SØREN KIERKEGAARD’S DIARY OF
THE SEDUCER:
A HISTORY OF ITS USE AND ABUSE IN INTERNATIONAL PRINT

BY

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Introduction

Any piece of writing with the title The Diary of a Seducer is bound to attract some attention. And when the author is Søren Kierkegaard, one’s expectancy is even heightened. From a publisher’s standpoint it would seem an unbeatable combination: Søren and sex. But even considering all that, one is startled to discover the veritable flood of such Diary’s which over the years has flowed from the world’s presses: no less than 34 different editions in 13 languages! Nor is one quite prepared to encounter the distorting format in which many of these volumes are presented, along with the erotic art work which often adorns them. This essay presents facts and observations on how the Diary has fared in international print over the last 75 years. Most of the books surveyed are found among the rich store of Kierkegaardiana in Copenhagen’s Royal Library. Although interesting, the following story of the Diary’s exploitation and distortion is not very edifying.

Of course the Diary has often appeared in print in its legitimate place at the end of volume one of Kierkegaard’s Either/Or. But this essay will deal only with the surprisingly large number of editions of the Diary by itself, printed separately from the rest of Either/Or. By way of background, it will be recalled that Either/Or is divided into two parts. Volume one (the “Either” of the forced option implied in the title) presents a brilliant, evocative treatment of the aesthetic life-style—that passionate quest for temporal pleasure, and the side-effects of this quest. Volume two (the “Or”) presents the viewpoint of a Judge who represents,

Et dansk résumé af denne artikel findes nedenfor s. 162–164.
among other things, the epitome of the general humanitarian, religion-tinted, normally upright ethical life-style. The profound interplay between these two conflicting life-styles gives Either/Or its philosophical tension, its organic unity, and the literary power which can make such a deep impact on the reader. Naturally, the Seducer's Diary is part of volume one dealing with the pleasure-oriented aesthetic life-style. The novella-sized Diary's pages purport to contain the intimate reflections of Johannes (last name not revealed) during the several months he pursues a voluptuous young maiden named Cordelia Wahl. From the consecutive entries, it is clear that Johannes worked very hard at his craft and with consummate skill manipulated the psychological and physical responses of the unsuspecting Cordelia. The Diary's tone is often that of a military siege or a hunt. To use Johannes' own words about Cordelia: "she is marked out, she shall be run down". The end is inevitable.

Publishing Statistics

Leaving content aside for the moment, the bare facts and figures of the Diary's publishing history are impressive by themselves. Either/Or was first published in 1843, but it was not until 51 years later, in 1894, that the first of the 34 editions of the Diary was published by itself.

Interestingly enough, this initial effort was a Russian version titled Pleasure and Guilt (Bibliography No. 1). A Swedish (No. 2) and a German (No. 3) version were not far behind in 1902 and 1903 respectively, followed by editions in Finnish (No. 4) and Polish (No. 5) in 1907, Italian (No. 6) in 1910, and Portuguese (No. 7) in 1911. A separate Danish (No. 10) version was not introduced until 1919. The first Spanish (No. 13) edition came out in 1922, and the French (No. 17) in 1929. Not until 1932 was the first English (No. 18) language translation published. It is worth noting that this was the first printed translation of Kierkegaard of any major size to appear in English. The Japanese (No. 19) entered the field in 1938. Those who read only Serbo-Croatian (No. 27) had to wait until 1956 for their separate edition. That makes a sum total of 13 different tongues which have told the tale of Johannes and Cordelia.

The Russians may have been first, but their early interest was not pursued. It is the Germans who persisted most, bringing out no less than ten separate versions of the Diary—a new version about every seven years, including one in the middle of World War I (Nos. 3, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 34). There are three separate versions each in English
Figure 1 (From Bibliography No. 6).
(Nos. 18, 28, 33), French (Nos. 17, 31, 32), Spanish (Nos. 13, 23, 24), Swedish (Nos. 2, 11, 29), with two each in Danish (Nos. 10, 26), Finnish (Nos. 4, 30), Italian (Nos. 6, 25), and Japanese (Nos. 19, 22). The other five languages boast only one version each.

There are some rather unusual items within this collection. One German version is in the form of a Sitten-Roman with much of Kierkegaard's discursive prose rendered into mannered dialogue (No. 12). A creditable English edition is cast as a play, where Edward (for some reason) is re-named Henry, and Kierkegaard's prose is often spoken nearly verbatim by the characters as declamatory asides (No. 28). Such creative attempts aside, some of the momentum for this torrent of publications seems to have come from the need or interest to fill out a representative series of world literature. Eleven of the versions are in assorted international series variously titled (e.g., Universal Library (No. 25), Living Literature (No. 26), The Babel Collection (!) (No. 13), and, simply, The Best (No. 11), and covering multitudes of authors from Jane Austen to Virginia Woolf, with stops in between for Balzac, Goethe, Hemingway, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Virgil, etc. One series advertised over 300 titles (No. 24). Perhaps the need for representatives from Scandinavia turned the editors to Kierkegaard, and perhaps the convenient size and racy topic of the Diary suited their marketing considerations. Yet the Diary also seems to have appealed to more private tastes as well (perhaps for the same reasons?) and has been brought out in two numbered, high quality, limited editions of 355 and 1100 exemplars, complete with decorative art work (Nos. 10, 3).

The Diary's Main Theme

Before moving on to discuss the art work accompanying some of these editions, it is desirable to say a few words about the Diary's main theme. The surface plot of the Diary involves a seducer's meeting, wooing, and conquest over a young girl of seventeen. However, Johannes the Seducer is no ordinary man-about-town and justly prides himself on a consummately cerebral approach to his task. He plans every meeting in detail, executes each move with infinite precision, brings Cordelia along according to a master plan. It strikes the reader that his pleasure seems to derive more from the planning and remembrance of successful exploits than from the actual carrying out of these exploits themselves. In fact, while he is actually in Cordelia's presence, his self seems split in two so that a lesser "agent" self talks to her, touches her, etc., while a superior
Figure 2 (From Bibliography No. 21).
“commanding” self hovers above the scene, directing it and revelling in its aesthetic stimuli. The superficial impression of unqualified sensual pleasure seems accompanied by some dark portent, and the reader becomes uneasy. He becomes gradually aware that, carried to extremes (which is exactly where Johannes is carrying it), such a life-style can lead one progressively into extreme alienation from all other people, a form of demented schizophrenia, debilitating aesthetic solipsism, and other self-destructive behavior dominated by compulsive frenzy. Thus it is that beneath the glittering surface of the Diary’s plot lies a dark turbulence which threatens to devour all who immerse themselves in it. Although these disturbing ideas are not stated explicitly in the Diary, they can be felt in the mood it conjures up. Kierkegaard brilliantly evokes the double presence of glamor and horror, of attraction and repulsion which characterizes the aesthetic life-style.

There is no doubt that Johannes possesses great cerebral powers which enable him to achieve impressive feats of aesthetic ecstasy. But it can be argued that the powers he possesses do, in fact, actually possess him. Slowly, surely, demonically, they gain control over him, manipulate him, and ultimately destroy him. The very cerebral-manipulative powers which he used to stalk and trap his victims eventually victimize him. The sense of tables being subtly but surely turned is what provides the Diary with its demonic, frightening undercurrent of dread. Despite its title and seduction plot structure, it is no accident that this is not a conventionally erotic tale. And any reading of the Diary which misses its dark dimension misses Kierkegaard’s main point.

**Illustrative Art Work**

With this context in mind, let us now investigate some of the art work which has illustrated the Diary’s assorted editions. The seduction theme of stealthy entrapment and capture is depicted on two covers. One cover is decorated with an abstract rendering of a spider’s web (No. 32). Another cover design shows a butterfly, attracted by flowers, being snared in a net. And as if to emphasize the point, the entire design is encircled in a noose-like lasso (Fig. 1). The idea that Johannes’ outward pleasantness masks his baser motives can be seen in two other covers (Nos. 21, 30) which employ the stylized rose motif—complete with full-blown blossoms rising above stalks armed with treacherous thorns (Fig. 2). One can speculate as to what the artists had in mind. Perhaps they were attempting to communicate the double sense of en-
Figure 3 (From Bibliography No. 12).
trament discussed above, wherein the Seducer becomes the one seduced
the captor himself becomes captured. However, it seems more probable
that the covers simply illustrate the conventional understanding of a
seducer's pleasureful, if devious, activities. Considering what was said
in the previous section, one can see how these covers do not match the
contents of the Diary.

This impression is reinforced by the blatantly and single-mindedly
erotic treatment which the art work receives in some other versions.
One cover shows a virile male directing a cunning side-glance full of
lustful anticipation at an innocent-looking, albeit fully-developed, Teu-
tonic Mädchen (Fig. 3). (The cover is from 1920, but the angular-faced
man with dark hair down his forehead and precise moustache bears an
uncanny resemblance of a youngish Adolph Hitler.) Another cover, from
1912, shows a cascade of five apparently undraped Germanic flappers
complete with mascaraed come-hither eyes and bee-sting lips (Fig. 4).
Despite their near-comic impact today, these two period pieces must
have reeked of fleshly allure in their own time. The cover page of another
German edition is adorned with a well-formed nude, face demurely
turned aside, eyes closed, arms raised, framed against the dark swirls
of her flowing tresses (Fig. 5). This limited edition volume also boasts
a kind of "illuminated capital" at the beginning of chapter one which
features the artfully disposed body of the same nude, this time in supine
position, pelvis tilted toward the viewer (Fig. 6). A recent English ver-
sion features the sinuous curves of yet another nude—although she is
modernly coiffed and carefully posed to promote arousal without of-
fending taste (Fig. 7).

There is, however, a German edition (No. 21) which is illustrated
with exceptional effectiveness by reproductions of paintings by the nine-
teenth century artist Friedrich Georg Kersting. The seven paintings de-
picted capture the restrained yet intense mood of Kierkegaard's text.
The subtle blend of gentility and portent is skillfully communicated
through these works. It is interesting to note that Kersting (b. 1783,
d. 1847) was educated at the Art Academy in Copenhagen c. 1806-
1809. Later he held the distinguished post of Malhervorsteher at the
Royal Porcelain works in Meissen. He is best known for his genre pic-
tures which have great value to students of cultural history. His paint-
ings are so richly evocative that one could easily believe (although it
was not the case) that Kierkegaard himself commissioned the paintings
and supervised their creation specifically for the Diary (Fig. 8 and 9).

With the exception of Kersting's fine art work, all the previously
Figure 4 (From Bibliography No. 8).
Figure 5 (From Bibliography No. 3).
Der Titel war seltsam, besonders durch seine Bedeutung.
Aus einem flüchtigen Blick auf die losen Papiere konnte ich sehen, dass sie Aufzeichnungen erotischer Situationen, einzelne Andeutungen über dieses
mentioned provocative covers feature Kierkegaard's name and the
Diary's title. Needless to say, when this information is printed across
a field of eros rampant, the total effect does little to convey the dark
portent of the text inside. To call such covers misleading is an under-
statement. By usual standards, the text itself is almost prudish, with only
a few mild flirtations with the conventionally erotic. Cordelia never
appears even partially undraped, and it is even debatable whether John-
nec received "the ultimate favor" from her. Yet there are those suggestive
covers. Of course: caveat emptor; you can't tell a book by its cover;
etc. But recall what was said above concerning the dark and forbidding
aspects of aestheticism revealed through the Diary's prose. In this con-
text, such provocative packaging is so deceptive and so distortive of
the author's original intent that the charge of mere commercial exploita-
tion seems mild.

Editing Vagaries

Apart from such blatant misrepresentation, the integrity of Kierke-
gaard's effort is further violated by the simple removal of the Diary
from its total context in Either/Or. Kierkegaard designed the book with
great care, intending it to set up a critical cross-fire between the two
conflicting life-styles depicted. His intention was to contrast sharply the
"either" life-style of volume one with the "or" life-style of volume two.
By playing the aesthetic mode off against the ethical mode, the book
creates a dynamic tension, encouraging the readers to choose between
the two alternatives. But what happens when the Diary is published all
by itself, i.e., when only the aesthetic life-style is presented? There is no
tension, no forced option. Then you have simply an artful and enter-
aining effect—hardly the rich dialectic, contrapuntal interplay, and ex-
sistential involvement intended by the author. Isolated from its sur-
rounding context, the Diary becomes a nice piece of prose, worthy of
its genteel place among the other leather-bound Masterworks of World
Literature. Considering Kierkegaard's interest in stirring his readers to
self-awareness and decision, this is a betrayal. Still, the separate Diary
editions come off the presses. Particularly open to ridicule is one edition
which contains only the Diary, but is nevertheless titled Either/Or
(No. 4). 4

The possibility that deep, personal engagement will occur while read-
ing the separate Diary is further diminished by the violence done to
Kierkegaard's method of indirect communication. He believed that read-
ers were wary souls, prone to set up defenses against personal insight,
KIERKEGAARD

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Translated from the Danish by GERD GILLHOFF

Figure 7 (From Bibliography No. 33).
and equipped with subtle devices for keeping disturbing ideas at a safe distance. He claimed that his whole authorship was calculated to make people aware, and he devised many tactics to achieve this end. His method of indirection involved, among other things, sneaking up on his readers, working his way adroitly inside their defenses, catching them unaware, and then confronting them with unavoidable insight. This is no easy task and he took great pains to design his style, content, format, etc. to maximize the possibility of such insight occurring. One of his techniques was pseudonymity. If a reader was not distracted by thoughts about the author, perhaps the author's ideas would have a better chance of being grasped. He invented a whole series of pseudonyms with fascinating names such as Victor Eremita (Victor the Hermit), Vigilius Haunniensis (the Watchman of Copenhagen), Anti-Climacus, etc. He hoped to stay in the background, so that his ideas might make their own impact, undistorted by any knowledge the reader might have of their author. This tactic takes on added importance today, since so many people know of Kierkegaard. "Ah yes," they say, "Kierkegaard . . . Father of Existentialism, the Melancholy Dane, possessor of an inverted Oedipus complex. Hunchback, wasn't he?" The reader can be so aware that he is reading Kierkegaard that Kierkegaard's ideas themselves are rendered ineffective. The pseudonyms were designed, in part to minimize this possibility. Kierkegaard's name appeared nowhere on the original versions of Either/Or. The title page credited Victor Eremita as editor. It is irritating to discover that 33 of the 34 editions surveyed list Kierkegaard as author and make no mention of the pseudonym on the title page. Certainly times change; publishers need to sell books; and librarians need to accession books correctly. But it is just possible that Kierkegaard's cutting edge is blunted by putting these priorities above his undiluted desire to communicate with utmost effectiveness.

Perhaps an imaginative reader who knew about Kierkegaard's pseudonymity and its intended purpose might be willing to enter into the spirit of the reading experience, drifting along with the stream of consciousness uninterrupted by biographical reflections. An adequate introduction or commentary could make this possible. Of the 34 editions, three or four possess either extensive or very helpful commentary. But seven versions possess absolutely no introductory or explanatory material whatsoever. That leaves about two-thirds of them with notes which range from the skimpy to the "journalistic" to the downright erroneous. One commentator refers to Kierkegaard's fiancée, Regine Olsen, as Regina Hansen! (No. 7). This general scholarly lack, coupled with the
Figure 8 (From Bibliography No. 21).
isolation of the Diary from the rest of Either/Or, provides a setting ripe for misunderstanding.

The distorting editorial hand is elsewhere visible. One version omits completely the Preface by Victor Eremita (the supposed discoverer and editor of the Diary proper) (No. 18). Not only are these remarks literally integral to the entire Diary, but they set the proper mood for reading and provide important clues to its meaning. The Diary is subtitled Commentarius Perpetuus No. 4,7 and one of its underlying motifs is the necessity of perpetual running from affair to affair to affair with which Johannes is afflicted. Although this may appear at first as eminently desirable, this driven behavior soon eliminates all repose and ends in frenzied chaos. The last paragraph of the Diary makes this clear by referring to the affair just completed (#4) and marking the beginning of a new effort (#5). Without that last paragraph, one has a smooth, symmetrical ending to the affair and to the Diary. But add the last paragraph and the effect is created of another project-cycle starting up again, just when repose seems most natural and most welcome. The paragraph underscores the point that the Seducer cannot relax and enjoy the idyll he has so arduously created for himself. Instead, just when that idyll is at its peak of pleasure, his aesthetic code demands that he abandon it and feverishly begin to construct another. This theme of compulsive frenzy is one of the Diary’s main undercurrents. The last paragraph points significantly to the conclusion that a demonic drive progressively accelerates its demands and eventually pushes the aesthetic to a self-destructive frenzy.

One is surprised to discover that no less than four editions of the Diary cut out that last paragraph completely, opting for a smooth, symmetrical ending—thus effectively eliminating the tension-creating asymmetry with which Kierkegaard intended to close the work.

It is true that Kierkegaard, a life-long bachelor, had at one time been engaged to a young girl, but then broke off the engagement. And it is true that parts of the Diary reflect some of his own experiences. But any facile and complete equation of Johannes with Søren and Cordelia with Regine is highly speculative and unwarranted by the known facts. Yet such hypotheses are eye-catching, and many of those editions with commentary—even those with minimal notes—allude to this situation. One even prints part of the extant Søren-Regine correspondence as an appendix.8) This is a less than neutral act, since much of the novella is made up of Johannes-Cordelia correspondence (following the 19th century epistolary style), and especially since the appendix is titled a “Diary”
relating to Kierkegaard and Regine Olsen. The most blatant misuse of Kierkegaard’s engagement story is one cover which depicts a cruel-faced, tight-lipped villain complete with top hat and black cloak, staring with slit-eyed malevolence at a pure white, vulnerable pigeon clutched tightly in his hand (Fig. 19). The attire and the features of this blackguard are too close a match to many familiar drawings of Kierkegaard to be anything other than intentional. This cover could easily mislead and distract those aware of the Johannes-Soren hypothesis, yet not enough aware to refute it. Or else it could give the impression that the Seducer is entirely in command of the aesthetic situation, rather than being in its control. It is, then, either irresponsibly slanderous, or else yet another graphic misrepresentation of the book’s contents.

Conclusion

Although the presses roll on, this survey now draws to a close. The original intent was to give an overview of how separate editions of Kierkegaard’s Diary of the Seducer have fared in international print over the years. Its remarkable flourishing in no less than 34 different versions in 13 languages was noted, as was their wide variety in quality of presentation, illustration, editing, etc. Assorted forms of distortion—from the slight to the gross—were discussed. The overall picture was far from satisfactory. When the Diary is published apart from the rest of Either/Or, Kierkegaard’s intended dialogue between the two lifestyles is made impossible. By casting the Diary in the role of a pulp novella, the deeper and darker aspects of the work are obscured. Alteration of the format often neutralized Kierkegaard’s techniques of indirect communication, so that the reader could not benefit from their original power. And the mixing of Kierkegaard’s own biography with the Diary’s characters promotes misunderstanding of both Kierkegaard and the Diary. In short, such treatment distorts the text and distracts the reader from the Diary’s original purposes. Yet, even though this history is not particularly edifying, no legal crime seems to have been committed against Kierkegaard or his readers. And, of course, such sagas of commercialization and exploitation are not particularly uncommon. Then, too, one recalls that Kierkegaard himself, while predicting that his works would be widely read by his posterity, also predicted that he would be misunderstood. He claimed that his works would be abused and read out of context, that he would become famous for the wrong reasons, and that his campaign of clarification and awakening would
Figure 10 (From Bibliography No. 16).
be thereby hindered. In view of the analysis presented above, it would seem the treatment afforded his Diary of the Seducer goes far to justify its author's predictions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Although 34 different versions can be documented, the exact number is difficult to determine since indices from some nations are inaccessible or unavailable. Also, if successive editions of previous translations are counted, 43 editions can be documented. For purposes of this essay, the 34 listed above will be used.

NOTES

(1) See Bibliography for complete chronological list. These listed volumes are numbered, and a volume referred to in the text will be indicated, e.g., (No. 1).
(2) Søren Kierkegaard, Either/Or, v. I (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1959), p. 313. (Søren Kierkegaards Samlede Værker, ed. A.B. Drachmann, J.L. Heiberg, H.O. Lange. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1901. Vol. I, p. 289.) – (3) One series published by the Dragon Press of Ithaca, New York, made some rather bold claims on its own behalf: Rather than fat profits and inane texts it (the Dragon Press) emphasizes literary excellence. Its books are produced and distributed with respect and devotion, without recurring to the tactics of toothpaste and cigarette dealers. In keeping with the desire of the Press to appeal to the best taste at the most reasonable price, deluxe pomposity has been sacrificed to literary values and neat typography . . . They are all attractively designed and worth owning by those discriminating readers who still take literature seriously. (No. 18, p. 174). Along with the Diary, the Dragon Press brought out such deathless classics as Romain Rolland’s The Revolt of the Machines and Cuthbert A. Palmer’s The Man without a Navel. – (4) A pleasant contrast is Howard A. Johnson’s Foreword in an English version of Either/Or (op. cit., p. v): Either/Or is a two-volume work . . . It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Volume I, for all its intrinsic merit, makes no sense without Volume II. For what use is an “either” without an “or”—and vice versa? – (5) Some of the most helpful commentary is that provided by Hans Brix (No. 10), E.W. Billebov Jansen (No. 26) and Niels Thulstrup (No. 34). – (6) In another edition (No. 24), the last Diary entry was mistraced. – (7) Either/Or, op. cit., p. 299 (Samlede Værker, op. cit., p. 275).
(8) No. 27, pp. 171-197. – One French language edition (No. 31) is handsomely bound in bright pink cloth with “Chère Cordelia” embossed on the front cover and “Ton Johannes” on the back, providing an echo of the many love letters which form part of the text.