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# Volume 8, Tome II: Kierkegaard's International Reception – Southern, Central and Eastern Europe

Edited by **Jon Stewart**, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*Kierkegaard Research: Sources, Reception and Resources*

Tome II covers the reception of Kierkegaard in Southern, Central and Eastern Europe. The first set of articles, under the rubric 'Southern Europe', covers Portugal, Spain and Italy. A number of common features were shared in these countries' reception of Kierkegaard, including a Catholic cultural context and a debt to the French reception. The next rubric covers the rather heterogeneous group of countries designated here as 'Central Europe': Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. These countries are loosely bound in a cultural sense by their former affiliation with the Habsburg Empire and in a religious sense by their shared Catholicism. Finally, the Orthodox countries of 'Eastern Europe' are represented with articles on Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia and Romania.

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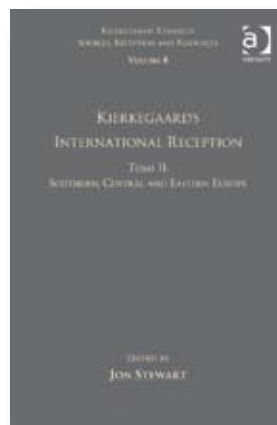
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# Portugal:

## Discontinuity and Repetition

Elisabete M. de Sousa

The reception of Kierkegaard in Portugal may give the impression of being a succession of discontinued efforts and repeated endeavors; nonetheless, this uneven path has recently smoothed, as we shall conclude from a close analysis of the Portuguese translations and of the studies on Kierkegaard's works. In the first section, the translations of Kierkegaard into Portuguese published in Portugal are discussed. These are referred first by the title in English of the original work, with the title of the Portuguese edition noted in the footnotes; when the Portuguese title shows any significant dissimilarity to the original title, a literal translation in English is also provided. In the second section, the most noteworthy Portuguese Kierkegaard scholars and their contributions are commented on, taking into account their particular academic and scholarly relevance.

### *I. The History of Kierkegaard Translations in Portugal*

Shortly after the 1910 Italian translation of "The Diary of the Seducer," Livraria Clássica, then one of the best-known publishing houses in Lisbon, published the first Portuguese translation of Kierkegaard, using Luigi Redaelli's text as indirect source. Mário Alemquer was a regular translator of esoteric books, and his translation of "The Diary of the Seducer" *The Diary of the Seducer: The Art of Love* came out in 1911.<sup>1</sup> Besides the Ovidian touch in the title, Alemquer also wrote a short introduction, portraying Kierkegaard as a kind of romantic novel hero, who tried helplessly to forget the love of his life by writing. This translation seems to have had some success in Spain, since Valentín de Pedro made a version of *The Diary of the Seducer* using the Portuguese text as source and choosing the same title.<sup>2</sup>

This early start actually set a pattern of discontinuity in Kierkegaard reception in Portugal. Though most of the ten Portuguese translations were edited by well-known publishers in their Philosophy Series, none of the publishers seemed to be concerned

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<sup>1</sup> *O diário do seductor: a arte de amar*, trans. by Mário Alemquer, Lisbon: Livraria Clássica 1911. (Translated from *Il diario del seduttore*, trans. by Luigi Redaelli, Torino: Fratelli Bocca Editori 1910.)

<sup>2</sup> *Diario de un seductor (arte de amar)*, version by Valentín de Pedro, Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra 1922 (later published in *Colección Austral*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe SA 1953).

about an accurate or a sequential publication of Kierkegaard's works. All but one used French or Italian translations as source texts, with only four translations of complete volumes, namely, *The Point of View* (published together with *Two Ethical-Religious Essays*), *The Sickness unto Death* and *The Concept of Anxiety*. Somehow obsessively, these translations linger on in a pattern of repetition—there are two translations of “The Diary of the Seducer,” two of *The Sickness unto Death* and another two of the first chapter of *Stages in Life's Way*, “In Vino Veritas,” scattered between the years 1911 and 2000.

Twenty-five years after the first translation, in 1936, Adolfo Casais Monteiro (1908–72) wrote a concise but quite informative introduction to his translation of *The Sickness unto Death*, presenting it as a “complex, vast and contradictory” text, as the work of a philosopher, practically unknown in Portugal until then, whose writings invariably show some paradoxical non-philosophical characteristics, the result of a unique combination of talents and feelings. Casais Monteiro used the French translation by Knud Ferlov (1881–1977) and Jean J. Gateau,<sup>3</sup> translating its title as well,<sup>4</sup> and, to support his commentaries, he quoted Jean Wahl, among others, focusing mainly on the use of pseudonyms, the biographical nature of Kierkegaard's works (the customary reference to the relevance of his father's curse and the broken engagement), the theory of the three stages, the experimental and exemplary character of his writings, permeated as they are by the notions of repetition and the leap. The translation is dedicated to Leonardo Coimbra (1883–1935), Casais Monteiro's mentor, the Portuguese philosopher and professor at the University of Porto (1919–31), who was responsible for the Philosophy Series of Livraria Tavares Martins, and hence, for the publication of *The Sickness unto Death*. Coimbra had intended to write the introduction to this translation himself; however, his sudden death robbed posterity of the opportunity of evaluating rigorously his role in Kierkegaard's reception. It is also worth mentioning that Casais Monteiro was a poet, a literary critic and a busy translator, a founding member of the most important Portuguese literary movement of the 1930s,<sup>5</sup> who later settled in Brazil where he taught Portuguese Literature at the State University of São Paulo.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Traité du désespoir: la maladie mortelle*, trans. by Knud Ferlov and Jean J. Gateau, Paris: Gallimard 1932. It produced an immediate impact in Catholic circles, claiming Kierkegaard as a religious philosopher; see António Pinto de Carvalho, “A Filosofia Religiosa de Sören Aabye Kierkegaard,” *Brotéria*, vol. 22, 1936, pp. 361–9.

<sup>4</sup> *O desespero humano: doença até à morte*, trans. and introduced by Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Oporto: Livraria Tavares Martins 1936. Two subsequent reprints in 1947 and new editions in 1957, 1961, and 1979.

<sup>5</sup> Known as “Presença,” it is not related to the publishing house of the same name, which published three Kierkegaard translations in the 1960s. Leonardo Coimbra was a member of the previous influential literary movement “Renascença Portuguesa,” thus placing Casais Monteiro in a unique position between these two movements. Casais Monteiro also held links with the modernist movement “Orpheu” and his founding member, Fernando Pessoa (see footnote 13 and works by Eduardo Lourenço in the Bibliography).

<sup>6</sup> Casais Monteiro's publications in Portugal and in Brazil are now published under the title *Obras Completas de Adolfo Casais Monteiro*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda 2003.

The impact of existentialism during the 1950s and the 1960s fostered a steady interest in the works of Kierkegaard. These years witnessed several reprints of Casais Monteiro's translation of *The Sickness unto Death* as well as new translations from two important Lisbon publishing houses, Presença and Guimarães. The sixth edition of Casais Monteiro's translation came out in 1979, when Presença had already published two editions of *The Concept of Anxiety* translated by João Lopes Alves,<sup>7</sup> using Ferlov's and Gateau's French translation. Presença also published separately two chapters taken from *Either/Or* using the Prior and Guignot French translation<sup>8</sup> as source text: Carlos Grifo translated "The Diary of the Seducer" and Margarida Schiappa translated the first chapter of Part 2 under the title *Aesthetics of Matrimony* in 1965.<sup>9</sup> The Presença editions have no *apparatus criticus* whatsoever.

On the contrary, the Guimarães editions showed some concern in contextualizing Kierkegaard's works, in the line of Casais Monteiro's introduction. The editors and translators belonged to the circle of the former disciples of Coimbra; a significant number of them had been barred from public teaching posts (be it secondary or university education) and dedicated themselves mainly to translating and reviewing, regularly lecturing and publishing articles or books, which were often excluded from the official mainstream. Nevertheless, the prefaces to *Fear and Trembling*<sup>10</sup> and "In Vino Veritas"<sup>11</sup> clearly reveal the state of Kierkegaard's reception at the time. Álvaro Ribeiro (1905–81) used another French translation as source text and chose *O Banquete* as title for "In Vino Veritas," the same title used in the Portuguese translations of Plato's *Symposium*. His preface (1953) dwells extensively on Ribeiro's own views on love and marriage, revealing his readings of Kierkegaard's criticism of romantic literature, particularly in Judge William's "The Esthetic Validity of Marriage" and in *The Concept of Irony*. Ribeiro briefly compares Plato's and Kierkegaard's texts and considers Kierkegaard's view on love and marriage as fundamental to the construction of a new ethical order, capable of contradicting the idea that "moral pessimism coincides with the highest intellectual insight."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Ribeiro draws attention to a possible link between Kierkegaard and

<sup>7</sup> *O conceito de angústia*, trans. by João Lopes Alves, Lisbon: Presença 1962 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1972). (Translated from *Traité du désespoir: la maladie mortelle*, trans. by Knud Ferlov and Jean J. Gateau, Paris: Gallimard 1932.)

<sup>8</sup> *Ou bien...ou bien*, trans. by F. and O. Prior and M.H. Guignot, Paris: Gallimard 1943.

<sup>9</sup> *Diário de um Sedutor*, trans. by Carlos Grifo, Lisbon: Presença 1971; *Estética do Matrimónio*, trans. by Margarida Schiappa, Lisbon: Presença 1965.

<sup>10</sup> *Temor e Tremor*, trans. by Maria José Marinho, introduced (13 unnumbered pp.) by Alberto Ferreira, Lisbon: Guimarães Editores 1959. Subsequent editions 1990, 1998. (Translated from *Crainte et Tremblement: Lyrique-dialectique par Johannes de silentio*, trans. by P.-H. Tisseau, introduced by Jean Wahl, Paris: Aubier-Montaigne 1935.)

<sup>11</sup> *O Banquete*, trans. and introduced by Álvaro Ribeiro, Lisbon: Guimarães Editores 1953. Subsequent editions 1962, 1963, 1985, 1997, 2002. (Probable source text: *In Vino Veritas*, trans. by André Babelon and C. Lund, Abbeville: Éditions du Cavalier 1933.)

<sup>12</sup> *O Banquete*, pp. 7–12.

Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935),<sup>13</sup> Portugal’s most important twentieth-century poet, in the latter’s particular use of a multiple authorship, to be further discussed in his relation to Kierkegaard in the next section of this article.

The 1959 preface to *Fear and Trembling*, by Alberto Ferreira (1920–2000), remained the most accessible presentation of Kierkegaard’s thought until 1967, the year the philosopher Eduardo Lourenço (b. 1923) published the essay “Søren Kierkegaard, The Spy of God,” which will be presented under Lourenço’s contribution below. *Fear and Trembling* was translated from Tisseau’s *Crainte et Tremblement*<sup>14</sup> by Maria José Marinho (b. 1928), Ferreira’s wife and daughter of José Marinho (1904–75), another philosopher and writer belonging to Coimbra’s circle, whose work also discloses a serious reading of Kierkegaard, as will be mentioned below. In a three-part introduction, Ferreira quotes numerous works by Kierkegaard and French commentators, namely Wahl and Tisseau. As central ideas, Ferreira emphasized the responsibility of the individual facing the challenge of the leap, the unsystematic character of Kierkegaard’s writings and the interaction between paradox and doubt, especially in what concerns the roles of Abraham and Job.

In 1986 two new translations came out, both using Tisseau’s French translation as indirect source: a new translation of *The Sickness unto Death* by Ana Keil,<sup>15</sup> and the translations by João Gama of *The Point of View* and *Two Ethical-Religious Essays*,<sup>16</sup> corresponding exactly to volume 16 of Editions de l’Orante, Gama’s source. None of these editions has critical notes, and some of the statements of both editors are bewildering; in the first case, a small introductory text misleads the reader into thinking that *The Sickness unto Death* and *The Concept of Anxiety* are one and the same book; in the second case, the inattentive reader may read the whole book, only to find out in the last three pages some information about the nature of the works, having thus been denied a proper critical approach to the two texts.

The 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kierkegaard’s death brought the first Portuguese translation using the original source, offering a very good *apparatus criticus* as well. José Miranda Justo (b. 1951, German Department, Humanities Faculty, University of Lisbon) translated “In Vino Veritas,” supplying his own notes and further sources of information, such as the Hong edition and *Søren Kierkegaards*

<sup>13</sup> Fernando Pessoa worked for Livraria Clássica, which had published the first Portuguese translation of “The Seducer’s Diary” in its *Theosophy and Religion* series. From 1914 onwards, Pessoa translated six titles by exactly the same authors that Alemquer had translated before for the same series (namely Annie Besant and C.W. Leadbeater). During his lifetime, he published poetry under four different authorial personalities, and since his death, many more authors have been discovered in his papers.

<sup>14</sup> *Crainte et Tremblement*, trans. by Poul-Henri Tisseau, Paris: Éditions de l’Orante 1972.

<sup>15</sup> *Desespero: a doença mortal*, trans. by Ana Keil, Porto: Rés-Editora 1986 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2003). (Translated from *La maladie à la mort*, trans. by Poul-Henri Tisseau and Else Marie Jacquet-Tisseau (*Œuvres de Søren Kierkegaard*, vol. 16), Paris : Éditions de l’Orante 1971.)

<sup>16</sup> *Ponto de vista explicativo da minha obra como escritor*, trans. by João Gama, Lisbon: Edições 70 1986. (Translated from *Point de vue explicatif de mon œuvre d’écrivain, Deux petits traités éthico-religieux*, trans. by P-H Tisseau and Else Marie Jacquet-Tisseau (*Œuvres de Søren Kierkegaard*, vol. 16), Paris: Éditions de l’Orante 1971.)

*Skripter*.<sup>17</sup> In his Supplement,<sup>18</sup> he contextualizes “In Vino Veritas” within *Stages on Life’s Way*, including a brief commentary of the discourses. He also addresses the issue of the pseudonyms and analyzes Kierkegaard’s alterity as a constitutive mode of experimentation and representation, a combination of his continual experimenting with a plural *logos* directly linked to a plurality of *pathos*. Furthermore, Miranda Justo comments on the works of different pseudonyms and, all along, introduces the reader to key concepts, namely the notion of anxiety, which is shown to be a consequence of the repeated experiments with a “positive subjectivity,” continually pushing the individual away from his finite condition towards the infinite ideal status. Other concepts discussed are contradiction, melancholy and humor and, naturally, recollection; the use of *Witz* in the case of Johannes Climacus is also discussed. Hopefully, this edition will set the Portuguese translations on a more fortunate path, the one it might well have taken long before, especially after a sequence of articles and essays published between the early 1950s and the late 1960s.

## II. The History of Portuguese Secondary Literature

Although Kierkegaard is never directly mentioned in Leonardo Coimbra’s works, some aspects may be linked to key concepts in Kierkegaard’s writings. Coimbra’s theory, known as Creationism, confronts, on the one hand, Positivism and, on the other, Hegelianism; very briefly, it defends, among other things, the freedom of human thought, evolving to a form of Gnosticism where religion, art, and philosophy are equally vital for the emergence of an *ethos*, capable of leading man to cosmological harmony. Nevertheless, there is no consensus about Kierkegaard’s influence on Coimbra’s philosophical works, since the two scholars who have discussed this issue disagree on this point.<sup>19</sup> It is known that Coimbra had in his library a Spanish translation (1930) of *The Concept of Anxiety*, besides the French translation (1934) of Carl Koch’s *Sören Kierkegaard*. Yet, what might be more meaningful is the fact that a great number of his former students came to be actively interested in Kierkegaard. Besides two of the translators, Álvaro Ribeiro and Casais Monteiro, two other philosophers in Coimbra’s sphere of

<sup>17</sup> *Kierkegaard: In Vino Veritas*, trans. and ed. by José Miranda Justo, Lisbon: Antígona 2005. Miranda Justo has translated quite a large number of works for the same publisher (among other authors, Herder, Voltaire, H.E. Jacob, Kleist, Wagner, and Jacob) and has published on the philosophy of language and esthetics.

<sup>18</sup> “Supplement: Polinomy-Kierkegaard, presentation of a segment of ‘experimentation in thinking’” (Posfácio: Polinómio-Kierkegaard, Apresentação de um segmento de ‘experimentação em pensamento’).

<sup>19</sup> Manuel Cândido Pimentel claims that there is no influence of Kierkegaard on Coimbra’s thought, see *A Ontologia Integral de Leonardo Coimbra*, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda 2003, no. 55, pp. 65–6; Ângelo Alves claims exactly the opposite (“Notas e Comentários: As Influências na Elaboração do Criacionismo. A Biblioteca de Leonardo Coimbra,” *Humanística e Teologia*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1988, pp. 223–44; pp. 367–80). For a detailed study of Leonardo Coimbra’s Creationism, see Manuel Cândido Pimentel, *A Ontologia Integral de Leonardo Coimbra*.

influence deserve a reference—the previously mentioned José Marinho and Delfim Santos (1907–66), who started mentioning Kierkegaard regularly as early as 1933, i.e., before Casais Monteiro’s translation of *The Sickness unto Death*.<sup>20</sup> Marinho frequently quotes Kierkegaard, and in his main work, *Theory of the Being and the Truth* (1961), Marinho presents his ontology of the spirit using a three-part schematic division which shows some organic similarities to the three Kierkegaardian stages.<sup>21</sup> Although they actually never held teaching posts, Marinho and Ribeiro were very influential in Lisbon literature and philosophy circles, and they have been the object of recent research, Kierkegaard being a thinker who has been acknowledged as one of their sources.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, Delfim Santos’ influence was predominantly institutional; a professor at the University of Lisbon, he was, among Coimbra’s disciples, the one who left an indelible presence in Philosophy and Pedagogy Studies until his death. Though he did not hold a Philosophy chair, he was the head of the Pedagogical Sciences Department for almost twenty years; this enabled him to influence various generations of graduate students who had to pass difficult entrance examinations to be admitted to teaching posts at public secondary schools.<sup>23</sup> Delfim Santos read Kierkegaard in German, and his main philosophical interest and points of references were Heidegger and Nikolai Hartmann; he contributed regularly to general and philosophical publications and to the daily press, besides publishing four main works. From 1933 until one of his last articles in 1966, he made constant reference to Kierkegaard, though he focused especially on his role in the emergence of the philosophy of Heidegger and on his influence on existentialism. He always underscored the unique nature of Kierkegaard’s thought, accurately presenting the philosopher’s point of view on irony, subjectivity, anxiety, despair, among other key

<sup>20</sup> In an article published in *Seara Nova* (no. 398, 1934), Marinho commented on “Reflection and Spontaneity” in Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, and Amiel (“Reflexão e Espontaneidade,” *Obras Completas de José Marinho (1994–2005)*, vol. 2: *Ensaaios de Aprofundamento e Outros Textos*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda 1995, pp. 210–12). In the essay “Dialéctica Totalista” (*Presença*, vol. 2, no. 39, 1933) Delfim Santos reviewed the theory of stages and the concept of liberty as action (see *Obras Completas de Delfim Santos (1971–1977; 1995)*, vol. 1, Lisbon: Fundação Gulbenkian 1971, pp. 31–8).

<sup>21</sup> See José Marinho, *Obras Completas de José Marinho*, vol. 1: *Aforismos sobre o que mais importa*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda 1994; *Teoria do Ser e da Verdade*, Lisbon: Guimarães Editores 1961. Marinho’s stages are labelled “The Being of Truth,” “The Truth of Being,” and “The Other Truth.”

<sup>22</sup> See Maria José Pinto Cantista, “Tendências Dominantes na Filosofia Portuguesa do Século XX: Algumas achegas acerca da Contribuição de José Marinho,” *Filosofia, Hoje—Ecos no Pensamento Português*, Porto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida 1993, pp. 242–65.

<sup>23</sup> In an “In Memoriam” article, his role as professor and his philosophy (including the role of Kierkegaard in his thought) are acknowledged by eight representative personalities of his time (from editors to academy colleagues). See “Delfim Santos: um Destino Português,” *O Tempo e o Modo*, nos. 43–4, 1966, pp. 1080–1101.

concepts, not forgetting to signal the first centenary of Kierkegaard's death in the opening speech of the first Philosophy Congress in Portugal in 1955.<sup>24</sup>

However, the most important reference to the centenary came from a group of Jesuit scholars, headed by Júlio Fragata, S.J. (1920–85), an expert on Husserl and phenomenology and a professor of Philosophy at the Catholic University of Braga. Fragata hosted the first Philosophy Congress in 1955 and founded the *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* (1945); though he argued for a religious existentialism, he also warns the reader against Kierkegaard's point of view on religious categories, drawing the line between the true theological Christianity and Kierkegaard's anthropological Christianity.<sup>25</sup> Other essays followed this line in *Cadernos de Filosofia*, published by the Scholastics Center of the University of Braga, and the first number of *Filosofia* (1956) of the Lisbon Scholastics Center, celebrated the centenary by claiming Kierkegaard as a religious thinker, not as an existentialist philosopher. Together with a translation of a long article by Cornelio Fabro on Kierkegaard and Catholicism, and an article by Fragata on the theological existentialism of Kierkegaard, this *Filosofia* issue contains a long essay by Maria Manuela Saraiva (better known for her contributions on phenomenology), which gives an appreciation of Kierkegaard as one of the voices capable of bringing new dynamics into Scholastic studies.<sup>26</sup> Fragata is also the author of the entry "Kierkegaard" in the *Verbo Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura* and in *Logos*, the philosophy dictionary published by the same house.<sup>27</sup> Despite giving an honest account of Kierkegaard's thought and work, he introduces him as a thinker and *litteratus*, thus bypassing any consideration of Kierkegaard as a religious writer or a philosopher.

Manuel Antunes, S.J. (1918–85), a professor at the University of Lisbon for over twenty-five years, gave courses on ancient and modern culture and ontology which were attended by almost every undergraduate Humanities student at the time.

<sup>24</sup> Among other texts by Delfim Santos, see "The Value of Irony" ("O valor da Ironia," 1943, in his *Obras Completas*, vol. 1, pp. 349–53); "The Existential Meaning of Anxiety" ("Sentido Existencial da Angústia," 1952, in his *Obras Completas*, vol. 2, pp. 154–64); "Jaspers in Contemporary Philosophy" ("Jaspers na Filosofia Contemporânea," in his *Obras Completas*, vol. 2, pp. 268–79); "Philosophy as Fundamental Ontology" ("Filosofia como Ontologia Fundamental," in his *Obras Completas*, vol. 2, pp. 213–16).

<sup>25</sup> Júlio Fragata, "Filosofia da Existência," *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, vol. 16, 1960, pp. 336–50 (also published in a collection of essays, *Problemas da Filosofia Contemporânea*, Braga: Publicações da Faculdade de Filosofia da UCP 1989, pp. 99–112). Apart from this essay by Fragata, only Diamantino Martins (1910–79) focused more consistently on Kierkegaard in *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*. See Bibliography.

<sup>26</sup> Angelino Barreto, "Kierkegaard e a sua Visão Existencial do Homem," *Cadernos de Filosofia*, vol. 5, 1956, pp. 24–30; E. Luís Jardim, "Kierkegaard e o Catolicismo," *Cadernos de Filosofia*, vol. 6, 1957, pp. 1–9; Eurico da Rua Júnior, "Desespero e Consciência em Kierkegaard," *Cadernos de Filosofia*, vol. 14, 1965, pp. 5–20. See also Júlio Fragata, "O Existencialismo Teológico de Kierkegaard" and Maria Manuela Saraiva, "Kierkegaard e o Problema Filosófico do Homem," *Filosofia*, vol. 2, no. 8, 1956.

<sup>27</sup> Júlio Fragata, "Kierkegaard," in *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura*, vol. 11, Lisbon: Editorial Verbo 1971, pp. 1124–8; Fragata, "Kierkegaard," *Logos*, vol. 3, Lisbon: Editorial Verbo 1991, pp. 162–7.



He was also a prolific essayist, more focused on anthropological and educational issues than on philosophy or religion. In his many articles for *Brotéria*,<sup>28</sup> which he published over several years, he presents Kierkegaard's thought as the result of his work as "an existential thinker," someone who put his human condition above all, in its relation to transcendence or to the world he lived in. He further underlines his value as a witness, as a testimony of "the eternal youth of Christianity,"<sup>29</sup> going thus beyond the arguments proposed by Fragata.

Eduardo Lourenço (b. 1923), a contemporary thinker who has steadily contributed to making Kierkegaard's thought better known in Portugal, held the chairs of Portuguese Culture in the Universities of Hamburg, Heidelberg (Germany), São Salvador da Baía (Brazil), Montpellier and Nice (France). His forty-page long essay, "Sören Kierkegaard, the Spy of God" dates from 1967 and belongs to the second volume of his essays, *Heterodoxia II*.<sup>30</sup> Lourenço takes Kierkegaard as a "poet of the religious" and a disciple of Socrates, continually and simultaneously living his faith in God and his condition of philosopher by experimenting with different stances in his authorship, which enable the philosopher to develop the fundamental notions of his thought. To explain Kierkegaard's role in the pamphlet nature of *The Moment*, Lourenço takes into consideration the intricate relationship between, on the one hand, faith and truth as subjectivity and paradox, and on the other hand, the individual character of the public, taken as *Enkelte*.

Lourenço has written extensively on Fernando Pessoa and produced two major essays on Kierkegaard and Pessoa, one in the mid 1950s, "Kierkegaard and Pessoa or Indirect Communication" and another one in 1981, "Kierkegaard and Pessoa or the Masks of the Absolute."<sup>31</sup> Lourenço points out some differences and similarities between Kierkegaard's and Fernando Pessoa's authorships; their use of pseudonyms is explained not as lack of sincerity, but as proof of their authenticity as authors and poets living in a hostile environment dominated by non-authenticity. He draws the line between the two by emphasizing the ontological nature of Pessoa's pseudonyms (named by the poet as heteronyms), whereas Kierkegaard's gallery of authors is described as a collection of characters psychologically designed as a requirement for the apotheotic demands of Kierkegaard's endeavor. Lourenço also focuses on the literary stance of the pseudonyms in both poets, one mainly in permanent dialogue with the representatives of the religious, philosophical and political sectors of his milieu, and the other with the dominant poets of the different literary spheres he was

<sup>28</sup> *Revista Brotéria* (1902ff.) edited by the Portuguese Jesuits publishes mainly on humanities, sciences and arts, on Christianity and for the last twenty years also on bioethics, anthropology, and geopolitics.

<sup>29</sup> Manuel Antunes S.J., "Kierkegaard" (1955), in *Obras Completas*, vol. 3, Tome I, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 2005, pp. 347–55.

<sup>30</sup> Eduardo Lourenço, "Sören Kierkegaard, O Espião de Deus," in *Heterodoxia II*, Lisbon: Gradiva 2005, pp. 121–99 (first publication: *Heterodoxia II Ensaios*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora 1967).

<sup>31</sup> Eduardo Lourenço, "Kierkegaard e Pessoa ou as Máscaras do Absoluto" (1981) and "Kierkegaard e Pessoa ou a Comunicação Indirecta" (1954–6), both included in *Fernando Rei da Nossa Baviera*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda 1986, pp. 97–109; pp. 121–44.

immersed in (from Walt Whitman and John Milton, to Virgil and Horace, besides Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877–1945) and Camilo Pessanha (1867–1925), two major Portuguese poets). On the other hand, Luís de Oliveira e Silva's (b. 1945) essay on Kierkegaard and Pessoa (1988) explains the relationships between Pessoa's heteronyms by means of Kierkegaardian concepts, taking their position as romantic writers as his starting point.<sup>32</sup>

As mentioned before, the advent of the new millennium finally brought a translation from Danish and research based on direct sources. In a long article, "The Concept of 'Experience' in the work of Kierkegaard" (2000), Nuno Ferro (b. 1961) comments on the *Upbuilding Discourses*, in particular "The Expectancy of Faith" (1843).<sup>33</sup> Among other things, Ferro discusses how the recurrent idea of "obscure discourse" in the *Upbuilding Discourses* conditions both subject and object. Furthermore, he develops a cross-analysis of several upbuilding discourses, focusing mainly on the way experience posits the individual in temporality, thus determining his relation to the past, the present and the future, while setting his imagination in motion at the same time. Ferro argues that the individual gains experience not merely by experimenting but chiefly by recollecting experience, which eventually enables the individual to think prospectively, with the inevitable emergence of doubt and indifference in his horizon.

In "The Hand of Mozart" (2004),<sup>34</sup> Elisabete M. de Sousa (b. 1954) discusses Kierkegaard's reception of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, based on some chapters of *Either/Or* ("The Immediate Erotic Stages," "Diapsalmata," "The Diary of the Seducer," and Victor Eremita's Preface). Besides contextualizing Kierkegaard's point of view on *Don Giovanni* in the musical criticism of the nineteenth century, Sousa argues that the deliberate absence of any commentaries on Zerlina and on the famous love duet, "Là ci darem la mano," displaces the *locus* of seduction and the presence of *Eros* from the conflicts between the different pairs of seducers and seduced in *Either/Or* to a new standpoint, where the philosopher takes the role of the seducer, and philosophy is taken as the object of love and the reader as the seduced part.

A final word needs to be said about two Portuguese novelists, Vergílio Ferreira (1916–96) and Agustina Bessa-Luís (b. 1922), the former as the most famous representative of existentialist writers, the latter for her particular reception of Kierkegaard. Ferreira published over twenty volumes of novels and short stories, often taking a reflective path on the border between literature and philosophy. Acknowledged as a philosopher,<sup>35</sup> Kierkegaard is constantly referred to in Ferreira's journals and essays, as well as in the introduction to his own translation of Sartre's

<sup>32</sup> Luís de Oliveira e Silva is a professor of Literature at Universidade Nova de Lisboa. See "Estética e Ética em Kierkegaard e Pessoa" ("Aesthetics and Ethics in Kierkegaard and Pessoa"), *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da UNL*, 1988, pp. 261–72.

<sup>33</sup> Nuno da Rosa Ferro, "A Noção de Experiência na Obra de Kierkegaard," *Quid, Revista de filosofia* (1: *Sobre a Experiência*), 2000, pp. 251–317.

<sup>34</sup> Elisabete M. de Sousa, "A mão de Mozart," *Dedalus*, vol. 9, 2004, pp. 147–71.

<sup>35</sup> Vergílio Ferreira deserves a full chapter in the most comprehensive study on Portuguese philosophers; see José Antunes de Sousa, "Vergílio Ferreira," *História do Pensamento Filosófico Português*, vol. V–II, ed. by Pedro Calafate, organized by Centro de Filosofia da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon: Caminho 2000, pp. 434–57.

*L'Existentialisme est un Humanisme*,<sup>36</sup> which probably stands out as the best account of existentialism in Portugal in the early 1960s. Agustina Bessa-Luís, another prolific novelist, produced in 1992 an interesting example of her readings of Kierkegaard in the form of a play, under the title *The Immediate Erotic Stages of Søren Kierkegaard*.<sup>37</sup> Introducing her work as “an arrangement for the theater” based on “The Diary of the Seducer,” the essay on the musical-erotic and her own understanding of Kierkegaard’s writings and life, Bessa-Luís explicitly announces in a small introductory text that she will present Kierkegaard’s dead remains “in the costume of Don Juan.” Besides Sören, the other characters include Regine Olsen, Frederik Schlegel, an Aunt (Regine’s), Don Juan, Paul (*sic*) Martin Möller, Johanne Louise Heiberg and five young women. Through three acts, Sören is depicted by all the other characters as a demonic seducer, especially by Don Juan, who fears Sören might rob him of his place in history as the only genuine seducer. Far from assuming a farcical tone, Bessa-Luís reveals her awareness of the misunderstandings of a biographically biased reading of Kierkegaard’s writings and emphasizes the role of the woman in the construction of Kierkegaard’s view of seduction and love.

Although four of the major Portuguese universities (Lisbon, New University of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Porto) have had well-established philosophy departments since the late 1950s (philosophy and history used to be a single department and area of studies), and the Portuguese Catholic University has Theology and Philosophy degrees at three different campuses, Kierkegaard has practically remained a secondary author and thinker. Only the Library of the Lisbon Catholic University contains a good stock of works, including all the translations in Portuguese and the complete writings in French, German, and English (the Hong edition). Moreover, the debate concerning different churches or creeds, when it occurs at all, traditionally takes place outside the university; in addition to this, the presence of Lutheranism or Presbyterianism is hardly felt in Portugal, in what concerns education, research or religious studies, which might contribute to the deflation of such a debate. As already noted, a significant number of the articles and essays on Kierkegaard came from philosophers and thinkers outside philosophy departments. In Spring 2006, nevertheless, two professors of the same generation, the previously mentioned Nuno Ferro (New University of Lisbon) and Manuel Cândido Pimentel (b. 1961, Lisbon Catholic University) regularly taught doctoral seminars on Kierkegaard.<sup>38</sup> This will hopefully contribute to further research on Kierkegaard, who has remained a point of reference in the areas of esthetics, ethics, with implications in religious studies and theology, but has seldom been the main object of study—there are only five occurrences of his name in titles of dissertations

<sup>36</sup> Vergílio Ferreira’s journals and essays comprehend about ten volumes, covering fifty years, and are published under the titles *Conta-Corrente* and *Espaço do Invisível*. For his essay on Existentialism, see “Da Fenomenologia a Sartre,” in Jean Paul Sartre, *O Existencialismo é um Humanismo*, trans. by Vergílio Ferreira, Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand 2005 [1961], pp. 11–192.

<sup>37</sup> Agustina Bessa-Luís, *Estados eróticos imediatos de Søren Kierkegaard*, Lisboa: Guimarães Editores 1992.

<sup>38</sup> Ferro’s seminar is based on “The moods of Kierkegaard” and Cândido Pimentel includes Kierkegaard among the authors discussed in the seminar “Modernity and Post-Modernity: from Lucidity to Labyrinth.”

from 1962 until now.<sup>39</sup> However, three of these have been produced in the last seven years, and two of them relied on updated research in American institutions, giving new dimensions to the bibliographies (which previously tended to be based on Éditions de l'Orante and mostly French commentators) and consequently the scope of the research. Besides signalling a renewed interest in the thought and writings of Kierkegaard, these dissertations, together with the last translation of "In Vino Veritas" and the recent inclusion of Kierkegaard in doctoral programs in two different universities, may eventually set a new path and leave behind a time of indomitable trials, unavoidable errors, and customary tribulations for Kierkegaard scholars in Portugal.

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See Bibliography, section II.