Corsair's Flower Garden" (*Corsaren*, 3. April 1846, no. 289, 13), where they were condescendingly described with flower traits. Høedt seems to have been very hurt by the ridicule. Furthermore, *The Corsair* brought a condescending review of Høedt's *Lyriske Studier* (1844) (in no. 208, 1844), which supposedly indirectly led to him being fired by Hammerich. Kierkegaard writes infuriated about this in his journals, indicating that Hammerich fired Høedt because of the Corsair ridicule alone – "And the school master himself is afraid of it." He calls Hammerich a spineless coward "who preferred letting a teacher take his leave, because he was pursued by the Corsair, and the boys brought it with them to school." (NB 9: 46).

Thus, at the time of the appearance of Høegh's pamphlet about their mother tongue, Kierkegaard was certainly still ill disposed towards him. To which degree this personal antipathy influences Kierkgaard's verdict of the pamphlet is difficult to say, but his diatribe against it is very invested, showing Kierkegaard from his most piercing side:

"Literary Otical Illusion:

This could become a study of Martin Hamerich (sic!), though no newspaper-article; because to report truth in a newspaper is to make use of the means of diffusion of lying.

First, it is so: no reality… will arouse nearly as much sensation as a mechanism that has these ends that twaddle can get hold of… exactly therefore, one should include M.H. (i.e Martin Hammerich), because he so easily disappoints… it is not money he desires, but to become something in literature that he is very far from being.

He does not write book, but petty little things that are meant to be talked-about…

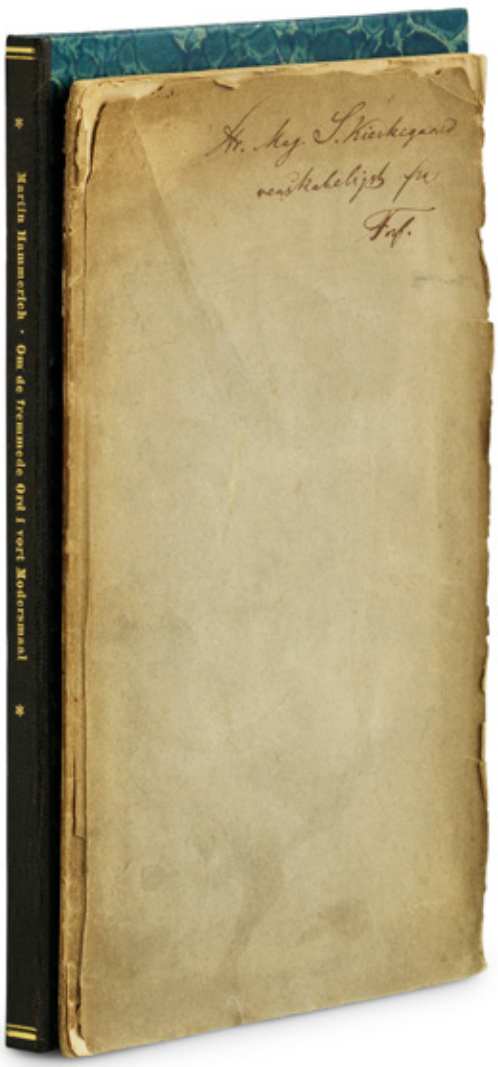
One gives a talk in Scandinavian Society (Skandinavisk Selskab). Many people hear it, of course – and there is much to talk about, that they were there that evening, etc., etc. The papers then review that evening in Scandinavian Society and they also mention the lecture, which they praise, ay reference more detailed than many another great book that is the fruit of years of diligence.

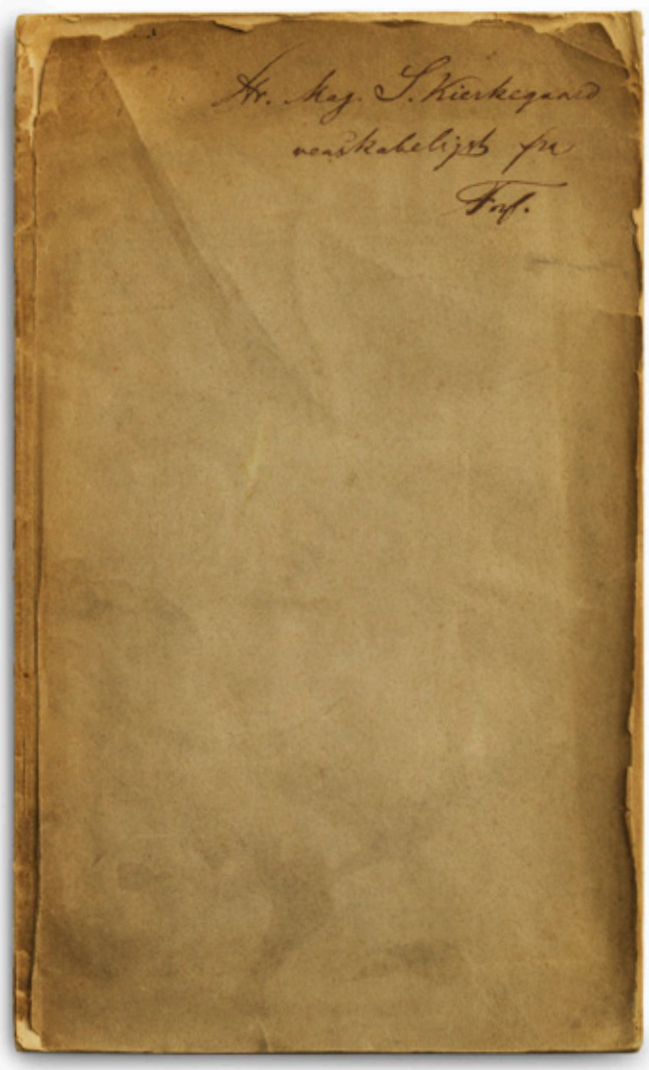
This is read by many, naturally one likes to read about the evening that one partook in. But as if that is not enough, one also publishes it… Now Rigsdagen has been assmbled and each member receives a copy – and then it says in the book that the author had the intention of delivering another thesis… This gives twaddle plenty to think about and talk about. …

And what is this lecture? A trifling matter, a ridiculous child's play that holds several, some fairly entertaining, curiosities about the use of foreign words in the Danish language, but about which there has not been made the faintest attempt at a true examination…"

Kierkegaard goes on and on, showing his disdain for the work and complete lack of respect for Hammerich because of it. (The passages are from the loose papers from 1848 found in the Bible Case – SKS 27, 420:2. As we could not find an English translation of these papers, we have translated the small excerpts ourselves).

We know for certain that Kierkegaard owned the present copy of Hammerich's apparently controversial pamphlet, as it is inscribed to him. And we know also that he read it. It was, however, not in his collection, when he died (and thus not in the auction catalogue), which is hardly surprising considering how Kierkegaard felt about it. He presumably gave it away after having read it.





111

Raumer, Friedrich von.
Geschichte der Hohenstaufern und ihrer Zeit. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. In sechs Bänden. 6 vols.

Kjøbenhavn, 1848.

8vo. Bound in six very nice, uniform, contemporary, green half Morocco bindings with gilt titles and gilt ornamentation to spines. Hinges with wear, some with restorations, and front hinges a little weak and with leather worn off. All in all a very nice and attractive set. Internally remarkably nice, clean, and fresh. XVIII, 596 + VIII, 671 + X, (2), 682 + X, 654 + XVI, 590 + XVI, 860 pp.

Volume 1 with the ownership signatures of P.S. Lund (being Peter Severin), dated 1860, Henriette Lund, and Troels Lund. Volume 2 with the ownership signatures of P.S. Lund, dated 1860, and Henriette Lund. Volumes 3-6 with the ownership signatures of P.S. Lund, also dated 1860, Henriette Lund, and Eduard Becker.

Verso of front free end-paper with an inscription by Troels Lund documenting the ownership history of the copy: Denne Bog har tilhørt: / Dr. Søren Kierkegaard. + 1855. / cand. theol. Peter Lund. Dødeligt saaret 29/6 1864 / Fröken Henriette Lund. (der har givet den til:) / Dr. Troels Lund." (I.e. This book has belonged to: Dr. Søren Kierkegaard. + [a cross, i.e. his year of death] 1855. / cand. theol. [i.e. master of theology] Peter Lund. Deadly injured 29/6 1864 / Miss Henriette Lund. (who has given it to:) Dr. Troels Lund.).

A lovely set of the expanded second edition of Raumer's history of the Hohenstaufern dynasty, according to renowned historian Troels Lund, Kierkegaard's copy of the work, which has belonged to several members of Kierkegaard's family, including Troels Lund himself.

Although we have no further evidence that this book documenting the German dynasty that ruled the Holy Roman Empire from 1138 to 1208 and again from 1212 to 1254, actually belonged to Kierkegaard, and although it is not in the auction catalogue, we have no reason to doubt Troels Lund's recording of the ownership history, and we deem it very certain that this book did indeed belong to Kierkegaard.

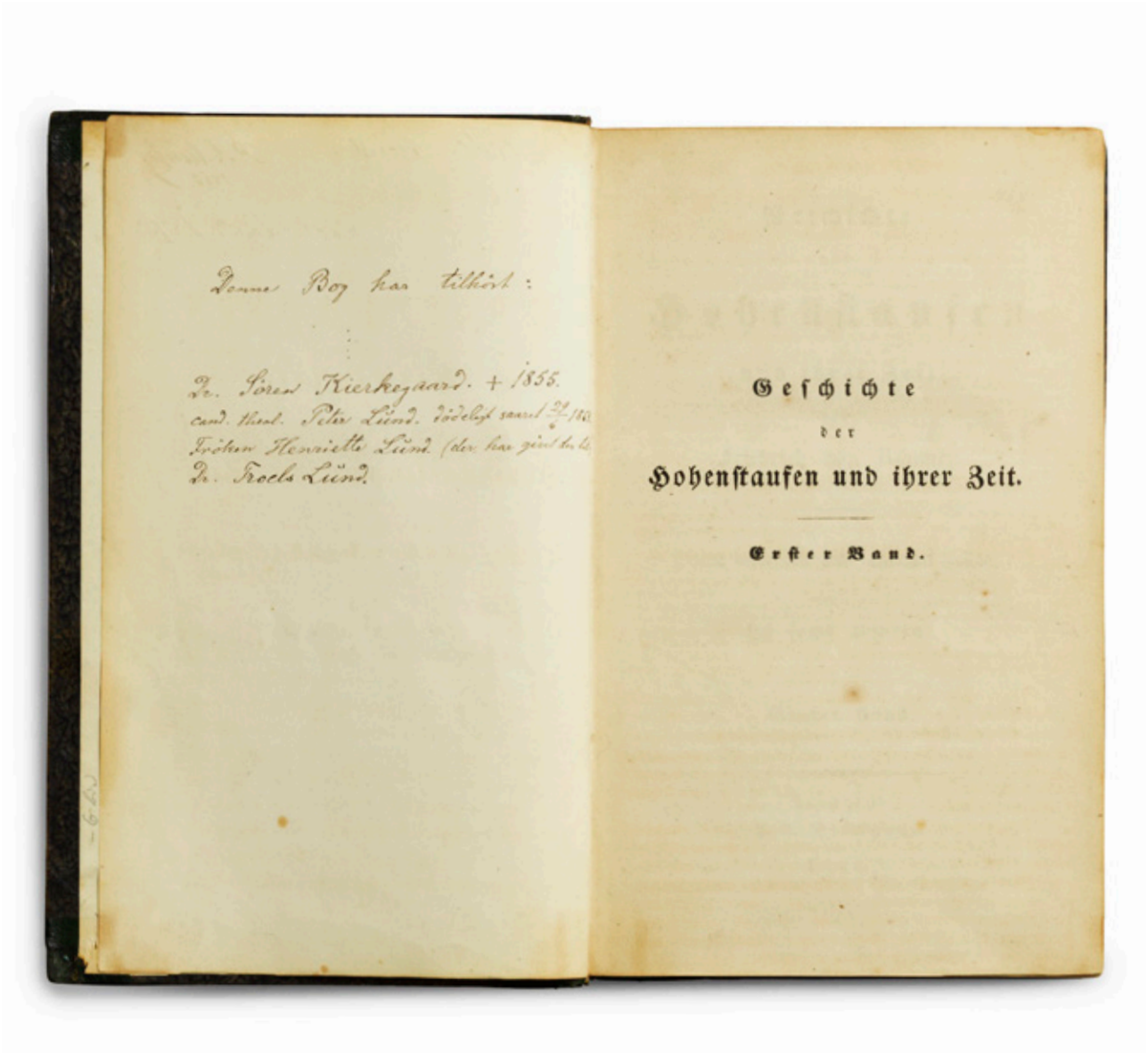
Kierkegaard was very strongly bound to his family, and especially the Lund family played an enormous part in his life. He was especially close to Henriette (called "Jette" by the family, as in Kierkegaard's letters to her) Lund, who was his sister's daughter. Kierkegaard frequented their household on a very regular basis, played with the children, and was very much at home there. Henriette would later write one of the most significant and intimate memoirs of Kierkegaard, portraying him from the most personal and familiar side (see Henriette Lund: *Erindringer fra Hjemmet*). Henriette Lund was also the person Regine entrusted with her letters from Kierkegaard along with her wish for Henriette Lund to gather all possible information about that period in Kierkegaard's life and publish this information along with the contents of the letters, after Regine's death (see: Henriette Lund: *Mit Forhold til hende*).

Henriette's brother Peter Severin, named after his mother, Kierkegaard's sister Petrine Severinus, who died in childbirth with P.S., was considered a hero in the Lund/Kierkegaard family. He died (as is also indicted by Troels Lund on the front free end-paper in the present book) in battle, fighting for his country in the second Schlesien War, having volunteered to be a soldier. He was known as very bright young man, much influenced by his famous uncle, who he saw often in the family home. Like Søren Kierkegaard, Peter Severin Lund studied theology, at which he excelled, later specializing in Eastern religion, culture, and languages.

Troels Lund is a famous Danish historian and author, primarily known for his magnum opus *Dagligt Liv i Norden*, but also for many other works and for his great influence upon the history of his motherland. Like Kierkegaard, he too studied theology and achieved his doctor's degree with a thesis on the teachings and personality of Socrates.

Troels Lund was the youngest of seven children, four of them from his father's previous marriage to Petrea Severine Lund (born Kierkegaard), making him the half-brother of Henriette and Peter Severin. Thus, Troels Lund was also frequently in the company of his half-uncle Søren Kierkegaard, who spent so much time in the family home.

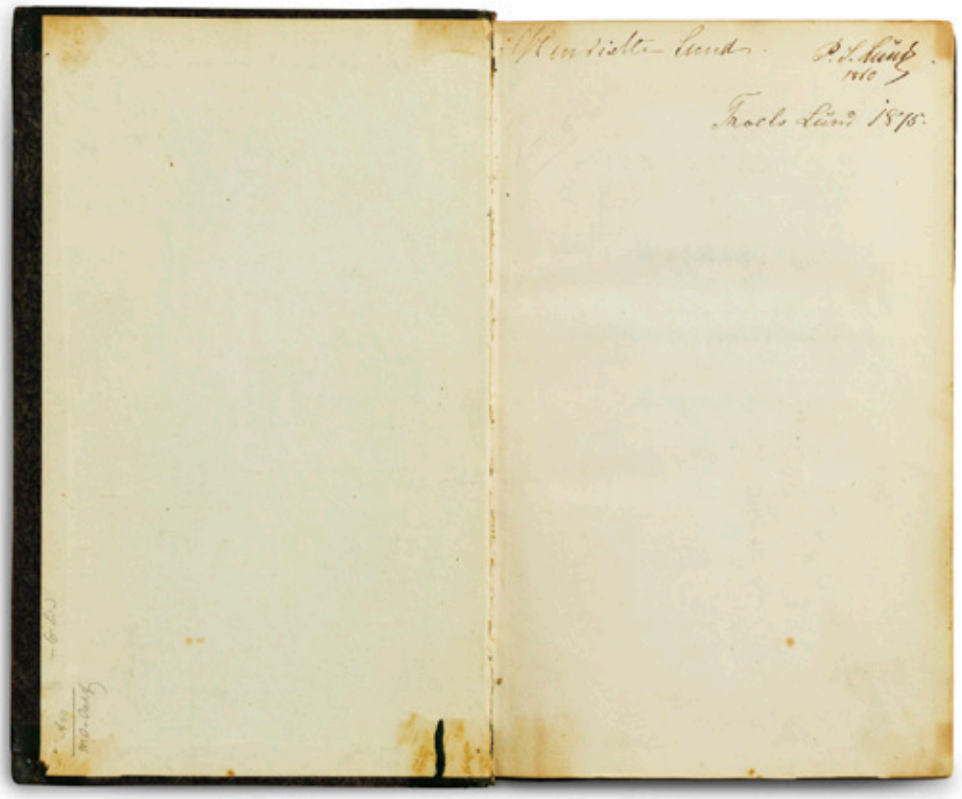
In 1841, the Lund family rented the house Bakkehuset in Frederiksberg, which became a gathering spot for the intellectuals of Copenhagen. One of Troels Lund's most widely read books is his *Bakkehus og Solbjerg* in three volumes, the third of which contains his vivid childhood memories of Kierkegaard.

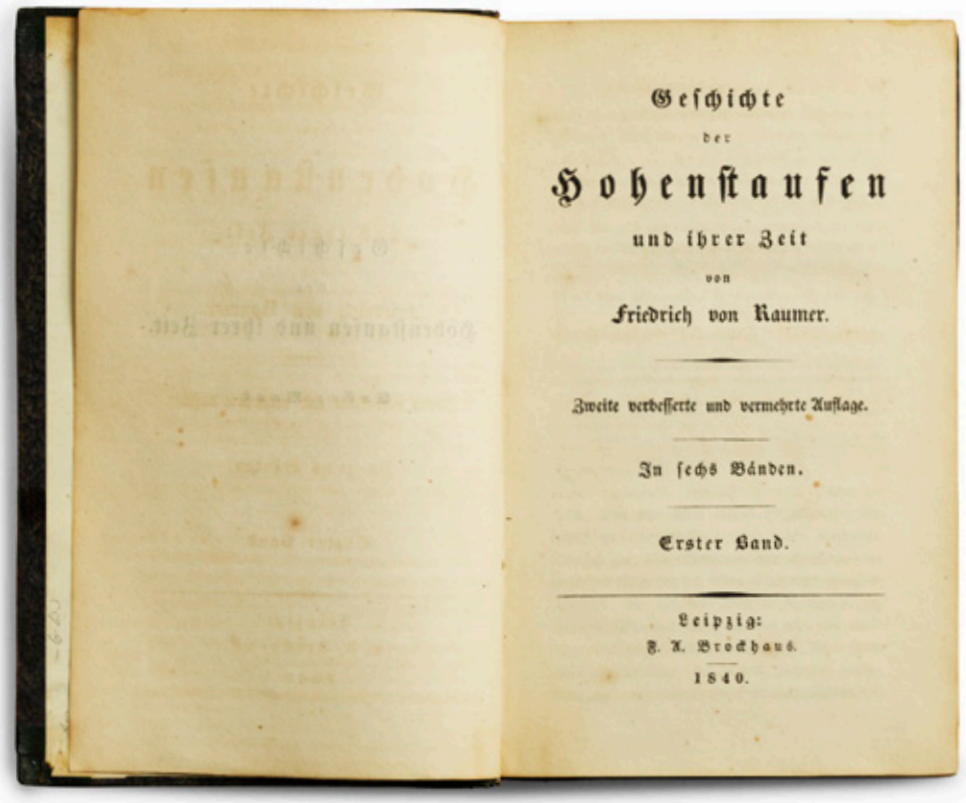

Denne Bog har tilhørt:

Dr. Søren Kierkegaard. + 1855.
cand. theol. Peter Lund. dødelyst saaret 24/10
Frøken Henriette Lund (der har givet den til
Dr. Troels Lund.

Geschichte
der
Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit.

Erster Band.





Geschichte
der
Hohenstaufen
und ihrer Zeit
von
Friedrich von Raumer.

Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage.

In sechs Bänden.

Erster Band.

Leipzig:
F. A. Brockhaus.
1840.

Regina Clare

“Her name will be a part of my work as an author,
remembered for as long as I am remembered”

”All my renown – this is my wish – shall belong to You
”our own, dear, little Regine” ”

”Neither I nor History shall forget You”

”In History she shall walk by my side”

Regine

IT IS SAFE TO SAY that Regine Olsen occupies a place like none other in Kierkegaard's life. Their love story is one of the most intriguing in the history of intellectual thought and has always been an inevitable source of fascination for anyone interested in understanding Kierkegaard.

It is not so much the love story itself, the engagement, and the rupture of the engagement that is responsible for the lasting importance that Regine has come to have upon Kierkegaard-reception and -scholarship, as it is Kierkegaard's own, endless reflections upon it and his constant insistence that she – *the one* – is the reason he became the writer that he did. Regine is inextricably linked to Kierkegaard's authorship, and in his own eyes, she became the outer, historical cause of it.

It is not only in his journals and in letters to his confidantes that Kierkegaard keeps returning to Regine, their story, and the ongoing importance she holds for him, her unique position in his authorship is evident both directly (as in the preface to his *Two Upbuilding Discourses* from 1843, where he imagines how the book reaches *the one*) and more indirectly, albeit still clearly alluding to her in e.g. *Repetition*, *Either-Or*, *Fear and Trembling*, *Philosophical Fragments*, etc.

"Even though Regine is not mentioned by her legal name one single time in the authorship, she twines through it as an erotic arabesque. In poetical form she appears before the reader in works such as *Repetition, Fear and Trembling* and *Guilty? – Not Guilty* [i.e. in *Stages on Life's Way*], which in each their way thematizes different love conflicts, but she can also show herself quite unexpectedly, e.g. deep inside *philosophical Fragments*, where it is said about the relationship between god and man that "The unhappy lies not in the fact that the lovers could not have each other, but in the fact that they could not understand each other." (Gert Posselt, in Lex, translated from Danish).

One of the most striking passages is from *Repetition*, where Constantin Constantius explains the paradox of loving the only one, but still having to end the relationship and how the loved one became the cause of his writing career:

"The young girl whom he adored had become almost a burden to him; and yet she was his darling, the only woman he had ever loved, the only one he would ever love. On the other hand, nevertheless, he did not love her, he merely longed for her. For all this, a striking change was wrought in him. There was awakened in him a poetical productivity upon a scale which I had never thought possible. Then I easily comprehended the situation. The young girl was not his love, she was the occasion of awakening the primitive poetic talent within him and making him a poet. Therefore he could love only her, could never forget her, never wish to love anyone else; and yet he was forever only longing for her. She was drawn into his very nature as a part of it, the remembrance of her was ever fresh. (Lowrie, 1946, p. 140).

It is no wonder that anyone interested in understanding Kierkegaard is also interested in under-

standing the relationship with Regine. According to Kierkegaard himself, there would not be the Kierkegaardian opus we have today, were it not for Regine Olsen – "the importance of my entire authorial existence shall fully and absolutely fall upon her" (draft of a letter, see: *Mit Forhold til Hende*, p. 116).

Due to numerous letters and a wealth of journal entries, we have a very vivid picture of how Kierkegaard got engaged and what happened afterwards. Kierkegaard wanted us to know. He wanted posterity to know the significance that Regine and the relationship with her had upon his life and work.

A few of Kierkegard's journal entries about Regine are redacted – some things have perhaps become too personal for prosperity to read, or Kierkegaard had later wished to put the story in a slightly different light –, but the rest gives a very clear picture of both the engagement and Kierkegaard's afterthoughts. And about the continuous role of both *her* and the rupture of the engagement in his authorship and personal life.

Added to that, we also have many of the letters that Kierkegaard sent to Regine during their engagement period. A few years after the engagement ended, Regine got engaged to and later married the Government officer Fritz Schlegel, who got stationed in the Danish West Indies, where they lived from 1855 to 1860. Kierkegaard died the very same year that Regine left Denmark, and after his death, Regine received in the post the bundle of letters that Kierkegaard had written to her, along with the letters he wrote to his friend Emil Boesen concerning Regine as well as Kierkegaard's Notebook 15, entitled *My Relationship with "her"*.

When Søren and Regine's engagement ended, it seems that they each gave back to the other the letters that they had written. Regine says that she burnt hers (see Raphael Meyer) – some speculate, however, that maybe she did not after all and that they might be out there in the world somewhere, but none of them have ever surfaced –, and Kierkegaard kept his, for Regine later to do with as she wanted.

Regine kept the letters and the *Notebook 15* and for years did nothing with them. But she did not destroy them. As she got older, she decided to pass them on to someone she trusted, and in 1893, she visited Henriette Lund (Kierkegaard's favourite niece – see Index of Personal Names) and told her that she wished for her to be entrusted with the notebook and the letters. According to Henriette Lund, by the following year, Regine had given the matter some more thought and had decided that Henritte Lund should publish the letters, also parts of those to Boesen and parts of *Notebook 15*. The publication was to also include conversations she had with Regine about the engagement. The fruit of this is the book entitled *Mit Forhold til Hende* (*My Relationship with Her*) by Henriette Lund, which was finished in 1896 and published after Regine's death, as agreed, in 1904.

We do not know exactly what happened, but it seems that Regine was not completely satisfied with the collaboration, and in 1896 she turned to Raphael Meyer and asked him to "listen to what "an old lady" could have to tell", write down everything about the engagement period, along with the publication of the letters, the letters to Boesen, and the contents of *Notebook 15*. This work too appeared in 1904, after Regine's death, and is more complete than Henriette Lund's publication. Thus, although this enormously important relationship seems to be somehow still shrouded in mystery and Kierkegaard followers still hunt for Regine's diary from the period and the allegedly burnt letters that may contain groundbreaking new information that will let us understand the great existentialist philosopher and somehow solve the "mystery", the Søren-Regine relationship is very well documented, from both sides.

This does not make it any less interesting. There is a reason why it occupies Kierkegaard so deeply throughout his life. And why it continues to occupy the rest of us.

It all begins in 1837, when Kierkegaard meets the lovely young girl Regine Olsen when paying a call to the widowed Cathrine Rørdam. Three years later, in September 1840, after having corresponded frequently with her and visited her on numerous occasions, Kierkegaard decides to ask for her hand in marriage. She and her family accept, but already the following day, Kierkegaard regrets his decision and agonizes endlessly over it, until finally, in October 1841, he breaks off the engagement. Or at least intentionally behaved in such a manner that Regine had no other choice but to break it off.

Disregarding the scandal, the heartbreak (his own included), and the numerous pleas from family members and friends alike, Kierkegaard's tortured soul, still searching for God and for the meaning of faith, cannot continue living with the promise of marriage. Once again, he says in his journals from 1848, looking back, he had been flung back to the abyss of his melancholy, because he did not dare believe that God would take away the underlying misery of his personality and rid him of his almost maddening melancholy, which is what he wished for with the entire passion of his soul, both for Regine's and thus also for his own sake. (See *Pap*. 1848, p. 61).

Later the same month, he flees Copenhagen and the scandal surrounding the broken engagement. He leaves for Berlin, the first of his four stays there, clearly tortured by his decision, but also intent on not being able to go through with the engagement. As is evident from his posthumously published *Papers*, Kierkegaard's only way out of the relationship was to play a charming, but cold, villain, a charlatan, not betraying his inner thoughts and feelings – the relationship had to be broken and Kierkegaard had to be gruesome to help her – "see that is "Fear and Trembling" " (Not 15:15 1849, SKS 19, 444).

Despite the brevity of the engagement, it has gone down in history as one of the most significant in the entire history of modern thought. It is a real-life Werther-story with the father of Existentialism as the main character, thus with the dumbfounding existentialist outcome that no-one could have foreseen. This exceedingly famous and difficult engagement became the introduction to one of the most influential authorships in the last two centuries.

It is during his stay in Berlin, right after the rupture of the engagement, that he begins writing *Either-Or*, parts of which, like *Repetition*, as we have noted above, can be read as an almost autobiographical rendering of his failed engagement. Several of Kierkegaard's most significant works are born out of the relationship with Regine – and its ending. And she is constantly at the back of his head, the backdrop to all of his writings.

"She was the reason for my authorship", Kierkegaard writes, "Her name shall belong to my writing, remembered for as long as I am remembered", "Her life had enormous importance", "Neither history nor I shall forget you", "In history she will walk by my side", "She shall belong to history", and so we could go on establishing the enormous importance of Regine through quotes from Kierkegaard's diaries and letters.

"– she has and must have first and only priority in my life – but God has first priority. My engagement to her and the break is in fact my relationship to God, is, if I dare say so, divinely my engagement to God." (NB27 :21, SKS 25, 139).

With good reason, many view Regine as the key to Kierkegaard's authorship. Without Regine, not only none of Kierkegaard's writings, but also no absolute relationship to God.

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Caspar Erasmus Brochmand [Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand].

Huus=Postill, Eller korte Forklaringer Over alle Evangelier og Epistler, Som paa Søndage og hellige Dage Udi Guds Menighed, det gandske Aar igiennem, pleye at fremsættes og forhandles. Guds Børn til gudelig Øvelse Paa ny oplagt, og med stor Fliid igiennemseet. 2 Parts.

Kiøbenhavn, Vaysenhuses Bogtrykkerie, Friedrich Kisel, 1741.

D. CASPARI ERASMI
BROCHMANDS,
S. S. Theologiæ Professoris Regii
Og Biskop over Sædlands Stift

Huus-Postill,

Eller
Korte Forklaringer
Og
Gudelige Betænkninger
Over alle
Evangelier og Epistler,
Som paa
Søndage og Hellige Dage
Udi
Guds Menighed, det gandske Aar igiennem, pleye at
fremsættes og forhandles.
Guds Børn til gudelig Øvelse
Paa ny oplagt, og med stor Fliid
igiennemseet.

Selges her uindbunden for 8 Mark Danske.

KIØBENHAVN,
Udi det Kongel. Vaisenhuses Bogtrykkerie, og paa dets Forlag,
Trykt af Gottmann Friderich Kisel. Aar 1741.

Large quarto. Bound in an absolutely magnificent, contemporary full morocco binding over wooden boards. Richly gilt spine with six raised bands and sumptuously gilt boards with a blank centre "mirror" of green morocco. Inner gilt dentelles and all edges of boards gilt. All edges gilt. Beautiful 18th century end-papers with flower-print motif. A bit of wear to spine and extremities. Small holes from clasps and remains of these to the back board. A truly splendid copy. (8), 710; (2), 613, (3) pp.

Second front fly leaf with handwritten entries by Terkild Olsen (Regine's father), spanning the years 1809-1830, of important events in his family, recording his wedding to Regina Malling as well as two confirmations and seven births, among them that of Regine Olsen.

With the ownership stamp of O.C. Thielst (who was related to the Olsen family) to first fly-leaf.

Regine's "family-bible", being a truly magnificent, splendidly bound copy of the 1741-edition of Brochmand's seminal Huus-Postill, which throughout two centuries constituted the most widespread devotional book in Denmark.

Brochmand's collection of sermons for family use first appeared in two parts printed in 1635 and 1638 repectively under the title *Sabbati Sanctificatio*, with the first collected edition appearing in 1655. The first edition under the title *Huus=Postill* appeared in 1719, and the 1741-edition is the fifth edition under this canonical title. Numerous other editions appeared throughout the 18th century, the latter ones being the most common.

The work was of the utmost importance to Danish Christianity throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and almost every churchgoing household in Denmark owned a copy. It became decisively influential upon the form of the sermon in the Danish Church.

Caspar Erasmus Brochmand, or Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, (1585-1652) was a Danish Lutheran clergyman and theologian. He was professor at the University of Copenhagen from 1610-1638, and from 1638 until his death, he served as Bishop of Zealand. He was a key founder of the dogmatic system that formed the basis for the Lutheran orthodoxy in Denmark. His most widespread work is the *Huus-Postill*, which remained a classic for two centuries. The work proclaims preaching that is centered around Jesus' death of atonement for the sake of man.

This extraordinarily finely bound copy has belonged to Regine's family, and her father, Terkild Olsen, has noted the most important family events on the front fly-leaf, beginning with the wedding of himself to Regine's mother, Regina Frederikke, in 1809. After that follows the births of their seven children, Regine being the 7th.

The entry about Regine reads "Den 20.de Januarum 1822 fødte hun [i.e. Regina Frederikke] en Datter som hun kaldte Regine og døbtes under Frue Menighed" (i.e. The 20th of January 1822 she [i.e. Regina Frederikke] gave birth to a daughter who she called Regine and was christened under Frue congregation).

And thus begins the story of Regine – and in turn the story of Kierkegaard as an author.

There are several later corrections and additions to the entries, e.g. dates of death etc. One of the corrections is in the Regine-entry, where her birthday has been corrected, first to January 22nd, then to 23rd. Regine's father seems to have entered the birth dates at the same time as the christening dates, explaining why he could have made a mistake in the birth date.

Interestingly, Regine's birthday seems to have always had some confusion about it. In Heiberg and Kuhr's edition of Kierkegaard's *Papers*, Regine's birthday is recorded as January 23rd, 1823 and her christening as February 15, 1823. This is repeated from vol. 3, 1911 up until the last volume in 1948. Also, in the Kierkegaard-entry in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, it says that Regine was 17 when they got engaged.

According to the church books, Regine (there registered as Regin*a*, whereas her father here, in their family book of sermons, calls here Regin*e*) was born on January 23rd, 1822 and christened om March 15, 1823.

We here have an extraordinary family heirloom from Regine's family, a rare glimpse into a bygone time, when the mythical muse of the father of Existentialism was born.

Terkild Olsen (1784-1849), Regine's father, was councilor of state and department head in the Finance Ministry. His son Jonas Olsen, Regine's brother, inherited the family heirloom after their father. According to a family record, the book was passed on to Oluf Thielst, when Jonas died in 1902. Oluf got it from his mother, Sophia Olsen, who was the daughter of Jonas Olsen, and who had married Johannes Mathiesen Thielst, Oluf Thielst's father. Oluf Thielst was close to his aunt (his father's sister) Regine and had taken great care of her in her old age. Oluf Thielst passed on the book to his son Otto Christian Mathiesen Thielst.

Laid in the book is a photograph depicting Jonas Olsen (1816-1902) with his second wife Cathrine Elisabeth Augusta Petersen and his daughter Sophia Olsen (1847-1929). The photograph is presumably taken at the vicarage in S. Stenderup, where he was priest from 1871-1902. The picture is in his study, with his bookshelves in the background. On one of the shelves, right above his head, one sees the present copy of Brochmand's *Huus-Postill*.

Jonas Olsen – Regine's brother, who inherited the present work from their father – was very close to his sister. He was also a good friend of Kierkegaard, with whom he studied theology before Kierkegaard's engagement to his sister. Kierkegaard had great respect for him, as he had for their father, who almost took on a father role for Kierkegaard.

When Kierkegaard broke off the engagement with Regine, Jonas was outraged and swore to hate Kierkegaard "like no-one had hated before".

Bibl. Dan. I: 480. Provenance: directly from the Thielst family.

Den 8de Febr. 1809 blev vi R. og Trinde i Trinitatis Kirke.

Den 30te Decbr 1809 fødte R. en Datter som blev kaldet Marie Dorothea Frederikke. (Døde inde i Trinitatis Menighed.) Hun døde d. 29 September 1892 og blev begravet der.

Den 20de April 1811 fødte hun en Søn som blev kaldet Olivia Christiane. (Døde inde i Det Sortedamske Menighed og er begravet.)

Den 17de Decbr 1814, fødte hun en Søn, som blev kaldet Niels Christian. (Døbt inde i Trinitatis Menighed.)

Den 14de August 1816 fødte hun en Søn som blev kaldet Jonas Christian. (Han blev dræbt i den Ulykke 1903 og blev begravet i Stadionsp.)

Den 10de Januar 1818 fødte hun en Datter som blev kaldet Cornelia, og dødte inde i Holmens Menighed.

Den 22de August 1819 fødte hun en Søn som hun døbte Regner, og det i November Maaned samme Aar.

Den 28de Januar 1822 fødte hun en Datter som blev kaldet Regine og dødte inde i Hvidovre Menighed.

Den 5te April 1826 blev Marie og Olivia konfirmerede af Pastor Münster i Trinitatis Kirke.

Den 10de October 1830 blev Niels konfirmeret af Pastor Münster i Holmens Kirke.

Regina

THE NAME THAT HAS GONE DOWN in history as one of the most important muses in philosophy, Regine, is also frequently known – perhaps even more significantly so – in the variation Regin*a*. From February 2nd, 1839, e.g., we have the now so famous Kierkegaardian praise of the woman:

"You, my heart's sovereign mistress <Regina> stored in the deepest recesses of my heart, in my most brimmingly vital thoughts, there where it is equally far to heaven as to hell–unknown divinity! Oh, can I really believe what the poets say: that when a man sees the beloved object for the first time he believes he has seen her long before, that all love, as all knowledge, is recollection, that love in the single individual also has its prophecies, its types, its myths, its Old Testament? Everywhere, in every girl's face, I see features of your beauty, yet I think I'd need all the girls in the world to extract, as it were, your beauty from theirs, that I'd have to criss-cross the whole world to find the continent I lack yet that which the deepest secret of my whole 'I' magnetically points to – and the next moment you are so near me, so present, so richly supplementing my spirit that I am transfigured and feel how good it is to be here…" (EE :7 1839, SKS 18, 8).

Here, Kierkegaard plays with the name of his beloved, his "mistress", whose name in Latin (with an "a") means queen. The entry originally merely had "my heart's sovereign mistress", but afterwards, Kierkegaard inserted the name of her – *the one* –, Regina, the queen of his heart. This has been the source of much interpretation. Some see in this the onset of the transformation of the actual, physical girl into the poetically spiritual figure, who is doomed to never becoming anything but that of which immortal writing is made. (See e.g. Garff, Regines Gåde, p. 46).

Kierkegaard also elsewhere alludes to Regin*a* (see NB3 :43 1847, SKS 20, 268) and in a draft of a letter to Schlegel from 1849, where he wishes to rekindle contact with Regine, of course with the approval of her husband (who did not accept), he refers to her as "a girl, who poetically deserves to be called Regina", ending the passus with telling Schlegel that he makes her happy in life, whereas Kierkegaard will secure her immortality. (SKS 28, 255).

Regine herself, perhaps prompted by Søren's use of it, would also later sign herself Regina (see letters to her sister Cornelia sent from the West Indies).

It is evident from the ca. 30 letters we have from Kierkegaard to Regine, covering the engagement period (September 1840-October 1841), that during that period, Søren would occasionally send Regine presents along with his letters. These presents include flowers, perfume, a scarf, a copy of the *New Testament*, candle sticks, a music rest, and a "painting apparatus". But we know little of what could have come before. Could there have been an actual engagement present? Kierkegaard does not mention it in his diaries nor in any letter still known or preserved.

What would he have given her? It is pure speculation, but it does not seem unreasonable that he would have given her a book – a recently published one – that contains some of his favourite romantic poems from some of his favourite Danish poets, poets that he quoted in his love letters to Regine, a book compiled by the poet he treasured more than anyone else, Christian Winther, and which also contained poems by one of the people he treasured the most as a person, a near father figure for him and one of the finest poets (and philosophers) in Denmark, Poul Martin Møller … Had he given her one such book, it would have been beautifully, exquisitely, and possibly slightly romantically bound. And she would have written her name in it – with all probability, seeing that it came from him, the name that he gave her in 1839 – Regina Olsen.

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Christian Winther.
Danske Romanzer, hundrede og fem. Samlede og Udgivne. [Danish Romances, One Hundred and Five. Collected and Issued].

Kjøbenhavn, H.C. Klein, 1839.

8vo. Bound in a magnificent, contemporary full mottled calf binding with exquisitely gilt spine, Gothic gilt lettering to spine (author in Latin lettering, title in Gothic lettering) and boards with a lovely, romantic border of gilt leaves. Lovely blue end-papers. Very light wear to spine and slight wear to corners. A small, almost unnoticeable restoration to lower front hinge. An absolutely exquisite copy in wonderful condition. Internally some brownspotting. (6), 386 pp.

Jørgen Bertelsen's book-plate to inside of front board.

With the very neat and meticulously written ownership signature of the young Regine Olsen to front free end-paper.

First edition of Christian Winther's lovely collection of Danish romantic poems, containing extracts of the loveliest of Danish golden age romantic poetry. Apart from Winther's own six contributions, the collection contains romances by all the greatest Danish poets of the period, among them Hans Christian Andersen, Baggesen, Grundtvig, Hauch, Heiberg, Ingemann, Poul Martin Møller, Paludan Müller, Oehlenschläger, and others.

In his love letters to Regine, Kierkegaard will occasionally quote Danish romantic poems. These are often by either Christian Winther or Poul Martin Møller, arguably the two poets he treasured the most, but he will also quote Baggesen and Grundtvig. During the year of the engagement – from 1840 to 1841 –, in the letters to Regine that are preserved (as noted above), Kierkegaard quotes the following Danish poems:

Brev 130: Poul Martin Møller, Den Gamle Elsker (SKS 28, 217,*6*)
Brev 131: Winther, Violinspilleren ved Kilden (SKS 28, 217,*22*)
Brev 131: Poul Martin Møller, Den gamle Elsker (SKS 28, 218,*30*)
Brev 138: Baggesen, Agnete fra Holmegaard (SKS 28, 224,*24*)
Brev 139: Poul Martin Møller, Den gamle Elsker (SKS 28, 225,*24*)
Brev 145: Winther, Henrik og Else (SKS 28, 232,*12*)
Brev 150: Grundtvig, Vilhelm Bisp og Kong Svend (SKS 28, 239,*21*)

In the present work of Danish romantic poems gathered by Winther we find all but 2), which was only published the year after, in 1840. Added to that is another lovely detail, namely that Regine at the end of letter 139 to her from Kierkegaard has written a little quotation herself, namely part of a poem from Johannes Ewald's *Fiskerne* (see SKS 28, 226,*27*). That exact part of the larger work *Fiskerne*, entitled *Liden Gunver*, from which Regine here quotes, is also to be found in the present work of Danish romances.

This all might be pure coincidence. But we find it speaks to more than that. Even though nothing can be concluded as to exactly who gave Regine the present book, there is no doubt that she treasured this beautifully, romantically bound volume with some of the loveliest Danish poems, in which she wrote her name so beautifully in her youth, presumably right around her first engagement.

As is evident from the auction record, Kierkegaard too owned a copy of the present book, albeit not in a dainty binding.

Provenance: From the Thielst-family.

Danske Romanzer,

hundrede og fem.

Samlede og udgivne

af

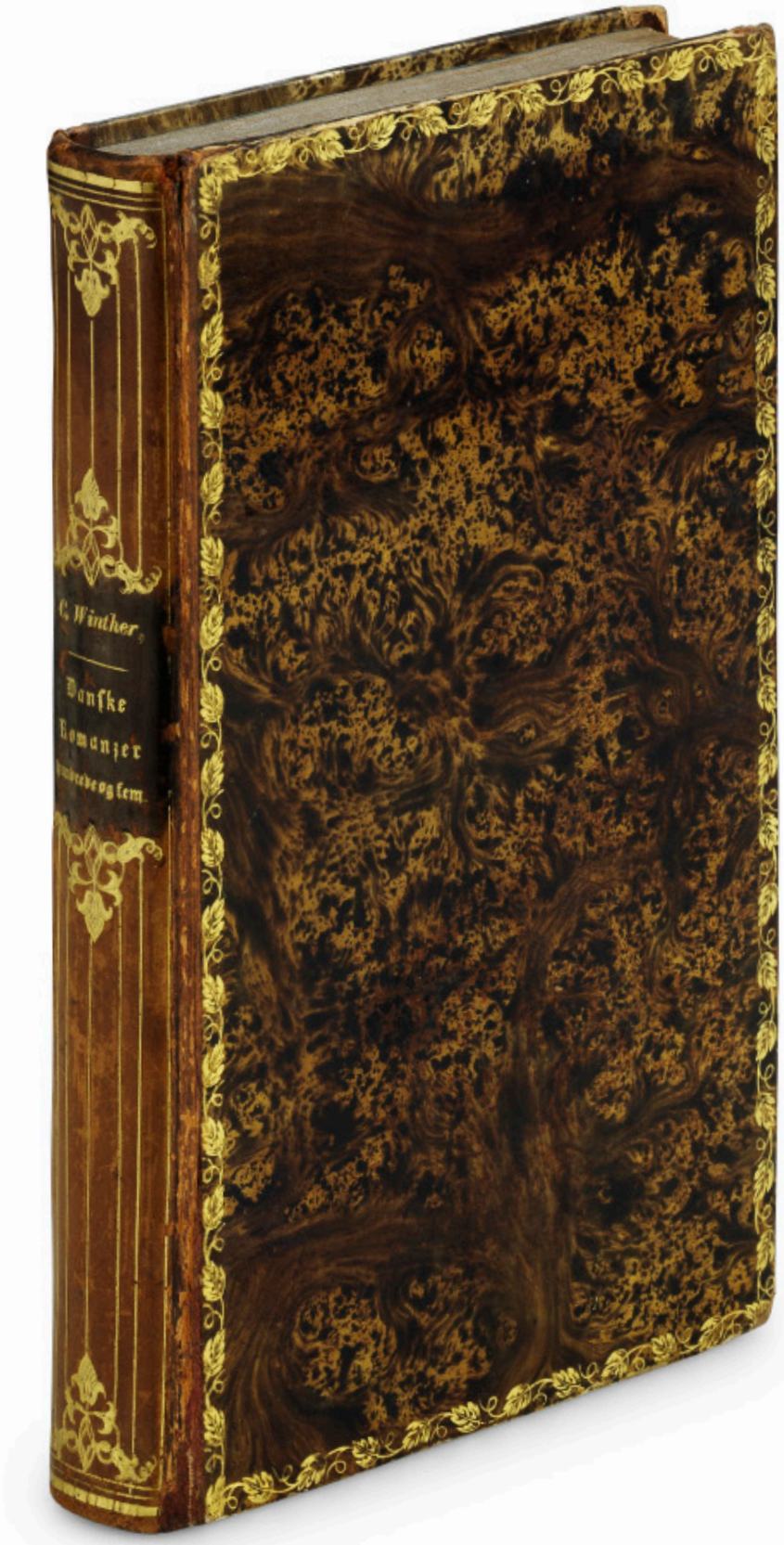
Christian Winther.

Kjøbenhavn.

Forlagt af H. C. Klein.

Trykt i Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri.

1839.


C. Winther,
Danske
Romanzer

Index of Personal Names

Ahlmann, Nicolai (1809-1890)
Danish politician.

Bayer, Christian Frederik (1841-1933)
Accountant and head-clerk af Bikuben (large Danish bank at the time), but also a painter and illustrator. He was an autograph-collector and owned one of the largest and most important autograph collections in the country.

Bernström, Gustaf (1877-1966)
Swedish pharmacist, book collector. Bernström's outstanding library, mainly focused on Swedish and Danish literature, included a substantial collection of Kierkegaard.

Berntsen, Oluf (1891-1987)
Danish fencer, Olympic athlete.

Bertelsen, Jørgen Kaj (1907-1973)
Vicar, book collector.

Bojesen, Ernst Frederik Christian (1803-64)
Philologist and school man. In 1820, Bojesen graduated as student from Borgerdydskolen, where he already the following year began teaching classical languages and soon became the principal's right hand man. Here, he taught classical languages and was Kierkegaard's teacher of classical Greek. He later became dr. Phil and professor at Sorø Akademi, where "in September 1841, he received, by post, a presentation-copy of the dissertation "On the Concept of Irony" by his previous disciple. (Tudvad, Kierkegaards København, p. 171). Presentation-copy for Bojesen In the present catalogue: no. 7.

Bredsdorff, Niels Christian Møller (1836-1892)
Scoolmaster.

Brøchner, Hans (1820-1875)
Theologian, philosopher, and linguist. As Julie Thomsen (see below) related to Kierkegaard – Brøchner's uncle Michael Andersen Kierkegaard was the cousin of Kierkegaard's father.

Brøchner's writings are both highly important, interesting, and controversial. They were far from the teachings of Kierkegaard, but the two remotely related philosophers had a dear friendship dominated by mutual respect. Brøchner consorted with Kierkegaard from 1836 to 1855 and embraced him with much love, devotion, and respect. And the feeling was mutual. Although the two thinkers had deeply diverging opinions about the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, they respected each other and maintained an amicable relationship.

Under the influence of Strauss and Feuerbach, Brøchner had broken with Christianity and come to a monastic philosophy, where the fundamental principle was one of teleology. "In spite of having already at the age of 20 after a study of David Friedrich Strauss', Ludwig Feuerbach's, and Bruno Bauer's writings rejected the fundamental doctrines of Christianity…, he never lost the sympathy of Kierkegaard… There can hardly be

any doubt that Kierkegaard preferred a sincere atheist to a lukewarm Christian." (C.H. Koch, Hans Brøchners Forelæsninger om Kierkegaard, p. 2223, translated from Danish).

In 1842-43, Brøchner published his translation of David Friedrich Strauss' controversial Christian Dogma (1840) (see no. 105 in the present catalogue), in which he offers a radical new perspective on the nature of faith and the meaning of the Bible. This groundbreaking study of Christian theology was highly controversial, claiming that the history of Christian doctrines has basically been the history of their disintegration.

Brøchner's translation of this groundbreaking work was very important and brought these novel biblical interpretations to Denmark. Ascribing to these doctrines came at a significant price for the young Brøchner. Due to having publicly accepted the doctrines of Strauss and Feuerbach, the Theological Faculty of Copenhagen denied him permission to be nominated for examination for the theological degree.

"A following study of David Friedrich Strauss', Ludwig Feuerbach's and Bruno Bauer's works confirmed him in his rejection of the central doctrines of Christianity. … Having gathered further information from him about his point of view, the theological faculty refused his request. The case awoke great public attention and was mentioned in both the provincial press and that of the capital." (C.H. Koch in: Den danske Idealisme, p. 496, translated from Danish).

Instead of a theological degree, Brøchner continued his philosophical and philological studies and ended up becoming professor of philosophy.

He wrote a number of works on Religion, faith, and philosophy as well as several interesting articles and pamphlets against Martensen and Rasmus Nielsen. He also wrote a memoir about Kierkegaard, 1871-72, which is considered the best, most accurate, and most noteworthy contemporary account of Kierkegaard as a person. This excellent portrayal of Kierkegaard clearly shows the dear relationship between them.

Kierkegaard seems to have used Brøchner as the model for "The young man" in *Stages on Life's Way* (see eg. Knud Jensenius, 'Det unge Menneske' hos Søren Kierkegaard, pp. 340-350).

Clausen, Henrik Nicolai (1793-1877)
Theologian and politician. Kierkegaard attended Clausen's lectures on the New Testament in 1932-33 as well as his daily lectures on the synoptic gospels and presumably also several of his other lectures. "Clausen taught Kierkegaard at a crucial stage in his development. It was through his university teachers that Kierkegaard met the latest thinking in biblical studies, church history, and systematic theology in the 1830s. Clausen was acknowledged as the most intellectually impressive member of the faculty… Clausen's lectures and writings on Schleiermacher, critical New Testament studies, and the development of biblical hermeneutics in the patristic period were an important element in Kierkegaard's education which he drew upon throughout his authorship." (Pyper in Kierkegaard and his Danish contemporaries II, p. (41)).

According to Johannes Hohlenberg (see *Den unge Kierkegaard*), it was after a clash with Clausen that Kierkegaard gave up theology. Clausen was a rationalist, but he tried to unite Schleiermacher's concept of faith with a critical attitude towards church tradition.

In 1825, Clausen published his pioneering work in historical dogmatics, *Catholicism and Protestantism's Church Constitution, Doctrine, and Ritual*, which almost immediately prompted Grundtvig to publish his pamphlet *The Church's Rejoinder*, in which he attacked Clausen so vehemently that Clausen sued him for defamation, a contention that the court upheld, famously resulting in Grundtvig being put under police censure.

The courage that Clausen exhibited in this case seems to have been something that Kierkegaard – especially towards the end of his life building up towards his attacks upon the established church – comes to appreciate. Clausen did not succumb to popular pressure and church hierarchy.

Presentation-copy to Clausen in the present catalogue: no 79.

Colding, Torben Holck (1918-1998)
Art historian and museum curator.

Collin, Jette (1808-1886)
Wife of Edvard Collin (see below).

Collin, Edvard (1808-1886)
Civil servant and notable collector of books, manuscripts, and letters. Son of Jonas Collin (see below).

Collin, Jonas (1776-1861)
Civil servant, patron of the arts. Best known as patron and close friend of Hans Christian Andersen, Collin was one of the most dominant and influential figures of the Danish Golden Age. From 1803 onwards Collin served as secretary of the foundation *ad usus publicos*, through which he became heavily involved in cultural life. Additionally, Collin was one of the few regular recipients to whom Kierkegaard sent his books.

Fausböll, Michael Viggo (1821-1908)
Educator, translator, orientalist, and linguist. Fausböll was a pioneer of Pali scholarship and very influential. He studied theology at the University of Copen-hagen and received his Master's degree in 1847. From 1878 to 1902, he was professor here and taught Sanskrit and East Indian philology. In 1855, he published a groundbreaking translation of the *Dhammapada*, the first into Latin, which formed the basis for the first complete translation of this text into English.

Fibiger, Andreas (1868-1937)
Parish priest in Copenhagen. According to what we have been able to gather, Fibiger was a collector of autographs – and autographs by famous people rather than letters as such. He seems to have often cut the signature of a letter and kept merely that.

Frederiksen, Hans Christian (1840-1921)
Schoolmaster.

Giødwad, Niels Finsteen (1811-1891)
Journalist and newspaper editor. Something as rare as a personal friend of Kierkegaard (see e.g. SKS 21 214,10).

Kierkegaard's friendship with Giødwad was presumably initiated in 1842, when Kierkegaard published his first paper in *The Fatherland*, *Aabenbart Skriftemaal*. We know that from the Christmas of 1842, Giødwad helps with the proof reading of *Either-Or* – he would be given two leaves daily to proofread – and is thus clearly one of the most trusted people in his life. It was also Giødwad, who represented Kierkegaard in dealings with publishers and printers, when it had to do with the pseudonymous writings, thus protecting Kierkegaard's pseudonymity and shielding him from the public.

Giødwad himself said that Kierkegaard initially got a favourable impression of him when at some point he had dismissed a reader, who wished to know who was behind an anonymous paper published in The Fatherland (See A.D. Jørgensen's statement from 1885 in Kirmmsee, Søren Kierkegaard truffet, p. 88).

Kierkegaard trusted Giødwad completely, and thereby also *The Fatherland*. Apart from his four earliest papers in *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (see no. 1 in the present catalogue), *The Fatherland* was the only paper Kierkegaard would publish in.

Hother Plough recalls (see Kirmmsee pp. 88-89) that the office of *The Fatherland* became a sort of club for Giødwad's personal circle of friends, among these Kierkegaard, who visited him there daily. In the

winter of 1842-43, "the proof-copy of *Either-Or* was so to speak read in the office of *The Fatherland*."

"Kierkegaard himself was the first to be puzzled and amazed at this strange relationship with Giødwad, because, despite his friend's good nature and renowned integrity, he was persuaded that "a certain degree of dishonesty is inseparable from even the most honest journalist."

Giødwad was never a prolific author and certainly never exercised a theoretical influence on Kierkegaard's thinking; nonetheless, his amiability and untiring helpfulness, his strong sense of duty, his idealism and unwavering dedication had an important influence on kierkegaard's authorship." (Andrea Scaramuccia in: Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries I: p. 14).

Goldschmidt (1819-1887)
Publisher, journalist, and novelist. Founding editor of the satirical and political magazine *The Corsair* (see no. 45 in the present catalogue), which came to affect Kierkegaard enormously.

"If Goldschmidt is known beyond the borders of Denmark, then it is presumably as a footnote to Kierkegaard's life and authorship – specifically, as the editor of the journal *The Corsair*, which Kierkegaard came into conflict with in 1845-46.

But in his time Goldschmidt was one of Denmark's most important authors, and to this day he stands as one of the most significant figures in Danish literary history in the long period of transition between Romanticism and Naturalism (ca. 1825-70). Apart from his celebrity with *The Corsair*, his name is also indissolubly connected with the blooming of the *Bildungsroman* in Denmark, and, moreover, he produced a many-faceted authorship of short-stories." (Kondrup in: Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries, III: p. (105)).

Goldschmidt studied classical philology at the University of Copenhagen and, like Kierkegaard, was instructed by H.N. Clausen (see above), among others.

As the real editor of *The Corsair*, he was sentenced to prison and a fined with future censorship on June 7, 1843, in the Supreme Court. After having sold *The Corsair* in 1846, he ran the political magazine *North and South*. About 1860, he stopped his career as an opinion former and concentrated on literature.

His fictional work clearly reflects his philosophical interests. He is probably most famous for his first novel *A Jew* (1845), which constitutes the first description of the Copenhagen Jewish milieu viewed from within, his magnum opus *Homeless* (1853), which deals with the idea of Nemesis, and the important *Arvingen* (1865), which is the first Danish fine literary treatment of divorce.

Goldschmidt had previously praised Kierkegaard end especially his *Either-Or,* just as Kierkegaard had admired Goldschmidt's novel *A Jew*. But their amicable relationship was completely destroyed after the continued attacks upon Kierkegaard in *The Corsair* (see no. 45).

Groth-Andersen, Johan Hans (1875-1960)
Wholesaler, book collector.

Gyllembourg, Thomasine (1773-1856)
Arguably the most important as well as most productive female author of the Danish Golden Age. She was the founder of Danish feminist literature, writing about the position of women in society and in the home. Her most famous novel is *Two Ages*, which portrays one of her eminent Madonna figures, Claudine, who, despite her status as seduced and abandoned single mother stays true to herself, her beliefs, and her role as a mother. Claudine's sexual liberty of the Revolutionary age is contrasted to the gentle and modest heroine of the present age, whose identity is in caring for the home. As such, Two Ages opposes the ideals

of freedom from the age of the French Revolution with the bourgeois ideals of the Golden Age.

A couple of months after the appearance of the book, Kierkegaard published a long review of it, and he devotes several pages in his debut book, *From the Papers of One Still Living*, to her stories. He also mentions Mrs. Gyllembourg several times in his diaries. "When Kierkegaard writes about Thomasine Gyllembourg's stories, the tone is very positive throughout. He appreciates both the everyday stories an their author's mature and coherent view of life." (Nun in Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries III: p. 152).

Thomasine Gyllembourg was merely 16 years of age when she married the famous poet and translator Peter Andreas Heiberg. Together they had the son Johan Ludvig Heiberg (see above). In 1799, P.A. Heiberg was condemned to life-long exile because of his political liberalism, and he had to leave for Paris, while Thomasine Gyllembourg stayed at home with their son. By that time, she had already fallen in love with the exiled Swedish Baron Carl Frederik Gyllembourg-Ehrensvärd, and in 1801, she wrote to her husband asking for a divorce. He did not accept, but the crown granted her request, and she married Gyllembourg.

Madame Gyllembourg was a leading exponent of modern Danish prose and extremely influential. She had pioneered a realism with which she portrayed middle class life in Copenhagen, and she wrote in a clean, uncomplicated, but polished and nice Danish, making her extremely well liked and widely read. She had an important influence upon the development of literary Danish language.

Hammerich, Martin Johannes (1811-81)
Theologian, schoolman, literary historian, translator, and politician. He was part of the National Liberal movement, member of the 1848 Danish Constituent Assembly and headmaster of Borgerdydskolerne from 1842 to 1867. As a member of a school commission and through numerous articles, he had a significant impact upon eg. Madvig (see below) and upon the reorganization of the secondary school system in 1850.

Hammerich was the first in Denmark to be allowed to write his dissertation in Danish, an example that Kierkegaard follows a few years later, referring to Hammerich in his application. Hammerich was a fellow student of Kierkegaard and the two were clearly well acquainted, although he was a closer friend of Kierkegaard's brother Peter Christian.

Hansen, Jens Olaus (1795-1854)
Civil servant, legal scholar. A student of the greatest Danish legal scholar, A.S. Ørsted, brother of H.C. Ørsted, Hansen made a successful career as a civil servant. Presentation-copy to Hansen in the present catalogue: no. 54.

Heiberg, Johan Ludvig (1791-1860)
Danish poet, playwright, literary critic, literary historian, philosopher, and quite simply the main cultural figure of 19th century Denmark. Heiberg profoundly influenced all of Danish culture within this period must be considered the patron of Copenhagen's literati. He was very influential as a thinker in general, and he changed Danish philosophy seminally by introducing Hegel to the Northern countries. Needless to say, Heiberg also played a significant role in relation to Kierkegaard, who will comment on and refer to him continually throughout his career. As the unofficial arbiter of taste for the Danish intellectuals, Heiberg was also an inevitable recipient of Kierkegaard's works as they were published.

"There can be no doubt that Johan Ludvig Heiberg was a very important figure for the development of Kierkegaard's thought. Heiberg's criticism dominated an entire generation of literary scholarship and was profoundly influential on the young Kierkegaard. His dramatic works and translations are also frequently referred to and quoted by Kierkegaard and his pseudonyms… However, Heiberg was also a philosopher… His

philosophical profile is clearly that of a Hegelian, and, not least of all due to Kierkegaard's influence, this has led him to being unfairly dismissed…" (Jon Stewart in: Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries I: p. (35)).

Heiberg was there from the very beginning of Kierkegaard's authorship, and although the two had both diverging personalities, diverging opinions, and diverging philosophies, Kierkegaard will have had respect for his place in society. Kierkegaard viewed himself as somewhat of an outsider, and it was of great importance to him to try and enter the famous literary and cultural circle of Heiberg.

Heiberg is known for founding his own school of criticism and for his brilliant polemics against literary giants of the period. He was without comparison the most dominant literary critic of the period, and he reformed Danish theatre, introducing eg. French vaudeville to the Danish stage. Although through foreign influence, he ended up creating for the first time an actual national theatre in Denmark. "Heiberg's success in so many different fields during such a rich period is truly remarkable." (Jon Stewart). Furthermore, he profoundly influenced Danish philosophy and was pioneering in introducing Hegelian philosophy to the country.

Presentation-copies for Heiberg in the present catalogue: no. 2, 34, 35, 37, 46, 53 A, 63, 73, 82.

Heiberg, Johan Ludvig (1854-1928)
Classical philologist, professor, seminal publisher of Greek mathematicians, and important school man at the end of the 19th century. He was principal of Borgerdydskolen, professor of classical philology at the University of Copenhagen, editor of the publications of the Danish Acadamy of Sciences, and head of philological-historical laboratory of the university. He was also co-publisher of the great edition of Søren Kierkegaard's writings, and he was related to the Johan Ludvig Heiberg (see above), who was a contemporary of Kierkegaard. Today, Heiberg is world-famous for having found, in 1906, in Konstantinople, a palimpsest containing original hitherto unknown texts by Archimedes that have now been restored and are of paramount importance to our knowledge of ancient Greek mathematics.

Hellssen, Henry (1888-1957)
Journalist, book collector. Hellsen's library, mainly focused on Danish literature, included an extensive collection of Hans Christian Andersen.

Jensen, Gerhard (1894-1969)
Head teacher, book collector.

Juel-Jensen, Bent (1922-2006)
Physician, curator of the Bodleian Library, book collector. Juel-Jensen's extensive library included an outstanding collection of Ethiopian manuscripts.

Kehler, Henning (1891-1979)
Critic, journalist, and book collector. Kehler was an important literary critic and especially influential in the years between to two world wars, where he excelled in sharp, conservative criticism of contemporary affairs. He wished to revitalize Danish culture and was worried about the contemporary materialism and lack of God. Kehler's collection, broadly focused on Danish literature, included a significant collection of Kierkegaard.

Kierkegaard, Hans Peter (1815-62)
Kierkegaard's cousin and confidante. H.P. is always referred to as Kierkegaard's cousin, also by Kierkegaard himself, but if one is to be precise, he was Søren's half-cousin. H.P. was the son of M.P. Kierkegaard's (Søren's father) cousin, M.A. Kierkegaard. H.P. was the younger brother of Julie Thomsen (see below).

H.P. was one of the few people Kierkegaard was personally very close to. As Søren writes in a letter to H.P. (SKS letter no. 27) "you are one of the

exceptions". He cared a great deal for his cousin, who was disabled. He was lame, completely paralyzed on one side of the body, and unable to walk. Intellectually, however, he was gifted, and the two cousins grew very close. Søren saw in him a purity that he did not see in other people, an ability to lead a truer and more meaningful life than others, who did not have to suffer in the same way.

Søren was also a great comfort to H.P, who read the works of his famous cousin with enthusiasm. He probably owned every single work Kierkegaard wrote (many of them offered throughout the present catalogue), and he drew great comfort from several of them. As Brøchner recalls in his recollections about Kierkegaard (*Erindringer om Søren Kierkegaard* – no. 43), H.P. "read his cousin's writings with the greatest of interest, occasionally visited him in his home, and drew much spiritual awakening from these visits." Brøchner continues to recall how he once told Kierkegaard what a great impression one of his works, *Opbyggelige Taler i forskjellig Aand*, had made upon H.P. In the confessional discourse, Søren portrays a person, who due to his bodily disposition is unable to practice anything physically or outwardly, and goes on to beautifully describe how this person too is subject to the same ethical demands as everyone else and what particular form this life-assignment takes on for him. To this, Søren replied "yes! To him, that work is a blessing". And so it was. Reading his cousin's upbuilding works provided the disabled Hans Peter with the power to overpower gloomy thoughts about his life having no meaning. Søren gave him, not only through his writings, but also through his meetings and conversations with him, the feeling of being as important as everyone else, as those who were physically blessed.

There is no doubt that Kierkegaard drew inspiration from his admirable cousin, who had to overcome so much. And there is no doubt that H.P. was close to Søren's heart. Apart from Boeson, H.P. was the only person who had a standing invitation to visit Kierkegaard and did not have to announce his visit beforehand.

"I have often thought about you in the latter years", Søren writes to H.P. at New Year's, 1848, "and I intend to keep doing so in the following". He writes how he admires H.P., who, reconciled with his fate, with patience and devotion solves a task that is just as great as the one everyone else has to solve, whether they do big business, build houses, write great books, etc. – "when all is heard, everything, after all, mainly comes down to fervor – and when all is forgotten, it also comes down to fervor" … "Do not forget the duty to love thyself… That you are somehow set outside of life… that in the eyes of a stupid world, you are superfluous, let that not rob you of the idea of yourself." (Letter 27).

Like his famous cousin, H.P. Kierkegaard was also a bibliophile and had a beautiful book collection. The books that surface from his library are usually in excellent condition and are often bound in beautiful bindings, much like those Søren had made for his books.

Presentation-copy for H.P. Kierkegaard in the present catalogue: no. 55.

Kierkegaard, Peter Christian (1805-1888)
Famous theologian, politician, and Bishop of Aalborg Stift. Brother of Søren Kierkegaard.

"In his own way, Peter Christian Kierkegaard was just as extraordinary and just as fascinating a person as his much more renowned younger brother Søren. Both of them inherited their father's brilliant gifts and his dialectical acumen. Both of them inherited his scrupulousness and his tendency to black melancholy. And both of them inherited his gloomy concept of Christianity. All this was to exert such a major influence on them that their entire lives were in fact determined by it." (Lyby in Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries I: p. (189)).

Peter Christian was Kierkegard's older brother, and together with Søren the only of their father's seven children to survive him. Their father, Michael Petersen Kierkegaard, was a poor country boy from the heaths of Jutland, who had later become very successful as a merchant and very rich by the age of 40. It is with him that the family curse begins, the curse that both Søren and Peter Christian Kierkegaard would suffer under throughout their lives. As a young boy, alone on the heaths, herding sheep, cold, hungry, and miserable, Michael Petersen had cursed God. That experience stayed with him and he would be tormented by it forever, convinced that God would punish him for it. Later, in spite of wealth and a thriving family, he would be convinced that his sin on the heath as a young boy had put a curse upon him and his entire family. Each death of his five other children would convince him even stronger of this, and he was certain that none of his children would live beyond the age of 33 (i.e. they would not live longer than Jesus). It is this family curse that casts such gloomy shadows on both Søren and Peter Christian Kierkegaard, the two children who did actually survive their father – and who did live beyond the age of 33.

As Søren, Peter was brilliantly gifted and did outstandingly well throughout school and university, having studied in both Berlin and Göttingen. As opposed to Søren, he had travelled quite widely and been in Bonn, Utrecht, Leuven, Paris, Strassbourg, Munich, and Leipzig. After his travels, he taught at Borgerdydskolen and lectured at the University of Copenhagen. In 1834, over moral philosophy, and in the years 1936-39 he held theological lectures on Bible passages and church history. In 1842, he got the position of parish priest in Pedersborg, close to Sorø, Zealand. From 1849-52 he was member of Landstinget, and in 1856, he became Bishop of Aalborg parish in Northern Jutland.

To great vexation for his younger brother Søren, Peter, in 1844, joined Roskilde clerical conference, which was oriented towards Grundtvig, whose kind of Christianity Søren detested. In fact, quite early on, Peter had made a – not uncontroversial – choice *for* Grundtvig. He was in favour of liberality and broadness in the church and would continue to fight for this. Kierkegaard, as we know, had made one *for* Mynster – a relation that would also later become extremely complicated.

The two brothers, albeit gifted with the same kind of brilliant intellect and formed by the same upbringing and not least the same family curse, were very different, and their relationship is full of conflicts. After 1834, they are the only siblings left (a brother and sister died in 1819 and 1822 and their two married sisters and last brother died during the short span of the years 1832-34), and they were, in many ways, closely connected to one another, for good and bad.

"Concerning his relations with his much more renowned brother Søren, we could perhaps say that the very similarities between them turned out to be a hindrance for very good relations. Both of them took matters very seriously, and even small differences of opinion could easily grow into large ones. And the differences which arose between them were definitely not small." (Lyby, p. 197). Up until some time in the 1840'ies, the relationship between the two brothers was not all that bad – in spite of diverging opinions about Grundtvig and many other matters. When Søren defended his thesis, *On the Concept of Irony* in 1841, Peter paid him the honour of appearing as one of the critics.

But the relationship grew increasingly worse. The more Søren's ascetic way of understanding Christianity became clear, the more the distance between the brothers grew. The broken engagement with Regine was also a matter of contention between them and Peter had almost condemned him, stating "now you are lost".

Up until the late 1840'ies, affection can still be traced in their correspondence. But after a series

of events, including a speech that Peter gave criticizing Søren's view of Christianity (1846) and a later improvised lecture on Søren (1849), the relationship sours significantly. During the *Corsair affair*, Søren states, in 1848, that Peter's envy and petty-mindedness was all that his family gave him. Søren seems to think that what happened to him in *The Corsair* was seen by Peter as God's punishment. In 1849, after a lecture Peter had given about Martensen as a representative for sober-mindedness and Søren Kierkegaard as the representative for ecstasy, Søren writes in his journal that Peter preaches mediocrities and continues, in his journals, to complain bitterly about his brother and his idiocy, petty-mindedness, and poor choices.

With Søren's open attack upon and war against the Danish church at the end of his life, the diverging opinions between the brothers became too much, and a brotherly strife was unavoidable. Peter spoke out against Søren, and Søren could not forgive him.

Although Søren was so angry with his brother that he refused to accept his visit, when Peter came to see him on his death-bed, Søren had still framed his testament as a letter to Peter asking him to make sure that everything he left should go to Regine. Regine did not wish to be left with everything, and Søren's unpublished papers, including the overwhelming amount of notebooks and journals ended up with Peter, who would later make sure they were published.

Peter was married twice and had one son. His son Pascal Michael Poul Egede Kierkegaard also studied theology and was also gifted. He went mad, however, and never managed to get by on his own.

Kolderup-Rosenvinge, Janus Lauritz Andreas (1792-1850)
Highly important Danish jurist who was also famous for his sense of culture and education and for his translations of several important works into Danish. "As is evident in some of his letters to Kierkegaard, Kolderup-Rosenvinge was a well-known religious, social, and political conservative" (Tilley, in: Kierkegaard and his Contemporaries, vol I, p. 78).

Kolderup-Rosenvinge was something as rare as a friend of Kierkegaard and one, whom he admired greatly. During the latter years of his life, the two cultural personas had grown very close. They famously took long walks together every Monday for the last years of Kolderup-Rosenvinge's life, discussing politics, literature, and philosophy.

Presentation-copies for Kolderup-Rosenvinge in the present catalogue: nos.: 8, 59.

Levin, Israel (1810-1883)
Important philologist and author in his own right, but most famous as Kierkegaard's secretary.

Kierkegaard hired Levin in 1844; he immediately became intimately involved in the process of Kierkegaard's books. For longer periods, Levin worked with Kierkegaard up to eight hours a day and often ended up dining with him. "There were times when I spent up to eight hours a day with him. Once for five weeks I dined at his house every day," Levin recalls, looking back at the time when they were working on *Stages on Life's Way*. Particularly *In Vino Veritas* caused problems; "[w]hat with all the corrections, and yet more corrections, we almost never finished 'The Discourse of the Ladies' Tailor'", Levin recalls, and states that that it was exactly in this sort of situation that he was most helpful to Kierkegaard – helping him getting past the biggest insignificances, on which he stranded. (See: Cappelørn, Garff & Kondrup: Skriftbilleder, p. 150).

Levin was almost constantly present during the busy periods of the years 1844-46, when Kierkegaard was productive as never before nor after, and Kierkegaard trusted him almost blindly.

Seeing that the corrections in the proof copies of *Three Discourses.., Concluding Unscientific Postscript, The Lilies in the Field…*, and partly in *Training in Christianity*, are all in Levin's hand, we can conclude that he worked as Kierkegaard's secretary up until 1850.

Despite the mostly amicable and friendly relationship between Kierkegaard and Levin and the great trust Kierkegaard placed in him, the relationship did not end well. An anonymous article in *The Flying Post* against Kierkegaard, signed J.L. is presumably by Levin, which Kierkegaard reacts to at the beginning of his war against the Danish church.

At his death, Levin left a collection of 150,000 notes to a dictionary of the Danish language; these form an important part of the foundation of the major Danish dictionary, in which there are frequent references to Kierkegaard.

The Lund/Kierkegaard family (Søren's siblings and their children)
As we know from many different sources (see eg. Olaf Kierkegaard: Om Søren Kierkegaard og hans slægt, p. 65), Kierkegaard was closely connected to his relatives. As Olaf Kierkegard states "in one regard – the relationship with his father Michael Pedersen K., we know that this became of overshadowing significance to him and affected his person and authorship till the end."

The social life of the Kierkegaard / Lund family was to a large extent made up of the nearest family, as is also evident from Henriette Lund's *Erindringer fra Hjemmet*, where she gives a vivid and personal, familiar portrayal of Kierkegaard.

Kierkegaard's father was married to Ane Sørensdatter Lund and had seven children, among them Søren. His two sisters, who both died young, before their father, both had children, whom Søren was close to. They had both married a Lund, thus the family name Lund for all of Kierkegaard's nieces and nephews. Below follows a family tree of the Lund family, which played a significant role in Kierkegaard's life. The Roman numerals signify Kierkegaard and his siblings, the Arabic Kierkegaard's nieces and nephews:

I. Maren Kirstine Kierkegaard (1797-1822)

II. Nicoline Christine Kierkegaard (1799-1832). Married to manufacturer Johan Christian Lund (1799-1875). 5 children:

1. Henrik Sigvard Lund (1825-1889)
2. Michael Frederik Christian Lund (1826-1907)
3. Sofie Vilhelmine Lund. (1827-1875)
4. Carl Ferdinand Lund (1830-1912)
5. Stillborn boy

III. Petrea Severine Kierkegaard (1801-1834). Married to head of department at the National Bank Henrik Ferdinand Lund (1803-1875) (brother of Nicoline's husband). 4 children:

1. Anna Henriette Lund (1829-1909)
2. Vilhelm Nicolaj Lund (1831-1902)
3. Peter Christian Lund (1833-1904)
4. Peter Severin Lund (1834-1864)

IV. Peter Christian Kierkegaard (1805-1888). Married to Elise Marie Boisen (1806-1837), then to Sophie Henriette Glahn (1809-1881). 1 child:

1. Pascal Michael Poul Egede Kierkegaard (1842-1915).

V. Søren Michael Kierkegaard (1807-1819)

VI. Niels Andreas Kierkegaard (1809-1833). NB. Died in Paterson, USA

VII. Søren Aabye Kierkegaard (1813-1855).

Kierkegaard was very strongly bound to his family, and especially the Lund family played an enormous part in his life. Of his nieces and nephews a few stand out from the rest:

Lund, Carl (1830-1912)
Kierkegaard's nephew; son of his sister Nicoline and Christian Lund. Carl later became a gentleman farmer and owner of the home farm Aldersro in the village Værslev, South-East of Kalundborg, West Zealand.

Lund, Henriette (1829-1909)
Kierkegaard was especially close to Henriette (called "Jette" by the family, as in Kierkegaard's letters to her) Lund, who was his sister Petrea's daughter. Kierkegaard frequented their household on a very regular basis, played with the children, and was very much at home there. Henriette would later write one of the most significant and intimate memoirs of Kierkegaard, portraying him from the most personal and familiar side (see Henriette Lund: Erindringer fra Hjemmet). Henriette Lund was also the person Regine entrusted with her letters from Kierkegaard from the engagement period along with the letters from Boesen and Kierkegaard's Journal 15, about Regine and their relationship (see: Henriette Lund: Mit Forhold til hende).

Lund, Peter Severin (1834-1864)
Henriette's (see above) brother Peter Severin, named after his mother, Kierkegaard's sister Petrine Severinus, who died in childbirth with P.S., was considered a hero in the Lund/Kierkegaard family. He died in battle, fighting for his country in the second Schlesien War, having volunteered to be a soldier. He was known as very bright young man, much influenced by his famous uncle, who he saw often in the family home. Like Søren Kierkegaard, Peter Severin Lund studied theology, at which he excelled, later specializing in Eastern religion, culture, and languages.

Lund, Troels (1840-1921)
Famous historian and author, primarily known for his magnum opus *Dagligt Liv i Norden*, but also for many other works and for his great influence upon the history of his motherland. Like Kierkegaard, he too studied theology and achieved his doctor's degree with a thesis on the teachings and personality of Socrates.

Troels Lund was the youngest of seven children, four of them from his father's previous marriage to Petrea Severine Lund (born Kierkegaard), making him the half-brother of Henriette and Peter Severin. Thus, Troels Lund was also frequently in the company of his half-uncle Søren Kierkegaard, who spent much time in the family home.

In 1841, the Lund family rented the house Bakkehuset in Frederiksberg, which became a gathering spot for the intellectuals of Copenhagen. One of Troels Lund's most widely read books is his *Bakkehus og Solbjerg* in three volumes, the third of which contains his vivid childhood memories of Kierkegaard.

Madsen, Karl (1855-1938)
Danish painter, art historian, museum director, and book collector. In 1891, he bought the book collection after Johanne Luise Heiberg. Among these were a significant number of presentation-copies from Kierkegaard to Heiberg. See also Gert Posselt's Preface at the beginning of the catalogue.

Madvig, Johan Nicolai (1804-1886)
Classical scholar, politician. As one of the greatest classical scholars of the nineteenth century, Madvig's influence on scholarly and cultural life in Denmark can hardly be overestimated. Madvig served five times as rector of the University of Copenhagen, president of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters as well as the first chairman of the Carlsberg Foundation. Alongside his astonishingly prolific scholarly career, Madvig had a very successful political career, serving as chairman of the Danish Parliament, president of the Privy Council and Minister of Education.

As the leading Danish classical scholar of his time, Madvig discussed with Kierkegaard parts the manuscript for *On the Concept of Irony* before the public defense of the thesis. Madvig remained one

of the regular recipients to whom Kierkegaard sent inscribed copies of his books. Nine presentation copies for him survive, three of which are offered in the present catalogue: no. 22, 29, 68.

Martensen, Hans Lassen (1808-1884)
Theologian, professor of theology, and Bishop of Zealand. The leading Danish systematic theologian of the 19th century. His magnum opus *Christian Dogmatics* from 1849 is the most widespread and influential Danish theological work from the 19th century. It appeared five times in Danish, six times in German, three times in Swedish, and in English and French. "Since Niels Hemmingsen in the 16th century, no Danish theologian had been so well-known in Europe as Martensen" (Koch, Den Danske Idealisme, p. (271)).

In his youth, Martensen pioneered the speculative method in Danish theology, as professor of theology (1840-1854), he educated the new generation of theologians, and as the Bishop of Zealand from 1854 until his death, he formed the Danish national church for decades to come.

"Søren Aabye Kierkegaard had a fascinating relationship with Hans Lassen Martensen. Martensen was an important source for Kierkegaard's development as a religious thinker. Kierkegaard carefully attended to Martensen and received information that helped determine his agenda." (Thompson in Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries II, p. (229)).

The relationship between Martensen, the leading theological voice in Denmark, and Kierkegaard, the greatest philosophical and religious thinker the country has ever produced, was multi-faceted. Kierkegaard owned and read Martensen's writings, and he will frequently comment on them and on Martensen in his journals and notebooks.

Martensen, who tutored Kierkegaard when he was a young student, clearly plays a significant role in Kierkegaard's philosophical ponderings. Already from 1837, Kierkegaard starts poking fun at Martensen, clearly not understanding the latter's attempts at benefitting from Hegel's brilliance during his two-year study-trip.

In his dissertation, *on the Concept of Irony*, Kierkegaard already mentions Martensen in print, in the very last sentence of the work, suggesting the reader to continue his/her reading with a review by Martensen. During his work on the dissertation, Kierkegaard would read portions of it to Martensen, who had served as a reader and examiner.

During his most productive years, 1842-46, Kierkegaard closely followed the activities of Martensen, who is arguably a significant source for his thinking and writing. Martensen runs through Kierkegaard's works as a red thread, both directly and indirectly.

From 1846 onwards, Kierkegaard begins to show outright contempt for Martensen. His success in relation to the established order of the period provided occasion for ongoing criticisms, and by now, Kierkegaard is always willing to criticize Martensen's preaching, life, and work. Criticisms of Martensen as a member of the establishment become more and more frequent as the years go by, and we clearly see the anticipation of his attack on the Danish church later in his life.

As we know, Kierkegaard's attack upon the Danish Church was inextricably linked to an attack on Martensen. Martensen had become Bishop of Zealand in June 1854, and Kierkegaard earnestly launched his war in December the same year. See section XXXII in volume I).

Mogensen, Andreas (1976-)
Astronaut. On 2 September 2015, Mogensen travelled to the International Space Station, carrying with him a copy of Kierkegaard's *Lilien paa Marken og Fuglen under Himlen* (no. 65 in the present catalogue).

Molbech, Christian (1783-1857)
Historian, literary critic, writer, and theatre director. He was employed at the Royal Danish Library in 1804 and was professor of literature at the University of Copenhagen. He was also director of the Royal Danish Theatre from 1830 to 1842 and was of great importance to both scientific history and Danish culture of the period. In 1839, he co-founded the Danish Historical Society and in 1840, he founded *Historisk Tidsskrift,* the oldest still published scientific historical journal in the world. He was also a pioneer of library science and wrote several groundbreaking works, among them the work that was decisive in establishing the chronology of Danish history.

As a theology student, Kierkegaard spent much of his time on many other disciplines. Among these, he followed Molbech's lectures on recent Danish poetry and its basis in especially German romanticism (See eg. SKS 17, 59 & 119).

Molbech, being in the periphery of Kierkegaard's main interests and not one for whom he was dutybound to give presentation-copies, occupies a somewhat special place in relation to Kierkegaard. He is an exception in several regards.

Kierkegaard was 30 years his junior. He will have certainly read his lectures on newer Danish poetry, and probably also other of his numerous writings. And the two will have presumably seen each other at the library. But exactly how they struck up contact, we do not know. From one of Kierkegaard's journal entries in 1846, we learn that Molbech had visited Kierkegaard and praised his "odd way of living", as it promoted his work, adding that he would start living the same way. His entries about Molbech are amusing and amicable. From a letter from 1847 we learn that Molbech had asked for a copy of one of Kierkegaard's books for a German colleague, which he was granted, and that Molbech later reciprocated with a presentation-copy of one of his own books.

"The exception Molbech thus seems to have taken the initiative – with a particular interest in mind – and thereby himself having occasioned Kierkegaard's gift-copies. He seems to have reciprocated with several offprints of his own periodical papers from 1848, pertaining to scattered, learned subjects... The book exchange 1847-48 between the historian Molbech and the theologist Kierkegaard is thus subject-wise in East and West, although of course we cannot know if these offprints partly reflect the subjects the two men will have discussed." (Posselt, Tekstspeje, p. 80, translated from Danish).

Three presentation-copies from Kierkegaard to Molbech are known to exist, one being in the present catalogue: no. 58.

Müllertz, Mogens (1891-1974)
High Court Attorney, book collector. Müllertz' extensive library of Danish literature, roughly 7,000 volumes, contained an impressive collection of Kierkegaard.

Mynster, Jacob Peter (1775-1854)
Theologian and Bishop of Zealand, deeply influencing the contemporary conception of Christianity. "More than any other, [Mynster] became the central and representative figure in Danish Theology and ecclesiastical life in the first half of the nineteenth century" (Koch & Kornerup vol. 6: p.141) and "[o]ne of the most significant discussion partners for Søren Kierkegaard" (Tolstrup in: Kierkegaard and his Contemporaries II: p. (267)).

Being the central figure in the Danish church, Mynster lastingly left his mark on the Danish People's Church. He was the architect behind the transformation from the State Church to the People's Church and stood for a reconciliatory theology, opposing both rationalism in the church and Piety. Mynster, in his theology, strived for a consensus that could contain both the rationalists and the pietists within the framework of the church. This consensus is something that Kierkegaard,

despite his deep respect and sincere feelings for Mynster, ultimately cannot accept.

Mynster came to play a central role in Kierkegaard's attacks on the Danish Church at the end of his life, and the blows that Mynster suffered here (although Kierkegaard out of respect waited to launch his most severe attack, until after Mynster's death) became decisive for his later reputation. Due to Kierkegaard, Mynster was posthumously regarded as the main cause of the perpetual dwelling of the Danish State Church, and only much later has it been accepted that in fact Mynster was the man who, with his perseverance and strength, founded the basis for the Danish national Church. It was his ideas of allowing the members of the Church a great deal of latitude that are now part of the foundation of the present Danish Church.

Although in many ways standing in the shadow of Kierkegaard, and though much literature about Mynster for a very long time centred on Kierkegaard's attacks upon him and their foundational differences, Kierkegaard gained from Mynster a crucial experience of a religious personality, and throughout his entire life, for Kierkegaard, Mynster was the solid rock that he could test his passionate ideas and endeavours against.

In reality, for Kierkegaard, Mynster was one of the only persons who understood the truly human and perhaps also the only one who had a true and viable belief in Christianity. He played a tremendous role in Kierkegaard's life; apart from Regine's and that of Kierkegaard's father, arguably the largest. His journals and notebooks are full of entries about Mynster and he will continually write things such as "The only man in my time I have been aware of is Mynster" and "There is no-one I have admired, no-one living apart from Mynster". Reading his journals, one almost gets the impression of Kierkegaard's work being one long conversation with Mynster.

As Schwanenflügel writes in his book about Mynster, it was said that Kierkegaard would camp on Mynster's doorsteps so frequently that he was not even shy to pay him visits on church holiday afternoons, when the "old man" had preached in the morning and would presumably need some peace and quiet with his family. Mynster's wife, it is told, once got so frustrated with Kierkegaard's constant visits that she advised her husband to not accept the uninvited guest, whereto Mynster shall have said "Oh yes, do let me see him – he might be the only person, who truly cares for me." (II:210).

Kierkegaard's feelings for Mynster were extremely ambivalent. He inherited from his father a deep respect for the Mynster, a trust in him, as well as awe and faith in his words. Having developed his own close relation to him, he continued to respect him, perhaps more than any other person, and he sincerely cared for him. For Kierkegaard, Mynster represented Christian faith, and in many ways, Mynster was the only authority Kierkegaard accepted. But he could not accept his reconciliatory theology and consensus-seeking Christianity.

"And yet I care so much for Bishop Mynster, and not because the memory of my father connects me to him. No, M. expresses the purely human in such a masterly way that I have never seen. On the other hand, I think he is so foreign to the decisively Christian that if he were to express his opinion thereof, he would have to say: It is the Demonic." (NB 6:86).

There is no doubt that Mynster plays a deeply unique part in Kierkegaard's life and work. There is no-one above or on par with him. Kierkegaard is clearly bound theologically and personally to Mynster throughout his entire life. Mynster is of fundamental importance to Kierkegaard's philosophical, religious, and personal development throughout his entire career. He is incessantly occupied with defending and justifying to Mynster that he cannot or will not share his beliefs. As Regine created Kierkegaard as the

author of the pseudonymous writings, so Mynster constitutes the greatest influence upon Kierkegaard as a Christian author.

Presentation-copies to Mynster in the present catalogue: nos. 47, 53, 56, 72.

Møller, Peder Ludvig (1814-1865)
Author and literary critic. Co-editor of *The Corsair* (see no. 45 in the present catalogue) during the time that it ridicules Kierkegaard, and publisher of *Gæa* (see also no. 45), in which Møller criticizes *Stages on Life's Way* and mocks Kierkegaard.

Though Møller is primarily known among those interested in Kierkegaard for his role in the *Corsair* feud, there are scholars who have suggested that Møller's poetic works influenced Kierkegaard before that. See eg. Brandt's *Den unge Søren Kierkegaard*, where he theorizes that The Seducer from *Either-Or* is based upon P.L. Møller.

Møller, Poul Martin (1794-1838)
Poet, classicist, and philosopher. Although Poul Martin Møller published very little in his lifetime, he became extremely influential, not only through his posthumously published works, but also through the exercise he influenced upon his contemporaries and the younger generation – "a socratic figure himself, by his very personality, he had a special maieutic impact on the young Kierkegaard." There is no doubt that Poul Martin Møller occupied a special place in Kierkegaard's heart. One of the most beautiful and moving printed dedications in a philosophical work is that in Kierkegaard's *concept of Anxiety*, to his beloved Poul Martin Møller. Poul Martin Møller was not only his philosophy professor, he was also a moral mentor and one of a few people that Kierkegaard truly admired and cared for. Poul Martin Møller died in 1838, leaving almost no published works behind; he is the only person outside of Kierkegaard's immediate family (here including Regine), who had been honoured with a printed dedication in any of Kierkegaard's books.

Kierkegaard was evidently also moved by Poul Martin Møller's poetry, which he quotes more frequently than any other in his letters to Regine.

Nexø, Martin Andersen (1869-1954)
Danish writer. Primarily known for his novels *Pelle the Conqueror* (Pelle Erobreren) and *Ditte, Child of Man* (Ditte Menneskebarn), Nexø was one of greatest writers of the Danish Modern Breakthrough movement.

Nielsen, Michael (1776-1846)
School counsellor. Nielsen, who devoted most of his life to teaching and education, was Kierkegaard's Latin teacher at Borgerdydsskolen in Copenhagen. Remembered by most as an incredibly strict and demanding teacher, Nielsen had a great influence on the young Kierkegaard. Kierkegaard was already as a schoolboy a skilled Latinist and was later asked by Nielsen to assist him in grading Latin compositions.

Presentation-copies for Nielsen in the present catalogue, both unusually heartfelt: nos. 36, 38.

Nielsen, Rasmus (1809-1884)
Theologian and philosopher, extraordinary professor of moral philosophy at the university of Copenhagen from 1841 and ordinary professor from 1850, one of the most significant Danish philosophers of his time. "Nielsen was one of Denmark's greatest philosophers during a period that witnessed a blooming of Danish philosophy. Moreover, Nielsen played a role in most every phase of Kierkegaard's life. Kierkegaard owned several of Nielsen's works, and his journals are full of references to him. There also survives a fairly extensive correspondence of letters that passed between them" (Jon Stewart in: Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries I: p. 180).

At the beginning of his academic career, Nielsen was very influenced by Hegel, but from the mid 1840'ies, he fell under the influence of Kierkegaard and developed his thought in a different direction.

In the summer of 1848, the two philosophers initiated a friendship (see e.g. NB7:114 and Pap. X 6 B 124) that soon became very intimate, but which by the end of Kierkegaard's life had soured. At the beginning of their friendship, Kierkegaard was certain that he would soon die and was in search of a person to entrust with the publishing of his yet unpublished papers and manuscripts. His choice fell upon Nielson, whom he met on the street one day (see Pap. X 6 B 99) and with whom he would go on weekly walks from now on, discussing philosophy.

In May 1849, Nielsen's great work on the life of Jesus, *Evangelietroen og den moderne Bevidsthed* (see no. 103 of the present catalogue), was published. Kierkegaard was extremely disappointed in his friend. Not only was the book so influenced by Kierkegaard and by their philosophical conversations that Kierkegaard considered it "copying, and bad copying at that", the book was also extremely influenced by Kierkegaard's pseudonymous works, in spite of the fact that it did not mention Kierkegaard once. Kierkegaard was extremely vexed (see eg. NB 11: 46) and their friendship would never be the same again.

From this period, Kierkegaard's journals keep hovering over Rasmus Nielsen. How angry should he be? Was it really irredeemable, or could this be repaired? Should he reconcile with him?

Soon after, Martensen (see above) published his *Den christelige Dogmatik*, in which he disregarded Kierkegaard's pseudonymous writings. Rasmus Nielsen immediately came to Kierkegaard's "rescue" and published an attack upon Martensen, defending Kierkegaard. This initiated one of the greatest public philosophical feuds of 19th century Denmark, about the relation between knowledge and belief. But Kierkegaard was not at all happy with this defense of his pseudonymous works and Nielsen would receive no thanks because of it. On the contrary, Kierkegaard considered it ill-judged and, more than anything, a result of Nielsen's personal vanity and envy of Martensen.

When, in 1850, Nielsen published his *Evangelietroen og Theologien* (see no. 104 in the present catalogue), a sequel to his great work from 1849, there was no turning back. To Kierkegaard, this was pure plagiarism, not only of the pseudonymous writings, but also of the Thursday conversations. From now on, there is no doubt in Kierkegaard's mind that the relationship is beyond repair.

But by now, Kierkegaard had already chosen Rasmus Nielsen to publish his papers – his notebooks, journals, unpublished manuscripts etc. – after his death. This would later cause quite a lot of worries.

At his death, it was evident that Nielsen would no longer be the one chosen to publish Kierkegaard's papers, seeing that the two had not spoken since late 1850. Or was it? It was after all Nielsen, who in 1857 had published all of Kierkegaard's newspaper articles (see no. 95 in the present catalogue), following Kierkegaard's instructions.

After his death, all of Kierkegaard's papers ended up with his brother, Peter Christian (see above), who for years did nothing with them. There were probably several reasons why he was not eager to have them published, not least the fact that in them, he was mentioned in very unflattering ways on several occasions. There might also have been some envy towards his famous younger brother that stood in the way. But finally, Peter got around to finding someone (not Nielsen) to organize his brother's papers, in preparation for publishing. This was to be the legal scholar H.P. Barfod.

In 1865, well into his work with the massive amount of papers, Barfod finds, first a small piece of paper upon which Kierkegaard had noted that he had written a letter to Rasmus Nielsen to be opened after his death, and then later a package

of sealed letters, among them one to Rasmus Nielsen. But the seal was broken and the envelope empty. This was not good. Barfod and Peter Christian could not neglect this. Or could they? The envelope could quite possibly have contained Kierkegaard's last will and testament, and it might very well have stated that Nielsen was to issue all of Kierkegaard's papers after his death. Nielsen might actually have all the legal rights to the papers instead of Peter Christian.

The two end up concluding that *either* Kierkegaard had not actually stated in his letter that he wanted Nielsen to publish his papers, *or* Nielsen had simply not wished to do so and had chosen to forego his rights. And thus, Barfod continues his work with sorting and registering the papers and is finally, in 1867, allowed by P.C. Kierkegaard to publish them. The first volume of *Af Søren Kierkegaards efterladte Papirer* appears in 1869.

In 1875, P.C. Kierkegaard falls ill and resigns as Bishop. At the same time, he writes, together with Barfod, to Nielsen and confesses to the finding of the piece of paper in 1865, arguing also against Nielsen as having been intended as the publisher of the papers. Nielsen is not in agreement with the conclusion and states the obvious fact that P.C. Kierkegaard and Barfod should have informed him immediately when finding the piece of paper.

He furthermore finds that the piece of paper expresses Kierkegaard's wishes, although Nielsen did in fact not receive a letter saying so. Bishop Martensen (see above), however, approves of P.C. Kierkegaard's dispositions, and the matter is closed. This, however, also prompts P.C. Kierkegaard to get rid of the papers, and he writes to the University Library, who accepts preserving all of Kierkegaard's papers in their holdings.

Nielsen played a pivotal role in Kierkegaard's life and authorship, even beyond the latter's death. We know from letters that Kierkegaard gave Nielsen several of his books (at least three), just as we know that Nielsen gave Kierkegaard several of his. But only one single presentation-copy from Kierkegaard to Nielsen is still known to exist (see no. 77 in the present catalogue), surprisingly in *Indøvelse I Christendom* from 1850, which is, as we have established, the year after the *annus horibilis* of their friendship and the year that Kierkegaard finally terminates it.

For Kierkegaard and Nielsen's relationship, see especially: NB10: 13+32+NB 6:76+NB 7: 6, 7, 9, 10.

Presentation-copy for Nielsen in the present catalogue: No. 77.

Nygaard, Georg (1871-1942)
Journalist, book collector. Nygaard's extensive and diverse collection, containing well over 10,000 volumes, was sold at auction in 1942-43.

Olsen, Frejlif (1868-1936)
Journalist.

Olsen, Jonas Christian (1816-1902)
Vicar, Regine's brother, son of Terkild (see below). Kierkegaard studied with Jonas Olsen and knew him well, before he got engaged to Regine.

Olsen, Sophia Therese (bn. 1847)
Daughter of Jonas Olsen, married to Johannes Matthisen Thielst.

Olsen, Terkild (1784-1849)
Chamberlain, Regine's father, councilor of state and department head in the Finance Ministry. Kierkegaard was very fond of Therkild Olsen and was very sad that the end of the engagement also meant the end of his friendship with Regine's father.

Petersen, Frederik Christian (1786-1859)
Classical scholar. A professor of philology and, from 1829 until his death, warden of Regensen (Collegium Domus Regiæ) in Copenhagen,

Petersen was one of the leading academics in nineteenth-century Denmark. Petersen, whose lectures on the history of Greek literature Kierkegaard attended in early 1830s, opposed *ex auditorio* at the defense of Kierkegaard's thesis *On the Concept of Irony*. Petersen remained one of the regular recipients to whom Kierkegaard sent presentation copies of his books. Presentation-copy for Petersen in the present catalogue: No. 75.

Petit, Paul (1893-1944)
French writer, diplomat. Though primarily known for *Résistance spirituelle, 1940-1942*, published posthumously in 1947, Petit translated Kierkegaard's *Concluding Unscientific Postscript to Philosophical Fragments* (1941) and *Philosophical Fragments* (1947) into French.

Rudelbach, Andreas Gottlob (1792-1862)
Preast, theologian, and writer. As an orthodox Lutheran theologian, Rudelbach criticized church rationalism, which for a period united him with Grundtvig, with whom he published *Theologisk Maanedsskrift* (1825-1828). His controversial theological views made a position at the University of Copenhagen impossible, and in 1829, he left Denmark. He was called to the pastorate of Glauchau, Saxony, where he aided religious awakening and revolt against the rationalism of the period, though at the same time he opposed any formal separation from the Lutheran Church. Due mainly to his uncompromising Lutheran dogma, opposition also developed against him in Germany, and in 1845, by which time he had distanced himself from Grundtvig, he returned to Denmark. Here, From 1846 to 1848, he lectured at the University of Copenhagen on Dogmatic theology, but due to the death of his royal patron, he was once more exposed to attacks for his views. Thus, in 1848, he accepted a call to the pastorate of Slagelse.

Rudelbach was known for his vast knowledge and widely acknowledged for his learned writings that were thorough and historically founded.

Kierkegaard knew Rudelbach from his childhood home, where he would pay occasional visits. During his time in Germany, he maintained contact with the Kierkegaard family. "There can be no doubt that Kierkegaard had a friendly disposition towards Rudelbach and that he respected him as the learned man he was. Only when Rudelbach in 1851 referred to Kierkegaard in support of his own view in the book *On Civel Marriage*, did he receive a new status in Kierkegaard's consciousness." (Søren Jensen I Kierkegaard and his Danish contemporaries II: p. 312).

Since Rudelbach's return to Denmark in 1845, Kierkegaard would send him copies of the books that he published. And Rudelbach evidently also sent Kierkegaard copies of his publications, with certainty also the ones from before 1845. Kierkegaard owned a whole 11 of Rudelbach's books (see the auction record of his book collection), and in his journals, he refers to several of them. At the auction of Kierkegaard's book collection following his death, Rudelbach bought several books, primarily from the philosophy section.

Presentation-copy to Rudelbach in the present catalogue: no. 80.

Sibbern, Christian Frederik (1785-1872)
Philosopher – "the nineteenth century's most important Danish academic philosopher and one of the main cultural figures of the Danish Golden Age" (Koch in: Kierkegaard and his Danish contemporaries I: p. (229)), Kierkegaard's philosophy teacher at the university.

As the most significant academic philosopher of their time, it comes as no surprise that a relationship would develop between himself and Kierkegaard. And indeed, Kierkegaard was a regular visitor in Sibbern's home from the beginning of the 1830'ies (see Barfod, edt. of Kierkegaard's Papers). He would also often go on walks with him, and the two were especially close during the time of Kierkegaard's engagement

to Regine. After the rupture of the engagement, Sibbern would continue to see and console Regine, until she got married to Schlegel, and was very close to her, almost like a father-figure. (See Sibbern's letters to Møller and Barfoed, published in Søren Kierkegaard truffet, pp. 292-97).

Sibbern was very productive and wrote much during his long career, including philosophical works, speculative and systematic, textbooks, newspaper articles, political pamphlets, and literary works of fiction. In a notebook entry from 1848, Kierkegaard complains, albeit in an amicable tone, about Sibbern's constant communicativeness and calls him both a "political simpleton" and "The loveable, peculiar thinker" (Pap. Vol. 9: p. 283 f.). Sibbern would work out his own, Danish, terminology and suggested and used a large number of neologisms; he was a true language innovator. He was very well liked by his students and was a kind of spiritual adviser to many, as we also saw with Regine.

To Sibbern, the philosophical point of departure was existence, as it appears in experience and in natural science, in morality, in faith, and in the experience of beauty. His philosophical magnum opus is *Speculative Cosmology*, which constitutes a monument over the Danish Golden Age, with culture, education, and individual personality at the centre. As for Poul Martin Møller, Sibbern's ideal is also the harmonious, complete, and well-rounded individual.

Sibbern would continue to see Kierkegaard frequently up until two or three years before Kierkegaard died. Sibbern did not understand Kierkegaard's manic anger towards the Danish Church at the end of his life and felt that it cast a shadow over his earlier, splendid works.
Presentation-copy to Sibbern in the present catalogue: no. 74.

Spur, Johan Henrik (1815-1868)
Parish priest, in Hobro. Spur was out of a long line of priests and related to B.S. Ingemann. Spur's mother was Ingemann's sister.

Thielst, Oluf Christian M. (1875-1964)
Son of Johannes and Sophia (see above). Oluf maintained a close relationship with Regine and took great care of her in the last years of her life.

Thomsen, Anna (1840-1888)
Daughter of Julie Thomsen (see below), renowned for her beauty, wit, and charm. Reading contemporary letters of the people who visited the household, one gets the impression of an altogether spellbinding girl/young woman.

Her life's story does not end happily. Although half of Copenhagen seems to have been in love with her, she never marries. She gets a disfiguring illness and ends up becoming Brøchner's housekeeper, after his wife died.

Thomsen, Julie Augusta (1810-84)
Kierkegaard's cousin, with whom he was very close. She was actually Søren's half-cousin. Julie was the son of M.P. Kierkegaard's (Søren's father) cousin, M.A. Kierkegaard and the older sister of H.P. Kierkegaard (see above). Julie Thomsen was an extraordinary woman, who possessed a great intellect. She was known as "the most intelligent member of the Kierkegaard-family", and Søren was very fond of her. She was one of the very few significant women in his life. Some of the most beautiful and heartfelt letters we have from Søren are to Julie Thomsen.

For an inscription to Julie Thomsen in the present catalogue, see no. 13.

Wivel, Ole (1921-2004)
Writer, publisher. From 1954 onwards, Wivel was the director of the largest Danish publishing house, Gyldendal.

Ørsted, Hans Christian (1777-1851)
With the exception of Kierkegaard, arguably the

most famous and influential Dane ever to have lived, universally known for his discovery of the Electro-magnetism in 1820, which led to new theories and discoveries that constituted the foundation of all later electro-technology. After this milestone of scientific discovery, Ørsted went on to write a number of important philosophical works on natural philosophy and empiricism, of which *The Spirit in Nature* is the most famous and the work he himself considered his main work. Both H.C. Andersen and Søren Kierkegaard admit to having been influenced by the writings of Ørsted. "He was an enthusiastic follower of the "Naturphilosophie" school in Germany, whose main object was the unification of physical forces, thus producing a monistic theory of the universe. It was to further this purpose that Oersted sought in actual phenomena the electro-magnetic identity of which he had already convinced himself on metaphysical grounds" (Percy H. Muir in Printing and The Mind of Man).

"The natural scientist Hans Christian Ørsted was one of the most significant and influential personalities of his age and together with the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, the poet Hans Christian Andersen, and the thinker Søren Kierkegaard, constituted the small handful of figures from "The Danish Golden Age" who achieved international and even world fame." (Troelsen in Kierkegaard and his Danish Contemporaries I: p. (215)).

In intellectual circles in Denmark at the time of Kierkegaard, Ørsted was inevitable. He influenced not only natural sciences profoundly, but also philosophy, literature, and Danish languages (coining more than 2.000 neologisms). He was furthermore rector of the university of Copenhagen, when Kierkegaard in 1841 submitted his master's thesis *On the Concept of Irony*. Being the rector, Ørsted was the one who needed to pass the treatise, but having read it, he was simply not sure whether to do so or not and needed to consult other experts, before making his decision. He ended up allowing it to pass, but not without having first famously said about it (in a letter to Sibbern) that it "makes a generally unpleasant impression on me, parti-cularly because of two things both of which I detest: verbosity and affectation." (Kirmmmse (edt.): Encounters with Kierkegaard, p. 32).

Kierkegaard makes several references to Ørsted's *Spirit in Nature* and mentions him several times in his journals and notebooks. Although being of different generations and not particularly close on a personal level, the two intellectual giants would naturally be unavoidably connected in one way or the other. Ørsted was simply so centrally placed and so influential that there was no way around him for someone like Kierkegaard.

Presentation-copy for Ørsted in the present catalogue: no. 9.

Kierkegaard's pseudonyms

KIERKEGAARD'S PSEUDONYMITY constitutes an entire subject unto its own. The various cover names he uses play a significant role in his way of communicating and are essential to the understanding of his philosophical and religious messages. His play with the pseudonyms is a fundamental part of his authorship, *Either-Or* being a prime example.

One reason behind Kierkegaard's pseudonymity was to create authorial distance, freeing the book from the person who wrote it. This enabled the reader to concentrate on the work itself, it put focus on the readers and their own subjectivity and allowed for them to consider issues critically for themselves. Also, his pseudonyms all have their own distinctive personalities that further a particular viewpoint, be they authors of articles, parts of books, books themselves, or editors.

They are not merely there for play or for hiding the identity of the author, they are also there to let us, the readers, understand the works in certain ways. Also in this regard, Kierkegaard is a trailblazer. Diving into Kierkegaard's authorial philosophy, one is amazed at how it anticipated views of modern literary theory by a century.

Though publishing works under pseudonyms was not unusual for the period, Kierkegaard's method of composition is unique. He devised a complicated system that he adhered strictly to and that conveys subtextual meaning in his authorship. Kierkegaard's philosophical works would be published under pseudonyms, sometimes with many different pseudonymous personalities occurring in each book; simultaneously, he would publish his strictly religious works under his own name.

While the pseudonymous works could raise the question of the religiousness of the author, the parallelly written religious discourses stress the fact that we are dealing with an author, who was religious from the very beginning – an essential fact that Kierkegaard wished to underline.

Nothing that Kierkegaard did was left to chance, and his strict adherence to the pseudonyms also spills over in his presentation-inscriptions, which follow as strict a pattern as the pseudonyms themselves – e.g. he never signed himself the author, if his Christian name was not listed as the author on the title-page.

Below follows a list of all of Kierkegaard's pseudonyms with a short reference to the works in which he uses them.

A – Kierkegaard's very first pseudonym, which he uses for his first publication (see I). Also anonymous author and editor of the contents of the first book of *Either-Or* (see V), whom Eremita simply calls "A," and who represents an "aesthetic" life-view as well as author of *A Cursory Observation Concerning a Detail in Don Giovanni* (See XIV).

A. F. – Author of *Who is the Author of "Either-Or?"* (see VI).

Anti-Climacus – Author of *The Sickness Unto Death* (see XXV) and *Practice in Christianity* (see XXVII). Clearly posing this author against that of *Philo-sophical Fragments* (see IX) and *Concluding Unscientific Postscript to Philosophical Fragments* (see XVII), here, though, "Anti-" does not signify "against" Climacus, but rather "higher in rank" than.

B (or Judge William) – Author of the contents of the second book of *Either-Or* (see V) and the second part of *Stages on Life's Way* (see XIII), both representing the "ethical" life-view. B is also the author of Kierkegaard's second and third publications, in *Kjøbenhavns Flyvende Post* (see I).

Constantin Constantius – the name itself a "repetition", also the author of the work *Repetition* (see VIII).

H. H. – Author of *Two Ethical-Religious Essays* (see XXIV).

Hilarius Bookbinder – "the joyful bookbinder", who is both the recipient, the compiler, and the publisher of *Stages on Life's Way* (see XIII).

Inter et Inter – meaning "between and between", recalling also the Latin translation of "either/or," i.e., "aut/aut", this is the author of *The Crisis and a Crisis in the Life of an Actress* (see XXII).

Johannes Climacus – Author of *Philosophical Fragments* (see IX) and *Concluding Unscientific Postscript to Philosophical Fragments.* (see XVII) Also the author of Kierkegaard's post-humous *Johannes Climacus, or: De Omnibus Dubitandum Est*; named after St. John Climacus, a 7th-century Christian monk and author of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*.

Johannes de Silentio – "John of Silence," who is the author of *Fear and Trembling* (see VII).

Johannes the Seducer – Author of *The Seducer's Diary*, the final part of the first book of *Either-Or* (see V). Like Victor Eremita, he also, appears in the first part of *Stages on Life's Way* (see XIII).

Nicolaus Notabene – A name to be well noted, the author of *Prefaces* (see XI).

Quidam – Frater Taciturnus' imaginatively constructed author of the diary portion of *"Guilty?" – "Not Guilty?"* in *Stages on Life's Way* (see XIII). Quidam means "Someone."

The Young Man – Author of the letters to Constantius in *Repetition* (see VIII). He also appears along with Eremita, the Seducer, and Constantius in the first part of *Stages on Life's Way* (see XIII).

Victor Eremita – "Victorious hermit," general editor of *Either-Or* (see V), who also appears in the first part of its sequel, *Stages on Life's Way* (see XIII). Also the author of *A Word of Thanks to Professor Heiberg* (see VI).

Vigilius Haufniensis – "The Watchman of Copenhagen", being the author of *The Concept of Anxiety* (see X).

William of Afham – Author of the first part of *Stages on Life's Way* (see XIII). Afham means "by him". Frater Taciturnus – Author of the third part of *Stages on Life's Way*, being *"Guilty?" – "Not Guilty?"* and author of two articles *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*, both connected to the *Corsair Affair* (see XVI).

Kierkegaard also had a number of pseudonyms he ended up not using, but which he describes in his notebooks.

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