

Achim von Arnim: Kierkegaard's Encounters with a Heidelberg Hermit

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Although Kierkegaard possessed a number of Arnim's works and referred to Arnim in his writings, no scholarly study of Kierkegaard's reception of Arnim exists. In the Kierkegaard literature, only Walter Rehm devotes any serious attention to Arnim.¹ In Arnim studies, Kierkegaard is mentioned by Gerhard Rudolph² and in Paul Michael Lützel's edition of Arnim's novel *Armuth, Reichtum, Schuld und Buße der Gräfin Dolores* (1810).³ Like Lützel, Rehm and Rudolph focus on Kierkegaard's reception of *Dolores*. Rudolph also refers to Arnim's novella *Isabella von Ägypten, Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe* (1812).

These are, however, not the only texts by Arnim that interested Kierkegaard. He quotes the story *Owen Tudor* (1821) and *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806–08), the famous collection of German songs and poems edited by Arnim and Clemens Brentano. His pseudonymous works also provide evidence of covert allusion to other writings by Arnim, in particular the drama *Halle und Jerusalem* (1811) and the novella *Die Majoratsherren* (1820).⁴

*I. Short Overview of Arnim's Life and Works*⁵

Achim (Carl Joachim Friedrich Ludwig) von Arnim, who came from an ancient family of landed Prussian aristocrats, was born in Berlin on 26 January 1781 as

¹ See Walter Rehm, *Kierkegaard und der Verführer*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms 2003 [Munich: Hermann Rinn Verlag 1949], pp. 12f.; p. 85; p. 95; p. 541; 616.

² See Gerhard Rudolph, *Studien zur dichterischen Welt Achim von Arnims*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1958 (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, N.F., vol. 1 (= vol. 125)), pp. 78f.

³ See Achim von Arnim, *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., vols. 1–6, Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag 1989–94, vol. 1, *Hollins Liebeleben, Gräfin Dolores*, ed. by Paul Michael Lützel, p. 743.

⁴ For an English translation of *Die Majoratsherren*, see Achim von Arnim, *Gentry by Entailment*, trans. by Alan Brown, London: Atlas 1990 (*The Printed Head*, vol. 1, no. 1).

⁵ This section draws chiefly on Roland Hoermann, *Achim von Arnim*, Boston: Twayne 1984 (*Twayne's World Authors Series*, vol. 722), and Helene M. Kastinger Riley, *Achim von*

the second son of Johann Erdmann von Arnim (1741–1804), variously Prussian ambassador in Copenhagen (where he was made a knight of the Dannebrog order)⁶ and Dresden, and director of the Royal Theater in Berlin. Arnim's mother died as a result of his birth, and he and his elder brother were taken in by their maternal grandmother, Elisabeth von Labes. After attending the Joachimsthal grammar school in Berlin from 1793, in 1798 Arnim entered the University of Halle, where he studied law, physics, chemistry, and mathematics. Between 1799 and 1806 he published articles on physics and chemistry as well as the treatises, *Attempt at a Theory of Electrical Phenomena* (1799) and *Ideas on a Theory of the Magnet* (1800). In 1800 he entered the University of Göttingen to study mathematics, with the intention of taking up a scientific career.

In 1801, however, influenced by his friendship with Clemens Brentano (1778–1842), he decided to devote himself to literature, and he and his brother embarked on educational travels in Germany and Europe. In 1802 he undertook a Rhine journey with Brentano and published *Hollins Liebeleben*, a short epistolary novel heavily influenced by Goethe's *Werther*. In 1803 he traveled to London, Wales, and Scotland, the respective settings of his stories *Mistris Lee* (1809), *Owen Tudor*, and *Die Ehenschmiede*, which appeared posthumously in 1839.

The first volume of the *Wunderhorn* (dated 1806) appeared in Heidelberg in 1805; the second and third volumes followed in 1808. From April to August 1808 Arnim edited the *Zeitung für Einsiedler* in Heidelberg; it appeared in book form as *Tröst Einsamkeit* the same year. A cycle of novellas, *Der Wintergarten*, came out in 1809.

In 1811 Arnim married Brentano's sister Bettine, an important figure in her own right, and founded in Berlin the German Dining Club, which was frequented by leading members of Prussian society but excluded all not born into the Christian faith. A speech by Arnim to the society has been branded anti-Semitic,⁷ as have some of his literary works,⁸ but he was the only member of the society opposed to the exclusion of baptized Jews⁹ and had no clear biological concept of race. The treatment of Jewish religion and culture in his imaginative writing is complex and contradictory.

Arnim in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten, Reinbek: Rowohlt 1979.

⁶ See Peter Anton von Arnim, "Wer war im Zernikower Erbbegräbnis aufgebahrt?," *Neue Zeitung für Einsiedler: Mitteilungen der Internationalen Arnim-Gesellschaft*, no. 1, 2000–01, pp. 19–26; see p. 24. For Johann Erdmann von Arnim's birth and death dates and other information on him, see *ibid.*, pp. 23f.

⁷ See Stefan Nienhaus, "Grattenuer, Brentano, Arnim und andere. Die Erfindung des antisemitischen Nationalismus im frühen neunzehnten Jahrhundert," *Aurora: Jahrbuch der Eichendorff-Gesellschaft*, no. 65, 2005, pp. 183–99.

⁸ See for instance Heinrich Henel, "Arnims Majoratsherren," in *Interpretationen*, vol. 4, *Deutsche Erzählungen von Wieland bis Kafka*, ed. by Jost Schillemeit, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbücher 1972, p. 168. By contrast, Gisela Henckmann, "Das Problem des 'Antisemitismus' bei Achim von Arnim," *Aurora*, no. 46, 1986, pp. 48–69, seeks to defend Arnim against the charge of anti-Semitism.

⁹ See Gisela Henckmann, "Das Problem des 'Antisemitismus' bei Achim von Arnim," *op. cit.*, p. 60; Helene M. Kastinger Riley, *Achim von Arnim in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, *op. cit.*, pp. 86f.

Arnim published three further novellas, including *Isabella of Egypt*, in 1812. In 1814, not least for financial reasons, he moved to the estate of Wiepersdorf with his family, but at the end of 1816 Bettine moved back to Berlin with the couple's three children. Thereafter the couple lived mainly apart but produced four more children.

In 1817 the first volume of Arnim's unfinished historical novel *Die Kronenwächter* and the stories *Frau von Saverne* and *Die Einquartierung im Pfarrhause* appeared, followed in 1818 by another five stories, among them his best known *Der tolle Invalide auf dem Fort Ratonneau*.¹⁰

A final cycle of novellas, *Landhausleben*, appeared in 1826. On January 21, 1831, days before his fiftieth birthday, Arnim died suddenly at Wiepersdorf with a copy of Tieck's novel *Franz Sternbald* (1798) in his hand.¹¹

Distinguished by originality and fecundity of imagination, and hailed in France as a precursor of surrealism, Arnim was also ahead of his time in respect of science, technology, and medicine. Besides looking forward to Ørsted's discovery of electromagnetism, he describes a submarine in *The Marriage Blacksmith*,¹² a blood transfusion, carried out by Faust in the sixteenth century, in "The Guardians of the Crown," and a dental transplant-cum-implant in "Life in a Country House." The quasi-factual tone in which these innovations are described anticipates science fiction.

Arnim was, in addition, a prolific writer. As well as prose fiction, his output includes non-fictional texts, among them political writings and the important essay *Von Volksliedern* (1805). He also wrote many poems, some of which have been set to music, and a series of dramas. Except for *Das Loch, oder das wiedergefundene Paradies* (1813),¹³ however, these are difficult to access¹⁴ and under-researched.

His narrative fiction, too, has suffered neglect, largely because its structural complexity was seen as formlessness. Its "open form" is now viewed as a positive quality, but the relationship between the structure of his narratives and his dramas has

¹⁰ For an English translation under this title, see *Four Romantic Tales from 19th Century German*, trans. and introduced by Helene Scher, New York: Frederick Ungar 1975.

¹¹ See Ronald Hoermann, *Achim von Arnim*, op. cit., p. 18.

¹² English translation: Achim von Arnim, *The Marriage Blacksmith*, trans. with notes by Sheila Dickson, illustrations by Stephan Klenner-Otto (*New Encounters: 18th- and 19th-Century German Texts*, vol. 1), Hanover: Wehrhahn 2007.

¹³ See Ludwig Achim von Arnim, *Das Loch oder das wiedergefundene Paradies: Ein Schattenspiel*, Joseph von Eichendorff, *Das Incognito oder Die mehreren Könige oder Alt und neu: Ein Puppenspiel*, ed. by Gerhard Kluge, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1968 (*Komedia: Deutsche Lustspiele vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart: Texte und Materialien zur Interpretation*, no. 13), pp. 5–34 (text), pp. 69–105 (notes). Text also in Achim von Arnim, *Mir ist zu licht zum Schlafen: Gedichte, Prosa, Stücke, Briefe*, ed. by Gerhard Wolf, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag 1984, pp. 171–99.

¹⁴ They are not included in Achim von Arnim, *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., op. cit. Six appeared in the twentieth century in *Dramen von Clemens Brentano und Ludwig Achim von Arnim; Dramen von Ludwig Achim von Arnim und Joseph Freiherrn von Eichendorff; Lustspiele*, all ed. by Paul Kluckhohn, Leipzig: Reclam 1938. (Reprinted, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1969 (*Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Romantik*, vols. 21, 22, 23). Vol. 21 includes *Halle und Jerusalem*, vol. 22 *Der Auerhahn, Die Vertreibung der Spanier aus Wesel im Jahre 1629*, and *Die Appelmänner*, vol. 23 *Das Loch oder das wiedergefundene Paradies* and *Die Kapitulation von Oggersheim*.)

yet to be systematically explored. As it has important implications for Kierkegaard's reception of his work, however, some observations will be made on it here.

A striking feature of many of Arnim's texts is a tendency to continue when one would expect them to end. Wilhelm Grimm compared them to "pictures that were framed on three sides but not on the fourth, where the painting was still being continued indefinitely, so that in the final outlines heaven and earth could no longer be distinguished from one another, causing anxious uncertainty in the reader."¹⁵

One of the aspects of Arnim's writing identified here—that it does not permit the reader to make a clear choice between a psychological and a supernatural interpretation of the events presented—is characteristic of fantastic literature.¹⁶ As for the claim that Arnim's texts continue indefinitely, this is not strictly true. His habit of pursuing characters and events beyond the traditional endings of comedy (marriage) or tragedy (death) is not merely a matter of form, but of structure,¹⁷ and is directly related to the import of the texts in which it occurs. Kierkegaard was one of very few readers of Arnim before the second half of the twentieth century to focus on it, and there is little doubt that it was a major reason for his interest in Arnim's work.

II. Works by Arnim in Kierkegaard's Library

According to the auction catalogue of Kierkegaard's library, he possessed the three-volume second edition, dated 1819, of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, which he purchased from the bookseller Reitzel on March 14, 1836.¹⁸ However, no such edition existed. A second edition of the first volume (1806) appeared in 1819;¹⁹ the other two volumes (1808) were not reprinted until 1846.²⁰ Hence Kierkegaard's set must have consisted of the 1819 edition of volume one and the 1808 edition of the other two volumes.²¹

¹⁵ Wilhelm Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, ed. by Gustav Hinrichs, vols. 1–8, Berlin: Dümmler 1864, vol. 1, p. 299. The review, written jointly by Wilhelm Grimm and Bettine von Arnim, first appeared in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur*; vol. 1, no. 11, pp. 452–64.

¹⁶ See Tvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: a Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, trans. from the French by Richard Howard, with a foreword by Robert Scholes, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1975.

¹⁷ "Structure" is used here in the sense defined by René Wellek and Austin Warren *Theory of Literature*, 3rd ed., Harmondsworth: Penguin 1963, p. 141, as "including both content and form so far as they are organised for aesthetic purposes."

¹⁸ Ludwig Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano (eds.), *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder*, vols. 1–3, 2nd ed., Heidelberg: Mohr u. Winter 1819 (ASKB 1494–1496).

¹⁹ *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*, gesammelt von L. Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano, vol. 1, Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer 1806 [2nd ed., Heidelberg: Mohr und Winter 1819]. See Otto Mallon, *Arnim-Bibliographie*, Berlin 1925 [Reprinted, Hildesheim: Olms 1965], nos. 27, p. 105. Further references to entries in this bibliography will be abbreviated as "Mallon" followed by the entry number.

²⁰ Vols. 14 and 17 of the edition of Arnim's works referenced in note 23 below. See Mallon, nos. 191, 192.

²¹ *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*, gesammelt von L. Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano, op. cit., vols. 2 and 3, Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer 1808. See Mallon, nos. 36, 37.

He also possessed *Tröst Einsamkeit*, the book version of the *Zeitung für Einsiedler*.²² The main aim of both collections was to draw attention to the German popular cultural heritage. As they include original work by Arnim, however, evidence of their reception by Kierkegaard will be discussed here.

In addition to these four collaborative volumes, Kierkegaard's library contained 14 volumes of writings solely authored by Arnim. Two of these, the dramas *Halle und Jerusalem*²³ and *Die Gleichen* (1819),²⁴ were first editions. The remaining 12 were published after Arnim's death, 11 of them as part of an edition of Arnim's complete works edited by Wilhelm Grimm, in which Arnim's widow, Bettine, had a considerable hand.²⁵

Of this edition, Kierkegaard possessed six volumes of novellas, two of dramas, the first volume of *The Guardians of the Crown*, and the two volumes of *Dolores*, as well as a one-volume edition of six stories, edited by F.W. Gubitz. As the titles of the collected volumes do not indicate their individual contents, these will be listed here.

The first of the six volumes of novellas²⁶ contains three texts that first appeared together in 1812: *Isabella of Egypt*; *Melück Maria Blainville*, subtitled *die Hausprophetin aus Arabien*; *Die drei liebevollen Schwestern und der glückliche Färber*, and *Angelika, die Genueserin, und Cosmus, der Seilspringer*.²⁷

²² *Tröst Einsamkeit, alte und neue Sagen und Wahrsagungen, Geschichten und Gedichte*, ed. by Ludwig Achim von Arnim, Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer 1808 (ASKB 912). This consists, with minor additions, of the three numbers of the *Zeitung für Einsiedler* of April, May, and June 1808 (no more appeared), and includes ten copperplate engravings, at least seven of which were engraved by Ludwig Emil Grimm, brother of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. These depict Faust and Mephistopheles; Christ's Nativity; "Der erste Bärnhäuter," who later appears as a character in Arnim's story *Isabella of Egypt*; a caricature showing Bearskin being tempted by animals; and three saints. See Mallon, no. 39, and *Zeitung für Einsiedler*, in Gemeinschaft mit Clemens Brentano herausgegeben von Ludwig Achim von Arnim bei Mohr und Zimmer Heidelberg 1808 [mit einem Nachwort zur Neuausgabe von Hans Jessen, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1962].

²³ Ludwig Achim von Arnim, *Halle und Jerusalem: Studentenspiel und Pilgerabentheuer*, Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer 1811 (ASKB 1623). See Mallon, no. 69.

²⁴ Ludwig Achim von Arnim, *Die Gleichen: Schauspiel*, Berlin: Maurersche Buchhandlung 1819 (ASKB 1624). See Mallon, no. 106.

²⁵ *Ludwig Achim's von Arnim Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by Wilhelm Grimm, vols. 1–20, vols. 1–3 and vols. 5–8, Berlin: Veit & Comp. 1839–40 (there is no vol. 4); vols. 9–12, Grünberg and Leipzig: W. Levysohn 1841; vol. 13 (= *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, vol. 1), Charlottenburg: Egbert Bauer 1845; vols. 14–20, Berlin: Expedition des von Arnimschen Verlags 1846–48. See Mallon, nos. 167–73; nos. 175–6; nos. 179–80; nos. 190–96; no. 199.

²⁶ [Ludwig Achim's von Arnim], *Novellen*, vols. 1–6, ed. by Wilhelm Grimm, vols. 1–2, Berlin: Veit & Comp. 1839, vols. 3–6, Grünberg and Leipzig: W. Levysohn 1841–42, vol. 1 (ASKB 1612–1617). See Mallon, no. 167.

²⁷ These stories are referred to here by the titles given them in a recent English translation: *Ludwig Achim von Arnim's Novellas of 1812: Isabella of Egypt; Melück Maria Blainville; The Three Loving Sisters and the Lucky Dyer; Angelika the Genoese and Cosmus the Tightrope Walker*, trans. by Bruce Duncan, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press 1997 (*Studies in German Language and Literature*, vol. 18).

The second volume of novellas²⁸ contains *The Marriage Blacksmith*, *Die Verkleidungen des französischen Hausmeisters und seines deutschen Zöglings* (1824), *Gentry by Entailment*, *Owen Tudor*, *Fürst Ganzgott und Sänger Halbgott* (1818), and *The Mad Invalid of Fort Ratonneau* (1818).

The third volume (volume nine of the complete works)²⁹ contains the stories *Der Pfalzgraf, ein Goldwäscher*, here published for the first time, *Die Kirchenordnung* (1822), and *Raphael and his Female Neighbours*.

The fourth volume (volume ten of the complete works)³⁰ contains *Seltsames Begegnen und Wiedersehen* (1818), the unfinished narrative *Martin Martir, Frau von Saverne, Juvenis* (1818), *Die zerbrochene Postkutsche* (1818), a hilarious parody of belated Werther mania, *Die Weihnachtsausstellung* (1817), a literary and political satire, and *Aloys und Rose: Französische Miscellen aus Wallis. Aus dem Tagebuche eines hypochondrischen Reisenden* (1803).

The fifth volume (volume eleven of the complete works)³¹ contains the first part of “The Winter Garden,” and the sixth volume³² (volume twelve of the complete works) the second part of the same cycle.

The contents of the volume of stories edited by Gubitz³³ overlap with parts of the second and fourth volumes of novellas described above, but also include *The Billet at the Parsonage*. There is no consistent distinction between “novellas” and “stories” in any of these volumes: the generic designations of Arnim’s narrative and dramatic texts vary case by case.

As regards the two volumes of dramas, the first (volume five of the complete works)³⁴ contains *Jann’s Erster Dienst*, described as “a farce”; *Der Auerhahn*, “a story in four actions”; *Das Frühlingsfest*, “a postlude”; *Mißverständnisse*, “a comedy”; and *Die Vertreibung der Spanier aus Wesel im Jahre 1629*, “a drama in three acts.”

The second volume of dramas (volume six of the complete works)³⁵ contains five texts: “The Hole, or Paradise Regained, a shadow play”; *Herr Hanrei und Maria vom*

²⁸ [Arnim], *Novellen*, op. cit., vol. 2 (vol. 2 in *Ludwig Achim’s von Arnim Sämtliche Werke*, op. cit.). See Mallon, no. 168.

²⁹ [Arnim], *Novellen*, op. cit., vol. 3 (vol. 9 in *Ludwig Achim’s von Arnim Sämtliche Werke*, op. cit.). See Mallon, no. 175.

³⁰ [Arnim], *Novellen*, op. cit., vol. 4 (vol. 10 in *Ludwig Achim’s von Arnim Sämtliche Werke*, op. cit.). See Mallon, no. 176.

³¹ [Arnim], *Novellen*, op. cit., vol. 5 (vol. 11 in *Ludwig Achim’s von Arnim Sämtliche Werke*, op. cit.). See Mallon, no. 179.

³² [Arnim], *Novellen*, op. cit., vol. 6 (vol. 12 in *Ludwig Achim’s von Arnim Sämtliche Werke*, op. cit.). See Mallon, no. 180.

³³ *Sechs Erzählungen. Nachlaß von L. Achim von Arnim*, ed. by F.W. Gubitz, Berlin and Königsberg in der Neumark: In der Vereinsbuchhandlung 1835 (ASKB 1625). See Mallon, no. 162. Contains *Frau von Saverne*, *Die Einquartierung im Pfarrhause*, *Die Weihnachtsausstellung*, *Juvenis*, *Fürst Ganzgott und Sänger Halbgott*, *Der tolle Invalide auf dem Fort Ratonneau*, all previously published.

³⁴ [Arnim], *Schaubühne*, vols. 1–2, ed. by Wilhelm Grimm, Berlin: Veit and Co. 1840 (vols. 6–7 in *Ludwig Achim’s von Arnim Sämtliche Werke*, op. cit.), vol. 1 (ASKB 1618–1619). See Mallon, no. 170.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, See Mallon, no. 171.

langen Marke, a "Pickleherring play"; *Der wundertätige Stein*, "a clown (*Hanswurst*) play"; *Jemand und Niemand*, "a tragedy," *Die Appelmänner*, "a puppet play," and *Die Capitulation von Oggersheim*, "heroic comedy in three acts," the only one of the five dramas included in this volume that had not been published previously.

The content of these volumes provides a basis for examining Kierkegaard's reception of Arnim. There is no evidence that he knew either the verse novel, *Ariels Offenbarungen* (1804) or the full-length versions of *Hollin* and of the dramatic epic *Päpstin Joanna*, which was published posthumously in 1846.³⁶ He did, however, have access to the shorter versions of the last two works that are interpolated in *Dolores*.

III. Kierkegaard's Allusions to Arnim

A. Des Knaben Wunderhorn

Several entries in Kierkegaard's journals and papers refer to the *Wunderhorn*. The first, dated September 8, 1836, refers to the poem: "Doctor Faust. Fliegendes Blatt aus Kölln."³⁷ In the following entry, under the same date, Kierkegaard contrasts a passage in Goethe's *Faust*, where Mephisto "lulls him [Faust] to sleep so that he himself can slip away," with the poem, where Mephistopheles, "unable to paint Christ, paints Venus instead."³⁸ Kierkegaard alludes here to the last part of the poem only. In "Life in a Country House" Arnim quotes the same part of the poem.³⁹ This may be a coincidence, or alternatively Kierkegaard's attention could have been drawn to the poem by the quotation in *Life in a Country House*.

In an undated entry assigned to 1847, Kierkegaard refers to a similar topic, the "Venusberg," which relates to the *Wunderhorn*, poem "Der Tannhäuser."⁴⁰ This shows that he consulted the collection over some 11 years.

That he did so in 1837 and 1838 is indicated by two journal entries. In an undated entry assigned to 1837, he misquotes slightly the opening lines of "Die schwarzbraune Hexe—Fliegendes Blatt,"⁴¹ which refer to a hunter blowing his horn in vain. On September 11, 1838, he quotes, "on the occasion of his [S.S. Blicher's] nature concert," the well-known verse beginning "If I were a little bird."⁴²

In *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer* it is also stated, in a marginal note of 1844 relating to "Guilty?/Not Guilty?," that he quotes from the "Kinderlieder" section of

³⁶ See Ludwig Achim's von Arnim *Sämtliche Werke*, op. cit., vol. 19 [ed. by Bettine von Arnim], *Die Päpstin Johanna*, Berlin: Expedition des v. Arnimschen Verlags 1846. See Mallon, no. 196.

³⁷ *Pap I C 101*. See *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, op. cit., vol. 1, 1806, pp. 214ff.

³⁸ *Pap I C 102*.

³⁹ See Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, ed. by Walther Migge, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2002 [1962–65; vol. 1, 2nd ed., 1974], vol. 3, p. 299.

⁴⁰ SKS, 20, 92, NB:131. See *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, op. cit., vol. 1, 1806, pp. 86ff.

⁴¹ SKS 17, 50, AA:39. See *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, op. cit., vol. 1, 1806, p. 34.

⁴² SKS 17, 261, DD:140. See *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, op. cit., vol. 1, 1806, p. 231.

the *Wunderhorn*.⁴³ However, the phrase that he uses, “Wer keinen hat muss auch zu Bett” (Whoever has none [masculine] must go to bed too), is not identical with the corresponding lines in the children’s song: “Die keines hätt / Muß auch zu Bett”⁴⁴ (She who has none [no child] must go to bed too). Rather, this phrase is part of the text added to taps (German *Zapfenstreich*), the military signal for “lights out,” quoted in full in “Guilty?/Not Guilty?” in *Stages on Life’s Way*.⁴⁵ It is, of course, possible that the *Wunderhorn* poem put Kierkegaard in mind of it.

By contrast, the reference in Kierkegaard’s journals to the Ratcatcher (Pied Piper) of Hamelin, which is likewise related to “Guilty?/Not Guilty?,” does seem to be an allusion to a poem in the *Wunderhorn*.⁴⁶ It is of interest here because “Guilty?/Not Guilty?” also relates closely to a novella by Arnim.

B. Tröst Einsamkeit

There are no explicit references in Kierkegaard’s writings to this compilation, a Romantic *Gesamtkunstwerk* bringing together the work of many hands. Some of its contents may, however, have impressed him, particularly Arnim’s sardonic address to “the honored public,” which is preceded by an illustration of the head of a figure in a nightcap representing the national prototype, “German Michael.”

This address anticipates some features of the “philistine” as described in Brentano’s humorous treatise, *Der Philister vor, in und nach der Geschichte* (1811), originally a speech given to the German Dining Club, as well as of “Herr Publikum” in Eichendorff’s story *Viel Lärmen um Nichts* (1832). It also includes a negative comment on “people who are through with themselves and the world”⁴⁷ which seems to anticipate similar comments by Kierkegaard.

Above all, the figure of the hermit, which recurs in German literature from the Middle Ages onward⁴⁸ and is found in such early Romantic novels as Tieck’s *Franz Sternbald* and Novalis’ *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (published 1802), was highlighted both in the original title and the content of Arnim’s collaborative venture, which in its

⁴³ Pap. V B 97:6. See *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, op. cit., vol. 3, 1808, p. 68.

⁴⁴ *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*, gesammelt von L. Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano, vols. 1–3, Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1963, vol. 3, p. 206.

⁴⁵ SKS 6, 213 / *SLW*, p. 229: “Zu Bett, zu Bett wer einen Liebsten hätt / Wer keinen hätt musz auch zu Bett [To bed, to bed who a beloved has / Who has none must also to bed].” See *SLW*, Supplement, p. 710 n75 and *SLW*, Supplement p. 575.

⁴⁶ Pap. V B 131. See *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, op. cit., vol. 1, 1806, pp. 44ff. (“Der Rattenfänger von Hameln”).

⁴⁷ *Tröst Einsamkeit, alte und neue Sagen und Wahrsagungen, Geschichten und Gedichte*, op. cit., column ix. Arnim’s address to the public is placed at the back of this edition and is unpaginated.

⁴⁸ On the role of the hermit in literary texts written in German between 1749 and about 1835, see John Fitzell, *The Hermit in German Literature*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1961 (*University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures*, vol. 30).

turn is one of the inspirations for a figure in Eichendorff's work identified elsewhere in this volume⁴⁹ as the likely source of Kierkegaard's pseudonym Victor Eremita.

C. Isabella of Egypt

In a journal entry of September 10, 1839, Kierkegaard notes that "the premonitory eyes possessed by the mandrake in Achim v. Arnim's story [*Isabella of Egypt*] were in *the back of its head*, whereas the other two eyes, which were no more than ordinarily far-sighted, were in its forehead as with other human beings, or in the part of the head that is turned towards the *future*."⁵⁰ In the margin, he notes the title of the story,⁵¹ which he cites as an example of observations on the past and the future that he makes in this entry.

D. Arnim's Dolores in Kierkegaard's Journals and Papers

One of the most important of Arnim's works for Kierkegaard, in terms of the number and significance of his allusions to it, is *Dolores*. Like Goethe's *Elective Affinities* (1809), this novel chronicles the demise of a marriage, but there are major differences between the two works, not least as regards their endings.

Goethe's novel ends with the death and burial of the husband, Eduard, and his beloved, Ottilie. Despite the "apparent miracles" that follow, notes David Constantine, "Goethe offers us nothing we can believe in....It is a chilling, in some ways a repellent book, and would be nihilistic...did it not, through the passion of Eduard and Ottilie and through their braver equivalents in the *Novelle*, call for its own wholehearted contradiction."⁵²

Dolores is Arnim's response to this "call." In contrast not only to *Elective Affinities*, but also to major nineteenth-century novels of adultery such as Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, or Fontane's *Effi Briest*, the fourth and final part of Arnim's novel, *Buße* (penance) demonstrates how an apparently dead marriage may be restored to life by way of confession, penance, forgiveness, and constructive acts by the marriage partners. These are not miracles in the usual sense, but examples of Christianity in action.

In an entry in his journals and papers, dated May 16, 1837 and underlined for emphasis, Kierkegaard notes: "Around this time I read a good deal of A: v. Arnim; among other things 'Poverty, Wealth, Guilt, and Penance of Countess Dolores. 2 volumes.'"⁵³ He then quotes two passages from the novel:

⁴⁹ See Judith Purver, "Eichendorff: Kierkegaard's Reception of a German Romantic," in the present volume.

⁵⁰ SKS 18, 61, EE:178.

⁵¹ SKS 18, 61, EE:178a.

⁵² Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Elective Affinities: a Novel*, trans. and ed. by David Constantine, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994, p. xx.

⁵³ SKS 17, 54, AA:56.

2nd vol. p. 21 where he speaks of her seducer he says:

He differed from a Don Juan in that he was by no means merely sensual with every woman: only with sensual women was he sensual; with women of strict morals, he showed even greater zeal in examining and amending his life, and, with a religious woman, in praying. If Don Juan had had his versatility, he could have talked himself out of the Devil's clutches by appealing to the Devil's grandmother⁵⁴ I have written this down because it accords with my view of D.J., who was not so much a talent as a genius, not so much a character as an idea.

p. 60. Countess Dolores' husband's visit to the wonderful doctor: "here he felt very desolate and lonely and – something that all the artificial machines had not been able to do – he shuddered and was seized by a nameless fear at the life of a completely solitary man, who like the last man on earth loses himself in his dreams, runs wild, and collides at the same time with Heaven and Hell but cannot find his way into either."⁵⁵

Both passages come from Part Three of Arnim's novel, *Guilt*. The first refers to Dolores' seducer, Duke A., alias the Marquis of D., the second to a maker of automata.⁵⁶ The solitude of the latter strikes Dolores' husband, Karl—who feels "quite alien and alone in the power of unfeeling machines which, created by man, could easily gain the upper hand over him"⁵⁷—and evidently Kierkegaard as well.

In a journal entry of January 12, 1841, Kierkegaard quotes a poem that ends Part Four, Chapter Twelve of *Dolores*. A linear translation is given below.

The deeper we sink into ourselves,
The closer we advance toward Hell,
Soon we feel a wave of the glowing river,
And must soon drown in it;
It tears the flesh from our body and consumes it,
And our past times are marked by desolation,
In us is death!
The world is God!
O man, do not abandon man,
However great your sin may be
Avoid even the longing for sins
In this way you can still find much grace;
Who has ever measured the extent of grace?
Man can forget so much.

Countess Dolores 2nd vol. p. 260.

Thyself in remorse can school thyself in longing for sins, when
remorse is more contemplative and anaesthetic.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Achim von Arnim, *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 374.

⁵⁵ SKS 17, 54, AA:56.

⁵⁶ This figure was based on Gottfried Christoph Beireis (1730–1809), Professor of Physics and Medicine at the University of Helmstedt, whom Arnim, on Goethe's advice, had visited in 1806. See Achim von Arnim, *Werke*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 791.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

⁵⁸ SKS 19, 205, Not7:1.

This poem, too, concerns isolation and self-absorption. Kierkegaard's note to it refers to inauthentic remorse, a topic that recurs in *Dolores* in connection with Duke A.

E. Dolores and Either/Or

Commenting on Kierkegaard's reception of *Dolores*, Walter Rehm suggests that the last stage of Arnim's novel, penance, is replaced for Kierkegaard by destruction and the triumph of evil (*Untergang im Bösen*).⁵⁹ For his part, Paul Michael Lützel claims that today *Dolores* is interesting only for its form, not for its content.⁶⁰ Close examination of Kierkegaard's reception of *Dolores* serves to refute both these claims.

All Kierkegaard's allusions to *Dolores* come from Parts Three and Four of the novel, and predominantly Part Four, which is by far the longest. This indicates that his chief interest in the novel lies in its treatment of guilt and above all of penance. Lützel, while noting Kierkegaard's interest in Dolores' seducer, does not point out that this interest extends to the contrasting reactions of the seducer and his victims, which do not emerge fully until Part Four, and that Kierkegaard's reception of the novel makes its structure and import (rather than the superficial dichotomy of "form" and "content") of considerable significance in the history of ideas up to the present.

It is instructive to compare Kierkegaard's reception of *Dolores* with the diametrically opposed reaction of his contemporary and fellow Danish subject, the German dramatist and poet Christian Friedrich Hebbel (1813–63), who in a diary entry of March 1, 1842 praised the first three books of the novel but remarked that "in the fourth book the fact that the whole has no root takes a terrible toll, since as a result it cannot grow a crown. What has no proper beginning can find no proper ending either."⁶¹ By contrast, Kierkegaard saw that the fourth book was essential to the conception of the whole, and thereby gained insight into a central aspect of Arnim's writing: its persistent concern with rebirth, renewal, and regeneration.

F. Allusions to Dolores in Either/Or

In the opening paragraph of the "Preface" to *Either/Or*, the pseudonymous editor, Victor Eremita, refers to his doubt as to "the accuracy of the familiar philosophical thesis that the outer is the inner and the inner is the outer" and states that he has "consulted the authors whose views I shared in this respect" in order "to make up for what has been left undone in the philosophical writings."⁶² There is evidence that one of these authors is Arnim, and that the text of Arnim's on which Victor Eremita, as well as A and B, the narrators of Part One and Part Two of *Either/Or*, and Johannes, the author of "The Seducer's Diary," principally draw is *Dolores*.⁶³

⁵⁹ See Walter Rehm, *Kierkegaard und der Verführer*, op. cit., p. 13.

⁶⁰ See Achim von Arnim, *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 760.

⁶¹ Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 743.

⁶² *SKS* 2, 11 / *EOI*, 3.

⁶³ It is also worth noting that in the first story of "Life in a Country House" one of the characters speaks of the difference between the inner and outer as follows: "If a new, higher growth of faith were to spring up, where are the strong hands to harvest it, where are the hearts to

Either/Or includes several probable allusions to *Dolores*. One is explicitly attributed to Arnim; the others, when considered in connection with it, with each other, and with the novel itself, have a strong claim to be regarded as deriving from the same source.

The first occurs in the opening paragraph: "A priest who hears confessions is separated by a grillwork from the person making confession; he does not see him, he only hears. As he listens, he gradually forms a picture of the other's outward appearance corresponding to what he hears."⁶⁴ This is reminiscent of events in Chapter One, Part Four of *Dolores*, which constitutes the turning-point of the novel.

At the end of Part Three, having discovered that Dolores has been unfaithful to him, Karl stages what he intends to be a fatal "accident" by making her unwittingly shoot him with live ammunition. After reading the description of this incident, one might reasonably conclude that Karl is dead. However, this is not the case, and Part Four opens with a crucial reflection on narration that attempts to explain why.

The gist of this reflection is as follows. If a narrator kills off all the characters that he doesn't know what to do with, he may be exercising the right of time, but not time's maternal love, and his fictions never attain the significance of real events. The bold human being often resembles such a narrator in respect of his own life: he rushes ahead, ignoring the warnings of his mother, time, until he falls; she then considers whether repentance can help him where love has not. Repentant penance (*die reuige Buße*) is the most effective force in events both great and small, and the human being's supreme strength and distinction. Nature may deny us the ability to regrow limbs that have been cut off, as a tree does, but in compensation she gave us the power of spiritual regeneration.⁶⁵

Having linked narration with penitence, the narrator considers examples of the latter in relation to religion. The first case discussed is that of Dolores' seducer, Duke A., for whom, says the narrator, piety became a stimulant that he craved in ever-increasing doses: "Religion became for him a new type of opium."⁶⁶ A similar idea lies behind Kierkegaard's comment on the poem from *Dolores* quoted above.

store it and keep it safe, after so many have opened up their inner self and have made it into their exterior and used it up, while others have filled their inner self with the exterior of a past time, like a useless cellar with rubble, but almost all distinguish this exterior of the church so clearly from the interior, as if an irreparable split had opened up its vaulted roof and Heaven appeared to them only through this split? Why otherwise would there be so many Catholics whose entire zeal consists merely in annoyance at the Protestants, so many Protestants who do not want to understand anything about Luther except his protesting; young fools, who have not yet even converted themselves, and think to convert the world, about which as yet they know nothing at all?" See Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 360.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ See Achim von Arnim, *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., op. cit., pp. 441f.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 449. Karl Marx's echo of this comment in the introduction to his critique of Hegel in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* of February 1844 is probably no accident. In an article in the *People's Paper*, Marx refers to Arnim's story *Isabella of Egypt*: see S.S. Praver, *Karl Marx and World Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1976, p. 252. As Marx also knew Bettine von Arnim's writings and was well read in German Romanticism, it is more than likely that he had read *Dolores*.

By contrast, the remorse felt by Dolores and Karl is genuine. Both go to confession, Dolores to confess her adultery, Karl to confess having tried to cause her to kill him. In this context, the narrator remarks that most educated people who think themselves very religious have no real faith. This is the case with Karl, who enters the church in despair and watches scornfully those humbly leaving the confessional.⁶⁷ After seeing the figure who reminds him of Dolores, however, he is moved to make a sincere confession “like a dead person.”⁶⁸ This is the precondition for his rebirth.

These comments by the narrator occur in the paragraph of *Dolores* to which Victor Eremita seems to allude in the first paragraph of *Either/Or*. They leave little doubt that he is indeed alluding to it, as it describes a process of religious renewal, the precondition of which, as in Kierkegaard's thought, is despair.

As penance, Karl is told to go to a nearby place of pilgrimage. Having asked the priest who imposed the penance, Brother Martin, to join him, he sets off in a state of timidity and embarrassment that is normally foreign to him. As he walks along, however, he begins to pray, using the priest's rosary. Other pilgrims join in, and he gradually feels comforted by the repetition of the same prayers and the realization of “how simple the human heart [is].”⁶⁹ Thus he ceases to scorn the faith of the ordinary people and comes to share it. This in turn enables him to help others.

On arrival at an inn near the shrine, Karl notices the unusual pallor of the inn keeper's daughter, Hippolita. The priest finds out from other guests at the inn that a colonel had deserted her on the morning after their “wedding,” leaving word that he was already married. Her child was stillborn, and she became the butt of public scorn and mockery, which was undermining her health. Karl persuades her to come along to the shrine, where the public honor that she receives for her beautiful singing helps to counteract the effect of the undeserved dishonor to which she had been exposed. Thus the events set in train by Karl's confession help her to recover from the effects of seduction. This does not depend on miracles, or on an exceptional occurrence—the honor that Hippolita receives is, we are told, not unusual⁷⁰—but on Karl's practical application of his now genuine faith—and a shrewd insight into human psychology.

The priest's rosary plays a role here, too. Karl leaves it behind at the inn and when he goes back to retrieve it, hears Hippolita singing and praying with it. This suggests to him the idea of asking her to accompany him and the priest to the shrine.

The beneficial effects of confession continue when Karl finds Dolores, who has been given the same penance but has found the walk exhausting because she is pregnant, lying apparently lifeless on a chapel floor in front of a picture of Mary Magdalene. He revives her by sprinkling her with holy water from the water stoup. This, like his recovery from his apparently fatal wound, constitutes a symbolic rebirth, not only of Dolores, but also of their relationship in its spiritual and physical totality.

The priest who imposed the penance is not particularly intelligent: in fact, he is somewhat foolish and has no idea how much he has helped Karl and Dolores. Karl feels, however, that “a higher voice speaks with the tongue of a person who

⁶⁷ See Achim von Arnim *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 450.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

with a faithful heart sits in the place of God.”⁷¹ Brother Martin is also an essential companion on the pilgrimage, as the incidents with his rosary and Hippolita show.

If Brother Martin has his human faults, so do other priests in Arnim’s works. This is the case in *Dolores* and especially in *Halle und Jerusalem*, where priests are shown as unfaithful to their calling.

The explicit reference to Arnim in *Either/Or* occurs in “The Immediate Erotic Stages,” where the esthete, A, referring to Johannes the Seducer, mentions Arnim (but not the title of the novel) and cites almost verbatim the final sentence of the first passage from *Dolores* that Kierkegaard had quoted in his journals and papers:

Achim v. Arnim tells somewhere of a seducer with an entirely different style [sc. from Don Juan], a seducer who falls within ethical categories. . . . He declares that he could speak with a woman in such a way that if the devil grabbed him, he would talk himself free if he could manage to speak with the devil’s great-grandmother. This is the genuine seducer; the esthetic interest here is also something else: namely, the how, the method.⁷²

This description indicates that the character of Johannes the Seducer is based, at least in part, on Arnim’s Duke A, alias Marquis D. The fact that the esthete shares with *Dolores*’ seducer the initial “A” also lends weight to Victor Eremita’s suggestion that the esthete, A, may be identical with Johannes the Seducer.⁷³

Besides Duke A, other probable sources for Kierkegaard’s Johannes in Arnim’s novel are the colonel who deceives Hippolita—like him, Johannes seduces a young, inexperienced girl—and Johanna/Johannes in the unfinished drama about “Pope Joan” interpolated in Part Four of *Dolores*, where the devil raises the child Johanna as a boy, Johannes, in order to make her Pope and Antichrist.

A further allusion to *Dolores* may be concealed in an entry in Kierkegaard’s journals and papers and a similar, but briefer comment by Johannes in “The Seducer’s Diary.” Both remarks immediately follow a quotation from a poem by Eichendorff in which the gender of the words indicating two people said to be in love, which is masculine in the original, has been changed to feminine. The journal entry reads:

*Die eine ist verliebt gar sehr
Die Andre wär’ es gerne*

Indeed, it is difficult to have to walk alongside someone, especially in the evening to have permission to hold one’s future brother-in-law under the arm, and even under the left arm.⁷⁴

In “The Seducer’s Diary” in *Either/Or* Johannes, referring to a group of girls, quotes the same lines of verse (The one is very much in love / The other would like to be) with the same gender change, and comments: “Yes, it is undeniably a bad employment in life to go walking with a prospective brother-in-law on his left arm.”⁷⁵

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 460.

⁷² SKS 2, 103 / EOI, 99 (Translation modified).

⁷³ SKS 2, 16–18 / EOI, 8–10.

⁷⁴ Pap. III B 72 / JP 5, 5480.

⁷⁵ SKS 2, 345 / EOI, p. 356.

This may allude, among other things, to the fact that Dolores' seducer is her brother-in-law. He is not literally her prospective brother-in-law; nevertheless, as neither she nor the reader knows his identity until after he has seduced her, the revelation that he is her brother-in-law does lie in the future.

The most striking parallel between *Dolores* and *Either/Or*, however, concerns the forcible opening of a writing-desk. Victor Eremita relates how he bought a writing desk from a second-hand dealer and, in trying to open it in order to take out money for a journey, hit it with a hatchet, thereby discovering a secret compartment containing "a mass of papers"—the manuscripts of which the rest of *Either/Or* allegedly consists.

The corresponding episode in *Dolores* occurs in the final chapter of the novel. A widowed princess believes that she has spent the night with Karl and that he loves her and wants to marry her. Wishing to write a document of consent to a divorce for Dolores to sign, but not having her writing materials to hand, the princess forces open the desk of a male secretary:

In her vehement way, she tried the locked desk to see whether it could be opened. Into the lid she put the point of a hammer used for collecting minerals, and as the wood had dried out in the intense heat, the lid readily sprang open. Impatiently she felt for paper, pen and inkwell, found them all, and was about to close the lid, when a mass of heaped-up papers, whose support she had removed, fell out.⁷⁶

Among the papers she finds the portrait that she thought she had given Karl after their night together. Realizing, as the content of the papers confirms, that she had spent the night with the secretary and that her assumptions about Karl's feelings were mistaken, she kills the secretary and herself with poison dissolved in *Lacrimae Christi* wine.

The fact that this allusion, like that to "a priest who hears confessions," occurs in the "Preface" of *Either/Or* indicates the importance of *Dolores*, and particularly of Book Four, as a major catalyst for *Either/Or* as a whole. The phrase "a mass of papers," taken from Arnim's novel, also describes the latter's convoluted structure.

G. Allusion to Owen Tudor in *Either/Or*

This consists of a direct quotation followed by a comment: "*Wir Presbyterianer halten die Orgel für des Teufels Dudelsack, womit er den Ernst der Betrachtung in Schlummer wiegt, so wie der Tanz die guten Vorsätze betäubt.*"⁷⁷ This must be regarded as a remark *instar omnium*.

The esthete, A, cites this passage in support of his claim that religious fervor regards music as unsuitable to express spirit, but ignores the original context of the quotation.

The passage in *Owen Tudor* that he quotes is part of an exchange between the narrator and one of his traveling companions, a Presbyterian, about the "Jumpers,"

⁷⁶ Achim von Arnim, *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 662.

⁷⁷ *SKS* 2, 78f / *EOI*, 72f. (English translation of the German text: We Presbyterians regard the organ as the devil's bagpipe, with which he lulls to sleep the earnestness of contemplation, just as dance deadens good intentions.)

a Welsh sect whose adherents jumped for joy during worship. It is not clear why the Jumpers' form of worship, expressed through music and dance, should be considered a less fervent manifestation of religious faith than the Presbyterian's opposition to it.

In fact, far from supporting the Presbyterian's views, *Owen Tudor* uses humor to counter them. The Presbyterian's bigoted comment is belied by his altruistic action when he and the narrator prevent a police constable from arresting a Welshwoman by joining in the Jumpers' worship and making the constable dance with them. Hence in quoting the Presbyterian's comment, A misinterprets or twists its context and thus, as Kierkegaard must have been aware, undermines his own argument.

Owen Tudor is not the only story of Arnim to attack sectarianism: it is the main theme of "The Church Ordinance" and of "Life in a Country House," both of which convey the concern felt by Arnim, a sincere but also ecumenically-minded Lutheran, at the religious situation in Prussia after the Napoleonic Wars, and in particular the increasingly hierarchical and authoritarian tendencies in Protestantism.⁷⁸ Like Kierkegaard, Arnim focuses on people's actions as a manifestation of their faith, not on minor points of doctrine or ceremony.

H. Halle und Jerusalem

Arnim's dramatic epic *Halle und Jerusalem*, a reworking of a seventeenth-century baroque drama, Gryphius' *Cardenio und Celinde*,⁷⁹ is an *Erlösungsdrama* in two parts. A largely realistic first part, based on student life in Halle, is followed by a visionary second part, enacting the voyage of several of the characters to the Holy Land and their pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre to find salvation.

Like *Dolores*, this is a structurally innovative work whose originality has not received the recognition that it merits. Just as the marriage of Karl and Dolores, and Karl's life, "ought" to end with Part Three of the novel, so the life of Cardenio, a *Privatdocent* whose gifts are marred by impulsiveness, is forfeit at the end of Part One of the drama: he is wanted by the authorities for murder.

He does, however, have a powerful guide and protector: Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew, who is the first character to speak in the play and reappears whenever Cardenio is in danger. In Part Two, Ahasverus reveals that Cardenio is his son, conceived as the result of rape. Condemned, as in the legend, to wander through the world indefinitely for mocking Jesus on the day of the Crucifixion, and having also committed rape—an addition to the legend that motivates his interest in Cardenio—Ahasverus yet appears as a wise, noble, and compassionate figure who is himself seeking salvation and, in doing so, leads Cardenio and others on the same path.

The import of the drama is that even the worst sinners can be forgiven if they repent and do penance. This does not mean that they can escape punishment: as the narrator states in the opening chapter of *Dolores*, Part Four, penance must include

⁷⁸ See Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 765f.

⁷⁹ See Roger Paulin, 'Gryphius' 'Cardenio und Celinde' und Arnims 'Halle und Jerusalem': eine vergleichende Untersuchung, Tübingen: Niemeyer 1968 (*Studien zur deutschen Literatur*, vol. 11).

acceptance of punishment.⁸⁰ The visionary second part of the drama enacts the normally invisible process of repentance in the form of a pilgrimage by sea and land to the Holy Sepulchre, where Cardenio, assured of divine grace, dies peacefully.

Here Arnim anticipates not only in form—a double drama with a realistic first part and a visionary second part—but also in import, Goethe's *Faust*, in particular Part II. As with *Elective Affinities* and *Dolores*, however, the endings of the two dramas differ. Faust's redemption, despite the Catholic trappings, is essentially the result of his continual striving. By contrast, *Halle und Jerusalem* enacts Christian penitence and penance. However, because Cardenio, unlike Karl and Dolores, has actually taken life, this can occur on a visionary level only.

Kierkegaard possessed a number of books about Ahasverus, but, in view of his detailed knowledge of Arnim's work, it is reasonable to assume that *Halle und Jerusalem* contributed to his interest in the figure. This assumption is supported by the occurrence in Arnim's drama of two phrases used by Kierkegaard as titles.

In *Halle und Jerusalem*, the words "either-or" are emphasized by being printed in spaced-out type,⁸¹ which is otherwise rarely used in the text. Thus Arnim's drama, together with Goethe's *Werther*, may be one of the literary sources of the title of *Either/Or*. The title of the first main section of *Stages on Life's Way*, "In vino veritas," besides being a well-known saying, also occurs in *Halle und Jerusalem* in its German form, "im Wein ist Wahrheit."⁸² Another of Arnim's texts that Kierkegaard possessed, *Die Weihnachtsausstellung*, ends with a light-hearted drinking song which includes the same words.⁸³ In using them Kierkegaard may have been alluding to Arnim. At any rate, he could scarcely have been unaware that they occurred in texts by Arnim.

I. "Guilty?/Not Guilty?" and Arnim's Gentry by Entail,
The Equals and Prince All-God and Singer Half-God

Kierkegaard's second major pseudonymous work, *Stages on Life's Way*, makes no explicit reference to Arnim. It can nevertheless be shown that Arnim's story, *Gentry by Entail* was a major inspiration for the section of *Stages* entitled "Guilty?/Not Guilty?" and that this section also contains possible allusions to Arnim's drama, *Die Gleichen* and his story, *Fürst Ganzgott und Sänger Halbgott*.

Frater Taciturnus claims to have found the manuscript of "Guilty?/Not Guilty?," with several other objects, in a box that he recovered from Søborg Lake in 1844. The dates given in the manuscript correspond to the year 1751, but, he suggests, it may be of more recent date, as it resembles a novel. Its fictional status is further emphasized by his designation of it as "an imaginary psychological construction."⁸⁴

⁸⁰ See Achim von Arnim *Werke*, ed. by Roswitha Burwick et al., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 442.

⁸¹ *Ludwig Achim's von Arnim sämtliche Werke: Neue Ausgabe*, vols. 1–21, Berlin: v. Arnim's Verlag 1857 (Mallon, nos. 234–54) (Reprinted, vols. 1–10, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag 1982, vol. 5 (= vols. 8–10 of the edition of 1857), vol. 8, p. 26.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁸³ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 731.

⁸⁴ SKS 6, 198 / SLW, 211 and passim.

These words could also be used to describe *Gentry by Entail*, which is set in the period between the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The personality and behavior of its main protagonist, referred to only as “*der Majoratsherr*” (the primogenitive heir), foreshadow in many ways those of the anonymous author of “*Guilty?/Not Guilty?*,” whom Frater Taciturnus calls only “*Quidam*.”

In the first place, the primogenitive heir’s love for a young woman called Esther could be described in the terms that *Quidam* applies to his own love for an unnamed woman: secret and clandestine.⁸⁵ Both men watch their beloved from a vantage point on the opposite side of the street while seeking to remain unseen themselves. Both engage in “nocturnal pursuits”⁸⁶ which consist chiefly in writing a diary. Both are highly reflective: the young heir remarks that he is “a good observer of himself,”⁸⁷ *Quidam* that he does nothing without reflection.⁸⁸

This mode of existence distances them from the present and from daily life. Consequently, both feel that they are not, and never have been, truly alive. Just as the heir says that he is “apparently alive,” but actually “dead,”⁸⁹ so *Quidam* describes himself as “one who is dead” and claims that he has “never lived.”⁹⁰

Paradoxically, their detachment from life gives them profound insights into it. The heir claims to have, like the mandrake in Arnim’s *Isabella of Egypt*, “a second pair of eyes.”⁹¹ These enable him to see visions and spirits, among them “unhappy souls who cannot find rest because of uncompleted lawsuits.”⁹² *Quidam* likewise says that he is “continually seeing ghosts” and that human justice is “nonsense.”⁹³

As these insights derive from non-engagement with life, however, they are inimical to life. Arnim’s narrator suggests that those who seek them may be driven to “impious self-destruction.”⁹⁴ *Quidam*, fearing that his beloved may die or kill herself, thinks of suicide.⁹⁵ Both young women who are the objects of the men’s affections are described as pale and suffering.⁹⁶ The heir sees Esther dying, or being killed by her stepmother, Vasthi, and himself dies shortly afterwards.

Both men turn in their predicament to the religious. After Esther’s death the heir is assailed by radical doubt as to the existence of a transcendent sphere—this recalls Karl’s religious doubts at the beginning of Part Four of *Dolores*—but then has a vision of Esther’s departing soul which is followed by a passage in italics: “*and there appeared everywhere through the structure of this world a higher world, which is perceptible to the senses only in imagination: in imagination, which stands as*

⁸⁵ See SKS, 6 189 / SLW, 202.

⁸⁶ SKS 6, 198 / SLW, 211.

⁸⁷ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 41.

⁸⁸ SKS 6, 190 / SLW, p. 202.

⁸⁹ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 39.

⁹⁰ SKS 6, 198 / SLW, 211.

⁹¹ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 39.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁹³ SKS 6, 205 / SLW, p. 220.

⁹⁴ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 33.

⁹⁵ SKS 6, 361 / SLW, 389.

⁹⁶ SKS 6, 186 / SLW, 198. See Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 47.

mediator between the two worlds and repeatedly spiritualizes the dead surrounding matter, infusing it with living form by embodying the higher.”⁹⁷ These words seem to express the narrator’s views as well as those of the heir.

The heir also expresses the conviction that Esther, who, though the child of Christians, has been raised by Jews, “is not removed from the Heaven of her faith; she has found it, and I will also find my Heaven, the peace and motionlessness of the eternal blue, that accepts me, its youngest child, like its firstborn, in its infinity, all in equal blessedness!”⁹⁸ The “faith” referred to here must be Judaism, as it is the faith in which Esther has been raised. Earlier, the heir states that all the holy stories of all peoples are true,⁹⁹ a sentiment that accords with the views on myth of a number of German Romantics and their associates.

Quidam, for his part, says that he has “chosen the religious.”¹⁰⁰ This also seems to be true of Frater Taciturnus, who in his “Letter to the Reader” treats “Guilty?/Not Guilty?” as a fictional work that he has created. When in this “Letter” he quotes “a deeply philosophical friend” as saying that he (Frater Taciturnus) is a seducer who “wants to induce everyone to believe that the single individual has infinite significance and that this is the validity of life,” and cannot “come up with the least little thing that the age demands,”¹⁰¹ this can hardly be read as anything other than irony both on the part of Frater Taciturnus and of Kierkegaard, since Quidam’s views accord with Kierkegaard’s own comments on the significance of the individual and the loss of individuality in the post-Revolutionary age. The narrator of Arnim’s story, too, states that before the French Revolution there was genuine individuality, whereas after it there was only sameness.¹⁰²

Neither of the main protagonists of Arnim’s story is who he or she seems to be. Not only does Esther seem to be of Jewish descent although she is not; she also acts the part of a prominent Jewish salon hostess, inviting imaginary male guests of different nationalities to her room and “conversing” with them in various languages.

These guests include “a Kantian philosopher” who “demonstrates” his views on French affairs, causing a Frenchman to become enraged, so that Esther spills an (imaginary) cup of hot tea over the Kantian’s trousers “in order to create a diversion,” and “a young enlightened theologian.”¹⁰³ They also include the heir who, watching from his hiding-place opposite Esther’s window, “feared that he would see himself come in; he felt as if he were being turned inside out like a glove being taken off.”¹⁰⁴

In the ensuing imaginary conversation with him, Esther says, “You told me very succinctly that I was not what I—seem to be, and I reply that you, too, are not what

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 63f.

⁹⁸ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 64.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁰⁰ SKS 6, 207 / SLW, p. 222.

¹⁰¹ SKS 6, 453 / SLW, 492f.

¹⁰² Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 33.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 50f.

you seem.”¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Quidam says: “If there is anyone present, no matter who it is, I am never entirely who I am.”¹⁰⁶

As the heir learns from overhearing Esther’s words, she is the daughter of a former primogenitive heir, whereas he is the illegitimate son of a lady at court. Esther intensifies her false identity not only by imitating social types, such as a salon hostess and her visitors, and the voices of individuals, such as the heir, but she also mimics the grotesque disguises and voices of guests at an imaginary masked ball, as well as the sound of various musical instruments.¹⁰⁷ Her skills as a mimic point forward to the Latin master in “Guilty?/Not Guilty?” who, says Quidam, had a habit of “occasionally speaking suddenly in a completely different voice and from a completely different world.”¹⁰⁸ The same could be said of Esther.

In addition, the theme of role-playing provides a concrete detail that is present both in Arnim’s story and in “Guilty?/Not Guilty?” and points to the intertextual links between them. One of the objects that Frater Taciturnus claims to have found in the box with Quidam’s manuscript is “a fragment of a poster advertising a comedy.”¹⁰⁹ When the heir is about to enter Esther’s shop to buy curtains in order to conceal himself from her view—a form of disguise and play-acting—he excuses himself for not entering Vasthi’s shop, which is next door, by saying that he had merely turned to look at a poster advertising a comedy (*Komödienzettel*) at the corner of the street.¹¹⁰

There is an even clearer allusion to *Gentry by Entail* in Quidam’s diary entry headed “A Possibility,” which concerns an insane bookkeeper who believes that he may have fathered a child. Quidam writes of the bookkeeper: “The only relative he had left was an old man, his late mother’s cousin, ‘the cousin,’ as he was called *κατ’ ἐξοχήν* [in an eminent sense], a bachelor, to whose house he had moved after his parents’ death. He took his meals there every day.”¹¹¹

The young heir in Arnim’s story, too, has an older relative, a bachelor known as “the cousin.”¹¹² After the death of his (supposed) mother, the heir comes to live in the cousin’s house,¹¹³ where he also takes his meals. Both cousins are partial to snuff. Both works also mention Jewish religious texts: whereas Quidam reads the Old Testament,¹¹⁴ the heir reads his cousin’s books of Jewish legends.¹¹⁵ Both texts refer to King David.¹¹⁶

There is, in addition, a passage in “Guilty?/Not Guilty?” that recalls Arnim’s drama *Die Gleichen* as well as *Gentry by Entail*. With reference to his attempts to dissuade his beloved from engaging in reflection, Quidam remarks: “one can suck

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ *SKS* 6, 184 / *SLW*, 196.

¹⁰⁷ See Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 56f.

¹⁰⁸ *SKS* 6, 191 / *SLW*, 204.

¹⁰⁹ *SKS* 6, 178 / *SLW*, 190.

¹¹⁰ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 46.

¹¹¹ *SKS* 6, 265 / *SLW*, 285.

¹¹² Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 34.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36f.

¹¹⁴ *SKS* 6, 214 / *SLW*, 230.

¹¹⁵ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 48.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57. See *SKS* 6, 234 / *SLW*, p. 251.

poison out of another person and oneself die.”¹¹⁷ In “The Equals,” a woman sucks the poison from her beloved’s wound and dies, whereas he recovers.¹¹⁸ In *Gentry by Entail*, the young heir “sees” the Angel of Death poison Esther with a drop of liquid from his sword and wash the point of the sword in a glass of water by her bed. The heir drinks this water and dies shortly afterwards.¹¹⁹

The correspondences between *Gentry by Entail* and “Guilty?/Not Guilty?” are too numerous and too specific to be the result of chance. The main reason for them appears to be the strong impact that Arnim’s story made on Kierkegaard. Not only is it highly original, it also deals with central themes of Kierkegaard’s own work, notably the discrepancy between the inner and the outer and the crisis of individuality. In addition, it satirizes philosophers and “enlightened” theologians, who are among the main targets of Kierkegaard’s criticism.

“Guilty?/Not Guilty?” also includes what appears to be an allusion to another story by Arnim. In his diary entry for “January 12. Midnight” the narrator of “Guilty/Not Guilty?” comments, “since I am not dead I cannot live my life over again, and if I were dead, I could not relive it either, for, after all, I have never lived.”¹²⁰ This is reminiscent of *Fürst Ganzgott und Sänger Halbgott*, where the Prince complains to the singer “that I do not experience anything at all, that a thousand considerations hem me in; when I die, I shall still be waiting for my life to begin!”¹²¹

J. The Marriage Blacksmith and The Battle between the Old and the New Soap Cellars

There is, finally, a possible parallel between Arnim’s *The Marriage Blacksmith* and Kierkegaard’s early draft play, *The Battle between the Old and the New Soap-Cellars*. Arnim’s story ends with multiple weddings in Gretna Green, a Scottish town near the English border where runaway couples could be married by a blacksmith. In its light-hearted treatment of marriage it forms a contrasting pendant to *Hollin and Dolores*. It also offers, in the two rival smiths¹²² who compete for the custom of couples wishing to be married, a parallel to the rival soap-cellars in Kierkegaard’s play. Although the latter are based on real soap-cellars in Copenhagen, the idea of referring to them in a literary text could have been suggested by Arnim’s story. If so, this would show that Kierkegaard’s reception of Arnim in his creative writing began at about the same time as he noted his reading of Arnim in his journal.

It is clear from the foregoing that Arnim’s thought and writing made a profound and lasting impression on Kierkegaard and possessed considerable fascination for him.

¹¹⁷ SKS 6, 252 / SLW, 271.

¹¹⁸ See Ludwig Achim von Arnim’s *sämtliche Werke: Neue Ausgabe*, op. cit., vol. 5 (= vols. 8–10 of the edition of 1857), vol. 10, pp. 339f.

¹¹⁹ See Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 63–5.

¹²⁰ SKS 6, 198 / SLW, p. 211.

¹²¹ Achim von Arnim, *Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 17.

¹²² The original title of Arnim’s story, “Die Ehenschmiede,” is plural, whereas Sheila Dickson uses the singular ‘Blacksmith’ in her translation: Achim von Arnim, *The Marriage Blacksmith*, op. cit.

This is particularly noticeable in Kierkegaard's early pseudonymous works that most resemble novels, namely *Either/Or* and "Guilty?/Not Guilty?," which forms a pendant to "The Seducer's Diary" in *Either/Or*. The manuscript that Victor Eremita finds in his writing desk alludes to Arnim's *Dolores* as well as to other Romantic narratives, notably a novel by Eichendorff and Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*. Complex intertextual allusion of this kind is characteristic of Romantic writing itself.

Arnim does not appear to have contributed to the concept of three existence-spheres put forward in "Guilty?/Not Guilty?" However, Kierkegaard engaged profoundly with Arnim's thought and writing. Arnim's critical religious thinking from within Protestantism, and his interest in the role of the Protestant church in national life, was bound to be of particular interest to Kierkegaard and to act as a stimulus to his own thought. More remains to be said about this than can be attempted here.