III. CREATION

1. Creation and Lucifer's Fall

Boehme's understanding of the problem of creation, his entire cosmological speculation, finds its origin in the first sentence of Scripture: Am Anfang schuf Gott Himmel und Erde. The key words here are Himmel and Erde. (Mysterium Magnum, x, 47)

Boehme had difficulty in conceiving the existence of this world, a world in which good struggled against evil, as compatible with the goodness of God. It has been seen how he posited two modes of God -- light and dark -- in order to explain how the dialectical character of his world of principles and powers came to be. The actual act of creation was not a problem: it took place immediately after Lucifer's fall. (Mysterium Magnum, xii, 10); heaven existed from the beginning, even before earth was. Basing his ideas upon the Biblical distinction between the creation of heaven and the
creation of the earth, Boehme postulated two creative acts. The first act was that of the creation of heaven and the angels, and the second that of the earth. According to Psalms angels were 'flames of fire' (civ,4), This gives him his clue:

The term flames of fire denotes the central fire of the eternal nature, in which the creature as to essence stand, as the particular will of a being...But when God would realize his idea in the form of a living creature, as into the form of self-will, he put in motion and separated the central fire of Eternal Nature. Thus the idea became manifest in the fire, which was accomplished through the breathing forth of the Yes. Thus the No, as the emanated will of self-receptiveness took shape in the outbreathed Yes, in order that the creature might be established in its own will. And this its own will is understood in the central fire, that is, in the properties of the fire, in which the creaturely life consists. For if this had not been, then Lucifer could not in self-will have broken himself off from the good, and have fallen. If he had not possessed a volition of his own, then God's power must have fallen. But in this way the creature has broken off from the good and willed to rule in the power and in the properties of the central fire of nature, i.e., in the sphere of transmutation and phantasy; to which the devil likewise came. (Theos. Frag., v,2-6)

Creation began because the hidden God sought to manifest Himself in all possible ways. The God who is an eternal nothing which seeks to be a something, who is unknown yet who seeks to be known and to know himself, -- this God has not achieved the object of his will until he has created a creature by whom he is known and in whom he comes to the fullness of his own knowledge. Thus

All things are generated out of the same grand mystery and proceed out of one degree into another: Now, whatever goes forwards in its degree, the same receives no abominate, let it be either in vegetables or in animals. (Sig. Rer. xiv,75)
The created world represents a determined sui generis mode of being essential to divine wisdom, the effective realization of God:

For all things are risen from the eternal spirit, as a likeness of the eternal, the visible essence, which is God and the Eternity, has in its own desire introduced itself in a time, so that he is a life in the time, and the time is in him as it were dead. (Sig., Rer., xiii,2)

In Mysterium Magnum, while commenting upon the six days of creation, Boehme admits that the fact of creation of the Word is itself the greatest mystery, wholly hidden from the external reason (for) there is neither night, morning, nor evening in the deep above the moon; but a continual day from the beginning out of the outward world even to the end of time. (Mysterium Magnum xii,1)

Nevertheless, God used six days to create the six categories of the created world (Mysterium Magnum, xii,33):

We are to understand nothing else by creation, save that the Verbum Fiat has amassed the spiritual birth, and introduced itself into a visible external dominion and essence. (Mysterium Magnum, xii,34)

And the world which resulted -- this outer world with all its separate creatures -- is nothing less than a figure of the inner spiritual world. The internal is characterized by the external; the spiritual has become manifested in a body, clothed in form (Sig. Rer., ix,11)

Boehme thus sought to reconcile his own religious intuitions with the metaphysical knowledge which he had gained from the natural philosophers. This reconciliation was made by his doctrine of the signatures:
The whole outward, visible world with all its being is a signature or figure of the inward spiritual world; whatever is internally, and however its operation is, so likewise it has its character externally. (Sig. Rer., ix,1)

And the God who has created this world is a God of freedom.

But what is 'create'?

For Boehme creation ex nihilo has no meaning. Creation is a broad metaphysical 'separating':

...This is the external visible world with the stars and the elements, which existed not before in a tangible being of distinctions. It was the Mysterium Magnum, where all things stood in wisdom, in a spiritual form, in a wrestling sport of love; not in the form of creaturely spirits, but in such a model that wisdom has thus in the power sported with itself. This model the one will has comprised in the word, and suffered the attraction to work freely, so that every individual power in the separation might be brought into a form according to its quality. Thus it is that the divine creative word, or the desire of the Eternal Nature, which is called the fiat of power, has immassed into a compaction of qualities. As Moses says: In the beginning, i.e., in the immassing of the Mysterium Magnum, God created the heavens and the earth, and said, Let there arise all manner of creatures, each of them according to his property. At the word fiat the great Mystery became compacted into a being, that is emerging out of the inward spiritual being into a palpable tangible being, and in the compaction lay the attraction belonging to life. And that in two propria, viz., a mental and an ental one. That is (1) a truly living proprium springing from the ground of eternity, and which is rooted in the Wisdom of the Word, and (2) a proprium budding forth from the being's own desire as generated in itself, and which forms the growth wherein the vegetative life stands. Through this mysterium the quinta essentia, viz., the ens of the Word, originally became manifest and essential, and to it all the three principles were suspended. And here the ens has separated — what is spiritual passing into spiritual beings, and what is inert into inert senseless beings, as are earth, stones, metal, and the material matter. (Gnad., iv, 12-15)

All things thus proceed out of one only 'Mother', or source, and creation is their separation (Sig. Rer., iv,1) They separate themselves into mortal and immortal, into life and
death, into spirit and body. Spirit is life and body is
the house of the spirit. At creation

the whole essence of eternity has moved itself in
the place of this world, and the whole form was enkindled
and stirred, and that in the desire of manifestation;
and there the generation divided itself into the flagrant
of the enkindled fire into four parts, viz., into fire,
water, and earth, and the air is its moving egressive
spirit. (Sig. Rer., iv,2)

Nothing new came into being at creation, for God is only
the former, not the maker in the objective sense. (Mysterium
Magnum, xix,27)

The creation of the whole creation is nothing else
but a manifestation of the all-essential, unspeakable
God; all whatever He is in His eternal unbeginning
generation and dominion, of that is also the creation, but
not in the omnipotence and power, but like an apple which
grows upon the tree, which is not the tree itself, but
grows from the power of the tree; Even so all things are
sprung forth out of the divine desire, and created into
an essence, where in the beginning there was no such es-
sence present, but only the same mystery of the eternal
generation, in which there has been an eternal perfection.
For God has not brought forth the creation, that he should
thereby perfect, but for his own manifestation, viz., for
the great joy and glory; not that this joy first began
with the creation...The creation is the same sport out
of Himself, viz., a platform or instrument of the Eternal
Spirit, with which he melodizes. And it is even as a
great harmony of manifold instruments which are all tuned
into one harmony; for the eternal word, or divine sound
or voice, which is a spirit, has introduced itself with
the generation of the great mystery into formings, viz.,
into an expressed word or sound. (Sig. Rer., ixi,1-2)

By imagining God created. In Wisdom God imagined the
world in order to manifest Himself and the being which he produced
is the product of his own self-desire. The eternal universe--
God's manifestation -- is the generating force of the world
of rocks and hills and elements. This process of creation is
not direct because God first imagined the astral forces, and
then these astral forces created the tangible world. Creation
is thus reproductive. It continues itself. But the beginning was God's central act of imagination:

Boehme here follows his trinitarian patterns. As the three persons of the Godhead proceed one from the other, so also

There arise in the Being of all beings three principles, that is three kinds of life or three distinctions of divine revelation, whereof always one is the cause of the other. The true Deity in itself in threefoldness, in the scientia (attraction) of the unground in the one will, where God begets God as the one will which beings itself into triplicity, is not a principle. For as God has nothing before Him, neither has he any beginning... But in the Word of the one divine power, where the one desire (scientia) in the generation of the triad breathes itself forth from itself, the beginning of the first Principle takes its rise. This...first principle is the fire-root, which is the center of nature. The second principle is found in the separation of fire, as the divine desire in the fire separates into light, and there passes into nature and being...Here is the separation between the two principles, whence God according to the first is called an angry, jealous God and a consuming fire, and according to the second a lovable compassionate God, who neither wills evil nor can will it. And by the third principle we are to understand the seven properties of nature, as where these in the seventh are brought into being and so to an inclusion. This being, in itself holy, pure and good, is called the eternal uncreated heaven, the place or the Kingdom of God; and is also called Paradise, the pure element, the divine Ens. (Gnad., iv,6-10)

If God thus created first the heavenly world and then after Lucifer's fall the earth, there emerges a hierarchy of causes, all of which collaborate in the production of the created world. Boehme's fire world (the natural basis) and the light world together produce the world of living things. The sun (light) working on the central fire of nature (the earth or dark world) produce the world of living creatures.
Boehme thus returns to his problem of evil -- his permanent problem and he offers not one but two solutions, related to the two tendencies in his speculation. On the one hand his thought is dominated by the goodness of God and he still finds so much evil in His world. How shall these be reconciled? His answer tends to preserve the unity of creation more than to preserve the unity of God:

I do not say, that nature is God, much less the fruit proceeding from the earth; but I say, God gives power to every life, be it good or bad, to each thing according to its desire, for he himself is the all; and yet he is not called God according to every being, but according to the light wherewith he dwells in himself and shines with his power through all beings; He gives in His power to all his beings and works, and each thing receives his power according to its property; one takes darkness, the other light; each hunger desires its property, and yet the whole essence (or being) is all God's be it evil or good, for from him and through him are all things, what is not of his love, that is of his anger. Paradise is yet in the world, but man is not therein, unless he be born again of God; then as to the new regeneration he is therein, and not with the Adam of the four elements. (Sig. Rer., viii, 48).

God then creates out of his own inner ousia; indeed, creation originates in the inner desire of God for self-manifestation (irrth. Stief., 45), a desire which has already formed itself into the world of forms and patterns, Sophia. God created all things out of nothing, but he Himself is that nothing (Sig. Rer., vi, 8), and the creation of the outer world is nothing else than the formulation of the seven Gestalten, or powers, of God. (Thoes. Frag., vi, 13).

Before the creation of the creatures all the wonders and powers of creation lay in an idea or spiritual world, not in a creaturely formed mode or fashion, but in a formal
existence of powers, wherein the spirit of God sported with himself. (Theos. Frag., iv,1). This was the Virgin Sophia, the world of his image, his counterstroke. There were then in him two central fires, which were yet a single being, distinct in two principles, fire and light, with the third principle of form and substantial structure existing only as possibility. In creation the one, good, love-fire became the basis of heaven, and the consuming fire the basis of hell. At the word fiat the world of substantial beings came to be.

Yet before the word fiat could be spoken an event had to transpire within the structure of eternal nature --Lucifer's altercation. From this change in Lucifer's being the created world arose, for Lucifer's fall was the cause of the creation of this world. (Dreyfach. v,18; viii,23,23)

Before angels and the world of creation were God existed only with two central fires, standing in the great potency of powers with an eternal production of his own wonders. These two central fires were one being, yet distinct in two principles: (Theos. Frag. iv,1-3)

But when the central fire of the will moved itself, and brought itself into a more considerable desire with reference to its beholding and shaping, creation took place. This process did the eternal will of God put into motion according to both fires, whereby the idea became figurate to the praise of the wonders of God.

And in the course of this motion the hellish foundation of God's wrath broke forth, which God expelled from his working and shut up in darkness. There it remains to this day, like a hungry maw full of craving after creation, and would also be creaturely and figurate.

And this is the cause and reason that Lucifer, the
prince of a throne, turned himself away from God's love to the central fire of wrath, in which he opined that he was to rule over God's gentleness and love. But on this account he was thrust out from the central love-fire, and lost his throne to the light, and now possesses hell. *(Theos. Frag., iv, 3-5)*

Boehme gathers together many causes or reasons why Lucifer turned himself away from the central light. It was the central No, Lucifer's own receptivity or self-centeredness, which led him to put to proof the property of the eternal nature, and would not live in self-renunciation, but wished to rule in and with the Holy name of the throne...his creaturely will elevated itself according to the might of fire, and abused the Holy Name in it. He would not continue in renunciation but willed to rule over the thrones, and broke himself off from the unity. He wished with the No to rule over the Yes, for the No had elevated itself in Him and despised the Yes because power of separation and form lay in the No, the creaturely will desired to rule in the No, as in the source of transmutation, and broke itself off from the unity of God and went into the receptivity of properties. And forthwith properties were manifested in him, namely, cold, fire; also sharpness, sourness, hardness, the bitterness, stingingness, hostility, anxiety, and painfulness of fire. Hence he became an enemy of all love, humility and meekness; for the foundation of the wrath of God had taken captive the false will. *(Theos. Frag., vii, 2-7)*

Boehme adopts many other descriptions of this central act of rebellion: Lucifer imagined himself into the dark matrix *(Dreyfach, iv, 38; Gnad., iv, 31)*; he despised humility *(Dreyfach., iv, 40; Gnad., iv, 31)*; he, having a free will, became self-willed in phantasy *(Gnad., iv, 29)*; he fell because of his ego-centric will *(Gnad. iv, 32, 32)*; his ego-centric will led him into the fire's might *(Theos. Frag., vii, 1-5; Mysterium Magnum ix, 6)*; he rebelled against the meekness *(Mysterium Magnum x, 12)*; he wanted to possess another Principium *(Theos.
he wanted to act in his own name and not in God's (Theos. Frag. x,4).

These are all descriptions of the original act of Lucifer's rebellion -- an act which transpired before the first movement in nature (Gnad. vi,12). God did not plan or purpose this fall (Mysterium Magnum, ix,3), but he created Lucifer for his harmony, to play with his love-spirit in him, as upon the musical instrument of his manifested and formed word: and this the self-will would not...How came that he would not? Did he not know the judgment of God, and the fall? Yes, he knew well enough; but he had no sensible perception of the fall, but only a bare knowledge. The fiery lust, which was potent in him, did egg him on, for it would fain be manifest in the essence of the wrath, viz., in the root of fire. The darkness also eagerly desired to be creatural, which drew Lucifer, its craftsmaster in the great potency of fire; indeed, it drew him not from without...The original of the fall was within the creature, and not without the creature, and so it was in Adam also. Self-will was the beginning of pride...What was that which did cause it in himself? Answer, his great beauty and glory. Because the will beheld what itself was in the fiery mirror, thus lustrous glance did move and affect him, so that he did eagerly reach after the properties of the centre... (Mysterium Magnum, iv, 9ff).

Lucifer, the prince of light and the fairest in the heavens, led himself into pride and self-will. And because of this rebellion he led himself into darkness and was expelled from the Kingdom of God's light. He broke away from God's unity:

He was with his legions cast out of his throne, and immediately shut in by the darkness and laid hold of by the fierce wrath of the hellish foundation (Theos. Frag. xiii,3)

From this expulsion the created world arose for God had to create the place where He might put Lucifer. On the first day of creation Lucifer was driven out (Mysterium Magnum 13, 14) and on the third day of creation he was locked in between
time and eternity (*Mysterium Magnum* xii,35). Here then is another reason for the creative acts of the seven days: the building of a place where Lucifer might be locked up, the creation of the world of darkness. The results of Lucifer's fall are seen in the world that was created immediately upon his rebellion.
2. First Day of Creation

When once Lucifer had fallen then a place of darkness had to be fashioned in which he might be penned up. He had been the Prince of the hierarchies, but the fall followed his rebellion and not he had to be cast into darkness. God had to create another Prince -- another who ruled in his stead. This, Boehme felt, was the Sun of nature.

God spoke: Let there be light! and there was light. And with this coming to be light, the devil's might and strength was wholly withdrawn from him in the essence, for here the light shone in the now anew awakened power, in the darkness; which light the prince of wrath could not comprehend; it was also of no benefit to him; for it was the light of nature, which is useless to him. (Mysterium Magnum, xii,14)

In the creative act of the first day Lucifer was shut up in darkness, that is, there was a light created from which he was shut out, or which was fashioned in his place. This was the light of nature, or the fifth element, the quintessence of all the other elements, (Princ., vii,7) the fiery tinctur of the heavenly firmament. (Dreyfach. ix, 93). When God said, Let there be light, there was light, and this light was the sun of nature. Thus there is between Light and darkness an eternal contrarium (Gelassen., ii,10), for darkness is nothing else than a will which is directed against the light.

Now, when God on the first day had gathered together the lump of the earth in the great deep of this world, then the deep became purified, yet (the deep between the firmament and the earth, though it was cleansed from dregs, was) dark, and had no light in the matrix; but the fifth essence, that is the fifth form in the matrix, shone as a fire,
wherein the spirit of God with the fiat moved upon the watery matrix; and the earth was naked, bare, and void; neither had it so much as one spire of grass. Now saith Moses, And God said, Let there be Light, and there was light. This light now was the fifth form of the matrix. For the fifth essence was not yet created in the matrix, nor separated till the fourth day, when God created the sun and stars out of it, and separated the light from the darkness; where then the light got the virtue of the glance (Blick), or splendour, into itself for its own, and the root of the fire in the centre remained hidden in the darkness. (Princ. viii,6ff)

The first day's work was therefore a separation of the light from the darkness. Wrath and love were separated, although the light was not yet made into the various bodies like suns, stars, etc.

The darkness remained in the wrathful property, not only in the earth, but also in the whole deep; but in the light's essence the light of nature did arise from heaven, viz., from the quintessence, whence the astrum was created; which essence is everywhere in the earth, and above the earth. Thus the darkness remained in the wrath's property in the essence of the earth, and also in the deep of this world. And the nature-light remained in the light's essence, as a working life, through which the holy element did operate and work; in which operation Paradise budded through the earth, and bore fruit until the curse of God. (Mysterium Magnum, xii,15ff).

Thus all the materials of the earth were drawn together into one great mass of darkness and the materials of the heaven were drawn together into one great mass of light. Here is a metaphysical dialectic is established between light and darkness. (Tab. Princ., 61); (Mysterium Magnum, xii,17). The sun and the earth produce all of life, indeed without the preliminary separation of light from darkness the production of living beings would remain impossible. On this first day of creation, then, the dialectical polarities which are necessary for life were produced.
The Light is the Quinta Essentia, the fifth element, the root and source of the four elements in nature, (Beschau., lli,21) the pure element (Epist., xx,9). In this pure element the ens of the Word became manifest and essential, and within it all the three principles were suspended. (Gnad., iv,15) This central Light of nature is the fiery Tinctur of the firmament, or heaven, (Dreyfach., ix,93) from which the Sun and the stars were made later in the creative process. This Light of nature which was created by God on the first day is a Temperatur to all things, that is, it is the joy of the spirit, that state wherein love and wrath, good and evil, stand in mutual attraction. (Gnad. viii,29)

For Jacob Boehme this Light of nature which was separated from the dark earth on this first day of creation meant more than a simple chemical-physical substance. Light was freedom. Boehme clearly saw that creation was not merely a problem of explaining how the earth -- our planet -- came to be for when properly considered life on the earth's surface depends just as much upon the light of nature as it does upon the stuff of the earth. Life on earth is not free but it is bound by space and time. Life is thus impaled, dialectically, between the rough interior of the earth, the mass of chaotic materials, and the light of the heavens. If God was to create 'free' beings then it was necessary that he place these beings upon the earth's surface.

This rough earth, one of the four elements, came into being immediately after, and as a direct result, of Lucifer's Fall. It is the counter-part of the Light, and was the by-product
so to speak of the creation of the Light. (Aurora, xvii,9; xxi,14). For when God wanted to shut up Lucifer in a special place he was forced to create something which Lucifer could not gain entrance to. But the earth is not a different structural essence from the stars: the earth is like the stars and sun -- whatever the light of nature is spiritually, that the earth is in its coarseness (Gnad. v,13). Earth became the third element, fire and air having been created already; and water was created on the second day. The earth originated out of the eternal fire (Seel. Frag. i,87) and out of water (Mysterium Magnum vii,19). This may seem difficult, but the central and dominating image of the alchemical fire is present here. Fire produces steam and ash. Boehme held to a progressive creation of the elements: fire produces the light (quinta essentia) which in turn produces air; fire also produces water (steam) and ashes which together produce the earth. The light becomes the astral spirit in which the soul's properties are contained, while the earth becomes the centrum of the elements in which corporeality is born. (Mysterium Magnum, xi,31)

Jacob Boehme's dialectics, then, is carried into the heart of the creative act itself. The first day's work was the establishment of the two polarities of life. In the light of modern physics Boehme's descriptions of the separation of reality into two poles, into dialectical poles which imply and necessitate each other, is not far wrong. The names which he used for these polarities is not essential: on this day in
the creative act God separated reality into positive and negative poles. Between these two poles life is produced. Freedom and desire are thus projected into the physical structure of the universe.

Another aspect of this matter is interesting. Boehme believed that there were two stages to this creative act, that the light of nature was created before the earth. And this bears for him a definite implication that there are created hierarchies of being. Here the solution to the problem of evil rests. The rough stuff of the earth is a misdirection of the freedom necessary so that the free light might become known. Goodness seems to consist in order, in the subordination of nature to the spirit, of desire to will, in the domination of nature by the spirit. Evil is disorder, perversion, the spirit becoming the servant of nature and not its master. (Sig. Rer., xv, 14). Moral goodness consists in a free act, a victory of the spirit over 'egoism', or over the natural appetitions of the earth. Thus the two original polarities mutually imply each other. Life is poised on the surface of the earth between the light of nature -- the sun -- and the rough matter of the earth's dark interious. Life's cosmological position is a direct result of the dialectical nature of all reality.
3. Second Day of Creation

On the second day of creation the division between life and death was created.

For there the light broke forth through the darkness, and made the dead body of nature to spring and flourish, and to be stirring and agile. (*Aurora*, xix,2)

The firmament which separates the heavenly water from the earthly water is

the gulf between time and eternity, but that God called it heaven and maketh a division of the waters, and gives us to understand that the heaven is in the world, and the world is not in heaven. (*Mysterium Magnum*, xii,23)

The work of the second day consisted then in the separation of heaven from hell and in a separation of the waters, of the division of the water beneath the firmament from the water above the firmament. Here Boehme's biblical understanding of the distinction between the waters above the firmament and the waters below the firmament becomes clear. The work of God on the second day was to create

The firmament of the heaven, viz., the strong enclosure to the darkness of the original matrix, that it might no more kindle itself, and generate earth and stones. And therefore he made the enclosure or firmament out of the midst of the waters, which stayeth the might of the fire, and became the visible heaven, whence the creatures are proceeded, from whence now the elements fire, air, and water proceed. (*Princ.*, viii,9)

Boehme distinguishes between water which is above the firmament and the water which is below, between the internal, heavenly, sweet, spiritual water of light and life and the elemental water of this earth. To these two categories he
ascrives metaphysical attributes.

The water which is above the firmament is the water of eternal life, the essence of the light (Tilk. I,259). The identification of this spiritual water with the Light Principle is clear from the following:

For Light is also a fire, but a giving fire; for it gives itself to all things, and in its giving there is life and being, i.e., air and a spiritual water; and in this oleus water the love-fire of the Light has its life, for it is the food of the Light. (Gnad. ii,29)

This spiritual water is the vitality of fire and light (Gnad. ii,29), the holy element from which this world with the four elements was brought into substantial form (Myst. Mag. vi,5). In this spiritual water above the firmament God's spirit rules and reigns (Mysterium Magnum x,52), for it is really the body of Jesus Christ which he brought from heaven (Mysterium Magnum, x,57). In this sweet, love-enkindling water (Aurora ix,23) the Holy Spirit works, for this spiritual water is the water of life by which God's love works in angels and men. (Mysterium Magnum xxii,52; xxiv,24). Through the power of this spiritual water enabling it to break through death the new body and the new world come to be. (Mysterium Magnum, xxiv, 56.) This heavenly water is the blood of the heavenly man, (Dreyfach, ix,51.) which soured in Lucifer. (Aurora xiv,80)

The water which is below the firmament is the elemental substance which is a part of the earth. It is a misty, smoky steam or vapour (Sig. Rer., iii,22) which is a witness or an instrument of the inner water's power. (Mysterium Magnum xiv, 70) This earthly water came into being only after the Fall.
of Lucifer (Aurora xiv,70) for before the second day's work of creation there was no separation of the waters above and below the firmament. This material water has its origin in the spiritual world (Gnad. iii,24) and from it all things like metals, stones, earth are produced. Boehme ascribes unusual characteristics to this elemental water for he says that without it fire cannot burn (Mysterium Magnum, xiv,7). He knows that creatural spirits live in this elemental water (Princ. vii,35), that from it all things are created. (Princ. xx,53), and that from it bodies originate. (Aurora, 1,17).

Now what is the reason -- the dialectical reason -- for the separation of the waters above the firmament from the waters below the firmament?

The water above the firmament is in heaven, and the water under the firmament is in the external, material water. Here we must understand the differentiation between the holy water and the outward element-water. The water above the firmament is spiritual in the birth of the holy element, and the water under the firmament is mortal for it is apprehended of the dark impression; the curse and the awakened vanity is therein, and yet one water is not without the other. (Mysterium Magnum xii,24ff)

These waters are, then, dialectical. But why?

When I look upon the external water then I must also say, here is also the water above the firmament in the water under the firmament. But the firmament is the middle, and the gulf therein between (is) time and eternity; so that they are distinct. And I see with the external eyes of this world only the water under the firmament; but the water above the firmament is that which God hath appointed in Christ to the Baptism of Regeneration, after that the Word of the divine power had moved itself therein. Now the outward water is the instrument of the inward; and the inward water is understood therein; for the moving spirit of the Word is he which ruleth the inward water of Baptism. Dear Christians, let this be spoken unto you; this is the real ground. (Mysterium Magnum, xii,26ff).
If the regeneration of the fallen earth is to follow, if the fallen and regenerated materials of the world are to be raised and redeemed, then Boehme must separate the two waters in the final act of world-redemption. And to be able to redeem the waters he must have them separate at the beginning. This there was a firmament, or a heaven, set between the waters. Boehme thus has two heavens as well. There is an inner and an outer heaven:

The outward heaven is passive, and the inward worketh through it, and draweth forth an external fruit out of the outward; whereas the inward heaven lieth hidden therein in the firmament: as God is hidden in time. (Mysterium Magnum, xii,29).

In the work of creation during the second day the internal heaven was manifested.

By the word Himmel is understood how the water, viz., the grossness in the mortal part, was coagulated, and separated from the holy crystalline water, which is spiritual. There, with the material, time began, as an essence expressed or spirited out of the spiritual water. (Mysterium Magnum, x,50)

This separation has special significance for Boehme for heaven is for him the key between the old and the new bodies, between the two forms of corporeality which he saw in the world. (Aurora xxv,28).

The heaven wherein God dwelleth is the holy element; and the firmament or gulf between God and the four elements is the death; for the inward heaven hath another birth (that is, another life) than the external elementary life hath. Indeed, they are in one another; but one does not apprehend the other; as tin and silver never mix aright together; for each is from another, yet they are as the inward and outward water to one another; wherein also they are to be understood...Moses writeth, that God created the heaven out of the midst of the waters: and it is very right... The superior (heaven) is the life and dominion of the inferior; it enkindleth the inferior, whereby the inferior doth act, move, and work... (Mysterium Magnum x,53ff.)
Why does Boehme set up this confusing distinction between the inner and the outer heaven? And the answer is that this distinction is necessary for his theories of redemption. For he says that this inner heaven stand yet open unto man, if any will depart from this world's essence and enter into it upon the path which Christ has made open. (Mysterium Magnum, x, 59)
4. Third Day of Creation -- Paradise

On the third day of His creative activity God made life in the midst of death (*Aurora* xxiv,41) By the *Fiat* of creation God divided the waters upon the earth so that there might be a place where creatures might live, so that there existed a dry place where life might begin. This dry earth became verdant; life budded forth through the deadness of substantial matter; grass, herbs, trees, plants spring up, each after the eternal source of life itself.

Thus every essence became visible, and God manifested his manifold virtue with manifold herbs, plants, and trees, so that everyone that doth but look upon them, may see the eternal power, virtue, and wisdom of god therein. (*Princ.* viii,9).

In the midst of the dark and 'wrathful' character of the earth element, life was born. In this created world the wisdom of God discovered itself on the blossoming earth. This pleasant, verdant creation is the likeness of Paradise, of the original perfect creation which was distorted when Lucifer fell.

For although many thousand several herbs stand one by another in one and the same meadow, and one of them is fairer and hath more virtue than another, yet one of them doth not grudge at the form of another, but there is a pleasant refreshment in one another; so also there is a distinct variety in Paradise, where every creature hath its greatest joy in the virtue and beauty of another; and the eternal wisdom of God is without number and end... You shall find no book wherein the divine wisdom may be more searched into, and found, than when you walk in a flowery meadow, there you shall see, smell, and taste the wonderful power and virtue of God; though this be but
a similitude, and the divine virtue in the third principle is become material, and God hath manifested himself in a similitude. But (this) is a loving schoolmaster to him that seeketh, he shall there find many of them. (Princ., viii,12)

The real accomplishment of the third day's work was the moving, growing life in the midst of the dead, wrathful earth. On the first two days the possibility of growth and life was not yet opened up for the earth was formless and void; on the second day's work, the separation of the waters with the dividing firmament, the two polarities between which life is sustained were fashioned. Now on the third day life sprouted in the wrathful element.

And this is exactly what Paradise meant for Jacob Boehme — life sprouting out of death (Menschw., i,iv,13). Paradise is the budding through the wrath, the love of God manifesting itself within the dark and dead material substance which is the earth.

the holy element budded forth in the temperament through the four elements, and produced through the four elements heavenly fruit, which was pleasant to the sight and good for food, as Moses says, And in such budding forth is Paradise to be understood. (Gnad., v,9)

That holy fire which emanated from God was, and is, Paradise. (Theos. Frag., iii,38). Paradise is the divine joy and pleasure in a world where there is no strife of elements, no opposition and reaction, but merely a love-play between them. (Apol. I. Tilk., 131). The longing of the Ungrund to know and to manifest itself in the multiplicity of its forms has become realized in Paradise; though these forms are not in opposition because the holy love-fire interpenetrates them. (Theos. Frag.,
Paradise is the divine and angelical joy, yet not without the place of this world. Indeed it is without the virtue and source (or active property) of it; neither can the spirit of this world comprehend it much less a creature; for it standeth not in the anguishing birth. And although it thus taketh its original, yet it consisteth in exact perfection, mere love, joy, and mirth; wherein there is no fear, neither misery nor death; No devil can touch it, and no beast can reach it. (Princ. ix,4).

Paradise has no evil in it; there was no creaturely strife, and it was a place where

God and the angels dwelt, where there is perfection, where there is mere love, joy, and knowledge; where no misery is; which (paradise) neither death nor the devil's touch, neither do they know it; and yet it hath no wall of earth or stones about it, but there is a great gulf between paradise and this world. (Princ. ix,7)

Boehme conceived of Paradise in strict materialistic terms, in fact he believed that Paradise was constituted by its own peculiar form and material substance. It was transparent and glistening.

Paradise consisteth in the power (and virtue) of God: it is not corporeal, nor comprehensible; but its corporeity or comprehensibility is like the angels, which yet is a bright, clear, visible substance, as if it were material; but is figured merely from the virtue, where all is transparent and shining, where also the center of the birth is in all things, and therefore the birth is without measure or end....Paradise is from eternity to eternity. But being the light of God is eternal, and shining without wavering or hindrance, therefore also the birth is in an unchangeable substance, wherein all things spring up in mere perfection, in great love. (Princ., ix,18)

Even the fruits of Paradise are crystalling and pure:

As we see that here out of the earth there spring plants, herbs, and fruits, which receive their virtue from the sun, and from the constellation: so the heaven or the heavenly limbus is instead of the earth; and the light of God instead of the sun... The depth of this substance is without beginning or end, its breadth cannot be reached, there are neither years nor time, no cold nor heat, no
moving of the air; no sun nor stars; no water nor fire; no sight of evil spirits; no knowledge nor apprehension of the affliction of this world; no stony rock nor earth; and yet a figured substance of all the creatures of this world. For all the creatures of this world have appeared to this end, that they might be an eternal figured similitude; not that they continue in this spirit in their substance, no not so: All the creatures return to the ether...(Princ., ix,21)

This is all confusing. Why does Jacob Beohme present this picture of the material paradise which existed on a part of this earth? What is its purpose? Before Lucifer's Fall the whole world had been a Paradise (Mysterium Magnum xxv,16) but after the Fall Paradise bloomed on a small part of the earth (Dreyfach, xi,12) although only at one place, namely in the garden of Eden. (Mysterium Magnum, xvii,7). But even this was poisoned by the devil's infection. (Mysterium Magnum xvii,8) But why then posit a Paradise blooming on an infected world? What is the religious reason?

The answer is that if nature is to be redeemed there must be a small spark of the divine substance within nature or else it would be completely evil and incapable of salvation. Just as there is a Fünklein, or divine spark within man, so there must be a co imago dei or else the world cannot be restored to its originally crystalline state. This is one of the logical necessities of Boehme's redemptive scheme. His idea of the restitution of all things, of all natural things, to their originally paradisical state compels him to place his created Paradise within the structure of this world or else he will not be able to find a place where the world can be redeemed.
This is the work of creation on the third day, for in this act God placed the light of nature within the corrupted properties of the natural world.

This opening began on the third day, and continues unto the end of the world...Here the earth was moved and the properties opened, and not only the earth, but the whole deep in the center of the outward nature made itself external, and yet remained also internal. (*Mysterium Magnum* xii,39)

This was the accomplishment of the third day's work that the moving growing life, both in the natural and in the paradisical world, was set in the midst of the light of nature. Now was Lucifer completely shut up between time and eternity, imprisoned in the darkness until the ultimate judgment of God. He has lost his dominion for now a new creation has taken his place, a creation within the light of nature.
4. Fourth Day of Creation -- Sun, Stars, Planets

On the fourth day of creation God made the heavenly world, the world of the stars and the planets. And in writing about the heavenly bodies Jacob Boehme had something new and important to offer. Boehme's astronomy was definitely Copernican. As early as 1612, in the xxvth Chapter of the Aurora, Boehme presented his Copernican ideas. This was only two years after Kepler had published his general laws of planetary motion. Boehme wrote in 1612:

some suppose that it (the sun) runs round about the globe of the earth in a day and a night; and some of the astrologers also write so...This opinion or supposition is not right, but the earth rolls itself about; and runs with the other planets, as in a wheel, round about the sun. The earth does not remain staying in one place but in a year runs once about the sun. (Aurora, xxv,65ff).

The novelty of these Copernican ideas doubtlessly led Boehme to his vituperative and vehement protestations against the adversaries who wanted to censure him. (Aurora xxv,45). It led him to defend his astronomical views with vigour.

With the fourth day of creation the sidereal birth took place. (Aurora xxii,1) Boehme believed that the world had a threefold birth: an external, a sidereal, and an internal (Aurora, xix,32). This was according to the three Principles which expressed themselves in the nature of reality. The world of the stars and planets was made out of the light Principle which appeared on the third day of creation (Aurora xxiv,1). out of the Quintessence of the matrix (Princ., viii,8). Its
original source, like the source of all other things, is the dark primitive fire that burns in the Ungrund; but the world of stars and planets was created out of the fire-root (Princ. vii,29) and out of the centrum naturae and the essences of the seven natural forms (Dreyfach. vi,44). Boehme thinks of this in material terms as the manifestation of the three basic alchemical elements in the substance of reality. The Sidereal world was made from the pure element, the fifth element in the substantial structure of reality. And he gives each planet and sun of this sidereal world a rule to play in the sustaining of the universe.

As the spirit moved this matrix, so the matrix wrought, and in the kindling from the spirit of God in the fifth form of the matrix, the fiery heaven of the constellations did exist, which is a mere quinta essentia, or quintessence, born in the fifth form in the matrix, in which place the light hath its original; out of which last the sun is born. (Princ. v,10)

Although the sun is not the first created light of nature (Aurora xviii,125), still it is the ruling spirit of the external world (Sig. Rer. xii,19). It gives its light to all the stars (Aurora. ii,9) and is the cause of the stars coming into existence (Dreyfach. x,34). In the sun's place Lucifer had ruled; in fact the sun was created to take the place of Lucifer in the external world. Just as he ruled over the hierarchies of his world, so the sun rules and sustains the various created things in the external world. The sun was created out of the original light principle in the dark fire of the Ungrund (Princ., viii,8) and has become the heart of nature and of this world (Dreyfach. ix,25). It is the king
and ruler of all nature (Dreyfach xI,40) and a deity in the third Principle (Princ. viii,13,23).

We see that the sun shines in the deep of the world, and its rays kindle the end of the earth from whicheverything grows. We understand also that the sun kindles the ens in the great mystery or spiritus mundi (i. e., in sulphur, mercury, and salt), whereby the magical fire is revealed from which air, water and earthiness have their origin...

Now as the power and rays of the sun disclose the mystery of the outer world, so that creatures and plants proceed from it; so, on the other hand, the mystery of the outer world is a cause by which the sun's rays are disclosed and enkindled... But because the sun is nobler, and a degree deeper in nature, than the mystery of the outer world... it penetrates into the outer mystery and kindles it, and thus too kindles itself, so that its rays become fiery, for they would not be fiery without the scientia in the mystery of this world. (Gnad., ii23ff)

Out of this central light of the sun God created the stars and the planets (Dreyfach. ix,88) all partaking of the quintessence, which is the ruling element in all nature.

The sun has a rôle in the universe. Being made of the quintessence, which is the pure product of the light, the sun aids to counteract the wrathful quality in the four elements of the earth, (Princ., xV,9) and it enkindles the sweet light within the four elements, thus laying the substantial basis for the regeneration of the world. This is evident in the whole natural process of the world. The sun's power is one with the basic life vitality of the universe (Aurora, xxv,38) and it is a cause and originating impulse of all the powers of nature. (Aurora, xxvi,12). The sun is the vitality within nature capable of propitiating the wrath-fire in the elements, capable of making all into love and light (Dreyfach., vi,63.). The sun causes Light to dominate heat and cold (Theos. Punkt., ii,50).
God is the eternal Sun as the eternal one Good; but out of the eternal scientia or Nature he would not be manifest with his Sun-power or Majesty; for out of nature there were nothing in which God in his power could become manifest. He is the beginning of Nature; and yet he does not bring himself out of the eternal one into an eternal beginning of nature because he wills to be something evil; but in order that his power may come into Majesty, as into divisibility and sensibility, and that there may be in him a moving and playing, where the powers sport one with another, and thus manifest, fine and feel themselves in their wrestling sport of love... (Gnad., ii,28)

Through the activity of the sun the great Mysterium Magnum, or the hidden mystery of the forms and patterns of the world of things, becomes manifest in the spiritus mundi, or in the spirit of the world of real things (Gnad., viii,13). The sun loves all growing things, gives them life and sustenance, is good to the good things and evil to the evil things (Gnad., viii,13,15.), for God has set the external sun as the vitalizing force in the external world. If the sun were non-existent then the entire world would be wrathful and dark, ruled by the principle of darkness (Seel. Frag., xii,1). Without it it would be like hell (Sig. Rer., xii,19). Because of this the devil is the great enemy of the sun because in the sun there is no point where he and his devil's might catch on. It is pure light. (Menschw., II,x,9).

In these many functions of the sun Boehme describes the source of the vitality for the entire created universe. By the identification of the sun with the light principle he has laid the basis for his ideas of the regeneration of the world, for the final redemption of the principle of wrath and darkness which he saw within all reality. If reality is constituted
by good and evil, if in all things there is a yes and a no;
and if the Sun is the yes, the propitiating principle within
the nature of reality, then it is the principle through which
the regeneration of reality is to take place.

One of the functions of the sun is to generate the
various stars out of its own inner vitality. By setting their
desire into the sun they draw their vitality from the sun,
thus bring life and being to themselves. (Gnad., ii, 26)

We see also that the stars are so greedy and hungry for
the power of the sun, that they introduce their desire
in a magnetic manner in the spiritus mundi into the first
three forms, and draw the sun's power into themselves.
The sun, on the other hand, penetrates powerfully into the
stars to receive their desire, so that they get their
lustre from the power of the sun. (Gnad., ii, 26)

Each one of the stars has a particular and individual character
(Aurora, xxv, 25), and thus, since the stars are the instruments
and tools of God, they project this individuality into all of the
created world. Through the stars good and evil become manifested
in the world (Mysterium Magnum x, 36), and their individual
powers and characteristics are the sources of the various in-
dividualities in nature. (Mysterium Magnum xiii, 8). Many of
the stars are not visible to the naked eye, and Boehme considers
this evidence to the fact that many of the individual forms
and characteristics of being are not perceived by the human
mind (Dreyfach., x, 38). Ths stars rule and dominate life by
their power which they have received from the sun, since, when
animals and other creatures were created, God took the four
elements of the earth and added to these elements a particular
individual form of the quintessence. This fifth aspect, the
astral spirit, dominates the four elements and gives to them
their individuality and characteristics.

The stars and heavenly bodies thus have a rôle to play in the life of nature and of man. The astral spirits awake the dead elements from their sleep, arousing in them the hidden spirit, bring individuality to being. (Dreyfach., vii,48)

Thus the astral spirit dominates life upon the earth, for that spirit out of which an individual being is created is the ruling and dominating element in his life. (Dreyfach., xvi,22).

To the planets Boehme gives a particular and special rôle. Following the old traditions he held the seven planets of the ancients as the dominating factors in the elemental nature of the earth. His planets were Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Luna, and Sol. These he felt were the rulers of the seven forms of nature, each planet being constituted by the quality, or the individual characteristic, of the special form to which it is bound. The planets thus aid in the growing of the natural things on the earth and by the signatura which they impart to individual things they give spiritual traits. Much of works like the Signatura Rerum is incomprehensible without the clear understanding of the rôle that the planets have in the dominance and determination of the created world. Saturn is the source and beginning of all corporeality (Aurora, xxvi, 2,12) and thus is a dark and wrathful property, and Boehme likens it to the lead of the alchemists. (Sig. Rer., iv,23) Jupiter is the power of reason and thinking in man (Aurora, xxv,107), and it begets life in the divine vitality (Aurora,
Its power rests in the mind, and the metal which is its parallel in the alchemical table is tin (Dreyfach, ix,92; Sig. Rer., iv,29) Mars is the wrath and the hunger, the origin of wrathfulness and anger (Sig. Rer. iv, 20). It is the symbol of anxiety (Angst) and is the gall of the eternal nature. Its alchemical metal is iron (Sig. Rer. iv, 37). Venus is mildness and humility, meekness of the spirit (Dreyfach, ix,79) and also is the seed of propagation, thus becoming the appetitive lusts (Sig. Rer., iv,21). The alchemical symbol of Venus is copper. (Sig. Rer., iv,35,36). Mercurius is the working, active Word of God which awakens the seed of life in the creature (Clav., 26; Dreyfach. ix,96). Mercury produces life and death (Sig. Rer., iv,33) and leads the creative urge on to spirit and essence (Mysterium Magnum, xiv,5). Mercury separates light from darkness (Sig. Rer. iii,16; and is the working agent in the planetary wheel (Sig. Rer., iv,30). The alchemical element of Mercury is quicksilver (Sig. Rer. iv, 32). Luna, or the moon, is the lustful body (Sig. Rer., iv,21) which contains the heavenly and earthly substance of this created world (Sig. Rer. Iv,27). Its metal is silver (Sig. Rer., ix,24). The sun is the final perfection of the world and thus is the gold that the alchemists seek.

By their domination over these metals the planets also dominate the various created things which are made from these metals. They aid the sun in the rule and regiment of the world (Mysterium Magnum xiii,16). Boehme was well aware that the planets were moving about the sun (Dreyfach., ix,99) in cocentric circles (Sig. Rer., ix,27) and that they give their
particular substance and character to the things of the world. Their activity is presented for the growing and productiveness of the earth's fruits, governing even man by the movement of the circles.

This is, of course, closely akin to the astrology of the folk mind, to the folk custom of planting and producing according to the almanac. It forms one of the most difficult and least rewarding of Boehme's doctrines, although the insight behind this astrological speculation is valuable: namely, that the God who created the world does not allow it to disintegrate, that he works in it and through it for its final and complete redemption.
6. **Fifth day of Creation: Creatures, Animals**

On the fifth day God commanded that all manner of beasts were to come forth, each according to its kind. But, Boehme asks, out of what should they come forth? And he says that they were to come forth out of the matrix. *(Princ.,)*

The **Fiat** brought forth the beasts (or living creatures) very indigestedly, as they are in the essence, not from heaven, but of the matrix of the earth;...they come forth only out of the matrix of the earth, that they might be of the essence of the earth, that so they might eat of the fruits that grow out of the earth....Now then if the beasts were merely out of a lump of earth, then they would eat earth, but seeing it is proceeded out of the matrix of the earth by the **Fiat**, therefore it desireth also such food as the matrix affords out of its own essence; and that is not earth, but flesh. *(Princ., viii,38ff)*

Each creature is an aspect or mode of God's revelation *(Irrth. Stief., 514),* and

*each creature must remain in its place wherein it was apprehended in its creation and formed into an image, and not depart out of the same harmony:* *(Sig. Rer., xvi,18).*

Each of the creatures was made after its own kind, and this has for Jacob Boehme a special meaning.

*each kind is created out of a sundry end, each out of of a different degree; and...each kind lives in its mother, whence it has taken its original;...it cannot live in another degree. As the beasts upon the earth, which are a limmus of the earth and air; therein they live; and thence they take theirfood and nourishment...the birds were created in the sulphur of the air, therefore they fly in their mother; also the fishes in the sulphur of the water and the worms in the sulphur of the earth. Thus each thing lives in its mother whence it was taken, and the contrary is its death.* *(Mysterium Magnum iv,10ff)*

*In accordance with the substantial origin of the creatures the individual characteristics of their natures are derived.*
Thus the outward characteristics of each creature spring from the inner ground out of which that creature was made. Even in the creatures does Boehme see his omnipresent good and evil:

For we see that there are good and evil creatures, as venomous beasts and worms according to the centre of nature in the darkness, and arisen from the property of the dark wrathful property, which desire to dwell only in the dark and conceal themselves from the sun. In contrast to them we find many creatures which the spiritus mundi has fashioned from the real of phantasy, as are apes and such beasts and birds as play monkey-tricks and disturb and torment other creatures; so that each is the enemy of the other, and they all contend against one another, in manner as the three Principles sport together in their powers... We find likewise good friendly creatures in imitation of the angelic world, as the spiritus mundi has formatively introduced itself into the good forth-spoken powers, and this gives the tame beasts and birds; although many evil properties mingle with the tame animals, who thus have been laid hold of among mixed properties. By the food and dwelling of any animal we see from whence it came; for every creature desires to dwell in its mother, and longs after her. (Gnad., v, 20-21)

Now what is this mother after which each creature longs? This is one of the basic ideas of Boehme's metaphysics: that each created thing longs after the mother that bore it. This mother, or matrix, is the character of each of the three principles. In the first principle the matrix is the wrathful property of the fire; in the second principle the mother is the meekness of the light; and in the third principle the mother is the heavenly world. Each creature has a dominant idea about which its creative life is built. Such an idea is the 'mother', or the 'matrix' out of which that creature is born. For life and sustenance the creature must return to its mother, must partake of its own pure idea, in order to achieve its own perfectly attuned inner state of being.
Thus, which-ever idea or form dominates in a creature's inner being, that is his matrix or mother to which he always seeks to return. Each of the creatures has an elemental and a sidereal body (Mysterium Magnum xiv,2) and the star from which the sidereal body in the fifth element derives, that is the idea, or the mother, for the individual creature. Not only does each creature derive from this mother; but also each creature seeks to 'eat' of the mother from which it came. This is one of Boehme's many figures of speech. By eating he implies that the creature needs continual nourishment from the idea which governs its individuality. It needs continual increase of life and being from the source-idea from which it came. By 'eating' Boehme simply means that God continually sustains the creatures which he has made. Thus each creature longs only for its mother (Princ. xxiii,6); each creature can know nothing more than the mother which bore it (Princ., ii,4). Only the idea of the creature is eternal; the creature living in the four elements is perishable (Aurora, xvi,13). Although each creature has but one mother, the other two principles as well as all the other principles live within it (Dreyfach, vi, 49), and thus there is continual war within its nature. Some of the creatures are tools and agents of the devil; only those that live in a pure principle are freed from the devil's dominion. Thus the tame animals are close to the inner world, close to the purity of one principle's dominion, while the wild animals are mainly dominated by the world of the four elements and of this world. (Princ., xviii,20; Gnadv, v,20).
The world of the animals, made each after its own kind, is a world of conflicting and struggling principles. The dominating idea of each animal is its ruling force; the idea of God dominates His creation. And the strugglings and strivings of the creatures of field and forest is a witness to the fall of Lucifer, to the corruption of all of creation.
7. Sixth Day of Creation: Adam, Man

On the sixth Day God, speaking the Verbum Fiat, said:
Let us make man! And out of the great massa and mixture of all the elements and essences already created God fashioned an image that might be like Himself, that would have dominion over the fishes of the sea and over the fowls of the air, over cattle and over the earth, over every worm that creeps upon the earth. So God took the limus of the earth and the Limus of the heavens, of all the constellations and degrees, and made a body for man. He created a twofold body: spiritual and corporeal. The spiritual body was the image of God, clothed by the Fiat with the essences of all essences, the external fifth element of the heavens. The corporeal body was made of the four elements of the earth. Into this body God breathed a living soul:

The spirit of God has inspired or given in itself, from properties of all the three principles, into the created image, viz., the Father of all essences has breathed or spoken forth the spirit, through his eternal-speaking Word, out of all the Three Principles, out of the whole essence of the powers. (Mysterium Magnum, xv.17)

Man was thus created a being in all three worlds, or principles, with all principles within his own soul. For this is what God breathed into his body on the sixth day of creation:

And the soul, in its real life and understanding, consists in three Kingdoms: the first is the eternal nature, viz., the potent might of eternity, the dark and fire-world, according to which God calls Himself a strong zealous angry God, and a consuming fire, in which Lucifer has wholly diabolized himself. The second is the holy
light-world, where the eternal understanding has displayed itself through the fire's sharpness, in the light of the great fiery love-desire, and turned the wrathful dark-and-fiery property to a kingdom of joy; which is the true manifestation of the Deity; and it is called the holy heaven of the angelical delight and bliss. The third kingdom or world is the outward astral and elemental Kingdom, viz., the air, with its domineering constellations, wherein all the five outward constellations rule, viz., the superior, and the inferior of the four elements, out of which the five senses take their original, wherein the vegetable and reasonable life consists. This is the animal soul, which rules in all the creatures of this world, so also in the outward heavens of constellations, and in all the earth or essences of the outward world. (Mysterium Magnum xv,18-20)

And yet there is in man, not three souls, but one:

And if this were not, then it could not be said, the soul went into heaven or hell, if it were not in it... We are in no wise to think that the soul is God himself who is neither nature nor creature, also dwells in nothing, save only himself; and yet dwells through all things, and is neither far off nor high unto any thing. But the soul is the expressed Word, the formed Word; it is the spirit and the life of the three Principles of divine manifestation. But if it were God, then it were immovable and no judgment could pass upon it. (Mysterium Magnum, xv,25)

The first man that was created on the sixth day of God's creative activity is the expressed Word (Gnad., vi,45) made out of God's breath activating in the red earth. (Aurora, xxi,38). He was the finest of the creatures and the secondary goal of the creative act.
8. Seventh Day of Creation: Sabbath, Day

God created all things on the first six days, and on the seventh he gathered together all the essences of the other six properties and made them into a seventh property as a structure or form of the other six.

Out of the Verbum Fiat, viz., out of the divine Word, and out of the divine desire...the six properties of the eternal and temporal nature proceeded; and each has introduced itself into a sundry degree of a sundry property, which degree may be called a heaven or a magical spiritual-constellation. For each property is a spirated essence, viz., a heaven:...each spiration continued for a time, viz., the length of a day and night in the formation and conception, and each property of a day was mutually spoken or breathed forth out of the other, even unto the sixth, in which the formed Word was manifest, which in the fifth form, viz., in the love-desire, did receive its aspect or illustration through the fire from the light; and amassed or formed itself in the sixth form of nature; in which form the image of God (man) was created, as an image of the formed Word, which God introduced into the Sabbath, viz., into the seventh day, understand, into the Verbum Fiat...For in the seventh property lies the eternal day, whence the days of time are proceeded; and the ancients have called it Sonnabend; but it is rightly called Sönnabend, wherein God's love does appease and atone the anger; as when the six properties in the operate do enkindle themselves in the impression of the wrath's property, they are atoned and reconciled in the seventh property, viz., in the manifested holy power of God in the love-desire...and so are introduced into one only essence wherein they rest, as in the Word of the Lord; which has introduced itself with the seven properties into nature and essence; and thereof Moses speaks rightly, God rested on the seventh day from all his works, and hallowed the seventh day. (Mysterium Magnum xvi,20-23)

Thus the rest of God on the seventh day has a special meaning.

The divine vitality which entered into the creation of the world found itself 'enkindled by the wrath', or conditioned by the nature of the creation. Each of the six forms, or Gestalten, into which nature was fashioned formed a contradictory
manifestation of the divine power. This could not be toler­ated. God had to draw all these contradictions back again into restful unity, into the harmony of the divine love-play.

And this rest is the holy heaven in the natural heaven, where time works in itself, and sets forth its operate for the day of rest, viz., the day of separation, where, at the end of the days of this world, the evil shall be separated from the good, and each thing shall possess its own heaven, viz., the property of its original spirit, whence it was generated. (Mysterium Magnum xvi,25)

Each thing possesses the hope of future reconciliation with the originally good and perfect will of God. Its departure into the strife and disunities of creaturehood is not a permanent departure. It has the promise of the rest and the Sabbath at the end of time when all the world shall be redeemed. Boehme identifies this rest, or Sabbath, with the transparent glassy sea before the throne of the ancient in St. John's Revelation from out of which the world was created into sundry peculiar heavens and forms. (Mysterium Magnum xvi,27). This seventh day of rest and recreation was from eternity and beyond all time. In this final day of rest the wonders of divine wisdom, which have been moving forwards towards full self-knowledge and self-manifestation through the created worlds, will have become known and manifested. The whole of the fullness of the deity is implicitly revealed in this day of final rest and understanding.

Thus is Boehme's way of placing the whole process of regeneration within the structure of his world. Even in the process of creation God left a place for the redemption of man and for the regeneration of the world. Thus this sabbath
day is a promise of further activity of God within the world, the promise of redemption. It looks forward towards the Youngest Day (Jüngster Tag), the dawning of which Boehme believed that he was announcing — that final day when judgment shall be passed on the whole creation. (Seel. Frag. xxx, 62).

Boehme's conception of the Sabbath of Rest at the end of the world derives from his vitalism. Believing that God was a vitalizing force within the framework of reality he had to posit a time when that vitality will cease. If God's creative activity had beginning, then it must also have an end.

The being of all beings is a wrestling power; for the Kingdom of God consists in power, and also the outward world, and it stands especially in seven properties or forms, where the one causes and makes the other, and none of them is the first or last, but is the eternal band; therefore God has appointed six days for man to work, and the seventh day is the perfection wherein the six do rest; it is the center to which the desire of the six days tend; therefore God calls it the Sabbath or resting day, for therein the six forms of the working power rest: It is the divine sound in the power, or the kingdom of joy, wherein all other forms are manifest; for it is the formed world, or divine corporality, by which all things are generated and come forth to a being. This formed world has manifested itself with the motion of all forms with this visible world, as with a visible likeness, so that the spiritual being might be manifest in a corporeal comprehensive essence; as the desire of the inward forms has made itself external, and the internal being is in the external; the internal holds the external before it as a glass, wherein it beholds itself in the property of the generation of all forms; the external is itself the signature. (Sig. Rer., ix,2,3).

This last day is the harmonizing of life, the repose when all the many tensions and disunities of dialectical existence shall find their harmony and reunion.
the seventh is the day of rest, in which the working life of the six properties reposes: it is the temperament in being, in which the working life of the divine powers rests. Therefore God commanded man to rest in it, for it is the true image of God, wherein God has perpetually fashioned himself from eternity into an eternal being. (Gnad., iii,39)

Thus within the vital, creative impulse of the dynamic God there is a state of repose. The six powers there lie and rest in the still love, i. e., in the eternal unity, and yet their own self-activity is not halted nor is the dynamic and vital impulse which feeds life eradicated. This is life in the midst of unity, the ultimate promise of the final and absolute victory over death.
9. The Problem of Creation

Creation proceeds from a Quall which is Boehme's unique word for the dynamic, creative center of reality. This Quall (Quall, or Quelle) is the final source of all eternal and temporal reality and by this term, which is so strangely characteristic of Boehme's philosophy, is meant that unconditioned source of all reality which is at the same time the dynamic vital origin of life and the conditioning aspect of reality. The Quall is incomprehensible and irrational (Seel. Frag., i,51); only the freedom of the eternal Ungrund lies beyond this cause; indeed, Quall is similar to what Aristotle means by cause. Each particular world and each individual being begins in its own Quall as its cause and as its separation into an individuality of will (Mysterium Magnum, viii,20); and God wants that each being participates in its own Quall or as he often says, returns to the mother which bore it (Dreyfach., xi,105). A Quall is a cause of individual being (Seel. Frag., I,52) by which a thing knows itself in the mirror of the Ungrund. (Seel. Frag., i,54)

The Quall is the dynamic source of being yet between this Quall and the individual mode of being there lies a hierarchy of causes which collaborate in the production of the world. This is clearly in accord with the other gnostic tendencies in Boehme's thought. From the nameless and unknowable Ungrund there proceeds a hierarchy of aeons which by their
successive emanation produce the world of reality. And, considered from this point of view, the Quall is nothing else than the demiurge which separates the one eternal will of the Godhead into the plurality of creaturely wills. Boehme speaks of the Separator, or Archaeus, which is certainly the demiurge, or the author of the lower world -- the separator and divider of the one will into the individuality of manifested beings. (Clav., 96; Beschau., iii,5: II Taufe iii,19; Tab. Princ., 60).

Boehme’s tremendous pleurema which he sets between the irrational freedom and the created world goes a long way towards answering, but it does not wholly solve, the basic problem in all theories of the creation of the world. There comes a point where Boehme cannot bridge the gap between the world and the Source. And here the two basic tendencies of his thought emerge in their fundamental conflict. In the first place Boehme sought to hold to the goodness of God (Mysterium Magnum lxi,65) for divine wisdom was for him a radiant Virgin, resplendent in her beautiful harmony, possessing an eternal desire to realize herself in all the beauty of her myriad forms. But there was also, on the other hand, a firm and realistic conviction of the evil within all reality. And Boehme could not admit that this evil came from God; neither could be break the ultimate unity of the Godhead by asserting that evil existed apart from God. And his whole pleurema of causes, by which he sought to explain how the world of good and evil came from the good and perfect God,
served only to push the problem further into the background. Creation is not explicable merely by the desire of wisdom to incarnate herself in the various modes of reality, for nature also partakes of the desire of the longing towards heaven, to 'eat of the mother which bore it'. This is Boehme's way of saying that the manifested modes of being tend to return to the purity of the original idea out of which they came. In this sense God does not actually create; he gives order to nature (Mysterium Magnum, lxi,63); he allows nature to fashion itself (Sig. Rer., ix,3). Life is produced by the dialectical interaction of the two poles of reality for the real world is placed between Paradise and Hell, between light and the self-excluding darkness. (Gnad., iv, 20). This cosmological scheme seems to imply the necessity of evil within the world's structure; but this is exactly what Boehme is seeking to avoid for evil was really not necessary because it is limited both within space and in time.

Here again is the tension within Boehme's thought: God must realize Himself on all the levels of His thought, yet some of the realized modes of being which have derived from His self-realization are contrary to His goodness. The solution which Boehme accepts, and which is so characteristically a product of his mind, is the idea of the divine within God, or the 'God in so far as he is called God'. (Mysterium Magnum, xxix,9) Boehme's God, the ontological God, the Summum Deus, the prima causa, produces all that is. But in so far as God is a moral
personality, in so far as he is goodness, love, and propitiating self-sacrifice, only part of His self-manifestation reveals and expresses his true essence. This is God in the second principle. He produces but does not exist within all of reality. And in the end this reduces itself to a God who is known in two ways, through love and wrath, and to a God who has not yet become fully manifested as love in the totality of His creation.

This is, of course, Boehme's permanent problem: why does the Good God tolerate evil? And his answer -- indeed, the one seemingly Christian answer -- is to assert over and over again the freedom of the spirit. (Mysterium Magnum, xxvi,34). All of Boehme's metaphysics as well as his ethics is founded upon the idea of the absolute freedom of the spirit, indeed, determined, 'predestined' being is the creation of the devil! (Mysterium Magnum ix,31 Gnâd., iv,26,38). The only form of predestination which Boehme admits is the glorious, hopeful idea that the evil creatures which dwell within us are predestined to damnation. Boehme certainly does erect a hierarchy of creation: God first created the divine nature which contains the magically engendered 'germs' of being. These germs are individual but not fallen wills; they have become separated modes of existence but they have not risen up in rebellion to destroy the harmony of their will with the divine will. After the Fall, which these free and undetermined modes of being brought upon themselves, the world is governed by the consequences of the Fall. The order and law of the universe is binding. Goodness consists in order, in subordination of nature to
spirit (Mysterium Magnum xxix, 12 & 13); evil consists in the rebellion of nature against the spirit of egoism which rebels against the divine will revealed in the interior structure of the laws of being.

What is it that separates the individual 'germ' which was created a free being from the laws and innate structure of being? Boehme's answer is egoism (Selbheit) (Mysterium Magnum, lxxi,27). Psychologically speaking this is envy (Neid). Envy is the resentment of the finite being towards the infinite and the unconditioned. This makes Boehme's distinction between the angels and man significant. In the good angels there is no envious rebellion against the vital impulse which sustains life. They are nourished by it; they feed upon it; they do not resist it; and as a result they are not aware of the darkness which encompasses them (Mysterium Magnum, viii,28). But Prince Lucifer did rebel and his rebellious envy brought the world of corporeal grossness into existence.

Here, then, is Boehme's nature philosophy in which the world is at the same time the magical, organic manifestation of God as well as the objectum (gegenwurf) of His Kingdom of forms. This dialectical opposition cannot be tolerated. The tension must be released, and thus the world must be regenerated and man, the noblest of the creatures, must be redeemed.
IV. MAN

1. Sophia and Man: Imago Dei

The key to Boehme's doctrine of man is his idea of the Virgin Sophia, related to the description of Sophia as the 'image of God'. If God created man after his own image then, Boehme believed, man was fashioned after the Virgin Sophia because she was the image (Ebenbild) or the counter-image (Gegenwurf) of the unconditioned abyss. Thus the seventh in the theogonic hierarchy is the instrument not only of the creation of the world of eternal nature and of created substances but also of the creation of man. God's comprehensible form, His 'isness' is heavenly wisdom, the mother and bride of God, and the mother and bride of man. First

God manifested himself according to his eternal will, in his eternal wisdom of the noble Virgin in the element which in Paradise stands in the sharpness of the divine power. (Princ. xv, 15, 14)
There followed then the creation of man through Wisdom:

out of the quintessence of the sun, stars, and elements in Paradise, in the elements of the originality. (Princ. xv, 14)

Here there is a double meaning. First, in the comprehended form of heavenly wisdom God knows Himself. Sophia is the image of God after which man is created, and in her man knows the majesty of the divine wonders, how Sophia won form for him and in him. Thus the contiguity between the divine creature and the transcendent God perfects itself in the first form and actuality of heavenly wisdom, in which the incomprehensible becomes comprehensible. This contiguity is conceived in the metaphor of a marriage. Just as Sophia is the bride of God, so is she also Adam's bride, and in so far as she is his inner image she becomes the form through which he may know the transcendental, original pattern after which he is made. He loves her. He embraces her. He infects her with continual love. In Sophia man knows his divine image and with this knowledge he understands the hidden wonders of the Godhead. In her man has the unity of all things within himself.

Sophia is thus the bride of God, the bride of man, the revealeress of God in man, and the revealeress of man in God. She is likewise the form of the God-image in man; the image that binds man and God together; the image that reveals the wonders of God in man, and helps God to self-realization in man.

Metaphysically considered this contiguity between man and God is consummated in a 'Flash' or 'Glance' (Blick). This is from Meister Eckhart. God sees himself in the eternal
wisdom (Princ., xv,14); he sees man through the Virgin Wisdom (Princ., xvii,12). In her the Holy Spirit discovers the image of man, which the verbum fiat has created (Dreyfach., v,44). Wisdom sees herself in man, the image of God, and through this she opens the Glance (Blick) of Adam.

The glance in which God knows man and man knows God and in which God knows Himself and in which man knows himself is the central act of divine intuition. It consummates itself in the revealeress of God's majesty. It is the mystical Durchbruch, the point through which God's love breaks in its striving towards self-revelation and self-manifestation. It is the point where the love of the free creature and the love of the free created agent strives towards the Creator. At the same time it is the act of self-contemplation in God, the knowing of the creature, the creature's knowledge of the creator, and the creature's true and proper knowledge of himself. The 'eye' that sees in the mirror of wisdom perceives in this Blick, in this creative intuition, the mysteries of life.

Sophia is thus the 'heavenly corporeality of man', (Busse 1,27); she is man's highest essence and element.

That substantiality wherein the virgin of God consists, Adam had on him; for the spirit of this world was given him, and breathed into him therein; but the essences were paradisical, and sprung up through the one pure element, which the substantiality contains, and that substantiality the spirit of this world, in Adam, took into itself, into its power. (Dreyfach., xiii,15)

Sophia is man's heavenly pattern and image, his spiritual form and original archetype,
the image of the heavenly world's substance in the
inner ground of the soul (Mysterium Magnum, lvii,9)

She is the love of Adam (Gnad., vii,33) wherein God unites
Himself and man. She is the heavenly Eve (Mysterium Magnum,
lxvi,52) who stands in heaven and paradise, mirroring herself
in the earthly qualities of the soul, as in the sun.

Wisdom is the image of God both in the theogonic system
and in man:

And in this imprint or magical representation in wisdom
is understood the angelic and soulic true image of God,
whereof Moses says (Gen. 1,27): God created man in his
own image, that is, in the image of His divine imprint,
according to the spirit; and in the image of God created
He him as to the creature of the corporeal form. (Gnad.
1,15)

Boehme's words which he uses in writing of Sophia are almost
those of idealistic philosophy:

She is the divine chaos, wherein all things lie, viz.,
a divine imagination, in which the ideas of angels and souls
have been seen from eternity, in a divine type and resemb-
lance; yet not then as creatures, but in resemblance, as
when a man beholds his face in a glass; therefore the
angelical and human idea did flow forth from Wisdom, and
was formed into an image, as Moses says: God created him
in His image; that is, breathed into it the breath of the
divine effluence, of divine knowledge, form all the three
principles of the divine manifestation. (Clavis, 19)

Just as Sophia is the bride of God, so she is also the bride of
1 man in his pure state. Here Boehme's androgynous views begin to
emerge for he differentiates between the light-nature of the
female and the fire-nature of the male:

The fire soul must subsist in the fire of God, and be
so pure as refined gold, for it is the husband of the noble
Sophia, from the woman's seed; it is the fire's tincture,

1. Cf. C. G. Jung, The Integration of the Personality
for an interesting analysis of the anima and animus in the
psyche.
and Sophia is the Light's tincture. If the tincture of the fire be wholly and thoroughly pure, then its Sophia will be given to it; and so Adam receives again to his arms his most precious and endeared bride...and it is not any longer man or woman, but a branch on Christ's pearl tree, which stands in the paradise of God. (Mysterium Magnum, xcv,14)

This marriage of heavenly Sophia with man's fire-soul constitutes the peculiar, and in some respects the primitive, background to Boehme's androgynous-dialectical idea of man. Original human nature is the unity of the fire-principle with the light principle.

The soul should be the comely young man which was created, and the virtue or power of God should be the fair virgin; and the light of God should be the fair pearl and crown, wherewith the virgin would adorn the young man...for the virgin was from eternity, and the bridegroom was given to her that she should have joy and delight with him in God. (Princ., xii,52-53)

God in Himself contains the three principles, and, in creating man after his own image, it is obvious He would give the creature a threefold psychological structure which is somehow related to the trinitarian nature of God. Since God partakes of the dialectical structure, it is also clear that man, being made in His image, would partake of the dialectical nature of reality. Thus

The father's will draws the soul, which is a fire-breath out of the fire-spirit, into itself; and the Son's will draws the noble image created out of wisdom, viz., out of the heavenly essence, to itself; and the Holy Spirit draws the whole moving human understanding to itself, so that it is a God-man, and a Man-God. God made manifest in an image; and this is the image of God. (Mysterium Magnum xli,21)

The Imago Dei is further defined:
Behold and consider the deity, and then you will light upon it. For God is not a bestial man, but man should be the image and similitude of God, wherein God should dwell. Now God is a spirit, and all the three principles are in Him; and he would make such an image, as should have all the three principles in Him, and that is rightly a similitude of God. (Princ., x,9)

This image of God in man is given many descriptions by Boehme; it is the second principle in man, the angelical world within him, the Kingdom of God, the Idea, the lily-twig, and Christ in us. In Busse he uses the old figure of German Mysticism, Füncklein, and he also calls it a glimmende Docht, a glowing wick.
2. Status Integritatis

The point of departure for Boehme's speculations concerning the Urstand, or the nature of essential man, seems to be the identification of the being of heavenly man with the nature of the resurrected Christ.

I know the sophister will here cavil with me, and cry it down as a thing impossible for me to know, seeing that I was not there and saw it myself. To him I saw, that I, in the essence of my soul and body, when I was not yet I, but when I was in Adam's essence, was there, and did fool away my glory in Adam. But seeing Christ has restored it again unto me, I see, in the spirit of Christ, what I was in Paradise; and what I now am in sin; and what I shall be again. And therefore let none cry out as a thing unknowable; for although I indeed know it not, yet the Spirit of Christ knows it in me; from which knowledge I shall write. (Mysterium Magnum, xviii,1)

His view of the dialectical structure of human life enables him to see what essential man is.

We should therefore rightly understand what kind of man it is in us, that is the member of Christ, and temple of God who dwells in heaven. And then also what kind of a man it is that the devil rules and drives. (Wiedergeburt, 15)

For man contains within his own soul all that the spirit of God breathed into him at creation. (Stief. i,36) This was the image of God, an image which became corrupted, but even corrupted man can know this image if he is born again in Christ. In the opening paragraphs of Wiedergeburt the view is put forward that the process of regeneration reverses the process of the transition from essence to existence. Primitive, essential man and the resurrected Christ possess the same
natures. All human beings are fundamentally one man, who is Himself the vine of which all the rest are branches. They receive their power from the vine and produce their fruit from the same root. *(Mysterium Magnum, xxiv,15)*. Christ is thus the tree from which knowledge grows, and since God has given but one life, then his knowledge must come from this one God-man. *(Mysterium Magnum xxiv,15)*.

God created Adam in what Boehme calls a 'pure element', an inner holy corporeality free of the four earthly elements and the *limnus* of the earth. *(Mysterium Magnum xvi,6)*. Body was actually present in essential Adam, all the qualities of the inner and holy body, together with the external aspects, stood in harmony and peace. *(Mysterium Magnum xvi,5)*

None lived in self-desire, but they all gave up their desire unto the soul...they were all tinctured with sweet love, so that there was nothing but mere pleasing relish and love-desire and delight between them. *(Mysterium Magnum xvi,5)*

In essential man there was no strife, no war of painful opposites, no disruptive tensions nor dialectics, for God had created him to enjoy life in Paradise in a state of blissful perfection. Divine love illuminated his inner parts as the sun lights the world. *(Stief. i,36)* This inner body was the dwelling place of the God-head, an image of divine substantiality, and in it the soul received her meekness from God's own meekness. *(Tilk. I,233)*

Thus likewise was the first man when he stood in paradise...in manner as time is before God, and God in the time; and they are distinct, but not parted asunder. As the time is a play before God, so also the outward life of man was a play into the inward holy man, which
was the real image of God. (Mysterium Magnum, xvi,8)

These two aspects of essential man -- his inner being, God's image; and the outer being, the limnus of the earth -- were not in conflict. The inner kept the outer imprisoned. (Mysterium Magnum xvi,7). In Paradise there was perfect life without disturbance and man was as clear as glass, fully penetrated by the light of the celestial sun, without either darkness or death. (Sig. Rer., xi,51)

Essential man possessed a body simply because no spirit can subsist in its perfection without a body, for as soon as it departs from the body it loses its government. For the body is the mother of the spirit. (Aurora xxvi,50)

Body for Boehme is not thought of in idealistic terms, where it is the antithesis of spirit, for such a specifically Greek and humanistic idea complicates the Pauline psychological trinity of body-soul-spirit which Boehme followed. Body for Boehme was not flesh. It was definiteness, comprehensibility, 'such as can be known, willed, and loved', fasslichkeit, and perhaps in one sense, personality. Spirit cannot exist without definition and comprehensibility, for only the Ungrund is incorporeal. Paul's further idea of the flesh which is corruptible and the flesh which is incorruptible also enters into Boehme's physiology. Boehme's essential man eats, drinks, reproduces with his 'magical' body.

All this comes from the New Testament descriptions of the resurrected Christ and of the faithful in glory. Boehme's idea of the Kingdom of Heaven was not of a world of values or of ideas, but a real Kingdom of joy and majesty in which the
redeemed sit down to eat and drink. He followed Paul's image which conceived entrance into the Kingdom of heaven as being reclothed in a new body (I. Cor. xii,13ff) and he thought of it as not merely metaphorical but as a real new body within a real new Kingdom. Boehme aspires to a real Rose Garden of delight (Mysterium Magnum xviii,2) where there shall be a first and a last and where men will have incorruptible bodies,

All this demands a heavenly physiology both for the resurrected believers and also for the original man. Yet essential man differs from resurrected man in one important aspect: with Adam sin was possible and death was still within the range of his experience, but the glorified believers are freed from strife and from the possibility of sin. In Adam there were

two fixed and steadfast essences...viz., the spiritual body...and the outward body, viz., the limnum of the earth which was the mansion and habitation of the inward spiritual body, which in no wise was manifest according to the unity of the earth...These two essences, viz., the inward heavenly and the outward heavenly, were mutually espoused to each other, and formed into one body, wherein was the most holy tincture and divine fire and light, viz., the great joyful love-desire, which did inflame the essence, so that both essences did earnestly desire each other in love, desire, and love one another. (Mysterium Magnum, xviii, 17,18)

These two bodies in essential man were not in dialectical relationship to each other,

For in Paradise there is perfect life without disturbance and a perpetual day. (Sig. Ber., xi,51)

All is harmony.

The inward loved the outward as its manifestation and sensation, and the outward loved the inward as its greatest sweetness and joyfulness, as its precious pearl and most
beloved spouse and consort. And yet they were not two bodies, but one; but of a twofold essence, viz., one inward, heavenly, holy, and one from the essence of time; which were espoused and betrothed to each other, eternally. (Mysterium Magnum xviii, 18)

Essential man thus was androgynous, a dialectical being, and in thus conceiving of man Boehme is following the older mystical ideas in which man is the microcosm, created after the pattern of the larger world. This idea rests upon the assumption that essential man partakes of all the spiritual potentialities of the universe.

There are several passages in which Boehme describes the essential androgynous man as partaking in his nature of all the world's essences. For man

is a little world out of the great world (microcosmus ex macrocosmo), and both the properties are in him. God said unto him after the Fall: 'Thou art earth, and unto earth shalt thou return', that is sulphur, mercury, salt. Herein stand all things in this world, be it spiritual or corporeal, except the soul. (Epist., xii, 7)

Or again:

Man is an image of the whole creation in respect of all three principles; not only in regard to the being of the outer nature of the stars and the four elements, i.e., in the created world, but also in accordance with the being of the body of the internal spiritual world...In sum, the human body is a limmus (extract) of the being of all beings. (Gnad., v, 29-30)

Further:

Now, then, behold thyself, and consider what you are, view what the outward world is, with its dominion; and you will find that you, with your outward spirit and being, are the outward world. You are a little world out of the great world...what the superior is, that also is the inferior; and all the creatures of this world are the same. (Mysterium Magnum, ii, 5)

This correspondence between essential man and the world, in form as well as in essence, implies, as has been seen, that the
world is in some fashion similar to God, that there is correspondence. Man, like God, is threefold in his being, just as there are three principles in the world. Body, soul, and spirit -- Paul's psychological trichotomy -- correspond to the threefold structure of substantial reality.

In essential man these three elements of his being were not at war one with the other.

Man was a mixed person. For he was to be an image of the outer and inner world, and was to rule by the inner quality over the outer, but as the symbol of God, he was to rule by the inner quality over the outer. (Menschw. I,iii,12)

In the power of God man was to be lord of all the elements in the created world (Menschw., I, iv,7). All was to be subject to him. His rule was to extend over heaven and earth, in all the elements and the stars. (Mysterium Magnum, xvi,2). His mind was innocent, like a child toying with the wonders of the Father. He had no self-knowledge of evil nor had he an evil will. There was no avarice in him, neither pride, envy, nor anger. Only pure enjoyment in love. (Dreyfach. xi,23)

When God had created Adam thus, he was then in Paradise in the joyfulness, and this clarified man was wholly beautiful and full of all knowledge; and there God brought all the beasts to him, that he should look upon them, and give every one its name, according to its essence and virtue, as the spirit of everyone was figured in it. And Adam knew all what every creature was, and he gave to every one its name, according to the quality of its spirit. As God can see into the heart of all things, so could Adam also do, in which his perfection may very well be observed. And Adam and all men should have gone wholly naked, as he then went; his clothing was the clarity in the virtue; no heat nor cold touched him; he saw day and night with open eyes; in him there was no sleep, and in his mind there was no night, for the divine virtue was in his eyes; and he was altogether perfect. He had the limbus (seed, or male power), and also the matrix in himself; he was no man nor woman; as we in the resurrection shall be
neither. Though indeed the knowledge of the marks of
distinction will remain in the figure, but the limbus
and the matrix are not separated, as now. Now man was
to dwell upon the earth as long as it would stand, and
manage the beasts, and have his delight and recreation
therein. (Princ., x,17-19)

He stood in heaven; his essences were in Paradise; his body
was indestructable. He knew the language of God and of the
angels, as well as the language of nature (Seel. Frag., iv,7).
He rules over the stars; fire, earth, air, and water could not
tame him; no fire burned him; no water drowned him; no air
suffocated him; no earth penetrated into his body -- all the
elements stood in awe of him. (Dreyfach, xi,23). Neither
heat nor cold nor sickness nor accident nor fear could bother
and terrify him. His body could pass through doors without
breaking. (Mensch., I, ii,13) This essential Adam lived a
pure life, like a burning flame of oil. His perception was
celestial and his intelligence passed and comprehended super­
natural things. (Sig. Rer., xii,2) Just as God was Lord over
all, so essential man, enjoying the pleasures of Paradise, was
Lord over all the creatures and elements in the benign Grace
of God.

Since essential man's body was not made of the elements
of the earth and since he had no belly, bowels, nor digestive
organs, it is clear that he ate no earthly food and that he
produced his kind 'magically'. He ate spiritual food. Spiritual
elements were eaten and digested in his mouth, for essential
man had no intestines, no Madensack. The fruit that he ate
was pleasant to the sight, and good for food in a heavenly way; not to be taken into a worm-bag or miser­able carcass as it done now in the awakened animal property, but to be eaten in the mouth in a magical way. But in the mouth were the centers of separation, each principle separating into its own center. (Gnad., v,34)

In the mouth -- and essential man therefore had a mouth -- the separation of essences and qualities was made. Man

ought not to have eaten any earthly fruit, wherein corruptibility did stick. It is true he should have eaten, but only with the mouth, and not into the body; for he had no guts, nor any hard dark flesh, it was all perfect; for there grew paradisical fruit for him, which afterwards went away when he went out of paradise. (Princ. x,20)

There was paradisical food which

also was good, and their inclination proceeded out of the inward element, out of paradise. No Adam could eat of every fruit in the mouth, but not in the corruptibility, that must not be, for his body must subsist eternally and continue in Paradise. (Princ., xv,16)

In like manner the drinking of essential man was not a drinking of material water -- one of the four elements -- but a partaking of the power and essentially of the water -principle, for Adam drank

out of the source of eternal life, which is hidden in the earthly water-source. (Princ., x,20)

This expressed one of Boehme's general conditioning ideas, namely that each creature nourishes and maintains itself from that out of which it originates.

Each spirit eats from that which it has its origin. (Epist., xliv,18) It follows that each spirit has a body.

This is why

the animal, mortal spirit eats of the Spiritu Mundi, from the stars and four elements and from the Kingdom of this world. But the true, eternal soul which has the eternal word of man blown into it from the divine life,
eats out of its mother, out of the holy, essential word of God. (Epist., Xlvi,18)

Again:

Each property (or quality) is nourished by the limnus of the earth; the body is nourished by the limnus of the earth; the body of mind and reason which is a spiritual body is nourished by the star from which it has its origin; the soul, however, is nourished in the Principle from the word and being of God, for it is come from God's word into corporality and had the breath of life breathed into it. (Test., I, 1)

This is an important passage because it shows Boehme's use of the Pauline psychology of body, soul, and spirit, and it furnishes a metaphysical basis for his idea of the Lord's Supper. This view of the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ is founded upon the conception of the different forms of corporeality, and of the differing ways of nourishing the three principles. Each psychological aspect of man's life needs nourishment, just as after the fall the earthy body needs its earthly food. Of the spiritual eating, Boehme says:

And here we have the great arcanum of feeding spiritually. Dear sons, whether you knew it, you had (before the fall) the ground of all essentiality, and the essence of all essences. And of this Christ has told us: He wanted to give you of the water of eternal life, which would well up in us a fountainhead (John iv,14) not outwardly from the light-fire, but born inwardly from divine fire, whose image it is. (Gnad.,ii,30)

But this is describing the redeemed man, not essential man. In so far as man still has fleshly form he wants flesh and earth, possessing the necessary organic apparatus to digest it. But the heavenly, essential state of man is betrayed in the fact that man is always seeking to eat of the best that this world has to offer. For
man desires to eat the best that springs from the earth, and therefore he should learn to know that he is the best that springs from the earth. For every being desires to eat of its mother from which it came. Man requires not for his vitality to eat the coarseness of the earthly being, but of the fineness, viz., the quintessence which he has food in Paradise. (Gnad., v,7)

It is perhaps obvious that essential man did not possess an earthly body. Consequently the process of his reproduction was not designed along the present lines of physical procreation. If essential man was androgynous then no sexual act was possible, and procreation and reproduction were acts of the same being. Inter-sexual functions were neither organic nor bi-sexual. As with nourishing, so with reproducing; the process is suited to the physiology of the heavenly man. There is a magical reproduction which transpires without a partie honteuse. Both the male and female principles are present in the Urmensch and his reproduction is asexual. The Urmensch loves the divine image in his own being. 'The image loves itself' -- this is the prelude to the procreation of the androgynous Urmensch as well as the goal of sexual love in earthly man.

Procreation follows the prototype of the generation of the Trinity: the begotten Son is the image of type of the Father, an image in which the Father knows Himself and in which he assumes form, Gestalt, and independent being. Similarly, the androgynous Urmensch completes himself in his own self-projection. The physiological aspect of this process of reproduction in the Urmensch is drawn from the images which describe vegetative processes like the budding of a branch, or the blossoming of a flower. Meister Eckhart had spoken of the 'flowering' of the Son out of the Father. For Boehme the Urmensch
was both man and woman before Eve, he had both the
tincture of fire and water, that is soul and spirit, and
he should have brought forth his similitude out of himself,
an image of himself, out of himself, by his own imagina-
tion and his own love; and that he was able to do, with­
out rending the body, for, as we have mentioned before, the
soul had power to change the body into another form; and
so also it had power to bring forth a twig out of itself,
according to its property, if Adam had stood out the
trial. (See1. Frag., viii, 2)
3. Fall

Boehme's bold originality is nowhere more apparent than in his speculation concerning the Fall. Following his own personal religious intuitions rather than the churchly traditions of Stündenfall and pecátum originale, he selected a new Biblical basis for his view of the transition from essence to existence. The church had always viewed the temptation scene as the first instance of man's revolt against God. Boehme saw in this scene no more than the entrance of sin into life for the eating of the forbidden fruit was but the logical result of sin in a creature already fallen. Boehme had two falls: one before and one in history. The original rebellion of Adam -- and Boehme is gnostic here -- was the sleep of Adam.

Adam's sleep follows the basic revolt of man against God because essential man, without a body composed of the four elements, did not need to sleep. His eyes were open, he was fully conscious; there was in him no 'winking', no Augenblick. Essential man's eyes were eternally directed upon the divine image, revealed in the mirror wisdom. In Sophia man sees all things in their harmonious proportion, in their essential and inner nature. Essential man is sleepless because

the dialectical life of waking and sleeping has not yet come to be. The fullness of eternal life pervades him without the necessity of periodic lapses into unconsciousness. He is united with the Divine will, for everything that the One sees flows to him in harmony. There is no counter current, no rebellious will. The first step out of this harmonious unity is man's first misuse of his Freedom on an eager experimenting of the plurality of things. The free being grows tired of monotonous unity; he seeks the variety of the many with the many strifes and tensions.

The transcendent Fall is the loss of unity by the imagination's entering into plurality.

In this (garden) now the image of God stood altogether free. It might embrace what it would, only the tree of Temptation that was forbidden. There he was forty days in the paradisal knowledge, joy, and habitation, where yet there was neither night nor day to him, but only the eternity; he saw with his eyes out of the divine power. There was in him no shutting of his eyes; he had no need of the sun at all. Yet all things must serve and be subject to him. The outbirth of the four elements did not touch him; there was no sleep in him, no pain, no fear. (Princ., xvii, 25f)

But Adam grew tired of and blind to the Kingdom of God. He wanted to know good and evil, i. e., dialectical disunity. He wanted to contemplate in the magical birth how and what evil and good were, how it would relish and be, in the unlike-ness of the Essence. (Mysterium Magnum, xviii, 28)

And in his freedom Adam turned away from God, desiring to test the plurality of things, for the knowledge of good and evil is knowledge of separation, of strife. In the primitive Blick he saw all things in their togetherness, in their harmony. And since his own harmony and unity consisted in the fact that he contemplated the unity of all things, so the desire for
knowledge of the varieties of things led to the awakening in his own being of contradiction:

So it also went with Adam, for he brought his will and desire from God into selfhood and vanity; and broke himself off from God, viz., from his Divine Harmony. (Mysterium Magnum, xix,3)

Here there is implied the basic voluntaristic idea that a man is what he wills, contemplates, and seeks. As long as Adam sought God and the unity of all things in God, so long was his own life a harmonious unity. But when he contemplated the plurality, then there came into his being a disharmonious separation — dialectics. In the sleep of Adam this entered as possibility; after Adam ate the apple it became fact.

There are thus two results of the transcendent Fall, of this first breaking of the unity. In the first place, Adam lost his unity with the divine consciousness, the basic Imago dei. His unmediated touch with the divine life was gone. In the second place he received a new mode of being — existence—a life constituted by opposing forces and the strife of opposites. In this life the terrible Turba is present, or the incarnated wrath of God as the metaphysical aspect of original sin. He acquires a new body in which this Turba reigns, a new centrum naturae and now where there had been harmony previously there is eternal strife. (Stief., 356ff)

The first sleep was the loss of the unity of knowledge and being.

Adam was (in his sleep) become quite another image; For God had permitted the spirit of this world in him to make his tincture weary unto sleep. Adam was in the
angelical form before the sleep; but after the sleep he had flesh and blood; and he was (in the flesh) a lump of earth, and he saw from a threefold spirit. With his eyes he apprehended the light of the Sun and knew the first image no more; although the four elements had not yet fallen upon him, not touched him; for he was yet in innocency. (Princ., xvii,32,33)

Sleep is succumbing to the powers of this world. The Lord of the elements and the stars -- the beautiful free man -- who could break stones, becomes part of manifold existence. By imagination he now becomes the slave and servant of those same stars and elements which previously had been his servants. Each star and each element again achieve dominion over that part of man which belongs to it, for at creation man had been made of tokens from all the elements. But man remained Lord. Now, after the Fall these elements rule over him. Adam now has as many Lords as previously he had had servants. Boehme often laments this fate (Princ., xii,18; Menschw, I, 5,8,9; Menschw, I,2)

Now, when Adam had fallen asleep he lay in mystery as in God's wonders; what He did with him was done. Thus the imprinted name Jesus put the fiat in motion, yet again in two forms, that is, in both tinctures of fire and water. For the first image had fallen under the power of the name Jesus in the word of life, and now the word of life was the second creator (understand with the imprinted name Jesus, which was to become man). This second creation separated the two tinctures of fire and light from each other, yet not wholly in power, but only in essence; for in the essence of the tincture of light was the sulphur veneris of love, in which Adam was destined and was able to make himself pregnant. The tincture of fire gave soul, and the light's tincture gave spirit, as an image according to the outer image. The fire-life longed after the light-life, and the light-life after the fire-life, that is after the essential power from which light shines; such a position was in Adam one, for he was man and woman. (Menschw.,I,vi,6)

Sleep symbolizes the first weakening of the lordly Urmensch
and the results are the punishment for man's vain revolt against God.

The further result of the sleep of Adam was the division of the androgynous Urmensch into the duality of the sexes. Plato's myth in the Symposium of a sphere cut into halves is probably present in Boehme's mind. The lordly, free Urmensch stood himself over against God and his punishment was the division into the sexes. (Stief, 363). This weakening was a blessing in disguise for when once man had revolted against God, as Satan did, then Satan's original power was diminished because man himself became satanic. Sleep is thus not only the result of selfhood (I-ness), but it is also its ultimate destruction.

Sleep is thus not only punishment but also promise of ultimate deliverance. In the Urmensch there was the possibility of disunity, uncontested and undecided however. But when once the contest is invited and the risk incurred, then also the decision is immanent. Deliverance becomes possible. Thus the sleep is symbolic of Christ's rest in the grave. (Stief., 363; Mysterium Magnum, xix,5), for the new-born life of the humanity of Christ has to enter again into Adam's sleep in order to awaken again to eternal life. So the manner of the transcendent fall is a reversed figure of the mode of salvation: if the fall happened by the assertion of self, then salvation takes place by the denial of self. The unity and totality of the Blick will be restored.

Boehme also things of the Fall in erotic terms. The
original unity, now lost in the Fall, was an androgynous unity in which the male fire-soul was wedded to the light-body of Sophia. In the turning to selfhood Adam was guilty of 'adultery' with respect to Sophia. He left her in his sleep. And God, not wishing to leave Adam alone and but 'half' of his full self, created Eve.

In this the identification of the imago dei with Sophia is clear. The original harmony which was a true image of God's harmony, disappears and the dormant qualities and temperature awake selfishness in man. Now in the moment when he is alone man finds that he no longer can be alone. For God said: 'It is not good that man is alone!' This statement from Genesis is Boehme's argument for the correctness of his view of the Fall for at the end of His creative work God had said that all was Good. Now it was not good that man was alone. This is evidence, Boehme argues, that something happened to human nature between these two observations. What? Adam had slept! (Meth. 373)

Adam was created one image, he was both man and woman before Eve, he had both the tincture of the fire and of the water, i. e., soul and spirit, and he should have brought forth his similitude out of himself, an image of himself, by his imagination and his own life; and that he was able to do, without rending the body. For...the soul had power to change the body into another form. (Seel. Frag., viii,5)

Adam's imagination, by centering itself on the world, let the spirit of this world into the soul,

And thus Adam in impotence fell asleep, and then the second creation began; for God took the tincture of the water, as a twig out of Adam's soul, and a rib out of Adam, and half of the cross that was Adam, and made woman of them. (Seel. Frag., viii,5)
The most important direct result of Adam's sleep was the creation of a new sphere of life and a new order of history. Adam fell asleep in eternity; he awoke in temporal existence.

When Adam set himself against God he created a new centrum, a new Kingdom. This is no longer God's Kingdom, no longer the Kingdom of unity, harmony, and love, but a world of strife and tension, of struggle, and disease, of good and evil. History began when the original unity of the Urmensch was disrupted, for when Adam woke in history the tension between the sexes began. It was Eve who battled Adam's will; she was the instrument of his temptation -- and of his fruitfulness.

Here Boehme's eroticism begins to emerge. The first fall brought disunity in that androgynous man became sexual man, a creature capable of love. Love is the search for lost unity, and earthly eros, lacking Sophia (and the agape principle), is at its best merely a shadow, a deceptive illusion, of divine love.

The idea that each lover seeks in his beloved the lost original image of perfection and of unity is clearly expressed in Princ.:

The tincture is the longing, the great desire after the Virgin... but it is the divine inclination, and constantly seeks the Virgin... the masculine seeks her in the feminine, the feminine in the masculine. (Princ.xiii,39; 46,48)

Erotic union is an illusion and it can never be more because the basis of genuine union, Sophia, has left human nature. (Dreyfach., ix, 109) The illusive character of erotic union is described by Boehme with a myth. In earthly erotic union the lover
supposes that he has gotten the virgin; he grasps with his clutches, and will mingle his infection with the virgin, and he supposes that he has the prize, it shall not now run away from him; he supposes now he will find the Pearl well enough. But it is with him as with a thief, driven out of a fair garden of delight, when he has eaten pleasant fruit, who comes, and goes around the closed garden, and wants to eat some more of the good fruit, and yet cannot get in, but must reach in with his hand, and yet cannot come at the fruit for all that; for the gardener comes and takes away the fruit; and thus he must go away empty, and his lust is changed into discontent. (Princ., xiii,40)

This garden is paradise; this fruit is the lost unity; the stealing of the fruit is the illusion of reachievement of union in erotic experience, and the discontent is man's spiritual restlessness and Angst. In this myth, and the several references to it in other places, Boehme's selection of the sleep of Adam as the real fall becomes clear. The Fall did not happen by the misuse of sexual desire but by the contrary. The original sin was that man no longer wished to be one. And the punishment was that he no longer is one. Man thus got what he wished!
4. Second Fall and Its Results

Boehme's exposition of the transcendent Fall in the terms of loss of unity and of division of androgynous man into sexual duality results in the temptation scene in the garden wherein Adam, now projected into the dialectical world of antitheses, is tempted and falls. Adam's desire, or his imagination, directed towards the plurality of the world opens the possibility of his having to live in such a world. The door now is open for a new form of corporeality and all that this implies.

When Adam ate the apple that Eve presented to him this possibility became a fact. With the eating change occurs. A new mode of being -- existence -- appears. Adam eats of the earth; he consumes the striving, dialectical elements of the earth. He himself becomes earth. He acquires in his own being new qualities and new properties, foreign to his original nature; he also acquires the tendency towards inertia, towards decomposition, towards disease which is associated with these earthly elements.

When Adam's unity had been broken in the transcendent Fall, he became a being separated in spirit. But he still possessed a heavenly body. But now, after eating the elements of the earth -- the apple -- he gains flesh and blood, the earth's properties:

But you must clearly understand, that when the Fiat to
the creating was in Adam, in his sleep, his body had not then such hard gristles and horns; no, that came to pass first when Mother Eve did bite the apple, and also gave to Adam; only the infection and earthly death, with the fainting and mortal sickness, stuck in them; the bones and ribs were yet strength and virtue, from which the ribs would come to be (Princ., xiii,15)

But when Adam ate he got a new body, a worm-carcass or Madsack, a hideous companion. And this new body which man achieved is the child of all nature. (Aurora xxvi,76) The outer body is a Mysterium of the outer world, and belongs to the Devil's Kingdom. (Letzte Zeit I,74; Aurora xxiv,29) This outer body is one of the witnesses of man's fallen state, an eternal reminder of his lost beauty and perfection.

From the exposition of the Fall Boehme derives what may perhaps be called his metaphysics of nakedness. The point of departure is simply that man's consciousness of being naked is a witness to the fact that he has sinned and fallen from a high estate. Now he is clothed in an earth carcass. Other animals have their coverings -- only man is naked. The originally perfect man, clothed in a heavenly body, knew neither nakedness nor sin.

So now when Adam and his Eve (after the biting of the apple) beheld themselves, then they perceived the monstrous images and bestial form, and they felt in themselves the wrath of God, and the fierceness of the stars and elements; for they took notice of the stomach and guts, into which they had stuffed the earthly fruit, which began to take effect, and they saw their bestial shame; and then they did lift up their minds towards Paradise, but they found it not; they ran trembling with fear, and crept behind the trees; for the world has stirred their essences in the spirit with the earthly fruit. And then came the voice of God in the centre of the gates of the deep, and called Adam, and said: Adam where art thou? And he said: Here am I: and I am afraid, for I am naked. And the Lord said: Who hath told thee that thou art naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I said unto thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof? (Princ., xvii,84)
From this passage in Genesis Boehme constructed a theology in which the knowledge of nakedness was a clue to man's consciousness of original sin. Before the transcendent fall man had been androgynous one. But after the earthly fall he became fearful because he was naked. Nakedness, which is shame concerning the earthly body, is man's knowledge of his original sin because it was his own disobedience which brought him his corrupted body. In man's consciousness of his 'corrupted flesh' there lies hidden the memory of his original disobedience.

Boehme's handling of this subject is both coarse and delicately sensitive. He emphasized that the exchange of the 'magical birth' for the creaturely way of reproduction was a weakening, for the human being who imagined himself into the sphere of sexual reproduction cannot remove himself from the coercion of natural laws. Boehme's words here are bitter: Man, he says, loves his body and is

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captivated in vanity (of it, and) is this day ashamed; and sorry that his body has gotten such a bestial monstrous shape. Nothing can be clearer than this. For it is because mankind are ashamed of their members and nakedness that they borrow their clothing from the earthly creatures. For this they would not have done, had they not lost the angelical form, and assumed that of a beast. This borrowed clothing, together with the awakened earthiness, and subjection to the powers of heat and cold, is a plain and full proof to man that he is not truly at home in this world. For all earthly appetites, cares, and fears, together with his false clothing, must perish and be severed from the soul again. \textit{(Wiedergeburt, II,17,18)}
\end{quote}

After Adam and Eve had eaten of the Tree of knowledge of the Kingdom of good and evil their eyes were opened. They knew they were naked. They sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons.
Here the soul did even not know the monstrous image, and was ashamed of it, that such a gross beast, with gross flesh and hard bones, should awaken itself with a bestial worm's carcass of vanity in their tender delicate body; and they would have covered the same from the eyes of God, and for shame crept behind the trees. So very ashamed were they of the soul deformity of the beast. (Mysterium Magnum, xxii,1)

Thus, from a perfect state man imagined himself into the animal state, with coarse flesh and hard bones, so that the 'animal Ens has enmeshed the heavenly'. Nakedness is man's memory of another state of being, for it shows man his painful existence in the flesh, the disease-ridden carcass of this life. In his nakedness man is aware of his metaphysical status, for the dialectical tension between essence and existence is revealed in man's consciousness of being naked.

For Adam himself after the fall did no more know the first man; and therefore he was ashamed of his monstrous form, and hid himself behind the trees in the garden; for he looked on himself, and saw that he had a bestial form and thereupon he got instantly bestial members for propagation. Men must not think that man before his fall had bestial members to propagate with, but heavenly, nor any entrails; for such a stink and filthy source, as man has in his body, does not belong to the Holy Trinity in Paradise, but to the earth. But man was created immortal, and also Holy, like the angels, and being he was created out of the limbus, therefore he was pure. (Princ., x,6-7)

Yet this originally perfect man now must borrow his clothes from creatures. He must borrow earthly elements to sustain his earthly body.

This borrowed clothing, together with the awakened earthliness, and subjection to the powers of heat and cold, is a plain and full proof to man that he is not truly at home in this world. For all earthly appetites, cares, and fears, together with this false clothing, must perish and be severed from the soul again. (Wiedergeburt, 11,19)

This borrowed clothing reveals to man that his new body is not
suited to his spiritual nature. He is not at home here. The
vanity of the flesh must disappear. Nakedness is thus the
key to Boehme's metaphysical atavism: Man remembers his prim-
itive and essential unity and he also remembers his angelical
form.

Another of the clues of man's fallen state which he
bears within his being as a witness of his original guilt is
his anxiety (Angst).

Anxiety, or as the early translators put it, anguish,
is the tension produced by the dialectical interaction of
man's two wills. By his rebellious will Adam led himself
from unity into plurality. He desired to know things in their
essences; now, after his fall, he remembers that lost unity
and he desires to return to it. Angst reminds him of that
lost unity, and it exists within him, therefore, as his own
consciousness of guilt. Boehme thus describes anxiety:

0 how very dangerous a path we have to walk in through
this world! and it were to be wished that there were in the
wicked nothing that is eternal, then they would not
suffer eternal torment and be in eternal approach. As
in this life they are enemies of the children of God,
so likewise they remain eternal enemies of God and His
children. Therefore the Children of God must take the
cross upon them, and here sweat in the bath of thistles
and thorns, and be new-born in anguish; they must walk
in the narrow way, wherekReason is always saying: Thou
art a fool, thou mightest live in joy and still be saved.
0 how external Reason often strikes the noble image, which
grows up out of the thorny path of tribulation: How many
a twig is torn away from the tree of earl by doubt and
unbelief, which bring the individual into the false path!
The wretched man sighs after temporal nourishment and
curses the sorcerer who wrings from him his sweat, and
thinks he does right in this: whereas he does but bring
destruction on himself thereby, he acts just as wickedly
as his oppressor. If he would take patience in himself
and remember that he walks in the pilgrim's path, and if he would put his hope in his goal, and consider that thus under tribulation and misery, under oppression, he labours in the vineyard of Christ: O how blessedly would he journey! He would thus have reason to seek another and better life, seeing that here he must be in anguish and misery. If he would but understand aright how well God is inclined towards him, that thus He allures him and endeavours that he should not build upon the earthly life. Since he sees that it is but a vale of sorrow and a state of affliction, that he must spend his days here in hard constraint, in misery, in mere toil, he ought indeed to consider that God lets not things take their course thus in vain, but that thus He gives him occasion at the same time to seek the true rest, which is not in this world. Besides, he is under the necessity at all hours of awaiting death and leaving his work to others. Why is it then that a man builds his hope upon this world, in which he is but a guest and pilgrim who has to walk in the paths of his constellation? If he would adopt the inner constellation, O how blessedly would he work in God's work and let the outer life go as it can. (Menschw., II, viii, 5)

This is the external aspect of anxiety. Anxiety is thus the hunger and thirst after the Ungrund, after the primordial freedom, by which the creature's will is brought into spiritual form. By it the spiritual life of torment and death is born (Gnad., iii, 5) for it is at the same time the source-spring of the hellish fire and also of the sensitive heart. (Tab. Princ., 39), the cause of both sadness and joy (Aurora, xiii 118). Without Angst there would be an eternal darkness (Menschw., II, iii, 13), an idle nothing (Apol. Tilk. II, 141) for anxiety is the source of self-consciousness, and of individuality. It is the beginning of the essences; for it is the severation whereby, in the free luget, in the word of the powers, each power becomes severable and sensible in itself. It is the origin of distinction, or differentiation, whereby the powers are, each in itself, mutually manifest; also the origin of the senses and of the mind. (Mysterium Magnum, iii, 12).

Adam's fall thus produced the spiritual sensitivity of mankind.
It created anxiety, the root of man's distinction between God and nature (Gnad., iii,5). Anxiety is the creature's hunger for freedom, for the unconditioned spiritual life (Gnad., iii,5) and if man wants to achieve knowledge of God he must dwell in the house of anxiety (Angst-Cammern) within his own soul. (Menschw., II,vi,12)

Adam's fall also produced the great turba within nature. Whereas anxiety is the consciousness of the wrath of God in the heart of a spiritually sensitive being, the turba magna is the aroused wrath and vehemence within the vitality of dumb nature. It is a poisonous source, the unconscious and horrible power of nature to disobey its own inherent structural laws, the power of nature to produce freaks, poisons, and other 'unnatural' expressions of the vital impulse. And thus turba magna was projected into nature with the fall of Adam. In the natural unfallen state each form of nature...receives its property in its hunger, and therein it is not annoyed or molested. But if the will enters back again into the birth of the other properties...(then) is the abominate and turba born; for this will is entered contrary to the course of nature into a strange essence, which is not of its property; (Sig. Rer., xiv,77)

In the allegorical language of Mysterium Magnum, when the turba magna was awakened in nature, there rained brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven. (Xliv,26). There is a figure or similitude of the great turba in Lot's wife who was turned into a pillar of salt.

The turba magna laid hold of the body, viz., the substance of the third principle, and changed it into its own peculiar property, viz., into the might of the first; (Mysterium Magnum, xliv,29)
Lot's wife, who did not believe what the good, ministering angel had said to her, became wholly wrathful in nature, a freak. The turba magna is, then, the potential power of the third principle (corporeality) to fall back again into the first principle (pure wrath). And as such it is the ultimate threat of human existence.

These, then, were the results of Adam's fall, of his transition from essence to existence. One great result still remains. With Adam sin entered history.

Although sin finds its original in the Fall of Lucifer (Aurora, xiii,116), its entrance into humanity is the basic result of Adam's fall. It proceeds from the self-will of Adam and is continued in the self-will of his Cain-like sons. (Gnad., ix,61). Adam's was the prototype of all sin:

Thus it may be known what is sin, or how it is sin. Namely, when the human will separates itself from God into an existence of its own, and awakens its own self... For all into which the will enters, and will have as its own, is something foreign in the one will of God. For all is God's and to man's own will belongs nothing. But if it be in God, then all is its also. Thus we recognize that desire is sin. For it is a lusting out of one into many and introduces many into one. The will possesses, and yet should be will-less. (Myst. Punkt. iii,16-18)

Further:

each particular fire burns in accordance with the character of its own being; and here separation and enmity are born...covetousness is sin, for it is a desire out of God...pride is sin, for it will be a thing of its own; and separate itself from God...for whatever will be in God must walk with him, in His will. Seeing then we are in God but one in many members, it is against God when one member withdraws itself from the other, and makes a Lord of itself, as pride does. Pride will be lord and God alone is Lord. Thus there are two Lords, and one
separate from the other. All therefore is sin and a contrary will that desire possesses as its own, be it meat or drink. (Myst. Punkt., iv,19ff)

Sin separates man from God and it is the direct result of Adam's fall. Sin, being related to the turba magna, is the enkindling of the first principle, the principle of wrath, within the individual soul, the awakening of God's wrath within the soul of man (Mysterium Magnum, xxii). Sin is the separation of one will from the great will. In a remarkable image, more startling than striking, Boehme says that the devil was the cause of Adam's will because

he strewed sugar upon Adam, so that he imagined (or lusted) after the Kingdom of this world; though Adam did not see him, yet he slipped into the essences of the (fierce, sour) sternness; and did there strew hell's paradisical sugar before him, so that Adam lusted. (Princ., xvii,93)

Sugar for Boehme is the sweetness of sin:

But because he beguiled Adam and Eve with his sugar, therefore God has prepared such a dwelling-house for him, as Adam lets forth: (from the earthly sugar) at the nethermost exit; and that shall be left for him at the corruption of the earth, when it goes into its ether; and then that pleasant smell of the stink of sin and abominations (in the kingdom of the fierce wrath) shall remain for him, and that sugar he shall eat eternally, and frame his will continually therein to get other sugar in the furnace of the fire, and then he may make that ready for him, as may best suit his palate; at which he quakes and trembles, when he hears the spirit declare such things. And hereby it is also signified to the ungodly, that they shall also eat the same sugar eternally, which they have continually baked here, with their blaspheming, cursing, covetousness, scorn, backbiting (thorny-taunting), murdering, robbing, and taking the sweat of the needy and miserable to maintain their haughty pride. (Princ., xvii,94)

This sugar within human nature is the wrath of God (Aurora xiv,97) the enkindling of the first principle within the third (Aurora, xiv, 97)
Instead of the seven sins of the medieval theologians, Boehme considers that four are enough. These four sins are arrogance, avarice, envy and wrath (Aurora, xiv, 47). Arrogance is the longing to be mighty, great, and powerful, to want to subjugate all things and rule over them (Gespräch 2er Seel. 15). Avarice or acquisitiveness, is the desire to draw all things to the self and to possess them. (Gespräch, 2er Seel., 16). Envy seeks to kill all that which avarice does not appropriate (Gespräch 2er Seel., 16), and wrath is the attempt to subject all to individual pride (Gespräch 2er Seel. 19). These sins are devoid of faith — and here the basic sin comes to light: unbelief!

Behold, all whatsoever thou lettest into thy mind, (if thy soul be not inclined or yielded up to God, so that it believes and trusts in Him) then all whatsoever you do is sin; for you bring an earthly mind into the gate of the deep, where the spirit of God moves, walks, or goes, and you defile the element which is in the presence of God. (Princ., xvii, 76)

Before Adam's fall sin was only a possibility. Afterwards sin entered human nature as a horrible reality. In its pure state the soul contains the principle of eternal nature, and is capable of good and evil; for it is the cause of fire and light. (Gnad., viii, 46)

In its fallen state the soul is grievously and rigorously imprisoned in sin. For here lurks original sin in the center of nature, wherein the devil got his abode. Here too, are the inherited sins from parents and grandparents, like an evil poison, regarding which God says, He will visit them upon His children unto the third and fourth generation. (Gnad., viii, 46)
No being is thus without sin. When Adam transgressed the great **turba magna** became a part of his body. By his imagination he achieved a new form of corporeality in which the natural tendency to degenerate was held fast.

And so, the **turba**, is once seated in the earthly abyss, and has captivated both body and soul, it always drives the body to the limit, and there destroys it, and casts it away, and then the poor soul remains naked, without a body. (*Seel. Frag.*, xiv,4)

Man's soul, clothed in an earthly body, is bound fast to the earth. The **turba** in the earth holds it captive; and as long as man possesses an earthly body in which the **turba** is contained, just so long will he be held captive in God's wrath, possessed of original sin.

And, although our soul goes forth and becomes new-born in God, yet it possesses the outward body still, and consumes it (*Seel. Frag.*, xiv,7)

As long as man possesses a body in which the **turba magna** or the tendency towards death, inertia and moral neutrality exists, just so long will he be a creature of original sin. (*Irrth. Stief.*, 296)

Man needs a new birth in a new body to come to the purity of existence in which the **turba** has been overcome. (*Princ.*, xix,33)

These then are the horrible results of Adam's fall. When the first man ate the apple he acquired earth with its natural trend towards inertia. This is the cause of his sin. Sin is the product of man's ceaseless attempts to keep life victorious over death in his own body. To win the final victory he must be born again!
5. Man's Threefold Life: Body, Soul, Spirit

The three Principles or basic trends of being produce in man a trichotomous psychology, for man has a threefold nature consisting of the elemental man, the fire-soul, and the true spirit [(Aurora, iii,18,19)]. Boehme thus rejects Greek dualism of body and spirit and accepts instead the Pauline and New Testament psychology of body, soul, and spirit. Yet these three aspects have a particular meaning in Boehme's speculation:

Man is an image of the Being of all beings, a right image of God according to love and wrath. Namely, (1) the soul is the eternal central fire of self-will, for out of it creatures have to come and not from the pure Deity. And (2) the spirit of the soul is the central fire of light, sprang from the eternal idea, from the power of God, and is supernatural. Hence it is a sample of the Holy Spirit, wherein Christ dwells and feeds the soul with His flesh and blood, as with divine human balsam, and wherein death and the wrath of God have been broken down... But (3) the outer body is from the outer world, from the four elements and the stars, and this external dominion rules the outward life. After this external dominion the Adamic soul lusted, and for the sake thereof broke off its will from the unity of God, and introduced its will into the dominion of this world. (Theos. Fra., xii,15-17)

Man is thus a participant in the three principles, each one sharing in the constituent totality of the human image. Thus

The first and most inward ground in man is Christ, not according to the nature of man, but according to the divine property of the heavenly nature, which He had begotten anew. The second ground of Nature is the soul, understand the Eternal nature, and in it Christ manifested himself and assumed the same. The third ground is the created man composed of the limus of the earth, with the stars and elements. (Gnad., vii,37)
Without this trochotomous nature the total man could not be redeemed, for without the dialectical interaction of these three worlds the redemptive and regenerative processes could not proceed. (*Mysterium Magnum*, xxxii,6)

In addition to associating these three 'worlds' within man with the three alchemical *Grundsubstanzen* -- certainly the original source of the distinctions -- Boehme also sees them as manifestations of his voluntarism; he sees them as longing, willing, and desiring:

> The longing is an hunger, or an infecting of the desiring, and the will is a retention in the desiring; and now if the desiring must retain the will, then it must be comprehensible, and there must not be only one thing alone in the will, but two; now, then, seeing they are two, therefore the attraction must be the third, which draws that which is comprehensible into the will. (*Princ.*, xiv,62)

From these three great principles of being, with all their many ontological and psychological implications, Adam was created, a full and complete image of the triune God. (*Theos. Punkt.*, ii,29)

All this trochotomous psychology is created by Boehme for soteriological reasons for without such a division man could not be saved. And in the explanation of the interaction of man's three nature's Boehme's dialectics is clear. Here the central reason for the world of principles begins to appear:

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In the first ground, which is Christ, is the working life of the divine love; in the second ground is the

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1. Boehme sometimes places one principle first, sometimes another; so they cannot be called first, second, or third in order.
natural fire-life of the creaturely soul, wherein God calls himself a jealous God; and in the third ground is the created world of the properties, which in Adam was in equipoise, and fell asunder in the fall. In the first ground is God Jehovah, who gave the men which in the beginning were his, to the name and manifest power of Jesus, as Christ says (John, xvi,6): Father, the men were thine and thou gavest them to me, and I give them eternal life. First they were in Jehovah, in the Father's proprium; now they are in the Son's proprium, according to the inward ground of the Kingdom of heaven. For the inward ground is the inward heaven; it is the Sabbath, viz., Christ, which we ought to keep holy, that is rest from our own will and working, in order that the Sabbath Christ may work in us. The second ground is the Father's property, wherein is understood God's wrath and the dark world, over which God made his Son a judge, for Christ says (Matth., xxviii,18): All power has been given me in heaven and on earth by my father. In these words is included also the judgment of all beings. (Gnad.,

These three worlds dominate man's conscious life for his nature is characterized by the dialectical interaction of these three trends of being. Whichever one he serves enslaves him (Princ., xvi,37). He has affinities to all three worlds (Theos. Punkt., ii,29); indeed only in man are the three principles manifested (Dreyfach., iv,58), and when a man is newly born he achieves the harmony and equipoise of balanced elements. Then he is higher than the angels, because angels live only in the first two elements -- they do not partake of corporeality.

Boehme has little to say about the indwelling Jehovah; the importance and validity of corporeality is obvious; it is really his doctrine of the Indwelling Christ, of the Christ within the heart of man that makes the trichotomous psychology important. Christ lives within the heart of man (Dreyfach., xi,88) for Christ within is the second principle in man. (Menschw., I, xii,18). Man's inner nature, contrasted with his
external body, is composed of the Father's nature, as the
eternal separation of the Word of God into light and into
darkness. (Gnad., viii,36)

This name Jesus, as the purpose of His love, God
has inspoken into the mother of all men and as a living
power embodied it in an eternal covenant, and has ful­
filled the covenant by introducing the Divine being
into human quality. (Gnad., viii,33)

From eternity this indwelling Christ has been eternal love
within man (Gnad., vii,31); he comes to us for our salvation,
and as long as the soul is capable of love he dwells within
the heart of man. (Gnad., ix,63). He is the innermost ground
of the soul, the heart of the loving God that dwells at the
center of human nature:

As the power of the sun is manifested in a tree, and
kindles the light in the ens of the sulphur spirit, in
the mercury, as in the resinous property in which the
tree grows and bears fruit; so likewise God is manifested
in his formed expressed word (viz., in man, into whom
he has introduced the highest love-tincture of the name
Jesus), and tinctures and fiery soul or the spiritual
sulphur and mercury, in which the light of eternal
nature becomes manifest and shining, and in which Christ
in his formed word is born, and grows into a glorious
divine tree, and thus into the image of God. (Gnad.,viii,92)

This indwelling Christ is never extinguished. It thrives and
lives on through the trials of unbelief, burning like a
glimmering wick in fallen man. Here Boehme adopts the old
word of German mysticism: Christ is a Fünklein in the coarse,
dark nature of unregenerate man. This is that inner light
which, although now nothing more than a glimmering wick, flares
up again in the regenerate man like a great light of regener­
ative love.
Here Boehme's psychology, while insisting that the divine spark is not only tolerated within man but that it is dialectically essential for the production of the total human nature, has made a full and free departure from the idea of the prophets of the inner word like Sebastian Franck and Johann Denck. Boehme's Christ is not only essential for man's ultimate salvation -- it is necessary for the full production of man himself. The total and complete 'birth' of Christ within man implies that man must die to his self-will and be born to Christ's will. Boehme distinguishes between the Christ within the eternally begotten Word in Christ. ([Irrth. Stief.], 25). The full Christ comes to man only in the new birth and through regeneration; it is the indwelling Word which is man's participation in the second principle. Here Boehme is distinguishing man's participation in the eternally begotten Logos, and his putting on the mind of Christ. All being participates in the differentiation of the eternally spoken Word; but not all being shares in the word made flesh. The natural man, the unbeliever, shares only in the second principle; only the believer shares in the Christ made flesh.

Here Boehme's reason for refusing to identify his second principle with the second person of the trinity is abundantly clear. It is Christ who reawakens and rekindles the Inner ground of the soul, for the drawing power of Christ attracts the inner word to itself. This is the tincturing process, the heart of Boehme's soteriology.
Boehme's man possesses a body in which the Christ is hidden, but he also possesses a soul which is a complete manifestation of the fire-principle. Boehme's doctrine of the soul is complicated in that he believed that the world itself possessed a soul, a great over-soul, which is a child of the eternal essences that have proceeded from God and from the divine power (Seel. Frag., iii,4). This great world-soul participates in all of the three principles (Dreyfach., ii,5); indeed, it is their binding quality, the reality which gives unity to the three basic trends of being. The soul is then not born wholly out of the first principle:

Know then that a particle of the highest omnipotence, of the being of all beings, is to be understood in the soul, that is, in the scientia which has been from eternity. This scientia by the motion of the word of all powers formed itself into an image in the first three forms...To the scientia of the soul the commandment was given, to keep the creature in the temperament, that is, it had to maintain the properties of nature in the sphere of equality; for the scientia was the power that could do so, being a spark of omnipotence. Moreover, the scientia has in itself the kingdom of the holy power in the light of God. (Gnad., vi,21)

Thus the soul has a rôle in reality. It was to keep the various elements in temperament or in harmony. The soul itself does not derive from the four elements, nor does it partake of substantial reality. It was

breathed into man merely out of the original birth of the Father by the moving spirit. Which original birth is before the light of life, which is in the four anguishes, out of which the light of God is kindled, wherein is the original name of God; and therefore the soul is God's own essence or substance. (Princ., iv,20)

The soul is generated by the interaction of the first two principles. God's wrath and his love combine to produce the
soul. In these two principles it has had its beginning and by them it is qualified: (Princ., xii,51)

And now if we speak of the soul, and of its substance and essences, we must say that it is the roughest (thing) in man; for it is the originality of the other substances or things. It is fiery, harsh, bitter, and strong, and resembles a great and mighty power, its essences are like brimstone; its gate or seat out of the eternal originality is between the fourth and fifth forms in the eternal birth, and in the unbeginning band, of the strong might of God the Father, where the eternal light of his Heart... generates itself. (Princ., xiii,30)

Boehme has written at length and with strange confusion about his doctrine of the soul, for Balthasar Walther's first question in Seel. Frag. asks where had the soul come from. Boehme answers it with confused and unorganized writing, and the relationship of the whole idea of the soul to his speculative system is not clear.

Man's soul lives in his heart but it exercises its dominion in the brain. (Seel. Frag., viii,7,8). Wherever the tincture of the divine fire penetrates man's nature, wherever he is influenced by the divine vitality -- there the soul exists. (Seel. Frag., vii,9) In man the soul moves and hovers between the kingdom of hell and the kingdom of this world (Princ., xvii,71) capable of being swayed by either of the two principles, good or evil. The soul is changeable, the principle of transmutatability, that aspect of man that is demonic in the sense that it is capable of either good or evil. (Princ., x,14). Even if God shines through into the soul, the soul does not comprehend or grasp Him (Dreyfach, vi,86) although the soul can and does comprehend each one of the
After Adam's fall the soul's imagination was transposed from the eternal to the external. (Irrth. Stief., 346). In the Fall the soul lost the holy, divine Ens, or substance, for she lost her spiritual qualities (Gnad., vii,11) and she became blind to God (Taufe., II,11,1). She lost that heavenly image which she possessed in Sophia (Taufe I,1,21) and became much like a stone which is incapable of burning (Taufe, II,11,1) taking the serpent's image to herself (Mysterium Magnum xxiii, 48). The soul is bound fast by three strong chains (Princ., xxv,8) which infest her with the spirit of this world (Dreyfach viii,36) and, after her fall into self-will, she possesses no light of her own, but must stand in the light of the sun (Princ.,xiv,11), surrounded by love, wrath, and the spirit of this world. (Bed. Stief., 71)

Man's spirit, the third of the trichotomous psychological divisions, derives from God and the constellations. (Aurora. Vorrede, 98) It rules and dominates the mind of man (Aurora. v, 39), aiding him to search out the deeps of the Godhead. (Aurora, xi,71) In all of the elements there is a Spirit, as fire-spirit, water-spirit, air-spirit, and earth-spirit (Princ., vii,35). This limits the hunger, or the appetite, of the spirit:

All is nigh unto spirit, and yet it can see in no other world or property save that wherein its fire burns; of that world is the spirit only susceptible, it sees nothing in the other world; it has no eyes for that. It remains to it an eternal hiddenness, unless it
has been in another world and gone out from thence, and given itself to another fire, as the devils did, (Theos. Punkt., vii,5).

Thus each spirit eats of the mother that bore it (Epist., xxxi,20) and searches within its mother’s substance for the fulfillment of its longing. But not all of the external spirits that live in the world are holy, nor do they partake of the Holy Spirit (Mysterium Magnum viii,19); some have fallen through their own exercise of self-will. Spirit needs substance and essence to complete itself. Spirit is not spirit until it has found its manifestation in essentiality.

Boehme’s man is threefold, and on each one of the three aspects of his nature is he a fallen being. His body has assumed the corrupt substances of the earth; his soul has become a burning hunger; and his spirit has led itself into a dominion over the corrupted and substantial earth of man’s body.
6. The Four Complexions

The four elements dominate and rule the external life, producing the four temperaments which govern human beings and create the varied types of human personality. (Theos. Frag., xii,17) In accordance with his ontological realism, Boehme believed that the four elements — fire, air, water and earth — each governed one of the four complexions. The choleric complexion is dominated by the fire; the sanguine complexion is dominated by the air; the phlegmatic complexion is dominated by the water; and the melancholy complexion is dominated by the earth. (Complex., passim.)

The choleric complexion is the property of the fire. It produces strong courage, sudden wrath, aroused pride, and arrogant self-centeredness. It tries to imitate the property of the fire and become a dominant lord over all it surveys. It is the lust for omnipotent power. (Complex., 3)

The sanguine complexion is the property of the air. It is subtle, friendly, joyous, of uncertain courage, changeable, easily persuaded, and witty. It tries to imitate the property of the stars by becoming cunning and clever. (Complex., 4)

The phlegmatic complexion is the property of the water. It is fleshly, coarse, soft, of a feminine will, of frugal conception, stubborn, and dull. All crafts and arts must be taught to it by hard discipline and drill-mastering; nothing is understood by it from the root. The phlegmatic being
allows things to run their natural, unimpeded courses, bears no concern for the lot and condition of other men, and is neither light-headed nor tragic, but merely jolly. (Complex., 5).

The melancholy complexion is that complexion by which man comes to know good and evil. Since the good always desires to avoid evil, the melancholy being had a sorrowing heart, and lives in an eternal tension between the light of goodness and the darkness of evil. In the melancholy being tragedy and anxiety are dominant, just as these elements are in tension in the earth, which is the character of melancholy. (Complex., 6, 7, 8)

These are the four complexions in which the natural unregenerate man lives. They are not pure, that is, no one person is wholly choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, or melancholy. Each individual is a mixture, in the same sense that he is a mixture of the four elements, the mothers of these four complexions. While one complexion may dominate in a particular man, all four are present in his being, and each one has its special rôle in the production of personality.

Whichever complexion dominates within a man, in that complexion and also within that element the poor soul is bound fast. (Complex., 9) Here Boehme's tension between essence and soul becomes clear. The soul deriving from the fire-element is in a tension with the elemental earth, congealed matter. The soul wars against the Complexions; the complexions war against the soul. Thus there is in man a continual warfare,
and man is caught in this tension.

Boehme held that the melancholy complexion, deriving from the earth, was the necessary basis for all spiritual growth. The melancholy man was full of spiritual anxiety, he was aware of the dark chamber of death within the bosom of the earth, he stands upon the boundary of life and death, awaiting his permanent release. (Complex., 40) In Boehme's view, the religious man must come close to the earth and its dark, chaotic aspect if he wants to realize the full significance of his existential situation.
7. **The Boundary: Man between Life and Death**

Boehme's bold anthropology, with its sharp distinction between essential man and existential man, was created merely to explain man's present predicament, his situation on the boundary between life and death. Man lives on this boundary, being a creature dominated by both love and wrath. He is both a son of God and a child of the earth (*Princ.*, xx, 82); he is a dual being (*Wiedergeburt* i, 15) who possesses two worlds within his own essence. Man has only two worlds in him. The property to which he turns himself, into that world is he introduced, and of that world's property will he eternally be, and enjoy the same; either a source of the light-world of gentleness, or a hostile source from the dark world. Here he buds and grows in the middle world between the light world and the dark world; he may give himself up to which he pleases. The essence which obtains the dominion in him, whether fierceness or gentleness, the same he embraces, and it hangs unto him and leads him; it gives him morals and will, and unites itself wholly with him. (*Theos. Punet.*, iv, 22-23).

But the external man was made to be a tool and instrument of the internal (*Sig. rer.*, iv, 18). The internal man is to rule and dominate the external (*Mysterium Magnum* xvi, 19). The gross corporeal man which resulted from Adam's fall is certainly not the image of God (*Mysterium Magnum* xvi, 1) but a horrible *monstrum*. The external man performs all the natural wonders, works within nature and within the elements of the earth (*Menschw.*, III, v, 7). The outward man is certainly not the image of God, for it is nothing but
an image of the Archaeus, that is, a house of husk of the spiritual man, in which the spiritual man grows, as gold does in the gross stone, and a plant from the wild earth; as the Scripture says, As we have a natural body, so we have also a spiritual body... the outward gross body of the four elements shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, but that which is born out of that one element... For this body of the flesh and of the will of man is not it, but that which is wrought by the heavenly Archaeus in this gross body, unto which this gross (body) is a house, tool, and instrument. But when the crust is taken away, then it shall appear wherefore we have here been called men; and yet some of us have scarce been beasts; nay, some far worse than beasts. (Clavis., 114ff)

Christ came to help and redeem the spirit of the inner man which became distorted in Adam's fall (Theos. Frag., xii,17)

Christ Himself dwells within man (Mysterium Magnum, lxxi,54) and this inner man is Christ's servant, loyal and obedient (Mysterium Magnum lxxi,55). This internal man is God's own field wherein He sows his seed in the heavenly elements, in the spiritual sulphur (Sig. Rer., iv,18). Boehme uses alchemical symbols to describe this inner man:

Sulphur is on one part in the internal heavenly, and as to the body earthly, yet puts forth an heavenly likeness according to the external out of itself... for the spiritual or heavenly man consists in sulphur... (Sig. Rer., iv,18)

This natural man, standing on the boundary, or as Boehme calls it on the 'limit' between life and death, is a being who lives in two essences, a divine and a natural one (Mysterium Magnum, 1,6). He carries two properties or modes of being within him: the Father's fire and the Son's light (Menschw., I,xiii,18). Man is thus poised between two principles which give him two impulses and appetites (Sig. Rer., xiv,63), living between
God's love and His wrath, both of which exercise their in­
fluences upon him.

And thus he dwells in two properties, both of which draw him and desire to have him; viz., one fierce source, whose original is the darkness of the abyss; and the other is the divine power or virtue, whose source is the light and the divine joy in the broken gate of heaven...Man is drawn and held of both; but the center stands in him, and he has the balance between the two wills, viz., between the original and the reconceived will to the kingdom of heaven...for the one. is the Kingdom of the fierceness, and of anger, and the other is the regeneration in the heaven. (Princ., xxi,20).

That kingdom to which man surrenders himself, to that does he become subservient (Princ., vii,2) for both Christ and the devil dwell within him. (Dreyfach vi, 66) God is thus within man as love and as wrath (Dreyfach iv,76), producing a creature who is conscious of a dual will (Mysterium Magnum, lxxi,36), a being who is both good and evil (Aurora, ii,9), both living and dead. Thus there is a tension within man -- the everlasting struggle between Michael and the dragon. All the evil properties in man

were awakened also...after the fall, when he turned away from God; and they have developed with man. Such is then the dragon, the old serpent, with whom Michael (as the figure of the Divine power) fought, and expelled him together with his legions from the holy name. And in man the name Jesus fights against this dragon. This combat is not a creaturely thing. Certainly it went against the creaturely kingdom of false lying spirits which desire to rule in the divine name. It is a combat be­
tween the typical wrath and the typical love, between the first and second principles. (Theos. Frag., xi,13ff)

And whichever way man carries off this combat, in that state of victory or defeat will he forever remain with his body and spirit. (Princ., xvi,42).
Now, what is the Yes, the good in man?

Before the Fall, the Light, or Yes, was manifested within man's own essence but after the Fall it lay concealed in the name of Jesus which dwells within the heart of man. (Gnad., viii,37). With his bodily essence man is a grade higher than the earth and with his soul he is greater than the spiritual mundi (Theos. Punet., i,9). Although Adam lost his heavenly corporeality when he fell, one precious promise still remained within his nature:

Man is not so altogether corrupt that there should not be any possibility at all left in him (Epist., xlii,19) He still possesses the possibility of being redeemed (Menschw., I,xiv,19) and this redemption is posited upon the divine image within his own being for God and the entire creation dwell within him (Princ., xv,55). Man is capable of comprehending all things within his heart (Princ., Vor. 2; xvi,32) for he has a free will (Princ., xxii,15; Dreyfach, vi, 68). Man possesses the signature of all things (Sig. Rer., i,6) by which he is capable of understanding the natures of all things. He can live without disease (Sig. Rer., ix,69) because he possesses the power to release the earth from the curse that was laid upon it (sig. Rer., xi,85) and because he bears the magical power of all things within his mouth (Theos. Frag., vm23), thus being able to test the power and might of all things. In short, man is to be like God (Princ., xx,11), departing from the world of corruptibility and transience, living in the transcendent world of divine radiance.

But what is the No, the evil in man?
does not understand what God has intended for him from the beginning of creation. God has not decreed that the wrath was to have become manifest within man and that the evil properties should have been aroused in his nature (Princ., xvii, 48). Man possesses no inborn source (Quell) of sin (Gnad., vii, 85), but all his works and deeds are his own responsibility, following him to all the ends of the earth. (Princ., xvi, 47). Considered from his existential situation man cannot comprehend his own responsibility without seeing that he is guilty and responsible for Christ's suffering and death (Mysterium Magnum, lxxi, 42). Now man has come to the end of his human possibilities, standing on the boundary between life and death, for he cannot save himself without Christ. Without Christ man cannot come to salvation, for, for the fallen man, there is no other recourse except that he be born again in Christ Jesus (Princ., xvii, 99). Christ came to help all men (Gnad., ix, 4), and for the sake of sinful men he became man. (Princ., iv, 39).
8. The Anthropological Problem

All great metaphysical systems are really systems of religious inspiration and they meet in a definition of man, at an attempted determination of his place in the universe and at a definition of his role therein. And Jacob Boehme's man was the key to his universe. Man's central position in Boehme's world may be defined from two points of view: in the first place man is an individual and personal image of God (Sig. Rer., x,3); and secondly, he is an image of the world (Mysterium Magnum, ii,5). Yet, if man is an image of God both by right and by nature, he is not one in fact. The signature of his God-image has been obscured by his own rebellious will and this act of obscuring has brought him his present self and his present world. Man, impaled in his world of strife and sin, should seek to know his natural history and condition and then he could compare his present state with the original condition of his being.

This is fundamental.

Boehme often laments the miserable condition into which man has imagined himself. Man is impaled in existence, but he also is deeply moved by the inadequacy of his existence; he passionately longs for a better world, for a radically different world. In fact, man longs for infinity. And this desire for infinity proves that man is a being far superior to the creatures that exist in the world of the third principle.
(Gnad., v, 26; Sig. Rer., viii, 28). But man -- both original man and existential man -- also desires the earth. He differs from the animals, though, in the fact that he desires more than the earth. He desires a better earth. In modern language, the perception of the animals is entirely circumscribed by their instincts and their desires; they ask neither for their origin nor their destiny. But man does ask for his origin and for his destiny; he also asks for the origin of the world and for its destiny. Man is superior to the animals in that he is able to go beyond any given condition and any given state of the world. He is able to transcend himself. This is his freedom. Yet however free he may be in spirit he is bound by the limitations of space and time. And in this sense he is a microcosm, an exact reproduction in miniature of the larger world. And through contemplation of the microcosmic image that he himself is he can know the larger world.

This is a mystical theory of knowledge, based upon an identity, or more exactly a signature, of the knower and the known. The signature is the outward form which has developed from the inner idea. A signature is not the idea but the external expression of the idea. (Sig. Rer., i, 5). As a thing is in the purity of its idea, so is it also in its form. And through the signature a thing may be known.

All whatever is spoken, written, or taught of God, without the knowledge of the signature is dumb and void of understanding; for it proceeds only from an historical conjecture from the mouth of another, wherein the spirit without knowledge is dumb; but if the spirit opens to him the signature, then he understands the speech of another; and
further, he understands how the spirit has manifested and revealed itself (out of the essence through the principle) in the sound with the voice. For though I see one to speak, teach, preach, and write of God, and though I hear and read the same, yet this is not sufficient for me to understand him; but if his sound and spirit out of his signature and similitude enter into my own similitude, and imprint his similitude into mine, then I may understand him really and fundamentally, be it either spoken or written, if he has the hammer that can strike my bell. (Sig. Rer., i, 1)

This key to the nature of all things is contained in the language of nature, the names which Adam gave to all things when he walked through the garden. (Mysterium Magnum, xix, 22) It is a Scriptural idea, and Boehme considers it the key to all knowledge. In the language of nature the word which describes a thing is the pure, expressed, formed idea without any distortion. Language is the expression of thought; and the natural language is the expression of God's thoughts. By knowing the signatures, the sum total of God's expressed words, all of reality can be known. The basic law of being is expression, that the outer form expresses the inner idea. God speaks the words of creation, and each thing's form is the expression of the inner idea, or of its Quall. (Sig. Rer., viii, 40). Signatures are formed aspects of the Quallen.

Man, though, is a microcosm who contains the germs of all things within himself. He can understand the language of nature, the entire expression of God's formed words. Indeed, Adam when he walked through the garden and named the things of the world was capable of understanding and expressing the signatures of all things. He saw into the heart of reality. Thus Boehme's understanding of the language of nature is the key to his epistemology; his understanding of the natural
language demonstrates his participation in the central idea of God's creation. This is a brilliant figure of speech -- for that is all that it is -- to describe the identity of man with the central idea of creation. Having the language of nature within his own soul man is able to hear and comprehend the tune that results from the hammers which strike his bell.

But Adam fell. In his pure state he knew and understood the language of nature. Now he no longer understands that language. A principle of distortion has entered into his knowing. His universe became divided. The world of the third principle came to be. The essential Adam represented the total man. But now he is divided. He is separated and but a horrible distortion of the originally perfect image of man. Now he knows in part and sees in part. And he longs for the restoration of the totality of the image. He longs to be whole again.

Boehme's anthropology, then, lays the groundwork for the redemptive scheme of his thought. Man cannot live without the promise of the final restoration of the totality of his original image. And this totality is Christ, the new man, the new Adam, the restorer of the fallen and distorted image; Christ the Conquerer!
V. REDEMPTION

1. Sophie and the Incarnation of Jesus Christ

Sophiology defines Jacob Boehme’s exposition of the Incarnation -- and consequently of redemption -- for if heavenly Wisdom is the form through which and in which the realization of the transcendent completes itself, then Sophia has a definite function in the being and work of the God-man.

Boehme declined to accept the traditional identification of Mary and Sophia. He did this in order to maintain the realism of his view of salvation. If the Incarnation was not in a real person, if Christ did not become true man in Mary, if He did not take on human flesh, then His work could not have helped man. Here Boehme was a realist: that which Christ did not take on as His own He could not redeem:

Many have taken upon themselves to write of the Virgin Mary, and have believed that she was not a daughter of the earth. To them indeed has been presented a reflection of the eternal virginity, but they have come short of the true mark. Some have simply supposed that she was not the
daughter of Joachim and Anna, for Christ is called the seed of the woman, and indeed is, and He himself attests that He came from above, from Heaven; he must therefore, according to Him, be born of a wholly heavenly virgin. But this would profit little to us poor children of Eve, who have become earthly and carry our souls in an earthly vessel. Where were our soul, if the Word of Eternal Life had not taken it into itself? If Christ had brought a soul from heaven, where were our soul and the covenant with Adam and Eve, by which the woman's seed was to bruise the serpent's head? If Christ had willed to come and to be born wholly from heaven, he would not have needed to be born a man upon earth. But where were the covenants, in which the name of promise, viz., Jesus, incorporated itself in the light of life, in the tincture of the soul, immediately in Paradise when Adam fell, nay, before Adam was created. (Menschw., I, viii,1)

The identification of Sophia and Mary would thus lead to an unreal incarnation.

But, while there is no identification between Mary and Sophia, there is relationship. Mary's body is the receptacle of her human soul, her human soul is the receptacle of Sophia, and Sophia is the receptacle of the Divine Word. Here Boehme's underlying idea of a parent, namely, that each corporeality is the receptacle of the higher spirituality which is produced and realized in that corporeality. Only in comprehensibility can the unknown God enter into human nature. Thus Sophia, the unknown God's instrument of comprehensibility, again assumes her characteristic role of revealeress in the Incarnation. Sophia is God's body (Epist., xxxvi,48) in the sense that she bears the Son, the first manifestation of the will.

In Mary the reunion of human and divine nature takes place -- a union torn in Adam. In Mary the original betrothalth between Sophia and Man is again made possible. Sophia reenters humanity, making the appearance of the 'second Adam' possible,
Thus the *benedictus* is the act in which Wisdom again unites herself with human nature in Mary, opening up the way for the Birth of Christ. Thus, although Mary is not identical with Sophia, the latter has become revealed in Mary.

You are to know, that as Mary did bear the heavenly image, viz., a new man born out of the mercy of God in the old earthly man, viz., in the Kingdom of this world, which Kingdom she had in her as her own, which yet did not comprehend the new man; so also the Word of God entered into the body of the Virgin Mary, into the heavenly matrix, into the eternal Virgin of God, and that (Word) in that (eternal virgin of God) became a heavenly man, out of the paradisical holy pure element, in the person of the new regenerated man of the Virgin Mary, and (with his eternal deity) was together generated in the beginning own soul of Mary, and with his entrance of his Deity has brought the soul of Mary again into the Holy Father... *(Princ., xxii,38)*

Further:

So Christ also has truly, in the body of the Virgin Mary, attracted to Him our human essences, and is become our brother; yet these human essences cannot comprehend the eternal deity, only the new man, born of God, comprehends the deity. *(Princ., xiii,41)*

Here then is the chain of the Incarnation: Mary's body contains her soul; her soul contains Sophia; Sophia mirrors the whole God. Thus, when the Holy Spirit announces her 'immaculate conception' of her Son, then the whole of the Godhead is within her body.

Therefore the body of Christ is inferior to the Deity; and in these our human essences he suffered death, and his Deity of the holy man is the pure element entered together also in death, and bereaved death of its power, and did separate the natural soul (which Christ commended to His Father when He died on the cross) from the Kingdom of this world, also from death, from the devil, and from hell, in the strong divine might, and opened a gate for us all, who come to Him, and incline ourselves (with minds and thoughts* to him; then the Father draws out soul (which is in Him* into the pure love of Christ forward into the Holy Trinity, and is fed again from the *Verbum Domini*; when then it is an angel again, quite separated from the Kingdom of
the Devil and of this world, in the death of Christ. And for this cause God became man, that he might in Himself generate anew the soul of man again, and might redeem it from the claims of the fierceness of anger, and not at all for the bestial body's sake, which must melt again into the four elements, and come to nothing; out of which nothing will remain, but the shadow in the figure of all its works and matters, which he hath wrought at any time. But in the new man (which we attract on to our souls in the bosom of the Virgin) we shall spring and flourish again; and therein is no necessity nor death. (Princ., xxii,42,43,44)

Looking forwards towards this ultimate resolution of the tension between death and life within us the purpose of the incarnation in Boehme's theology becomes clear. Christ assumes this rôle in his thought, and it is clear, from his 'generating' ideas that the Logos can only be born from Sophia. But how does this heavenly Sophia enter into Mary? Boehme allegorizes:

For God said to Adam and Eve: the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, and thou, the Serpent, shall sting him in the heel (Gen. iii,15); that is, in the wrath of God thou shalt slay him, but he will bud forth out of the death and bruise thy head, that is, will take away thy power and overcome thy wrath with love. And in this place the Word of the promise of the woman's seed, that is, the highly precious name Jesus, has imprinted itself with its sign in the vital light; and in this same sign the highly precious Virgin of the wisdom of God, in which Christ, as the breaker down of death, was to become a true man, deprive death of its power, and destroy the devil's sting; he was to tread the winepress of the fierceness and wrath, and enter into the wrath as into the centre of fire and extinguish the fire with his heavenly blood. (Menschw., I, vii,10)

In Mary Sophia merely brings the Logos to a new state of being. Christ certainly is eternal, but in Mary He became man. But no new God was created:

And now, when the Word in Mary, in her flesh and blood, entered into the matrix, then the Fiat was in the matrix, but it did not in one moment create the earthly man, nor a heavenly either; but it began the Incarnation, or becoming man; for the divine nature is neither augmented nor diminished, but is always complete. (Dreyfach., vi,79).
Here there is a twofold idea: first, the reunion of Sophia and humanity does not transpire in an abrupt, arbitrary inbreak of the divine into history, but it is merely the fulfillment and realization of a theogonic act. The unity was broken in the rebellion of Lucifer and Adam. But the image of this union is a restoration of that lost unity. Yet the image, or more accurately the memory, of this union was always present in fallen man as prophecy and judgment. It was the Fünklein or glimmende Tocht within the soul of man. When Adam fell and broke this unity, God immediately made a new covenant in the form of a new promise.

God spoke again into our poor fallen soul in Paradise, immediately after the Fall, the Covenant and root if his Highest love and grace, through the word, as the center of Grace to corruption, and to the new generation. (Mysterium Magnum, lvi,25)

This proper image was continued through the course of history by the types, or carriers, of the line of the covenant.

This comprised spiritual lineage, which was the seed of faith which Abraham had hold on in the faith, was invested in Isaac, and from Isaac on Jacob...which line of faith had incorporated itself into the human property according to the inward ground. (Mysterium Magnum, lvi,28)

There was, however, a significant difference between this image in the line of the covenant and the restoration of that image in Mary:

The works of the law were before God in the mirror, till the life was born again from the covenant and the fulfillment came. Then the works in the mirror ceased, and the works of the fulfillment of flesh and blood, in the heavenly essentiality, began again: for in Mary was the beginning. When the angel brought her the message, and she said: 'Be it unto me as thou hast said' (Luke i,38) the center of life in the Word of God, that is, the heart of God, forthwith moved in her head heavenly seed, quickening it again, and gestation commenced (Menschw. I, ix,16)
In the Incarnation Christ again brought the improperly compounded, disunited essences into fullest harmony. This is why He, the Eternal Word, assumed human flesh.
2. Christ

Christ is androgynous, dialectical, and this in a special sense.

Jacob Boehme had no doctrine of the two natures of Christ in the usual sense, and his conception may perhaps offend the orthodox whose impatience with erotic imagery is deeply felt. Yet is precisely this Christology -- outwardly so offensive -- which is the central idea in Boehme's erotic mysticism although it must be said that no other mystical writer except Boehme has adequately treated the androgynous problem with regards to Christology.

The point of departure seems to be that Christ is the original man and the second Adam -- the renewer of the original image. If the fall resulted in the loss of beauty and majesty in man's divine image, then salvation is the restoration of that fallen and distorted image in the being and character of the Saviour and in the promise of that image's availability for all mankind. In Christ, then, the fallen and distorted image of man is totally and completely restored.

And here we are to understand the foreknowledge or seeing by which the Spirit of God before the foundation of the world has seen this fall in the property of fire and of wrath in nature, and provided the holy name Jesus with the highest Love-ens therein as regeneration. For the one root of the ens that springs from the divine love, namely, the ens of the heavenly word, the true image of God according to the property of the divine holiness, disappeared in Adam; and in this one image, which in Adam was eclipsed, God has embodied the goal of his eternal holy will in Christ. Into this same image did God's holy
Word speak, when the poor creaturely soul had become blind to God, and say: The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. And by this same voice was in the human life (as a figure of the true image in this goal of the covenant of God, which he had seen in the divine ens before the foundation of the world) propogated from man to man as a covenant of Grace. (Gnad., vii, 18)

Christ, then, is the renewal and completion of the image of man which was mutilated in the first man, and which was prophecied to fallen man, growing clearer through the historical process and finding final fulfillment in Jesus the Christ. Thus the end returns again to its beginning, completing the historical cycle:

The new birth contains in ream sum, this! That the angelical image must be born again which God created in Adam. God formed Adam in the image of God, and though he knew that he would not stand, yet he appointed him the Saviour who would bring him again into the first image, and therein establish him forever. (Mysterium Magnum, xix, 21)

The first image of perfection, the first Adam, was androgynous. So likewise is the second Adam, for he is that first Adam;

For God generates nothing else but his heart and Son, and will never generate another thing out of Himself. Therefore, that which is spoken forth before the will, is a virgin of chastity, which never generates anything else either. (Princ., xvii, 22)

Furthermore, Christ also completes the original and eternally unalterable plan of God, in that he establishes the androgynous nature of man which in Adam was divided.

If the Fall of man consisted in the loss of the original unity and in the establishment of sexual duality (which is in one sense dialectical), then the salvation of Christ, and the nature of Christ, is the restoration of that unity, the return of the angelical and androgynous nature of the original man:
And when Christ on the cross had again accomplished this redemption of our virgin-like image from the divided sex of male and female, and tinctured it with his heavenly blood in the divine love, he said: It is finished. For before, he stood in Adam's thirst. As Adam did thirst after the vanity, so Christ did now fill or satiate this thirst of vanity with the holy divine love-thirst, and turned about the will of the soul, that it might again introduce thirst into God. And when this was brought to pass, he said, now, it is finished and converted. Christ turned back Adam into his sleep from the vanity, and from the man and woman, again into the angelical image. (Mysterium Magnum, xix,7)

Christ is thus Androgynous in that he is the coincidence of the sexes, an original aspect of the mystical conception of God as the coincidentia oppositorum. Male and female parted the in-sleep of Adam; but the heavenly Christ is both. So too the incarnated Christ in Jesus of Galilee is both. Boehme's language appears confusing here:

The man's limbus, which he kept when the woman was made out of him, was the Father's property, according to all essences; and the woman out of the man was the Son's property, according to all essences, understand, the heavenly part. Therefore Christ became man in the woman's part, and brought the man's part again into the holy matrix, so that the limbus and the female matrix were again one image, viz., a manly virgin above and in all the three principles, as a creatural-formed God, in whom the eternal unformed God dwelt, with universal fulness, both in the formed, and outside the formed. For thus was Adam also, before the Eve, and so must we also be in Christ, if we would be the image and temple of God. (Mysterium Magnum, xix,17)

In this fashion the guilt associated with sex is removed. This idea of the distinction between male and female is simply the restoration of the primitive androgynous character of man. Thus Boehme says that the male and female principles were indeed united in the incarnation or the becoming man, so that they are inseparable, but the true ens of the soul, which the Word assumed in the name Jesus, was of us men from the female tincture, viz., from the true Adamic
soul, yet from the property of the light, which was severed from Adam (and put into the woman) take this property in the light might transmute or change the fiery masculine property again into the live and divine humility, and that the masculine and feminine property might be quite changed into one image again: As Adam was before his Eve, when he was neither man nor woman, but a masculine virgin. (*Mysterium Magnum*, lvi,20)

Here Christ's incarnation receives special meaning. Christ became man in the woman, but he was born a man. The manhood came from the Father: the female quality from Mary.

Therefore was Christ born of a Virgin, that he might sanctify the woman's tincture again, and change it into the man's tincture, that the man and the woman might again be one image of God, and no more man and woman, but masculine virgins, as Christ was. (*Mysterium Magnum*, lvi,46).

The relationship of this sexual theory of the incarnation and to the metaphysics of fire and light is apparent:

And if a man will rightly consider both properties according to the divine property, then let him ascribe the male to God the Father, viz., to the first principle, where God's Word does manifest itself with the fire-world, which is the first center of the creature; and the female let him ascribe to God the Son, viz., to the second principle, where the divine eternal Word does manifest itself in the light of love, and opens another centre in the love-desire, and comes to the fire's centre; in this manner fire produces a light. (*Mysterium Magnum*, xxiii,45)

As would be expected the process of reunion follows the process of division. The separation is of the light from the fire tinctures. (*Gnad.,* vii,17-18). In the division of man into Adam and Eve, Adam received the fire-property and Eve the light property. (*Mysterium Magnum*, xix,17; xxiii,43-44).

From this bizarre conception of the androgynous Christ the old traditional bride mysticism (*Brautmystik*) of the middle ages receives its metaphysical interpretations. Christ is to each of the sexes what it lacks for true unity. Boehme thus
sees in sex a shadowy, vague, and incomplete type of the final unification of all antitheses in the new birth.

We understand, then, the incarnation of Christ in a natural way, like that of all the children of men. For the heavenly, divine essence has given itself with its life to the earthly, half-killed essence. The master has submitted himself under the servant, in order that the servant might be made alive. Thus Christ in nine months became a perfect man and at the same time remained a true God, and was born into this world in the manner and mode of all Adam's children, by the same way as all men. And that, not that He needed it -- He could have been born magically -- but He desired and was destined to remedy our impure, animal birth and entrance into this life. He was to enter into this world by our entrance, and lead us out of this world into God's entrance, and bring us out of the earthly quality.

For if he had been born magically in a divine manner, then He would not by nature have been in this world. For the heavenly essence would necessarily have swallowed up the earthly quality; hence He would not have been like us. How then would He have willed to suffer death, and to enter into death and break it to pieces? But it is not so. He is truly the woman's seed, and He entered into this world in the natural way, like all men; but went out by death the divine way, in the divine power and essentiality. It is His divine living essentiality which stood firm in death, which has broken down death and cast derision on it, and led the wounded half-dead humanity through death into life eternal. For the earthly part, which He received from His mother Mary into Himself, into the divine nature, died on the cross to the earthly nature. The soul was thus in the essentiality of God, and descended as a conqueror into the hell of the devil, that is, into the fierce wrath of God, and quenched it with God's love and gentleness that characterize the divine love-essentiality. For the fire of love entered into the fire of wrath and drowned the wrath, in which the devil desired to be God. Hence the devil was taken captive by the darkness and lost his dominion. The sting or sword of the cherubim or destroying angel was here broken. And this was the reason that God became man, in order that He might lead us out of death into the life eternal, and quench with His love the wrath which burned in us. (Menschw., I,x,9ff)

Christ thus became man, assumed human flesh, in the seed of the woman (Mysterium Magnum, xxvii,26), conceived out of Mary's will as any other natural child. (Princ., xviii,96.) He was born without sin (Princ., xxii,56), Himself the incar-
nated Sophia (Princ., xxii,38). He drew our flesh, soul, and spirit to Himself in Mary (Dreyfach., xii,26), but the flesh was not the wild Adamical nature (Apol. Tilk. I,230).

Christ's person cannot be known or comprehended either from the letter of Scripture (Buchstaben) or from unilluminated reason (Mensch., I,1,10). Jesus Christ is God and man in one person (Irrth. Stief., 465,305). He is the formed and formative Word (Gnad., vii,20), and only the regenerated man who has put on the God-manhood of Christ as his own property can know what Christ's person is. (Mysterium Magnum, xxxvii,30). There is thus a human and a divine nature in Christ (Irrth. Stief., 420,438) but not in the traditional sense for Boehme sees with clarity that all being participates in the formative Word (Irrth. Stief., 131) while the life of faith is a participation in the formed Word, or the incarnated Jesus Christ. When Adam was created the formative Word of Christ's humanity was made, but it had not yet assumed flesh, that is, dwelt in the third principle (Epist., xii,58). Only in Jesus, the second Adam, did the formative Word become the formed flesh. This distinction — Christ as the second principle or the formative word, and Christ as the formed Word — form the basis of Boehme's conception of the two natures of Christ.

The Logos of the Trinity, the Light Principle of the dialectical forces — these form the one nature of the Christ. This is the formative Word which does not exist in the flesh. But when this Light assumes the darkness of flesh, then it has become incarnated in the third principle. Thus Christ
has the image of the inner and outer worlds within his own being (Dreyfach., v, 144). At times Boehme seems to deny that Christ assumed human flesh, for he says that He took on our soul but not our earthly body (Princ., xxii, 75) but, while this contradicts his scheme, he may be referring to the incorruptible flesh of the resurrected Christ. Christ had to assume all of human nature in order to redeem it; and Boehme does assert that Christ's spirit had spiritual flesh (Irrth. Stief., 233) composed of the inner elements and not entirely earthly in character (Princ., xxvi, 9), but he does emphasize the realistic view of Christ's assumption of flesh.

Boehme arrives then at a Christology which is dualistic in that Christ has two — and perhaps more — natures. There is first of all the formative Word outside of corporeal existence which is the dialectical counterpart to the dark, wrathful principle within reality; secondly there is the Christ who walked and talked on earth; and thirdly there is the resurrected Christ with the incorruptible flesh.

One interesting aspect of Boehme's Christology is related to his idea of nakedness. In the Incarnation of Jesus Christ that nakedness which resulted from Adam's Fall was overcome. This is the first work of Christ accomplished in the Incarnation.

Christ, in whom the original androgynous image of the primitive man is renewed, is He in whom the sinful nature of man's existential state is contrasted with man's essential character. In Christ the judgment which is partially implied
in the consciousness of nakedness is revealed, for in Him the depth of man's Fall is shown. In the Fall man lost the full consciousness of the *imago dei* but in Christ, the heavenly man walks upon the earth -- the real Son of Man. Furthermore, nakedness is poignantly revealed in the nakedness of Christ. But Christ is not that lost image which is presented to the weak and half-blind eyes of men; he is not merely a sentimental reminder of this lost idol. In Christ man is able to participate in this 'new being' by faith, forming within his own self the image of Christ and partaking through the tragedy of suffering with the eschatological nature of the resurrected new man in the new body. In Christ man becomes by faith a partaker of the 'new body' by means of a new birth. All this, though, is dependent upon the work of Christ, his own attainment of the resurrection, upon his atonement.
3. The Work of Christ

Why did God become man?

God sent Jesus Christ to man in order to open up the gate of the birth within man's life so that he might become reunited with God. (Princ., iv,39). God assumed human flesh only for the sake of the salvation of fallen man, so that he might bring him back again into Paradise (Menschw., I,1,5). God sent the holy name, Jesus, and implanted it within the nature of humanity so that He might overpower the dragon-source and the wrath of God within man's own nature and thus redeem poor man from the woe of the No which is within his own nature. (Theos. Frag., xii,12). With the incarnation of Jesus Christ the distorted substance within man's own nature became manifest (Irrth. Stief., 446), indeed the Godhead itself became substantial within human nature (Gnad., ix,21). Christ had to assume all the three Principles within human nature or else his saving and redeeming work would have been partial. (I Taufe, iii,5,6). Christ had to take on human form so that God's purpose in the creation of an androgynous man might stand firm:

The circumcision of the Jews, it being obligatory on them to circumcise male children only, contained this law in itself as follows: Adam was the one man that God created, and in him was God's image. Eve, as his wife, God did not will to create; the image was to be born from one only. But seeing that he fell, and that God had to make the woman for him, the covenant with the promise passed again upon one, so that all should be
regenerated and new-born from one, viz., from the second Adam; not from the woman Mary, but from Christ as the heavenly Adam. For the first man's of Adam's first blood, which he received from God's essentiality was to avail, and not the woman's earthly blood, in which Adam became earthly and a woman had to be contrived for him. And therefore also only the male kind was circumscribed, and in the same member that is an abomination before God and a shame of the soul, for impregnation was not destined to be bestial. Circumcision is thus a sign and figure, intimating that this member should be cut off from man and not appear with him in eternity. And Christ had to take on the form of a man, though inwardly he stood in a virgin image, that the purpose of God might stand. For the man's or the fire's property must rule, and the woman's or the light's property must soften his fire and bring it into the gentle image of God. (Menschw., I,vii,13)

By his incarnation Christ sanctified the female tinctur (Mysterium Magnum, xviii,46).

In the third Chapter of John, verse 13, Christ says he was come from heaven, whereby is understood the primal essence, for the Word needs no coming; it is there before, and needs only to move itself. Now, all men by the corrupt soulish property lay in the seed of Adam; and, on the other hand, all men lay in the matrix of Venus or in the female proprium, namely in Eve. And in Eve, as in the matrix of love from the being of the heavenly world which disappeared in Adam and Eve, God established his covenant and brought His Word thereinto, that the Woman's seed (i.e., the heavenly seed which the Word was to re-introduce, and in which God and man were to be again one person) Should bruise the head of the power of the serpent's spawn and the devil's will, and destroy the devil's works, which he would effectuate in soul and body.

Understand it aright. The first man as created in Adam, that is, the part derived from the being of the heavenly world, and secondly, the part which in the Word of God was to be introduced and become one being with the human or third part: he it was that had to do it, as God-Man and Man-God. Not a wholly strange Christ, but the same Word which had formed man out of itself into an image of God. Accordingly the formative Word and the formed word had to do it in the power of the Holy Spirit. The heavenly ens in the Word, as the temple of the Holy Spirit, was in the woman's seed to take unto itself a soulish seed, and also a corporeal seed from Adam's being out of the limus of the earth; in manner as God has taken the world unto Himself, and yet dwells in heaven in the holy being. (Gnad., vii,19,20)
The Incarnation of Jesus Christ would be incomplete without His work, without the atonement. Boehme's theory of the work of Christ, deriving from his metaphysics, is a return to the old views of the ancient church. It is neither Anselmic nor Abelardian. The work of Christ was the dramatic victory of light and the Yes over darkness and the No. Indeed, Boehme's whole speculation was fashioned around the idea that Christ came into the world to fight against sin and death. This is the combat between Michael and the dragon, a combat as old as history for it was present with Moses on Sinai (Theos. Frag., xi,17). This is the dragon, the old serpent, with whom Michael (as a figure of the divine power) fought, and expelled him together with his legions from the holy name. And in man the name Jesus fights against the dragon. This combat is not a creaturely thing...It is a combat between Yes and No, between the typical wrath and the typical love, between the first and second principles. (Theos. Frag., xi,14,15)

Why did Christ have to endure the passion and face the death?

Because

the human will must be broken and slain, and through death be introduced again into the holy name, Christ, accordingly, had to die and bring the human will through death, through hell and through this foundation, because the self-assumption of a will cannot subsist in God. If a will is to subsist in God, it must be impatible and non-suffering, so that it may be able to dwell in fire and yet not be laid hold of by the fire. (Theos. Frag., xi,19)

In this connection Boehme uses the ancient Christian figure -- an image which derives from Origen:

As the sun in the elements presses through everything, and kindles itself in the elements, and yet its light remains free; or as fire through-heats iron, and yet becomes not iron, but the iron is only an object in which the fire elevates and inflames itself; so pure also must
the will be which is to possess God's unity; no assuming may be in it. (Theos. Frag., xi, 30).

Christ is, then, the tincturing process and power. By His life, suffering, and death he makes this possible. He is, indeed, the guiltless lamb offered from the beginning of the world (Irrth. Stief., 436,) but Boehme does not understand this in Anselmic terms. Christ did not pay the price for man's sin; He was not the offering demanded by God, the perfect offering, given once for the sins of men. On the cross the inner nature of Christ did not die (Princ., xxii, 54), indeed, how could it? It is eternal, a part of the Godhead! Only the external man of the three principles died:

When Christ died on the cross, the name JESUS did not also die...No, it cannot be, the eternity does not die, only the spoken word, which stands again in the desire of the speaking...and brings its own sound into another form...the anger of God was set on fire (and) did wholly die away, not that it should be a nothing, but it fell into the nothing, viz., into God's will, into God's working and feeling, quite from the will of the outward world, which is evil and good, so that it might no longer live to the world, (to) the boiling or seething power of the four elements; but to the Eternal Father's nature in the walm of the pure element in the life of the outward world. (Sig. Rer., xii, 5f)

Adam's corporeality died on the cross (Sig. Rer., xii, 8), for Christ took the death of the external world of the third principle with him into the inner world:

He...then did truly take the outward kingdom into the inward; for the outward kingdom was begotten as a wonder out of the eternal wisdom in the speaking word, and spoken forth into a form...So that Jesus would not that the outward type of the wonders in the likeness of God should perish, but the wrath which had overpowered the love in man should be forgiven... (Sig. Rer., xi, 4f)

Indeed, Christ, in so far as he partook of the third principle in which Good and evil were mixed, was not capable of destroying
the wrath (Mysterium Magnum, xxxvi,45). Only as He transcended the third principle could He conquer the egocentric will.

But why did the external Christ have to die?

The Word of God, by entering into death, has generated the soul in itself, springing forth through death 'like a new flower'. (Princ., xxv,13) Christ became man and entered death and brought man out of the darkness, through the torment of fire, through the death inherent in the fire, into the freedom of the divine life, into the divine essentiality.

Therefore Christ has to die, and with the soul's spirit pass through the fire of Eternal Nature, that is, through the hell and wrath of the eternal nature, into the divine essentiality, and make our soul a way through death and wrath, in which path we might with Him and in Him enter through death into the eternal divine life. (Menschw., I, iii,7) *

Christ had to suffer and die within the corporeality of man in order that grace might be manifested in the righteousness of God. Christ had to take the four congealed elements back again into the original fire of nature, there to re-heat them and pour them out into a new mold-form in which the dark principle was absent. (Dreyfach, v,142) Here the 'process' of Christ's work is similar to the 'philosophical', or the alchemical, work. (Sig. Rer., xi). Just as the elements must be reheated, tinctured, 'cooked again', so man's corporeality must be passed through the death of formlessness and brought back again into a new corporeality in a new body.

Through Christ's death the cherub's sword was broken. (Menschw., I,vii,3), and the head of the serpent was bruised.
The devil was vanquished and mankind was released from bondage and death and corruption. Christ destroyed our death in His, tinged humanity with His blood, and opened up a gate to God for all mankind. Christ restored that image of God which was distorted in Adam; he brought back the original unity of the Man-God.

Christ's resurrection has a special significance in Boehme's thought because he felt that Christ was the first-born after death. He was the type of the new man. The nature of the resurrected man in Christ is therefore a symbol of the original and of the final perfection of mankind. The incorruptible flesh of the resurrected man is the clue to Adam's essential nature as well as the promise of the resurrection of all believers. There is, though, one important difference between Adam's nature and the nature of the resurrected man; in Christ sin has been removed as possibility by the act of forgiveness. The fundamental proposition here is that what Adam lost Christ restored.

For by human works sin had come into the world, and so also it had to be slain by human works in the grace of God's righteousness. Boehme, it seems, agreed with the Anselmic idea that since
man is guilty the guilt must be atoned for, but he differs 
in the nature of the satisfaction and in the mode of forgive-
ness. Since sin originated within human nature, so too the 
reconcilement and the appeasement must take place within the 
nature of man.

If sin shall be reconciled and appeased, then it must 
be brought into the anger, viz., into the judgment of God. 
(Mysterium Magnum, xxvii,27).

But man must bring it into the anger. God cannot do this.

Sin is forgiven in the same way in which it arose:

if it will enter then it must do it in manner and form 
as it went out, for it (sin) brought itself into false 
desire and lust. Even so likewise it must introduce itself 
again by returning into a sorrow and conversion, and 
in the sorrow or repentance again (introduce itself) into 
a divine desire which is called faith. (Mysterium Magnum, 
xxvii,35).

Forgiveness of sin is merely the beginning, for

it is necessary not merely to be forgiven, but to be 
born. Then we are to be regarded as forgiven, that is, 
sin is then but a husk. The new man grows out of this 
husk, and throws the husk away. That constituted God's 
forgiveness ( ).

In a beautiful reapplication of the parable of the Good Samaritan

Boehme continued this idea:

The fair image fell among murderers, that is, among the 
harsh spirits of nature...These held the image captive and 
drew off from it the robe of Paradise and left it lying 
half-dead. Now was there need of the Samaritan, Christ. 
And that was the cause that God became man. If the harm 
could have been healed through the speaking of a word or 
a word of forgiveness, God would not have become man.
(Menschw., iii,vi,2).

But Christ Himself is the forgiveness, the gift along with the 
merit. (Gnad., xiii,10)
By the forgiveness of sins and by the reconciliation of the conflicting aspects of man's nature, Christ restored the original unity of man. In this new man there is no longer male nor female. He neither marries nor is given in marriage. He sits down in a real kingdom, with a real spiritual body, to a banquet of heavenly manna, partaking of a new food -- the spiritual body of Christ. All his horrible memories of the guilty state shall be removed. There shall be no anxiety of turba within the world, no sense of nakedness. There will be a distinction between holy and profane love (Stier, 335) and married people will love each other spiritually.

According to Boehme's exegetical principles, the typological Old Testament examples of Christ are used as examples. He quotes Genesis ix, 20-27, the story of Noah's drunken stupor wherein Shem and Japheth covered their father's nakedness and in which Noah cursed Canaan:

Noah was drunk and lay naked with his shame, at which his son Ham mocked, and also declared it to his brethren... For this was even the abomination before God's holiness... Therefore God commanded Abraham to be circumcised on this member, to shew that this member was not given to Adam in the beginning, and that it should be again cut off from the image of God... Thus also we are to understand that the Father in His will, who freely gave us the Son, took on one part the garment out of sin's covering... For if Christ shall lay the covering garment upon our shame, then the soul must help, that is, it must give up and resign its will wholly thereunto... and it must take the garment intrue repentance upon its shoulders... and though they cannot see how they go, yet they go forth, trusting in God's mercy, and turn away their eyes from the shame, vanity and false will. For in this place going backwards and covering their shame signifies nothing else but to convert the selfhood naturally going forwards into its own will and will, and go back again into the One, out of which the free will departed and came into the monster, or shame. (Mysterium Magnum, xxxix, 1-26)
Ham who mocks his father's nakedness is he who has imagined himself into the lower world of antitheses. He is also the propensity of the human spirit to do evil:

He typifies man's evil spirit which enjoys the fallen state and the new being of the fallen man, because he mocks his own image in the image of the Father. (Mysterium Magnum, 4,22).

Such a mockery and disdain is the hatred of the new birth, a disavowal of a higher calling. Shem and Japhet are the true heavenly qualities which remained in man after the Fall.

Japhet is the inner Kingdom, that inner life in whom the powers of the lost divine image still are operative. Shem is the soul-spirit, i.e., the proper person and centrum of the new humanity. Man walks backwards and covers the nakedness of Adam and the signs of his fall. Here Boehme's conception of justification comes to light.

And they went backwards, and covered their Father's shame. This intimates and betokens that the free will is self must and shall wholly turn itself away from the bestial monster of selffulness and ownhood, wherein the shame stands open, and enter again into the resigned filiation orchildship; and go no more forwards, but retire again backwards; and must take the garment of the new humanity, viz., Christ's innocency, merit, and satisfaction upon it, and therewith cover the shame which our Father Adam has, with the monster, passed upon as by inheritance. (Mysterium Magnum, xxxiv,23).

Why does Boehme stress this Noah parallel? Luke says: And as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of Man! (xvii,26). And thus by a firm and faithful retreating into the unity which was Christ's new nature after the resurrection, the last possibility of sin is overcome. The redeemed and transfigured man of the resurrection lives wholly in the will of the Father, and the Kingdom is all in all.
4. Man's Response to Christ's Work

Where is the resurrected Christ?

The resurrected Christ, as the living Word of Life, exists within the heart of man (Dreyfach., xi,88). This is the basis of redemption.

Therefore it is said: Watch, pray, be sober, lead a temperate life, for the devil, your adversary, walks about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. (1. Pet. v,8). Follow not, then, after covetousness, money, goods, power, and honour, for in Christ we are not of this world. For therefore it was that Christ went to the Father, viz., into the divine Being, in order that we should follow him with our hearts, minds, and wills; and hence he says he will be with us all the days, even to the end of the world. (Matth. xxviii,20); but not in the source of this world. We must force a way out of the source of this world, out of the earthly man, and give up our will to his will, and introduce our imagination and desire into him; then we become pregnant in his virginity, which he has quickened again in us, and we receive the Word, which stirred itself in him, into our virginity shut up in death, and we are new-born in Christ in ourselves. For as death passed upon us all by Adam, so the Word of life passes upon us all from Christ. For the motion of the Deity in the incarnation of Christ has remained active, and is open to all men; there is lacking only the power of entry, in that man allows himself to be kept back by the devil. Christ need not first leave his place and enter into us, when we are new-born in him; for the divine being, in which he was born, contains everywhere the second principle. Wherever it may be said that God is present, there also it may be said that the incarnation in Christ is present too; for it has been revealed in Mary, and thus inqualifies backwards to Adam and forwards even to the last man. (Menschw., I, xii,19)

But if the eternal Christ, existing in the second principle, is thus within all being and in all reality, why is it necessary, and how does it happen, that man turns himself to the Christ.

What is man's response? Indeed, the name JESUS does live
within all mankind as an eternal, unchangeable love (Gnad., vii,31) and this JESUS aids the soul with all the means and merits at its command. (Gnad., viii,72). It is simply because Christ dwells within a man's own being that man can make a response to Christ's work.

In every man who is to be saved the word of promise from Grace must become an ens or being, and this is accomplished in repentance and conversion. God says in Isaiah (i,18): Though your sins be as red as scarlet, if ye turn, ye shall be as white as snow. This takes place when the kingdom of grace is manifested in the Kingdom of nature. This is really the same as was said to Abraham (Gen. xviii,10): This is the covenant, About this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son. (Rom., ix,9). That is, when the poor sinner repents, God comes in Christ's spirit and brings forth a new son out of Christ's flesh and blood in him. That is to say, the soul lays hold of Christ in itself in faith and hope, and brings the hope into an ens or being wherein lies the living promised Word. And thus commences the gestation of the new man out of Christ; and that is then a right seed of faith, from which the children of God are born as dew from the dawn. And then the old Adam is only attached to them as to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who by the external man were also mortal and sinful; but the temple of God, or the inner man in them, was holy. And so in like manner within us. (Gnad. , x,4,5).

Christ speaks His being into all mankind, but not all men want to hear his words. (Gnad., xiii,4), for only those who believe on His words comprehend his essences within their being. (Abend., v,18).

Man's first response to the work of Christ is heart-felt repentance for his sins. Repentance is the departing from pride in sin (Irrth. Stief., 297). Through sorrow and repentance man can introduce himself into the divine desire, which is faith. (Mysterium Magnum, xxvii,35). Repentance is the standing still in the false imagination. (Gnad.,xiii,7), for
No longer to be doing is the greatest or best repentance. This is the case when the ground of the soul begins to be still from imagining, and enters into its abyss. This the soul has power to do, unless it be already a thistle; then it runs and grows till the end of its time. Yet there is no judgment from without upon it, but only its own judgment, as long as it remains in the life of this world,. For imputed grace from without is of no effect... The imputed grace of Christ must be manifested in us, in the inward ground of the soul, and be our life...Repentance should not be put off till the end, for an old tree takes root badly. If Christ is not in the soul, there is no grace or forgiveness of sins. Christ himself is the forgiveness of sin, who with his blood transmutes in our soul the introduced abominations of God's wrath. (Gnad., xiii,7ff.)

Boehme has written an excellent little tract on repentance in which he shows the 'process' which he himself went and the course of the repentant soul. Repentance consists in the reversal of will, in that change of heart which makes the being centered in God's will rather than in the egocentric will of self.

Repentance leads to prayer, the second of man's responses to the work of Christ.

Real prayer is not the habit of repeating the words of prayer; no, such verbalizing without heartfelt devotion and divine desire is merely an outward act, an external word-carving. (Gebet, l)"

There is a true prayer and a false, a self-seeking prayer, dependent upon the nature of the one who prays.

If we would really pray, then we must first look at ourselves and consider well whether our heart has imagined itself into another creature, and whether such desires as we want to get from God are right; whether our desires which we take to God in prayer are against the good, and contrary to the love of neighbor, whether we seek temporal things by which we can injure our neighbour and draw what is his to ourselves; whether we bear universal love and singleness of heart; or whether by such prayer we seek only our own good.
Secondly, we should consider well whether we seek and love anything else besides the mercy of God; whether we want those created temporal things also from God's hand; or whether we want to possess them by our own art and cunning and cleverness, asking God only for His permission; whether we trust in ourselves; whether we want to achieve with God's help so that we can say, Of His Providence has God given this to me, I am only the hand and instrument of God; or whether we want to say: This have I done with my own scheming and planning.

Thirdly, we should consider what we want to do with that which we ask and desire of God; whether we seek therewith worldly honour and temporal voluptuousness; or whether we want to use in God's honour and for the love of our neighbor all that which God gives us with His blessing as the answer to our prayers; and whether we count ourselves as one of those workers and servants in His vineyard of whom God will demand an accounting of his talents, whether he has been a faithful servant?

Fourthly, we should consider that in this world we own nothing, and that we ourselves are not our own, but that we are only workers and guests in this world for a short time, that we are merely servants of our God set above His creation and creatures; that whatsoever we do we do not only for ourselves, but also for God and our neighbor, and that He Himself is in all of us; that because of this we should have a common bond of Love between us and seek to love one another as God has loved us in Christ Our Saviour; and that we should share these gifts -- be they heavenly or earthly -- heartily and cheerfully which God gives us in our prayers, loving and sustaining them as the tree nourishes all of its branches or as the earth bears all its fruits without favorites. (Gebet, 4-7)*

Prayer is thus a discipline in which the will is transformed, so that it enters into the divine will and becomes saturated with the divine love. (Dreyfach., xii,35). Prayer without love is useless and unavailing (Dreyfach., viii,13) for it is the soul's hunger for the original will of the Godhead. (Dreyfach., xvi,47) Man is not to come before God with naked breath and idle words. He must approach God in earnest repentance, converted from the false way of life.

We must want to depart from all arrogance, falsity, wrath, envy, and stubbornness. We must want to yield our whole heart and soul to God, the Holy Spirit, so
that He is our repentant activity and our strength in Prayer. He shall enclose our will and desire in Himself, leading them into God, so that he may die to our false vanity and desire in the death of Christ, which has been declared to us, being born in the spirit of Christ within us to a new will, mind, and loyalty towards God. And we shall henceforth come before God with our new will and birth in such a power of righteousness and purity, like his children which He has dearly brought through the blood and death of His dear Son, regenerating them in His spirit. (Gebet., 10)*

Through this power of prayer the spirit of the inner Christ is awakened within man and the enkindled fire-wrath of God is quenched within the soul (Aur., xvi,11/12). Only those who have attained purity of heart shall have their prayers heard.

The third response of man to the work of Christ is true faith, the right divine desire. In a beautiful passage Boehme describes what he considers true faith to be:

Now, faith is not an historical knowledge, that a man should frame articles to himself and depend on them alone, and force his mind into the works of his reason; but faith is one Spirit with God, for the Holy Spirit moves in the spirit of faith.

True faith is a power of God, one spirit with God. It works in and with God. It is free and bound to no article, save only to the true love, in which it gathers the power and strength of its life; human delusion and conjecture are of no consequence.

For as God is free from all delusions, in such a sense that He does whatever He wills, and needs to give no account about it; so also is the true right faith free in the Spirit of God. It has no more than one inclination, viz., to the love and mercy of God, so that it casts its will into God's will and goes out from the sidereal and elemental reason; it seeks not itself in carnal reason, but in God's love. And when in this way it finds itself, it finds itself in God, and works with God; not in acting according to reason, whatever the latter will have, but in God, whatever God's spirit will have. For it regards the earthly life as nothing, on order that it may live in God, and that God's spirit in it may be the will and the doing. It gives itself up in the humility to the will of God, and sinks down through reason into death, and springs up with
God's Spirit in the life of God. It is as if it were a nothing, and yet in God is all; it is an ornament and crown of the Deity, a wonder of the divine magia. It makes where there is nothing, and takes where nothing is made. It is operative, and no one sees its being. It is mighty, and yet is the lowest humility. It possesses all, and yet embraces nothing more than gentleness. It is thus free from all iniquity and has no law, for the fierce wrath of nature has no influence upon it. It exists in eternity, for it is comprehended in no ground; it is impent in nothing, just as the unground of eternity is free and rests in nothing save in itself only. (Menschw., III, 1, 2-4)

Faith is thus one of the powers of God (Princ., vii, 3) which is born within man in the resigned will (Menschw., I, xi, 8). Faith is the essential Word that exists within human beings and from faith the new incorruptible flesh is created. (Gnad., ix, 38). Faith is one will with God's will, indeed, faith is Christ within our natures, (Abendm. iii, 45) the life of the Virgin Sophia within our natures (Mysterium Magnum, xxiii, 39). Faith springs out of the Gospel of the Holy Spirit (Gnad., xii, 36), and it is a manifestation of the will. Where there is no faith there the Word is without essence. (Taufe I, ix, 42). And only in the new birth of man into the new body does true faith exist.

These, then, are the three responses which man can make to the work of Christ: repentance, prayer, and faith. Each one demands unity of will with the divine will -- it demands the Christ within man's heart.
5. Church and Sacraments

Jacob Boehme, persecuted as he was by the church in which he was born, bore little love for the world-church, the heap of stones which could neither save nor redeem. (Menschw., I,xiii,3). But he cared with all his heart and soul for the real church, the mystical body of Jesus Christ, which existed within the heart of man. (Mysterium Magnum, xxxvi,60) He said that a true Christian should be dead with Christ to self, and be risen again in Christ; and be born anew of Christ, and put on Christ. (Mysterium Magnum, xl,97)

In Christ! In the Lord! With Christ! These are the words of Paul! For external, titular Christendom is certainly not the church of Jesus Christ:

The whole titular Christendom is turned into mere sects and orders, where one sect despises and brands another as unrighteous. And thus they have made of Christendom a mere murdering den, full of blasphemies about Christ's person; and have bound the spirit of Christ...to the forms and orders of disputation, and have set foolish reason to be a master of understanding above Christ's kingdom, (Mysterium Magnum, xl,94).

The sects of organized Christendom mock and revile the person of Jesus Christ; each one wants to be the master; they revere the Kingdom of nature and do

boast themselves of their ordinances (and of the divine orders in the performances of devout duties in life-labour and much prating) and in the stone houses of the churches, cathedrals, and cloisters of Christendom; where indeed they do counterfeit somewhat of Christ, seeing that they there read the writings which the Apostles left behind them; but afterwards in their preaching, for the most part they foist in the kingdom and government of nature, with
brawling, and disputing; and spend the time with dis­­puting, confuting, and contending about sects (and their different mental idols and opinions), in so much that one party is brought wholly to condemn another, and the ears (and hearts) of the hearers are so infected with gall and bitterness that one sect wilfully opposes another, and cries it down for devilish; whence nothing but wars, and disdainful provocations do arise, to the desolating of countries and cities. (Mysterium Magnum, xl, 98)

This was certainly true during the days of the wars of religion. Boehme felt that only those who put on the mantle of Christ were Christian (Bedenck. Stief., 75) for a Christian is he who is a Christ in His inner ground (Gnad., x, 37), for he who has the inner word within his own being, in him Christ works; and he is himself the church within his heart.

The church is, then, the manifestation of Christ in being, the conscious manifestation of Christ within the structure of reality. Boehme's definition of true Christianity and of the life of the true Christian reads like a passage from the writings of his mystical contemporary, Johann Arndt:

A true Christian is a continual champion, and walks wholly in the will and desire of Christ's person, as He has walked up and down the earth. Christ, when he was upon the earth, desired to overcome death, and bring the human self-hood in true resignation into divine obedience: And this likewise a right Christian desires to do; he desires continually to die to the iniquity of death and wrath, and give himself up to obedience, and to arise and live in Christ's obedience in God.

Therefore, dear brethren, take heed of putting on Christ's purple mantle without a resigned will; the poor sinner without sorrow for his sins, and conversion of his will, does only take it in scorn to Christ; Keep you fom that doctrine which teaches of self-ful abilities, and of the works of justification...

Therefore let the true Christian know, and deeply lay to heart, what is now told and spoken of her, viz., that she depart from the false conjecture of comforting, without conversion of the will; it is only an outward form of the new birth; a Christian must be one spirit with Christ, and have Christ's will and life in him; the form does not
renew him, neither comforting, or giving good words does at all help or avail, but a mortifying of the evil inbred will, which is God's child, and born in Christ's death, no other will attains Christ's inheritance; my much knowing does not also do it; the herdsman in the field is as near to it as the doctor; no wit or subtle art in disputation about the way of God does help or avail anything thereunto, it is only a let and a hindrance; the true will enters into the love of God and His children; it seeks no form, but falls down before its creator, and desires the death of its false self-hood; it seeks the work of love towards all men; it will not flourish in the world's scorn, but in its God; its whole life is a mere repentance, and a continual sorrow for the evil which cleaves to it. It seeks no glory or applause to show itself, but lives in humility: It acknowledges itself always as unworthy and simple; its true Christianity is always hidden in its self-hood. He says, "I am in my self-hood an unprofitable servant, and have not as yet begun to do or work repentance right." He is always in the beginning to work repentance, would always fain reach the gates of the sweet grace; he labours for that purpose as a woman in travail labours to bring forth, and knows not how it fares with him; the Lord hides his face from him, that his working may be great towards him: He sows in anguish and tears, and knows not his fruit, for it is hidden in God; as a painful traveller goes a long way, aiming at his wished-for journey's end, so also he runs after the far mark of his rest, and finds it not; unless his pearl does appear to him in its beauty, and embraces him in its love: If it again departs from his self-hood, then arises sighing and sorrowing again with continual desire; and one day calls another, the day the night, and the night the morning; and yet there is no place of rest in the earthly self-hood, but only in the fair solar lustre of his precious pearl; when the sun arises to him in the darkness then the night departs, and all sorrow and anguish fly away. (Sig. Rer., xv,29ff)

The true Christian, the member of the real church, is the plainest man upon earth. The heathens desire self-hood, tearing and devouring one another for wordly honours and authority. The true Christian does not desire them. He does not seek his own.

A true Christian acknowledges himself for a servant of God, to whom it is given in charge to deal right with God's works. He is not his own, for he is also not at home in this earthly work of this tabernacle: Let him seek, search, plant, and build, traffic and trade; and whatever he does, he must always know that he does it for God and
shall give an account thereof, and that he is a stranger
and servant in this work, and serves his master; and not
at all look upon the course of his forefathers who have
walked therein in the pleasure of the earthly life; whoever
does so is far from the kingdom of God, and can with no
conscience and ground call himself a Christian; for he
stands only in the form of Christianity, and not in the
spirit of Christ; the form shall be destroyed, and cease
with time, but the spirit remains steadfast forever.

The true Christian is in the spirit of a Christian, and
in continual exercise to bring forth its own form, not
only with words in sound and shew, but in the power of the
work, as a visible palpable form, not weening, conjecturing,
and giving good words out of the self-ful self-hood, and
yet remaining in self-hood; but a dying to self-hood, and
a growing forth in the will of God in the love-self-hood as
a Servant of God's deeds of wonder; a helping to strike
his instrument in God's will, and be a true sounding string
in God's harmonious concert; a continual making word in
God's voice, viz., in the verbum fiam, which makes and
works in and with God what God makes, forms, and works,
as an instrument of God. (Sig. Rer., xv, 57)

From this idea of true Christianity as opposed to the
external world-church Boehme derived his profoundly spiritual
views of the sacraments. Since Christ lived essentially in
the regenerated soul (Mysterium Magnum, xxxix, 9) it is obvious
that Christ sustains and nourishes the regenerated man by means
of the sacraments which He has ordained. A true Christian hungers
after the members of Christ (Mysterium Magnum, lviii, 52) for
he wants the sustaining and nourishing 'food' of the heavenly
body and blood of Jesus Christ.

The testaments of Christ are nothing else but a loving
bond or brotherly covenant, wherewith God in Christ binds
Himself to us and us to him. (Wiedergeburt, viii, 2)

After this form of union the Christian hungers and thirsts, and
it is for this end that the sacraments were instituted.

Boehme's metaphysics, with its clear distinction between
the heavenly substance and the earthly substance, formed the
basis of his idea of the sacraments.
The outward heaven is...the power or conception of the water. The word...is yet still a creatin...the Spirit of God still moves upon the water; and the holy water is yet continually separated from the water under the firmament.

This holy water is that of which Christ told us, that he would give us it to drink; that should spring up in us to a fountain of eternal life. The holy heavenly corporality does consist therein; it is the body of Christ which he brought from heaven; and by the same, introduced heavenly paradisical essentiality into our dead or decayed body; and quickened ours in his...

In this heavenly essence the Testaments of Christ consist. (Mysterium Magnum, x,56ff)

Christ's Testaments are not idle symbols and signs of an inner reality. The soul really eats

God's flesh and Christ's body, and by this eating the divine body does also grow in it, so that it thus gets the divine body, and so becomes God's child, not only in the similitude, but a child born in God, out of His essences, and lives in God. When it hears God's children teach and speak God's Word (even in this world), it receives it, and eats it. The outward man eats earthly bread, and the soul eats the bread of God; of which Christ said, that He gives us His body for meat, and His Testaments are nothing else. Indeed we eat not spirit without body; for the soul is spirit already, and desires to have a body, and so it gets both body and spirit. Let this be spoken to Thee, O Babel, and see how you manage Christ's Testaments, and what you teach when you say Christ's Testaments are spirit without body, you belie God, and deny God's substantiality, Christ's heavenly body, which is greater than all things, which is the fulness of all things...O earthly mouth, you shall not chew it with your teeth; the soul has another mouth, which receives it under the outward element; the outward receives the outward, the inward receives the inward. The Supper of Christ with His disciples was so; the outward is a remembrance; the inward is the substance; for the Kingdom of God...is essential, substantial. (Seel. Frat., viii,3ff)

The Sacraments, then, are not offerings for sin (Mysterium Magnum, xxvii,43), but a real feeding upon a real substance, God's own essentiality.

Following Lutheran and Schwenkfeldian traditions Boehme held that there were two sacraments: Baptism and the Supper.
In the midst of Schwenkfeldian expositions of the meaning of the sacraments, Lutheran words appear. In Taufe, i, 4, the word Unwürdig derives from the Lutheran Catechism on Baptism, and iv., 15, renders the Lutheran sacramental word of Tauffbund. These, though, are superficial. Boehme’s view of the nature of the sacraments is unique in that he was not interested in the substantial character of the host in the traditional sense for his metaphysics demanded another point of view.

Boehme believed that the Jews and Christians have one Baptism, for circumcision and baptism are really the same act, deriving from the same spiritual symbolism. (Mysterium Magnum, xli, 10). The Baptism of the Christians is performed with the same water which is the heavenly water in which the flaming love-Word of God has incorporated itself.

The water is the heaven, wherein the only holy element is the motion and essence; it is Christ’s, viz., God’s, holy corporeity, viz., the formed wisdom of His forth-breathed word. (Mysterium Magnum, xli, 20)

The body is baptized with the external, elemental water; but the spirit of the inner man is baptized with the inner, heavenly water (Sig. Rer., vii, 67) by means of the Holy Spirit (Taufe, I, ii, 39):

Now says reason, How is the Baptism then? I perceive nothing but water, and words. I answer: Hearken, beloved Reason, your outward body is in the world only, and therefore outward water is requisite. But as the hidden man, Christ, with his pure element, holds the out-birth of this world (viz., the four elements, wherein our body consists) and as all is his, so he holds also the outward water, and baptizes with the inward water of the element,
with the water of eternal life, out of his holy body. For the Holy Ghost in the covenant baptizes with the inward water, and the minister baptizes with the outward; the outward man receives the earthly, elementary water, and the soul receives the water of the washing in the regeneration. (Princ., xxiii,37)

Boehme does not distinguish between the baptism of infants and that of adults, nor does he state whether the baptism of infants is of value. He insists that all sinners stand in continual need of baptism, adults and infants alike. (Theos. Punkt., viii,9). It is not for unbelievers to mock the efficacy of the sacrament.

The Lord's supper is the sacramental meal by which the body of Christ is fed to the human soul. (Dreyfach xi,75) It was instituted by Jesus when he sat with the disciples in the Upper room:

When they met together, and made known the wonders of the Lord, and sat together with a fervent spirit; then, after exhortation one of another, they distributed the Lord's Last Supper, as he had commanded them: They took bread and brake it, and ate of it, and thereby, and therewith, have commemorated the Lord's death; in like manner also they took the cup, and drank of it, and commemorated the shedding of His blood: saying one to another, Take and eat the Lord's body, which was given for us on the cross.

So also they did with the cup; they took it in their hand, and drank of it; for the uppermost of the congregation began, and said to the other, Take the cup and drink the blood of Christ our Lord, which he hath shed for us on the cross for the remission of sins, and commemorate his death, and the shedding of his blood, until he come again to judgment, and bring us into himself.

It will be noted that Boehme is here setting forth a democratic, non-priestly view of the distribution of the elements. He is doing away with priestcraft in that he has the celebrants pass
the elements each to the other.

But what is the nature of these elements?

You ought highly to understand this: He have not his disciples the earthly substance, which did hang to Christ's body, in which he suffered death, which was despised, buffeted, spit upon, scourged, and slain; for then had he given them his mortal flesh; but he gave them his holy body, his holy flesh, which hung also on the cross in the mortal substance, and his holy blood, which was shed together with the mortal, as an immortal flesh and blood, which the disciples received into their body, which was put on to the soul as a new body out of Christ's body, whereby the disciples were capable of receiving Christ, and became members of his body. (Dreyfach, xiii,13)

Man thus eats Christ's body and drinks His blood with the mouth of the soul (Dreyfach, xiii,17). This is Boehme's way of saying that the desiring will of the soul is the part of man which eats Christ's body. Here his voluntarism is applied to the sacramental act. Only with Christ's body, as the substantial aspect of the second principle, can man endure the consuming and destructive aspect of the fire of the re-birth. To be reborn man must pass through fire; but fire consumes everything except the 'light'. Only by appropriating 'Light' can man survive. The Lord's Supper, then, possesses the light principle by which man is nourished and able to withstand the fires of the new birth. It possesses the tinctur of the fire-life. (Dreyfach, xiii,26) Here the basic dialectical character of Boehme's view of the Supper is apparent. Man lives in the third principle of mixed corporeality. He partakes of wrath and love, of darkness and light. His third-principle body can be regenerated only when it is nourished by the Light. And this act of spiritual nourishment is the Lord's Supper:
The fire of the soul must have the proper fuel, if it is to give a good and powerful light; for through the soul's fire God's Spirit in its power becomes separable and manifest in the nature of the soul. In the same way as light becomes manifest through fire, and air through fire and light, and from the air a subtle water proceeds, which becomes essential after its issuing forth, and from which the light draws power again into itself for food. Hence Christ said (John vi, 53): He that eateth not the flesh of the Son of Man, and drinketh not his blood, hath no life in himself. (Gnad., viii, 88)

This is conceived of by Boehme in substantial terms:

So in like manner Christ cannot become manifest in man (though He is in him, and draws him and calls him, and presses into the soul), unless the soul eat of the Divine ens, taking it into its fiery property. This ens enters with difficulty into the fire of pride, seeing that the latter would have to feed upon the water-fountain of the love-life and gentleness. It would rather feed upon sulphur and mercury, i. e., its own likeness. But if it do feed upon the water fountain, then the spirit of love and humility, viz., the Divine ens, becomes fiery, and lays hold of the fire-root consisting of the first three forms (salt, sulphur, and mercury), and transmutes them into itself. As a tincture falls upon glowing iron and changes the iron into gold, so also here the soulish centre from the fire-nature of the Father is changed into a love-fire, and in this love-fire Christ becomes manifest and is born in the soul. And then from the soul's fire the right divine air-spirit proceeds from fire and light, and brings its spiritual water out of itself, out of the light. This water becomes essential; and the power of the light eats thereof, and in the love-desire brings itself into a holy thing, that is, into a spiritual corporeality in which the Holy Trinity dwells. (Gnad., viii, 90)

Thus in the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Jesus Christ the soul, as the hungering will of the being, partakes of the light principle which drowns the wrath and thus becomes a member of Christ's body, the church, and draws Christ to itself. Christ's love is implanted to it, and, since it has eaten Christ's flesh and drunk His blood, he dwells within it.
and He has taken up His abode in that soul. This is the
meaning of Boehme's mystical doctrine of the sacraments --
the essential appropriation of Christ's body.
6. The New Birth and the New Body

Boehme's entire soteriological presentation was directed towards one thing -- man's new birth in a new body. The re-born man, saved by Christ and nourished by His body achieved that totality of the human image which has been prophecied to Him in Scripture and promised him in His faith. He is to receive once more the body which was Adam's fair adornment. The new-born man returns to the corporeality of essential man and re-enters the world of harmony, the world of temperamentum or equivalent love. This is the new man -- eschatological man.

Boehme thus has three anthropological categories: there is first of all essential man, the primitive Adam; then there is also the fallen, existential man; and thirdly there is the newly born man of glory.

To achieve the totality of the human image and to restore the essence of fallen man, God assumed human flesh:

on this account God has decreed a day, in which he will bring the essence of the old and first Adam through fire, when it shall be released from vanity, from the craving of the devil and from the wrath of the Eternal Nature.

We understand further how God has brought again into us the life of his holy Being by putting himself in motion with his own heart or Word and power of the divine life in the virginity that was shut up in death, viz., in the true pure love; and has rekindled his love and introduced his heavenly essentiality with the pure virginity into the virginity shut up in death, and has out of the heavenly virginity and that shut up in death and wrath generated a new image. (Menschw., I,xii,10ff)

The resurrected Christ achieved the totality of the human image,
even the corporeality, and by His work on the cross this image has become the treasured promise of all believers. This is the meaning of the work of Christ:

But that Reason says: We shall only in the resurrection be new born and put on Christ in the flesh -- this is Babel, and implies no understanding of the words of Christ. The body that comes from the earth shall put on Christ essentially only in the resurrection, but the soul must in this present time put on Christ in his heavenly flesh, and in Christ must the new body be given to the soul. Not as coming from the blood of man nor from the flesh, but as proceeding from the Word and the Divine ens into the deadened nature of the Divine ens, which lost its vitality in Adam and became insensible and inert as to God's working. It is in this body that Christ must be new born and become a God-man, and man become a man-God.

Therefore, brethren, understand, on the one hand, that Christ is the divine purpose and the divine will in the operation of grace. Whoever is born of him and puts him on, is chosen in Christ and is a child of grace. And, on the other hand, the purpose of God is to be found in the fiery will of the soul which arises from the center of eternal nature, where Light and darkness separate. There one part, as the coarse, phantastic sulphur, enters into the center of darkness; but the subtle part enters into the light. Now, into whatever the attraction of the unfathomable will to Nature severizes itself, in that does the will become a creature, either in the light or in the darkness (Gnad., viii, 97ff).

The new birth is thus a matter of the will; it is voluntaristic. He whose will is centered in Christ's flesh -- his heavenly flesh and blood -- will become newly born.

Boehme distinguishes between the birth of the outer body and the birth of the inner body. He recognizes that the external flesh cannot be reborn and regenerated until after the general resurrection of believers on the youngest day. But the inner man can begin this process of new birth here and now. The inner man can become re-born. He can become the wonder of the angels (Dreyfach., iv, 58). He can direct
his will away from the first and third principles into the second, Christ (Princ., xv,15), blooming through God's fire of wrath like a sweet flower (Menschw. I,xii,22). Boehme describes this achievement in the symbolic language of the Book of Revelation:

Wouldst thou be a champion, then thou must in Christ's footsteps wage war with the old ass, as well as fight with the devil. If thou conquer and art acknowledged and accepted as a valiant child of God, the woman's crown with twelve stars will be put on thee. That shalt thou wear, till the virgin be born out of the woman from thy death or by thy death she shall put on the triple crown of great honour in the Ternarius Sanctus. For as long as the virgin image is still shut up in the old Adam, it attains not the angelic crown, as it still in danger. But when it is born at the death of the old Adam and emerges from the husk or shell, then it is an angel and can no longer perish, and the right crown as assigned, in which God became men, is put upon it. But the crown with the twelve stars it retains as an eternal sign; for it must never be forgotten that God has in the earthly woman again disclosed the virginity and become man. The Deity is spirit, and the holy pure Element is born out of the Word of eternity; and the master has passed into servant, at which all the angels in heaven marvel; and it is the greatest wonder which has been done from eternity, for it is against nature, and such may be described as love. The six earthly signs of the crown with twelve stars shall stand as an eternal wonder and be an eternal son of praise, in that God has redeemed us out of death and distress; and the six heavenly signs shall be our crown and glory, to show that we have overcome what is earthly by what is heavenly, that we were men and women, and thereafter are chaste virgins filled with proper love. Thus the signs of victory shall continue to eternity, whereby shall be recognized what God has had to do with humanity, and how man is the greatest wonder in heaven, at which the angels highly rejoice. (Menschw., I,xiii,17)

What is the new birth?

Take thy mind, and break through (the spirit of this world entirely), incline thy mind into the kind love of God; make thy purpose earnest and strong, to break through the pleasure of this world with thy mind, and not to regard it; consider that thou art not at home in this world,
but that thou art a strange guest, captivated in a close
prison; yield thyself up to him, in obedience, righteousness,
modesty, chastity, and truth. And seek not so eagerly
after the Kingdom of this world; it will stick close
enough to thee without that; and then the chaste virgin
will meet thee in thy mind, highly and deeply, and will
lead thee to thy bridegroom, who hath the key to the
gate of the deep; thou must stand before him, who will
give thee to eat of the heavenly manna, which will re-
fresh thee, and thou wilt be strong, and struggle with the
gate of the deep, and thou wilt break through as the day-
break; and though thou liest captive here in the night,
yet the rays of the break of day will appear to thee in
the paradise, in which place thy chaste virgin standeth,
waiting for thee with the joy of the angels, who will very
kindly receive thee in thy new-born mind and spirit.
(Princ., xvi, 48)

This new birth is, then, the acquirement of the new will (Myst.,
Punct., iii, 25) which is the expressed, out-spoken name
JESUS (Tab. Princ., 72). The new birth then is when
we enter with our will into God's will, and wholly
unite and give ourselves up to him, which is called faith.
For the word faith is not historical; but it is a taking
out of God's nature, the eating of God's nature, the in-
roducing of God's nature by the imagination into the
fire of one's soul, to appease its hunger thereby, and
thus putting on God's nature, not as a garment, but as
a body of the soul. (Menschw., I, xi, 8)

The soul must depart from its place in the third principle
and enter into the second (Princ., xiv, 3) -- this is its new
birth. When this happens it becomes regenerated by means of
faith in and dependence upon the heart of God -- Jesus (Dreyfach.,
iii, 49). To enter into this new birth one must depart from
the animal nature (Princ., xxi, 70); he must endure much suffering,
trial and tribulation (Menschw., II, vi, 12). By enduring and
suffering as Christ did the new birth comes to pass; to be
re-born one must follow in the Process of Christ (Gnad., ix, 110).
Thus through Christ a new birth comes to man, and it is through this new birth that he is blessed. (Mysterium Magnum, xlvi,25). The new born person is a child of Sophia again, for he has attained unity with her, that unity which he lost in Adam's fall. (Mysterium Magnum, lxvi,47).

Boehme's alchemical inclinations led him to identify the process of the new birth with the transmutation of the metals. (Sig. Rer., v,15). The absurdity of the alchemical process of transmutation was not apparent to Boehme, and today the figure loses its force.
7. Total Redemption.

Boehme's vision of the final redemption of the world was not insular and limited; he did not wish to see only part of the universe redeemed; he wanted the original harmony or temperamentum to be restored. There will be a restitution of all things. The terrible turba magna within the structure of reality will be removed. The cause of sin within the world will be destroyed. The devil's power will be broken and the universe restored to its pure, crystalline state as it had been before the Fall of Lucifer and Adam.

This shall transpire through the judgment of God, the final separation which shall take place at the end of time.

Christ has taught us that a judgment shall be kept, not only for the punishment of the despisers of God, and for a reward to the good, but also for the sake of the creature, and of nature, that they may once be delivered from vanity; and we know that the substance of this world, and the property thereof must pass away; the sun and the stars, and also the four elements, must pass away as to their source, and all must be restored again; and then life will spring forth through death, and the figure of everything shall stand eternally before God, for which end it was created; also we know that our souls are immortal, generated out of the eternal band; and when this world passes away, then also all its essences pass away... (Princ., xxvii,1)

This day of youngest judgment is the day of the reawakening of the sleeping (Dreyfach., v,130), the day when good and evil, love and wrath shall be separated one from another. (Mysterium Magnum, xxviii,24) All that was lost in Adam shall be restored again (Bedenk. Stief., 55), and the things that resulted
from Adam's fall shall be done away with.

The last judgment is nothing else than an ingathering by the Father of all beings and of all that he has brought forth through His word. Into whatever anything in free will has separated itself, into that will it enter; for in that eternal receptacle, and according to the property of that Principle, it is good. (Gnad., vi,86)

When this Youngest Day shall come then the war of the elements, the dialectical tension of life, shall have ceased. Life no longer shall be made up of the melting together of two contrary yet mutually necessary poles; it will not be necessary to say that In Yes and No consist all things. The Yes and the No will be melted into a great harmony, into a wonderful temperament of harmony and joy. This is the goal and the end of life, for as Boehme says in one superb sentence:

The one ground of our religion is, that we love Christ in us, and love one another as Christ has loved us, in that he gave his life for us. But this love is not manifested in us, unless Christ become man and be manifested in us. (Gnad., xiii,23).
BOOK THREE

THE NATURE OF BOEHME'S MYSTICISM

Ach Gott, wo soll ich weiter fragen?  
Er ist bei keiner Kreatur.  
Wer führet mich über die Natur?  
Wer schafft ein Ende meinem Klagen?  
Ich muss mich über alles schwingen,  
Muss mich erheben über mich;  
Dann hoff ich wird mirs wohl gelingen,  
Dass ich, O Jesu, finde dich.

Angelus Silesius--
Before the final character of Jacob Boehme's dialectical mysticism can be ascertained, the preliminary and equally important question of the meaning of mysticism itself must be established.

What is mysticism?

Mysticism is often used in obscure and indeterminate senses that becloud and hide its real meaning. It is used for a refined psychologism, for the irrational passion of the soul, for the music of the soul, for romantic subjectivism, and sometimes merely for a dreamy state of consciousness. These aberrations, however silly they may seem, have the value of aiding in further delineation of mysticism's real meaning.

Mysticism is the search for the resolution of the disunities of being.

That was the preliminary definition offered in the Introduction. In any definition of mysticism there is a necessary
a priori element, for the total meaning of the word does not, and in one sense cannot, wholly appear within the framework of its historical manifestations. Definition of mysticism is itself a dialectical process because there is a steady and continual alternation between this a priori element and the historical manifestation, between the subject that defines and the thing defined. The basic epistemological proposition of all mystical thought, including the process of definition, is that knowledge rests upon the coincidence of object and subject. And in the end the subjective a priori apprehension and the historical manifestation are the same, for it seems to take a mystic to define mysticism.

This is but another way of suggesting what has been essential Christian doctrine since Paul: that knowledge rests upon faith. Mystical gnosis rests upon the assumption that behind the visible world of the senses there lies a real world which is at the same time the foundation of our own being and the meaning of our existence. If mysticism is the search for the resolution of the disunities of existence then it implies that such resolution of painful aspects of consciousness is to be found beyond the ordinary limits of the self. From the epistemological point of view mysticism may be thought of as an immediate, intuitive experimental knowledge of God resulting

1 Schelling, System des Transcendental Idealismus, 1, 1.
3 Bennet, A Philosophical Study of Mysticism, New Haven, 1923, p. 49.
from an earnest attempt to overcome the limitations of the self which such an intuition has yielded.

But, how can there be any search for the resolution of the disunities of being when no disunity is presumed? How can a monist conceive of the unio mystica? In mysticism there is therefore the presupposition of provisional duality; but there is also the implication that behind this duality there is unity. Any definition which limits mysticism to the simple experience of the unio mystica, and that in ecstatic and often nirvanistic terms, is oblivious to the essential bi-polarity of the mystical phenomena. Authentic mysticism is not affected by the opposition of transcendent dualism and immanent monism. Certain special types of mysticism assert that ecstatic union with a greater transcendent reality is essential. This is the mysticism of German National Socialism and Russian Communism. But to miss the provisional dualism of mystical speculation is to limit mysticism to a narrow and segmented field.

Mysticism presupposes mystery -- indeed, the words have the same Greek root. Mysticism presupposes the inexhaustible and the ineffable, and it also presupposes the possibility of vital contact with this mystery and a rewarding life in and with this mysterious ineffable. Mysticism is the life of faith, the venturing of life itself upon the unseen and the untouched,

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the risking of the self in an attempt to overcome the limitations of creatureliness. It is life based upon the acceptance of this mysterious and daring adventure.

The root word of μυστήριον is μυέιν, words associated with the ancient Greek mysteries. The initiate in these mysteries was to keep his eyes and mouth closed so that the secret, initiatory experience might not be profaned. But why keep eyes and mouth closed? What is this precious, ineffable interior state of being? What is its special holiness? What is the secret which must be kept inviolate?

And the answer must lie somewhere within the initiate and within the character of this secret, internal mystery. Somewhere within this sacred, holy gnosis there lies the whole meaning of mysticism, for in the relationship of this experience to the being of the initiate, in the actual and vital contact between mystery and being, there lies the paradox which overcomes the breach between the transcendent God and the soul of man. Mysticism, while accepting transcendence, is concerned with the actuality of experienced immanence. Gerhard Tersteegen described this shutting of the eyes and of the mouth, this retreat into the inner depths of being, in the following verse:

Ach, nimm mich ein, mein wahren Leben,
Mein tiefes Wohlsein, meine Ruh'!
Lass mich nicht mehr zerstreuet schweben,
Ich schliess die matte Augen zu:

Here is the closing of the eyes and mouth without the extinction of the individuality of the human psyche.

Mysticism was that form of religious activity in which first the eyes and then the mouth were closed to protect the aura of unapproachability in the religious, the holy intuition. Later antiquity, especially the Neoplatonists, added another meaning, for the followers of Plotinus were to seal not only their mouths and eyes, but also their whole mind, for not only was the profanum volgus excluded from the knowledge of the mystery, but the world too was to be shunned and avoided. Only by world renunciation could the holiness of this internal and sacred mystery be kept. This is the characteristic of Hellenistic ideas about revelation, a supra-rational apprehension of divine truth, an apprehension in which individual man, by world renunciation, comes to possess immediate contact (ἐφανέρωσις) with deity. This idea originated with Philo and was grounded in his idea that knowledge of God consisted in a renunciation of self -- giving up individuality -- and becoming merged with Primordial being. To this process of sealing eyes, lips, and heart Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopogite gave the name ἡ ἐναλλοτρία Θεολογία, the mystical theology, and this title of his most important

1 Schultze-Masier, Mystische Dichtung aus sieben Jahrhunderten, Leipzig 1925, p.325.
2 F. Heiler, Das Gebet, pp.248-249.
work it became the designation for a world-shunning religion in which union with God was said to have been achieved by a closing of the eyes, mouth, and heart in self-renunciation.

Similarly, the early church developed a ritual discipline in which the 'unbaptized' were excluded from participating in the Lord's Supper, for *sacramentum* was mystery and it had to be protected from profanation by the uninitiated.

*πύελυ* connotes double activity: closing the eyes and closing the mouth. Closing the eyes implies that the initiate is seeking a non-sensory experience. Also, the closing of the mouth implies that the experience remains interior to the self, and that communication is difficult and perhaps impossible. This is what the unknown German mystical poet of the 15th Century had in mind when he wrote:

Das Bild, das kam verdecket
In einer fremden Gestalt,
Vernunft, die war erschrecket,
Der Will ist worden kalt.
Vernunft und auch die Sinne,
Die hüt'ten nit mit Fleiss,
Das Bild wollt nit von hinnen —
Das Finster es weilen heiss.

In this second sense of the meaning of *πύελυ*, then, the implication proceeds that mysticism is the closing of the mouth produced by the knowledge that the *gnosis* treasured within

the mystic's own being is ineffable, incapable of rational expression. Thus mysticism seems to imply that the experience is non-sensory and ineffable, that it transpires when eyes are closed and that it cannot be communicated by word of mouth.

This means, in other words, that the religious revelation called mystical is an unveiling of the inmost depths of the soul, an experience wholly personal and immanent. But it also implies that the transcendent is beyond the self, that the initiate has neither lived through nor experienced the transcendent as wholly transcendent. In this sense mysticism is the definite overcoming of transcendence and the attainment of a thoroughgoing immanence.

It is, perhaps, clear that if the initiate closes his eyes and his mouth, if he shuts himself off from phenomena and from the outer world of communication, then he enters into his own heart, into his own consciousness, into his 'being'. Mysticism is then the achievement of religious Innerlichkeit, that phase of religious aspiration in which God dwells within the human soul, or, at least, a mood in which sacred gnosis is treasured within the human heart. The sacred mystery of Gottesschau is preserved in the human heart by a shutting of the eyes and a closing of the mouth, and the mystic protects his holy or sacred gnosis from external profanation. The mystic, by thus escaping from the profane world into a comfortable and sacred inner world, can justly be accused of quietistic tendencies. He is in open
and deep-rooted rebellion against the profanation of sacred mysteries, against the putrefaction of holy forms, and against the desecration of real spirituality. He is in undivided opposition against secularizing tendencies within organized religion and he retreats into the inner depths of his individual being and finds there satisfying comfort in the indwelling mystery.

Mysticism is the defense of the freedom of the spirit in the face of the totalitarian claims of formal religion. It is not the bland assertion of the freedom of the will, the establishment of the antithesis of freedom and grace. No! This vicious antithesis, as Boehme ably demonstrated in his **Gehädenwahl**, involved the rationalization of freedom and its subjection to the natural order. In mysticism the antithesis between freedom and causality is meaningless for the internal, hidden, mysterious energy which confronts the mystic when he closes his eyes and his mouth is only apparent in spiritual causality. In the mystical life activity is self-caused and self-determining. In freedom the inner activity of life becomes perceptible. Freedom is dynamic, and this vital dynamism of life is only apprehended by sharing in its power. This is what Novalis meant when he wrote:

\[
\text{Die Lieb\' ist freo gegeben} \\
\text{Und keine Trennung mehr.} \\
\text{Es wogt das volle Leben} \\
\text{Wie ein unendlich Meer.}
\]
Nur eine Nacht der Wonne--

Ein ewiges Gedicht --

Und unser aller Sonne

Ist Gottes Angesicht.

The freedom implied in a shutting of the eyes and of the mouth is that initial and irrational freedom which is prior to good and evil as well as to the intelligent and rational freedom of man to choose his own ends. The first is the freedom implied in being; the latter is the freedom implied in moral decision. These freedoms are not independent of each other and the mystic is severely aware of the tension between them. Man's irrational freedom is the basis of his being for he seems to be ever striving to live according to his own free and unimpeded will. For this freedom he is willing to suffer, to endure, and even to die. And in so far as man participates in this divine freedom with his own being, in so far as he puts on the freedom of Christ, he has achieved the unity of the transcendent God within his heart. He has put on the mind of Christ.

Whenever man's search for full and permanent freedom makes him retreat into the inmost depths of being, whenever he shuts his eyes and his mouth, then he finds that this freedom, while part of his being, is incapable of perfect realization in his active, decisive living. Although the mystic participates in free being, he is not a free being. Although his own being is rooted in freedom, he finds that he is not free; no Truth that he knows frees him. He finds that his mind is wedded

to the slavery of its own desire for freedom; he discovers that whenever he asserts his freedom he loses it; he finds disunity within his own spirit. And then he spends all his energies in an endeavour to overcome the antithesis between the freedom of being and the contingencies of individuality. He begins to search for the resolution of the disunities of his own being.

There can be no doubt that mysticism originally implied religion interpreted in ontological rather than in purely moral terms. Mysticism is that form of religious faith in which the ordinary moral categories of soteriology, such as repentance, forgiveness, justification, are superseded by the ontological categories -- conversion, faith, and regeneration.

Mysticism is thus ontological religion. It has to do, not with doing, but with being. The goal of mysticism is some form of personal regeneration, a 'new birth', and not an accredited plan of ethical action, a 'new law'. Although most mystics have themselves outlined mystical methodologies, or mystical ways, for the resolution of the disunities of their own experiences, these 'mystical ladders' have sought to change the being of the mystic himself and not merely to compel him to act in accordance with a new law. The mystic's hope is for personal regeneration, for the removal of those experienced disunities within his own self. His goal is not ethical. He wants to transform his existence into essence. He seeks to repair in his own being the damage which the race sustained when Adam fell. And the continuing witness of the
Christian mystics is that this breach has been, and therefore can be, overcome.

Paul's witness will perhaps suffice. 'I was apprehended of Christ Jesus'; 'Christ lives in me'; 'God revealed His Son in Me'; this formula 'in Christ' or 'in the Lord' occurs in the Pauline writings, creating the Pauline 'Christ mysticism' of growth into the new man, one of the New Testament prototypes of Christian mysticism. Paul wrote: 'Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new.' What is this but ontological regeneration, the new birth -- the essential characteristic of Christian mysticism. Here is mysticism because experienced dualities are transcended in the indwelling, timeless Christ, a Christ sub specie aeternitatis. The mysterious dwells within the heart; the irrational and ineffable is somehow a part of man's being:

Jesu, ew'ge Sonne,
Aller Engel Wonne,
Was für Freude muss es sein,
Wenn du kommst ins Herz hinein.

1 Vide: Underhill, Mysticism, p. 380. Brunner in The Mediator asserts that when the mystic conceives of God in ontological terms he conceives of a different God than the Christian. (p. 109) 'To him God is not the end of a process of thought, but the All, the source of Being, which is revealed in feeling or in contemplation... and in abstraction.'
6 Phil., v, 17.
8 Angelus Silesius.
This heaven-descended Gnothi Seauton is the way to knowledge of the objective world, and this in a two-fold sense: as an examination of the nature of being; and as a moral act. Mysticism is morality interpreted in ontological terms, an attitude based upon the ultimate coincidence of being and doing. It seeks the interpretation and knowledge of good and evil by an analysis of being. The proposition can be simply put:

For Jacob Boehme and the other mystics, God as being is in man before God as commanding appears. God as the Logos within man precedes God as the ought. This God-in-us is the native trend of out being; and law can only confirm this native tendency, for law affirms what man essentially is. This is why Paul said that all the law can do is to convict us of sin.

This indwelling Christ may be conceived of as gnosis, and Paul is jere the New Testament prototype for his writings mark the transition from mysticism as mystery to mysticism as holy speculation, or gnosis. Gnosis is experienced unity rationally expressed, and it was Paul who changed the character of mysticism when he interpreted the indwelling Christ in terms of the mind of Christ, that is, in terms of gnostic ontology.

If mysticism implies the shutting of the eyes and of the mouth, then there is no objectivated externality, for the initiate is freed from the natural and historical world which lies beyond the self. This may manifest itself as the antithesis between natural and supernatural, or, as with Boehme, between light and darkness. Mysticism is always the moving from multiplicity to the one; it remains the search for the resolution
of the disunities of being. In a poem which is often ascribed to Tauler this mystical retreat is described:

Ich muss die Creaturen fliehen
und suchen Hertzens Innigkeit,
Soll ich den Geist zu Gotte ziehen,
auff das er bleib in Reineheit.
Ich muss die etusser Sinne zwingen
soll ich entpfahn das oberst Guth,
Und stehtige nach der Tugend ringen,
soll mir werden der Liebe glut.
Ich muss die schnelle Zunge binden
und wass sie krumpt nuhm machen schlecht,
Soll ich von Gott wahr fried befinden,
ja: soll mir immer werden recht.

Here is the final retreat into the innermost depths of being, finding there the answer to the enigma of life, the sole and final justification of man's existence.

It has been suggested that mysticism can change, that the word meant one thing in the ancient world, that the word meant another thing in the medieval period, and that the word means still another thing for Jacob Boehme.

How can mysticism change? Is it not an eternal category, static in structure and incapable of changing? Like idealism, realism, pragmatism, and the other patterns of metaphysical enquiry, is not mysticism a system of speculation which is
permanently bound to a special structure and incapable of change? Is it not a word which describes a static pattern of thought by which men explain the meanings of their universes?

Mysticism is certainly not static. The history of the word's use demonstrates that different things are meant at different periods in its history. With Dionysius the Areopagite the tradition of the Theologia Mystica began as meaning a rational realization of an intuitive religious insight. This tradition in which 'mysticism' was primarily used in an adjectival sense, continued until as late as the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, when a great historian, Gottfried Arnold, wrote his Historia und Beschreibung der Mystischen Theologia, oder ge-heimen Gemeinschaft wie auch deren alten und neuen Mysticorum (Frankfurt bey Thomas Fritschen, 1703). In this work Arnold's critical historical sense was directed upon 'mysticism' and he concluded that 'mysticism' was neither a static philosophical category nor a completed systematic theology, but a dynamic structural pattern of religious experience. Considered in this light the long history of speculative creativity, from the mystical world of Parmenides -- a world of pure and changeless being -- to the dynamic Ungrund of Boeime and to Arnold's own poetry becomes less enigmatic. Precise and permanent definition of mysticism will possibly remain unfinished because mysticism, being dynamic, may at any moment leap beyond the limits of a given definition. Mysticism, the noun, is less accurate that mystical the adjective. If 'mysticism' is not
really substantive in nature, and if the is supplied by the historical setting, then history uncovers mystics, not an all inclusive category that may be called 'mysticism'.

Men and women become mystics in the totality of their spiritual environments -- environments which are precise and definite, not some nebulous, fanciful dream-world. Jacob Boehme's mystical environment was his Lausitz homeland, and this environment played a definite role in the conditioning of his mystical religion. Environment determines and to some extent defines the nature of the duality which the mystic seeks to resolve. And the experienced dualities for which resolution is sought are definite and precise. They are born out of a particular life lived in a particular environment. They are not abstractions. Thus history gives mystics, and thus it can give no general philosophical or theological system that may be called 'mysticism'. There are men and women whose religious striving is towards the ontological resolution of the disunities of their own experience; but there is no abiding metaphysical or epistemological system which can be called, with some degree of truth, mysticism.

This means simply that there is a mystical element in all religion, that this mystical element exists along side of other equally weighty elements, and that it is equally essential for the health and soundness of religion itself.

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1 Baron von Hügel, undoubtedly the greatest interpreter of mysticism, concludes in his classic work, The Mystical Element in Religion, that mysticism is only one of the three essential elements in full-blown religion. 1, pp. 50-52.
When the writings of the so-called mystics have been studied, the student is overwhelmed by the vastness of the literature, by the variety of the empirical aspects of their 'mysticism', and by the quality of the writings themselves. The student finds that there are pagan mystics, Christian mystics, and plain bread and butter mystics. He finds himself confronted with the Tao of Laotze, with the Hellenic mystery cults, with the Judaic mysteries of Philo, and with the incomprehensible longing of the Sufi poets to be painted with stripes like their sacred tulip. He finds himself also confronted with Christian mystics of many varieties. There is Paul, John, and other New Testament forms. Further, Clement of Alexandria, Pseudo-Dionysius, Aquinas, Francis of Assisi, Nicolas Cusanus, The Victorines, Eckhardt, John of the Cross, Jacoponi de Todi, George Fox, Guyon, William Law, Zinzendorf, Baader, Coventry Patmore, etc. The types are manifold: there is the Pauline mysticism of the new being in Christ; there is Grøgen's allegorical mysticism; there are Basil's ascetic mystical admonitions; there is the mystagogical practice of icon and cult; there is the Dominican mysticism of Vergöttung; there is the mysticism of love in the Minnesänger; there is Franciscan erotic mysticis; there is Joachim of Flora's mystical philosophy of history; there is the group mysticism of the Quakers; there is the totalitarian mysticism of Loyola and the Jesuits; there is the quietism of Seventeenth Century
France: there is the Pietistic mysticism of Gottfried Arnold and Gerhard Tersteegen; there is the romantic nature mysticism of Wordsworth; there is Schelling's mystical philosophy of Identity; there are the Irish mystical poets of the Twentieth Century. Mysticism? There are many varieties and forms, and the question naturally arises, how can all these differing types be called mysticism?

But this is not all!

Jacob Boehme -- if it is granted that he was a mystic himself founded a school of mystics in which there is almost as great diversity as in the field of mysticism itself. Here are the names: Abraham von Franckenberg, Angelus Silesius, Martin John, Johann Georg Gichtel, Wilhelm Ueberfeldt, Johann Jakob Zimmermann, Gottfried Arnold, Johann Conrad Beissel, the editors of Der Berlerberger Bibel, F.C.Oetinger, William Law, St. Martin, Franz von Baader, Nicolas Berdyaev. All these were mystics, and even Boehmistic mystics, yet they differ and sometimes violently, in their mystical ideologies.

Now, what can the history of such a phenomenon prove? What subtle elixir may be distilled out of this vatful of mystics? Is there one thing that these men and women have in common which may be seized upon and named, in triumph, the 'mystical element in religion'. Yes. The answer of this thesis -- indeed, the thesis -- is simply that Jacob Boehme, or any other mystic, is mystical when he searches for the ontological resolution of the disunities of his experience. He
was not melted into the Unconditioned God. He had no real 'Mystical ecstasy'. This was his mysticism: that when he shut his eyes and his mouth he was searching for the resolution of the disunities of his own being. He was searching for the resolution of the dialectical tension which he felt characterized all his existence.

What made Jacob Boehme shut his eyes and his mouth? What caused him to retreat into the innermost depths of his being?

In the passages already quoted from the xixth Chapter of the Aurora and from the xiiith Epist. it is plain that he retreated into his being to solve the problem of theodicy: who does God tolerate evil? He says that he sought only to hide himself from

the tempest of God's anger: and from the opposition of the devil, that so I might get a guide and leader that might rule and direct me in my life. But when this did press so hard upon me, and my mind forced so strongly into the combat against sin and death, and towards the mercy of God, that I was resolved rather to part with my life than to give over or desist, such a garland was then set upon me, which I hope to enjoy, and rejoice in it forever: (Epist., xviii,5-6)

This is the retreat into the interiour of being, the shutting of the eyes and the mouth -- mystical Innerlichkeit. And Boehme outlined in precise and definite manner the essential character of this interious sight:

we must enter into ourselves, and well consider ourselves and out Father's house... and well examine our heart. Now, when we do this, we shall find in ourselves many
hundred evil beasts, which we have set up in God's stead, and disown and love the same above God; and even then we shall see what hideous horrible beasts were manifest in Adam by false lust, or imagination... (Epist., 54-55)

This is the preliminary step, the essential beginning, in Jacob Boehme's mystical way. Man must retreat into the inner depths of being and there contemplate 'the greatness of his sins and misery', as the Heidelberg Catechism says. And Boehme names the five things about which his contemplation should be centered; he tells us what he himself did when he shut his own eyes and mouth in inner retreat:

first, we shall see in our desire the proud Lucifer, who is departed from divine and brotherly humility, and contemneth the members of his body, and hath set himself to be a God and Lord over them, in whom there is no divine love, to love either God or his brother.

Secondly, we shall find a beast in our own properties, resembled the covetous, greedy swine, which will take all to itself, and alone devour and possess all, and desireth more than it needeth... and we shall see how the proud Lucifer hath broken himself off from the tree of life, and the mutual growth and increase of love, and would be a tree himself...

Thirdly, we shall find the poisonful envious serpent in our properties, which teareth and rageth as a passion: I mean envy, which wisheth no man so well as itself; which stings, rageth, and rideth in other men's hearts, and slandereth them with words; and only applaudeth its own haughty Lucifer, and termeth its falsehood and cunning an angel of God.

Fourthly, we shall find in our properties, the fiery dragon sitting in hellish fire, I mean anger, which (if covetousness and envy cannot obtain that which it would have) will lay violent hands upon it, and take it by force, and is so raging mad that it bursteth its life for very malice and iniquity, and breaks in pieces in fiery malice, and is a very dry branch on the tree, and is only fit for the fire.

Fifthly, we shall find many hundred evil beasts on our desire, which pride loveth and honoureth more than God; and covetousness draweth them to itself for a treasure, wherewith pride vapoureth and vaunteth as of they were
God's, and thereby doth withdraw sustenance and comfort from his brother's life so that he is forced to spend it in misery, trouble, and perplexity, by reason of his violence and extortion. (Epist., xlvi, 56-60)

This is the first focus of contemplation after the retreat into the innermost depths of being, into the heart. But there is another polarity implied, for man will feel that all this is 'contrary to the divine will and ground'. (Epist., xlvi, 62), indeed that it opposeth the course and order of nature, as we see by the trees and plants of the earth, how all stand and grow lovingly one by another, and rejoice in one mother; and how one branch on the tree doth impart its sap and power to the other, and mutually serve each other. (Epist., xlvi, 65)

Here is something new in mysticism -- to bring the world of sense into the heart. This is Boehme's nature mysticism -- the new impulse which Renaissance natural philosophy added to the traditional closing of the eyes and the mouth. The world is not to be shunned, but man will be able to see in it a likeness and similitude of the primordial harmony of God. Tauler's creatures are now within the heart.

For in such a lovely equality and harmony the life of man (John i) was inspired out of the eternal Word into the human image, being out of the limbus of the earth, so that all the properties of the life stood in an equal proportion in the temperature, on one love, and mutually loved each other. (Epist., xlvi, 64)

Here then is a dialectical tension, a strife of opposites, for this is the basic retreat of man into his inner being, into his heart, where he finds that he is confronted by a horrible and perhaps even a hideous picture of these evil creatures which dwell within him. He also finds that he is not made to be such a sinful creature, that all these evil beasts which
within him are condemned.

We must really imagine to ourselves (or consider with ourselves) that this bestial, false desire in man, is the monster of the serpent, and an enmity against God and the Kingdom of heaven, and that we therein are only the children of hell, and of the anger of God, and cannot therein inherit or possess the Kingdom of God; neither is God manifest in such a desire, but only his anger and the property of the dark and earthly world, and we live therein only to the vanity of this world, and stand therewith only upon the abyss of the dark world and anger of God: that is, of hell which continually gaspeth and hungereth after these properties, and counteth these properties its own fruits and children... (Epist., xlvi,66)

All this is preliminary to the mystical vision of God, merely the first stages of inner contemplation which precedes the achievement of full knowledge of God.

Therefore, said Christ, Unless a man be born anew, he shall not see the Kingdom of God. All these false wills and desires are predestined to damnation. If any will see God, he must be converted, and become as a child, and be born anew in the Holy Ghost, through the water of eternal life: viz., through the heavenly Ens, which God hath revealed in Christ; that the first right man, which died in Adam... might again spring forth in Christ, and become living. (Epist., xlvi,67)

And from this dialectical contemplation there proceeded Jacob Boehme's stubborn, persistent search for the resolution of the disunities of his own being. But before he could begin his search for such resolution, before he could set out and seek union, he was forced to retreat into the inner depths of being, into his heart, and there find the horrible and hideous disunities of his own soul.

This is the basic and primary aspect of the mystical retreat into being.
Yet this is but the beginning of the search for the resolution of the disunities of being. This search for unity, or considered in its more proper dialectical sense, this search for the resolution of experienced duality, is obviously a search to get rid of something which disturbs the harmony of being. And to this statement there is a corollary. If man is mystical when he searches for the resolution of his experienced duality, then the ecstatic experience of nirvana -- so often considered the essential characteristic of mysticism -- assumes relative unimportance. Boehme never experienced nirvana. He had no mystical ecstasy. He was never melted into the Godhead. Must it be concluded then that Boehme was no mystic?

This is important because the most persistent attack upon the validity of mysticism has come from those who assert that mysticism builds itself upon an unreal flight from the world into a nirvanistic ecstasy. The Lutherans and the Kantians have pointed to the stubbornness of the ideas of original sin and of radical evil, suggesting that any man who says that by his flight from the world he has left sin behind is deluded. These writers seize upon the aberrations of unbalanced minds to assert that such extravagences are the essential characteristic of mysticism. To give mysticism over to these strange occult souls is to give it to the magicians, black and white, and to the drug addicts, who dream giddy dreams in senseless stupors,

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1 Heiler's definition of mysticism excludes Boehme: 'Mystik ist jene Form des Gottesumganges, bei der die Welt und das Ich radical verneint werdes, bei der menschliche Persönlichkeit sich auflöst...' Das Gebet, p. 243.
plain heresy! Jane Leade testified that John Pordage, a student of Boehme, was 'caught up into the still eternity for several days together' and she witnesses to these wonderful transportations of the spirit while Pordage was still impaled in his earthly body. Following such senseless and extravagant claims, the opponents of mysticism have gone off the deep end to define it as the 'hope that the self will be swallowed up in undifferentiating divine unity'. And thus they have asserted that the experience of nirvana is the essential feature of mysticism.

Now, no one can deny that nirvana plays a part — indeed, a large part — in the history of religions. Buddhism makes a beatitude of nirvana, of the extinction of individuality and the absorption of the individual into supreme Reality. It is also obvious that mystics whose metaphysics is monistic, i.e., who are pantheists, suggest nirvana. Meister Eckhardt to the point. But it is not necessarily true that nirvana is the essential and necessary characteristic of mysticism. Nirvana is the characteristic of monism, for the precise reverse is true: the stronger the experience of duality, and the more sincere the search for the resolution of such duality, just so much more is a man a mystic because he searches to resolve a duality, not to achieve a unity! And whenever this is turned about, that is, whenever man searches for unity rather than for the resolution of an experienced duality, then he is more a

1 Quoted in the Address to the Reader in Pordage's Theologia Mystica, n.p., 1689.
pantheist and less a mystic. Eckhardt said

God must be very I, I very God, so consummately one that this He and this I are one is, in this isness working one work eternally. 1

Tauler, disciple of Eckhardt, said that

If man is in reality to become one with God, then all energies and powers, even of his inner man, must die and become silent. The will must turn away even from the good, and become void in respect to will. 2

These quotations are certainly capable of being interpreted as implying nirvana, yet Heinrich Seuse, in the 33rd Chapter of the Book of Eternal Wisdom, affirms that the soul still is a creature even in the experience of nirvanistic union.

Some mystics doubtless do teach nirvana, but nirvana is not an essential characteristic of mysticism. Nirvana is the soteriological goal of the pantheist, and since mysticism is sometimes panentheistic it is inevitable that pantheistic expressions would appear in the writings of the mystics. For at the moment when the yearning of the soul is not content to place its own Ego over against the Divine Thou, as Lawgiver and King, but desires to be united with the Thou in a Thou unity, be this described as experience, presence, or faith, and wholly surrenders itself to this God-in-me-and-I-in-God, then by logical inevitableness pantheistic expressions appear. But whether the creature is swallowed up in the abyss of undifferentiated being, whether personality disintegrates in the unio mystica, is dependent upon monistic metaphysica in which the

The gulf between creature and Creator is non-existent in a substantial sense. This is, of course, the old doctrinal error of Eckhardt which held that all which is not actually God is a negation of God. This acosmism of classical mysticism must end in atheism, an error which was justly condemned by the Bull of Pope John XXII against Eckhardt. In this negative method the nothing is made the all and the all returns again to the nothing, thus extinguishing personality in the all.

Shankara, the Hindu, and Meister Eckhardt, the German both believed in the surrender of and the loss of the self in pure being, in esse purum et simplex. But for Jacob Boehme, the Lausatian shoemaker, this was nonsense. The precious garland which he won in anticipated gnosis in his mystical experience was simply Paul's new body. And with this new body there was to come a new will. The dualism which Boehme sought to resolve was not the I-Thou dualism between Creator and Creature, but rather his own painful experience of a divided being, his own inner duality of will and desire. He sought no eradication of his separated will but merely the redirection of that will towards its original object, or as he symbolically says, reclothing it in a new body. Desire is to be eradicated:

0 Thou great love of Jesus Christ, I can do no more than sink my desire into thee. 2

Again:

1 Epist., x, 20.
2 Busse,
O Jesus Christ, Thou Son of God and man, I pray Thee receive into Thyself Thy purchased inheritance, which Thy Father has given Thee. I cry within me, that I may enter through Thy holy blood and death into thee, open Thyself in me, that the spirit of my soul may reach in me with Thy thirst; bring thy thirst after us men, which Thou hast upon the cross, into my thirst that my death in me, which holds me captive, may be drowned in the blood of thy love, and that my extinguished or suppressed image, which as to the Kingdom of Heaven disappeared in my father Adam through sin, may be made alive through Thy powerful blood, and my soul clothed again as with the new body, which dwells in heaven. 1

Boehme, surprisingly, was full aware of the fundamental error of monistic mysticism, of the dangerous tendencies of nirvana, for he points out with perhaps greater clarity than do the critics of mysticism the greatest of all sins:

But she (Sophia) does not presently unite herself with the soul, that is, she does not presently awaken the extinguished heavenly image in herself, which disappeared in Adam in Paradise. No, there might be danger to man in that: for if Adam and Lucifer fell, the same may easily happen to man, who is still so strongly enthralled in vanity. 2

This is significant. Not only does Boehme disclaim all mention of seeking nirvana but he asserts that the desire to be melted into the abyss of being is man's inordinate desire to be like God! Whenever man seeks to melt himself into the Godhead, then he follows Adam and Lucifer in that he desires to place himself on an equal basis with God -- he wants to be god!

Thus mysticism is not nirvana. And thus, too, those critics who see in monistic mysticism the errors just mentioned are correct in their judgment that nirvana, and the seeking for

1 Busse, 48.
2 Busse, 32.
it, is nothing else than a manifestation of man's basic sin, his desire to be like God. But these same critics of mysticism are in error when they identify this longing for nirvana with mysticism itself, believing it to be the essential characteristic of religion. For, if the religion that is known as the mystical implies nirvana, and if nirvana is man's desire to be a god, and if this desire to be a God is sin, then mysticism is sin. This is the one alternative. The other alternative is not to identify mysticism and nirvana.

It is thus clear that mysticism, while certainly a search for the resolution of the disunities of experience, is not necessarily concerned with the union of man and God. The union sought for in mysticism is not necessarily the union of Creator and creature, of byss and abyss. Union may be of other dualities, experienced dualities. It does seem true that those forms of mysticism which seek to break down the God-man dualism — and they do exist — are really nothing else than atheisms, denials of God. But this is pantheistic, for all pantheism tends towards atheism.

The nature of the unio mystica is dependent upon the doctrine of sin, and sin is dependent upon an experienced duality. And the doctrine of sin is usually interpreted in terms of the prevailing metaphysical explanations of the problem of evil. The Greeks had formulated the problem of evil by asserting that evil derives from matter, which is meonic. Deliverance from evil is therefore freedom from matter, from non-being.
Buddhism, by identifying being with suffering, sought deliverance by a renunciation of human personality in order that suffering might be avoided. And in spite of their tender, compassionate views of suffering, the Buddhists sought salvation by knowledge, i.e., self-salvation, which ended in nirvana and apophatic pantheism. Orphic deliverance was through the transcendence of the limitations of individuality by union with impersonal cosmic elements in an esoteric orgiasm, a nirvanistic form of divine bestiality. Stoicism, as a philosophy of decadence, sought deliverance through the harmonization of human life with universal reason by the harmony of human life with the universal Logos. Gnosticism sought deliverance in knowledge, the translation of πίσις into ὑπόσις. Neoplatonism sought deliverance by the intellect through the immediate illumination of the individual by the deity in superrational apprehension of divine truth resulting from immediate contact (αφή) with the Deity. Thus individuality must be renounced, divine contact must be established by passivity and receptivity, and even νοῦς must become silent before redemption is complete. But Greek soteriological theories were necessarily incomplete for matter was left behind unredeemed. It was therefore only a partial salvation. Pseodu-Dionysius held that

Evil is neither in Demons nor in us, as an existent (positive) evil, but only as a failure and dearth of the perfection of our own proper goods. 1

1 Divine Names, iv, xxiv.
Eckhardt believed that

Evil is nothing but privation, or falling away from being; not an effect but a defect. 1

Aquinas held that

The stain of sin is not something positive, existent in the soul... It is like a shadow which is a privation of light. 2

Yet between these ancient and medieval thinkers with their doctrine of evil as nothing more nor less than a negation of the good there stood Luther with his Christian doctrine of original sin. If evil is privation, lack of the good, then the unio mystica must be constituted by an ecstatic, nirvanistic influx of the superabundant goodness of the Godhead. But this requires a monistic metaphysics, pantheism. But Luther, and after him Jacob Boehme, felt that man's desire to be like God, to experience this ecstatic joy, was sinful. Sin was not privation, no lack, for sin was a stubborn and recalcitrant will. And what both Luther and Boehme sought was not the filling up of dark shadows -- the bleak deserts of being -- but eradication of a stubborn positive, evil, sinful will.

If it is true, then, that the nature of the unio mystica is dependent upon the doctrine of sin, then it follows that the doctrine of sin is dependent in turn upon the conception of being, upon ontology. Ontology conditions the doctrine of sin, and sin is that metaphysical reality which breaks the harmony of being and the removal of which is the goal of the mystic's striving. Thus the doctrine of sin conditions the

1 Lateinische Schrifften, Denifle, p. 662.
2 Summa Theol., I,iii,86, 1-3.
nature of the unio mystica. Thus it is true that classical forms of mysticism, resting as they do upon Greek forms of metaphysics with their strange conceptions of sin as merely deficiency of being, manifest in their structural patterns pantheistic tendencies. But this is the result of Greek metaphysics, not the essential character of mysticism itself.

Pantheism tends to obliterate personality, and in Pseudo-Dionysius, the father of ancient and medieval mysticism, God is a supre-personal being. "He is not a being who can say 'I am I and I am not Thou', for He knows no personality. He has no self-consciousness in the ordinary sense of the term... He is not a thinking subject, aware of himself as an object of thought. He is undifferentiated nature. He is non-rational, beyond multiplicity, beyond reason, and consequently beyond the duality of subject and object, the first implication of rationality.

For a full millennium Mystical speculation had been dominated by the influence of the nameless Neoplatonist, Pseudo-Dionysius. This strange man, still unknown, prayed that he might come to and attain

This vision through the loss of sight and knowledge, and that in ceasing thus to know we may learn to know that which is beyond all perception and understanding for this emptying of our faculties is true sight and knowledge, and that we may offer Him who transcends all things the praise of a transcendent hymnody....

He proposed two methods: the positive, which begins with the most universal statements and then by the creation of inter-

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mediate terms bridges the gap to particularities; and the negative method which ascends from particularities to universals by stripping off all qualities that hinder the naked knowledge of the Unknowing, so that man may see the 'Superefficient Darkness' which is hidden by all the light that is in existent things. The approach is clear from the following figure:

We shall obtain mystical ecstasy by denying or removing all things that are — like as men, who carving a statue out of marble, remove all the impediments that hinder the clear perception of the latent image and by this mere removal display the hidden statue itself in its hidden beauty.

This passage from Pseudo-Dionysius is characteristic of the striving of all classical mysticism. But Jacob Boehme, the Lutheran and Protestant mystic, changed all this naked knowing of a naked deity into a process whereby the inherent structure of reality itself was realized. Neither positive nor negative method sufficed. He believed that spirit was not spirit until it had achieved its own inner form, just as a flower is not a flower until it has grown from the seed into the beauty of the blossom. To know a flower — Jacob Boehme's Lily — one must study it in all its aspects. One must analyze the seed, see how from a germinal vesicle there comes the pretty bud, how structure is innate in the being of the flower, and how a flower is not really a flower until it blooms. To know a flower in all its beauty one does not strip it of all its particularities, remove the fragrance of the rose, nor sully the lily's white.

1 Pseudo-Dionysius, *Mystical Theology* (Rolt, p.196)
To know Jacob Boehme's lily -- or, to know Jacob Boehme himself -- one dare not abstract individuality. On the contrary, one asserts individuality; one seeks full realization of the divine potentialities within; one allows particularity to come to full realization, thus expressing the divine germ of being itself.

This is a full and free departure from classical traditions. Hugo of St Victor, for example, was conscious that, though the soul was the lowest in the immaterial world, and the human body the highest in the material world, the two are yet so opposite in constitution that their union remains an incomprehensible enigma. Soul for Jacob Boehme is inherent in the body, and also the contrary, body is inherent in the soul. This is, by the way, the romantic theory of art, namely that each idea carries with it its own innate and best suited form. This conception is impossible on the basis of Greek dualism.

It is thus clear, perhaps, that Jacob Boehme's mysticism implied the full realization of the divine germ within man's own being, the final flowering and fructifying of man into a definite, precise, individual being. Boehme found in himself three principles, each necessary for full spiritual life; a good principle, an evil principle, and corporeality. The body was ruled by one of the first two, and, in this life good and evil struggled for mastery. His *Unio mystica* was the victory of good over evil which necessitates securing a new

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body, or precious garland. This was the attainment of incorruptability. Evil for Boehme was neither a deficiency of being nor plurality, lack of unity. Evil was stubborn will.

Evil was the rebellion of the plurality against the realization of its own internal unity. Boehme did not thirst, like Proclus, for unbreakable unity beyond himself; he did seek for the unbroken unity of his own personality. He did not believe, as did Pseudo-Dionysius, that beings were perfect only in proportion to the fewness and the universality of their attributes. No! Jacob Boehme wanted to be a perfect Jacob Boehme.

Now, how is it possible that Pseudo-Dionysius and Meister Eckhardt on the one hand, and Jacob Boehme on the other, were mystics? Can mysticism embrace such varied types?

It may be asserted, without destroying its essential character, that the mystical element in religion is always parasitical, depending for its nature upon creative impulses imparted by the insufficiencies of the prevailing metaphysical problems and patterns. Mysticism is a structural pattern, the contents of which are supplied by the prevailing metaphysical and theological fashions. Thus mysticism does not arise from being sated and overladen by external influences, but, on every occasion, some secret power drives the man back upon himself, and he finds himself to be the plan and key of the whole. Convinced by a great analogy and daring faith that it is not necessary to forsake himself, but that the spirit has enough in itself to be conscious of all that could be given from without, by a free resolve, he shuts his eyes forever against all that is not himself. 2

2 Schleiermacher, Reden, pp. 133-134.
Here again is the shutting of the eyes, and the daring faith—the shutting of the heart. However internal the achievement of mysticism may be, however much the mystic ventures in 'daring faith', nevertheless the environmental background is still primary. The prevailing metaphysical, religious, and theological situations condition the nature of the disunities which the mystic seeks to resolve. Different epochs conceive of the disunities in different forms. And this is why mysticism, as the search for the resolution of experienced disunities, is dependent upon the nature of these experienced and intellectually perceived disunities.

Jacob Boehme was the first European mystic with a voluntaristic slant because he was the first European mystic to seek the resolution of a divided will. The Neoplatonists had understood the controlling position of will in the process of ideation and knowledge. Augustine had known that the achievement of consciousness was an act of will. Duns Scotus and Occam had given a prominent place to will in the problem of knowledge. But it was Jacob Boehme who first recognized the importance of the two disunited wills in his own life, the significant dialectical structure of his life as the melting together in dialectical relationship of the will to assert himself and the will to deny himself. And his mysticism consisted in his search for the resolution of this disunity.

In the older psychologies will had meant control. With Eckhardt, will (or intellect) had been a means of knowing God.
But in the late Sixteenth Century will meant knowledge for the purpose of control. This was a far different matter from will as intuition. The unity sought for in Counter-Reformation mysticism was the unity of control -- a unity implying a new psychology, the basis of which was found in the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola. The aim of this work was typically baroque, implying the subjection of the All to the dynamic powers of life. This was a rational psychology, seeking the control of man's soul by an analytical psychological change, which proceeded step by step. This is why Loyola and the Jesuits demonstrated the same list for power that was later expressed in Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan. This is also the underlying reason for the conflict between the Carthusians and the state. Even the apparently resigned Quietistic groups were no better for they sought to control by resigned love; they wanted to conquer by love. In these movements will had been single and united. There was no strife in being itself. But Jacob Boehme found no unified, certain single will in his own being. Freedom and desire warred in his nature. And he sought with all the resolution at his command to unite them.

It is perhaps clear that if mysticism is the search for the resolution of the disunities of experience that it is structural and not essential in character. The man and the age both help to determine the nature of the experienced disunities. Some mystics are alive to the substantial disunity of man and God. Others are concerned about the moral disunity between man's world and the Kingdom of God. Still others,
notably those under classical influences, are troubled by the body-spirit dualism. But Jacob Boehme, the Lausitzischen shoemaker, was troubled by the discovery that he found Yes and No within his own heart.

And Jacob Boehme's mysticism consisted in his stubborn search for the resolution of the disunity of Yes and No within his own heart.

Yet this is not as simple a statement as it looks. There are really three aspects to his mysticism:

First there is the basic experience of disunity itself. It is obvious that when man experiences disunity within his own being that he has already become conscious of a God who is the dialectical counterpart of the disunity. In the experience of disunity itself there is present an awareness of God. This is the first sense of the meaning of the word mysticism, that experience in which God appears as mysterium tremendum, as the Holy.

The second aspect is the speculative explanation of the origin and course of this duality within existence, the systematic and theoretical realization of this primitively mystical insight.

The third aspect is the projected scheme for the resolution of these experienced and theoretically explained disunities within the heart of the mystic and within all reality.
II.

BOEHME'S MYSTICISM AS A GENERAL RELIGIOUS CATEGORY

The first of the three aspects of mysticism is the one wherein mysticism is a general religious category, constituted by a special structure. In this sense mysticism is man's ability to experience the presence of, unity with, or intuition of the Unconditioned.

Religion itself is impossible without such an affirmation, without such faith. Albrecht Ritschl, anti-mystical as he was, admitted that union (Gleichheit) with God must be included among the privileges which the justified children of God enjoy. In this sense of the word mysticism is the fact that we, in some way, understand the meaning of the word 'god'. Thus there is mystery, a mysterium tremendum:

The feeling of it may at times come sweeping like a gentle tide, pervading the mind with a tranquil mood of deepest worship. It may pass over into a more set and lasting attitude of the soul, continuing, as it were, thrillingly vibrant and resonant, until it at last dies away and the soul resumes its profane, non-religious mood of everyday experience. It may burst in sudden eruptions from the depths of the soul with spasms and convulsions, or lead to the strangest excitements, to intoxicated frenzy, to transport, and to ecstasy. It has its wild and demonic forms and can sink to an almost grisly horror and shuddering. It has its crude, barbaric antecedents and early manifestations, and again it may be developed into something beautiful, pure, glorious. It may become the hushed, trembling, and speechless humility of

1 Justification and Reconciliation, p.98.
of the creature in the presence of — whom, or what? In the presence of that which is mystery, the inexpressible and above all creatures. ¹

To know this hidden, esoteric meaning of the word 'god' is to predicate an experience of this totaliter aliter, the wholly Other, the wholly different. The Wholly Other is in some way already present in the awareness of mystery, and to act upon such an awareness is to have faith. Unity here is already present in faith; it is to a certain extent already a fact.

Even those who accuse the mystics of 'violating' the divine mystery and the ultimate majesty, like Emil Brunner, already imply unity in their accusation. ² is already present when the word 'God' is spoken, for, if the word bears any meaning beyond that of average religion, it lies, in part at least, beyond the context of finite experience. It is necessarily the symbol of the unseen, of the object of faith. Faith in this sense is not the acknowledgement of known and searchable being (rationality), nor is it even the acknowledgement of unknown and unsearchable mystery. Faith is being grasped by this mysterious unknown. And being grasped is presence, unity.

Rudolf Otto suggests that the essential difference between mystical and non-mystical religion does not lie in the fact that the mystic has, or claims to have, a new relationship to God, but simply in that he has a different God.

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² Vide, Brunner, Die Mystik und das Wort, Tübingen 1924, passim. Cf. also the answer to this book by Paul Tillich: Rechtfertigung und Zweifel, Giessen, 1924.
It is characteristic of certain types of mysticism to seek the *deus sine modis* and to cherish Him in the soul. 'God' is then experienced in an act of union. But man is a mystic as soon as he has this conception of God, even when the element of union recedes or remains unemphasized, which can easily happen in mysticism. It is the wholly non-rational character of the conception of God with its divergence from the ultimate, personal, modified God of simple theism, which makes the mystic. Mysticism is not first of all an act of union, but predominately the life lived in the knowledge of this wholly other, God. 1

Thus mysticism is a life which is a continuous search for the resolution of the disunities of experience, for these disunities are the difference between the wholly This and the Wholly Other. Thus, too, the *unio mystica* is not essential to mysticism. Professor Otto concludes that

mysticism enters into... religious experience in the measure that religious feeling surpasses its rational content... to the extent to which this hidden, non-rational numinous element predominates and determines the emotional life. 2

Thus, if this is true, the ecstatic experience is not essential to mysticism. What this does imply is a doctrine of God, as well as the theological consequences of such a doctrine, and also a mystical theory of knowledge.

The view that mysticism implies a peculiar conception of God, a *deus sine modis*, is supported by the etymological history of the word itself. Pseudo-Dionysius wrote a *Mystical Theology*, the first chapter of which bore the title: 'What is the Divine Darkness?' In this original sense *mystica* was adjectival. It was used to qualify several words: it qualified the word 'theology'; it qualified the word sense, as in the 'mystical sense'

1 Otto, *Mysticism East and West*, p. 140
2 Ibid., p.141.
of Scripture. When the Scholastics spoke of the *theologia mystica* they had in mind a theology which claimed to teach deep meanings about God, and, since all theologies pretended to do this, all Scholastic theologies were therefore mystical! When the medieval writers spoke of the mystical sense of Scripture there was little explicit understanding of a *union mystica* as presently interpreted in terms of *nirvana*. Even as late a writer on mysticism as Gottfried Arnold understood the meaning of the word *mysticism* in this ancient sense for he wrote in *His Historie und Beschreibung der Mystischen Theologie*:

> Wir haben schon oben vornommen, dass die Theologie heisse eine Lehre Gottes, oder auch von Gott. Nun ist aber Gott an sich selbst in einem unzugänglichen Licht, und also nach seinem Wesen der Natur meist unbekannt und verborgen. Daher heist nun diejenige Lehre, worin dieses verborgene Wesen der Seele genauer als sonst insgemein offenbart, eine Mystische, d.i. geheime und verborgene Lehre oder die heimliche Weisheit. 1

In this sense 'mysticism' is certainly not substantive and the word qualifies a type of thought, not an experience, although the thought is certainly based upon experience. To be mystical a theology must maintain the mystery of the Godhead; God must be a *deus absconditus*.

Thus mysticism arises in this first special sense when God appears as mysterious being, as a Deity without modes, as a mysterious and partly unknowable force whose inner life is beyond and above rationality. Mysticism is thus that form of religious faith in which God in His ultimate selfhood remains

1 Leipzig 1738. This is a neglected though important work of this genius of Pietism.
a veiled and inpenetrable mystery.

There here appears the fundamental and significant distinction between the deus occultus and the deus absconditus.

The deus occultus is that conception of God as hidden and irrational which grew upon the Dionysian mysticism and nominalistic philosophy, as evidenced in the works of Jean Charlier, or Gerson, Considerationes de mystica theologica and De Reformatione theologiae. In this view God is hidden from man's knowledge. Man can only know what his God is; he can also know what his God is not; and he is restrained from knowing what God's will is. This is the old tradition of negative knowledge of God which was also a part of Thomistic doctrine, and it is simple theism.

But the Lutheran-Bohemistic idea of the deus absconditus is a theistic doctrine which allows God to be immanent in his Creation. This idea is founded upon the idea of a God who humbles himself to assume human flesh, the verbum visibile. Thus the deus absconditus is a God who is not hidden from man, but a God who is hidden in man, within human nature. This deus absconditus is a God who works in opposition to the rational principles which seem to underlie human reason; He is a mystery to the human mind. But he works in nature, for he is the immanent but still hidden God. The fact that the proud

\[ \text{Hinc Verbum factum est et sapientia dei abscondita et exinanitas, ut nostram quoque hanc pessimam sapientam absconderat et exinaniret, quae est plena vanitate errore et peccata.} \]

shall be humbled, that the wise shall be shamed, that from death life springs, that from human sadness, fear, and anxiety come joy, comfort, and peace -- these certainly are mysterious ideas because they run against all human reason. But these are part of the incarnated Christ -- God hidden in man -- and they constitute parts of the paradoxical nature of the immanent God.

Thus the nature of Boehme's break with classical mysticism is clear. His God was hidden from man. There are, it must be admitted, traces of the old Dionysian deus occultus in Boehme too, but these are the result of his healthy maintenance of theistic tendencies in the idea of God. When Boehme writes 'Remove nature and creature and that which remains is God Himself' (Gnad., vi, 21) he is a simple theist maintaining the transcendence of God with respect to the created world. Indeed, remove nature and creature in the world and that which then remains is Mystery -- an exact although discouraging definition of Boehme's God. God, both in His transcendence and in His immanence, is hidden, mysterious, inaccessible to human reason. Here Boehme accepts the Dionysian tradition. But God is also the irrational mystery in the world, the deus absconditus. In all his manifestations, as well as in his transcendent unknowableness, God is mysterious, hidden, irrational, noumenal, holy.

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1 Erich Seeberg, Christus Wirklichkeit und Urbild, pp. 62-63.
2 Gnad., xi, 21; Myst.Punkt., xi, 23; Sig. Rer.,iii,2; Myst. Pan., v, 5,6; Clavis, vi, 20.
Now, was Jacob Boehme a mystic in the sense that Rudolf Otto has in mind in his significant book, the Idea of the Holy? Was Jacob Boehme a mystic in the sense that he believed his God to be nouminal, irrational? Fortunately, Otto himself answers this:

But in our Western Mysticism the writer in whom the non-rationally 'dreadful' and even the 'daemonic' phase of the numinous remains a most living element is Jakob Böhme. For all his adoption of its motives, Böhme, in his speculation and 'theosophy' sharply distinguished from the Earlier Mysticism. He is at one with this (as represented, for instance, by Eckhardt) in aiming at a 'construction' and an understanding of God, and from Him of the world; and, like Eckhardt, he finds as a starting point for his speculation the 'primal bottom', the supra-comprehensible and inexpressible. But this stands to him, not for Being and Above-being, but for stress and will; it is not good and above-good, but a supra-rational identification of good and evil in an Indifferent, in which is to be found the potentiality for evil as well as for good, and therewith the possibility of the dual nature of deity itself as at once goodness and love on the one hand and fury and wrath on the other. If the inventions and comparisons, with whose aid Boehme composes a sort of chemico-physical romance of God, strike us as extremely queer and bizarre, the strange intuitions of the religious feeling underlying them are yet highly significant. They are intuitions of the numinous, and are akin to those of Luther. With Böhme, as with Luther, the non-rational energy and majesty of God and his 'awfulness' appear conceptualized and symbolized as 'will.' And with Böhme, as with Luther, this is conceived as fundamentally independent of moral elevation or righteousness, and as indifferent toward good or evil action. It is rather a 'ferocity' of 'fiery wrath' about something unknown; or, better still, not about anything at all, but Wrath on its own account and without reference to any object; an aspect of character which would be quite meaningless if taken literally in the sense of a real and apprehensible anger. Who is not directly conscious that it is simply the non-rational element of 'awfulness,' the tremendum, for which 'Wrath,' 'Fire,' 'Fury,' are excellent ideograms. 1

It is true that in Boehme the principle of irrationality in God is carried out on every manifestation of His power. Everything that is, in so far as it participates in God's being, participates in this mystery. Life itself is the greatest of mysteries; created nature is the Mysterium Magnum (Seel. Frag. i, 51, 120; Myst Punkt., vi, 2) Life is the greatest magician, creating where before there had been nothing; the seed sprouting, the plant flowering, and the flowering again bringing the seed. (Clavis, 23) We ourselves are mysterious and all that we do, even reasoning, has its source in mystery. (Clavis 19) All that is in us and all that surrounds our mysterious selves is mystery. (Epist., xx, 15)

If mysticism is that form of philosophical, theological speculation in which the mysterious, noumenal nature of the Godhead is maintained, in which the irrational nature of the Deity is insisted upon, then Jacob Boehme was certainly the mystic par excellence of Protestantism. Mystery is Boehme's fascination, and although there is little of awe in him there is much of wrath, of the demonic. Like Luther Boehme presents the antimony of mystery and revelation. Wrath is the product of self-contemplation -- but contemplation of what? Of mystery, of chaotic irrationality. The starting point of Boehme's speculation is the idea of God's unknowableness and his unknowability. Out of the Ungrund the dialectical cadences of being become knowable only when by their interaction they achieve form. Life is poised between mystery and revelation, and the victory--won by Jesus and promised in his Evangel--is
thus God's own victory over His own mystery. Even here, in the heart of the redemptive act, the dialectical and perhaps even dualistic view is maintained; but it is maintained only to be ultimately overcome, for when mystery is overcome, when man is once more united with what is now a mysterious and a transcendent God within his inner being, then the disordered divisions of his personality will be healed. Although God is immanent in man, this immanent God is still irrational and mysterious. In the final analysis both love and wrath are mystery.

The Ritschlians, of course, sneer at the insistence upon the mysteriousness of God

The conversion of the historical in Christianity into an incomprehensible mystery thus suits the mystic conception of religion. 1

Ritschl posited as a preliminary axiom the idea that the member of the Christian Community can know sin, conversion, eternal life, and God, though he presumes that the 'believer' must consciously consider himself a member of the Christian Community.

The Ritschlians believed that there was no mysterious aspect to God, that He was fully knowable by man, and that even His Kingdom was a rational possibility here in this world.

Boehme's insistence that God in His transcendence is known as wrath too is applicable to the Incarnated God for though God assumed human flesh in Jesus Christ, this itself


is the greatest of mysteries for the person of Christ can be known neither out of the Letter nor from rational Reason (Vernunft with Boehme), but only from the Awakened spirit within man's heart. (Menschw. I, 1, 10)

Indeed, full knowledge of divine things can only be fully gained in the new birth (Dreyf., I, 25; ii, 5) for present knowledge is partial (Stückwerck). After the triumphal victory which is to follow the terrible anxieties and tribulations of the cross, man will be able to know in full, no longer seeing in part.

There is then no doubt that Jacob Boehme was a mystic in this first sense for both ontologically, as has been shown in Part II, and epistemologically, Boehme's God was a God, a Deus sine modis. Yet his wide divergence from Neoplatonic mysticism as expressed in Dionysius the Areopagite is shown in the difference between the classical idea of God as not being and Boehme's idea of God as not-yet-being. The classical way of coming to God was by negation. This negative method implied that the Divine Being is not being in the plain sense of the word but a reality of another order. If this world is being, then God is non-being, nothingness. He is beyond being. Negative theology of the classical type does not recognize the unfathomable mystery of God and the inadequacy of all affirmations about Him. It is thus mystical in one sense, but it denies the rational aspect of the Christ principle, the Logos, the idea of the unknowable God who takes knowability upon Himself. If Christ is Logos, God is Knowable, comprehensible
and such as can be felt, willed, known, loved and touched and at the same time be mysterious and suprarational.

Boehme's rôle was to restore the Christian insight into mystical speculation. He avoided the pitfalls of rationality and affirmative theology by asserting that God was still mysterious in spite of his manifestation in Christ. His doctrine of the wrath of God as distinguished from the love-light principle sought to maintain the irrational and noumenal character of God in the face of the apparent rationality of the Logos.

Boehme's theological structure is necessarily symbolic because it presupposes the dark abyss, the groundlessness, which is hidden behind the rational finite and which is comprehensible in Christ Jesus.

Moreover Boehme's God was not not-being, nor was his Ungrund meonic. It was pure being, not-yet-being — of a different character. The underlying motif in Boehme's speculation was that the basic life-Drang was of the formless to achieve stable form. The idea that the eternal Nothing seeks to become a something runs in the face of Greek philosophy with its tradition of abstraction. For the Greeks the three absolutes of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty were to be attained by a succession of increasingly exalted and empty transcendences, although it must be admitted that Gnostics like Basileides held the nameless, original ground as the not (yet) existing God. (οὐκ ὁμοιομορφίας). For Boehme spirit was not fully realized
until it had a 'body' -- i. e. form. Only the Ungrund was formless, although determined in one important aspect: it was an eternal élan which sought to be. The Ungrund is certainly not meonic for it is closer to Aristotle's not-yet-being than to Plotinus's non-being. It is dynamic. It strives to become form. And this endless drive of the formless towards form is a non-classical idea. 'No spirit is spirit until it achieves form'. 'No spirit is self-conscious nor knowable unless it can be comprehended, and unless it has form'. These propositions would not have been accepted by the Greeks. In Jacob Boehme's view the mysterious God within life and God within history is not only possible both ontologically and rationally, but is also essentially necessary for life and knowledge as well as a realistic and honest analysis of the nature of life.
III.

BOEHME'S MYSTICISM AS HOLY SPECULATION

The second of the three historical and logical types of mysticism is the one wherein it is defined as a speculative system of philosophy embracing a particular structural pattern. Along with the mysticism of those who have seen and touched there is also the mystical philosopher who cogitates upon the data thus attained. The results of such cogitation are patterned into a type of speculation which embraces a mystical structure — a philosophy distinguished from other metaphysical systems by special 'mystical' elements. In this sense of the word, mysticism is the philosophy of identity. (Identitätsphilosophie)

The Philosophy of Identity is that form of monism according to which the absolute being is neither matter (Nature) nor Spirit, neither I—nor not I*, neither subject nor object, neither thinking nor being, but unity — the Identity of these opposites in a coincidentia oppositorum. One and the same substance presents itself in two attributes, in two modes of being — a subjective and an objective, an internal and an external.

The Eleatics held to the identity of thinking and being. Parmenides wrote $\text{τὸ \ ὑπὲρ \ οὐτὸ \ \ καὶ \ \ εἰκόνις \ \ εἰ\varepsilonτίν \ \ ἐκ \ \ τού \ \ \καὶ \ \ \ \ \ εἰ\varepsilonτίν}$

1. Underhill, Mysticism, p. 93
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Spinoza said that the order and connection of ideas is the same as the order and connection of things.

The philosophy of identity was so named by Schelling for his attempt to find a common basis for his philosophies of nature and idea. Drawing upon Boehme's Ungrund he postulated a common principle behind nature and the self, an 'Absolute Reason', as the 'indifference of nature and the spirit, of object and spirit' — a Principle neither real nor ideal, the obliteration of all antithesis. Thus mystical philosophy as holy speculation postulates a coincidentia oppositorum beyond subject and object, beyond the many and the one, beyond freedom and desire, beyond will and intellect. There is thus a principle of the realization of all contrasts in a \( \top \bot \), Ego, Harmony, Abgrund, or Ungrund. The contrasts vary. The dualities are variously conceived. But mystical speculation arises when a philosopher postulates a coincidentia oppositorum behind his dialectical reality.

When once the coincidentia oppositorum is postulated then a philosophy arises in which the two basic laws of natural logic are discarded: the law of contradiction and the law of the excluded third. As non-Euclidian geometry sets aside the axiom of parallels, so the logic of mysticism disregards these two laws of logic. In this fashion the coincidentia oppositorum becomes a possibility. Opposites no longer cancel each other out,

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1. Ethica, II, prop. VII.
3. Ibid., p. 638.
4. Schleiermacher's dialectic assumes that knowledge has the end of the establishment of being and thinking. Cf. Dialektik.
5. Otto, Mysticism East and West, p. 45.
but they imply each other, and thus the logical basis of
dialectics is made. Dialectics is a dual doctrine; it de-
scribes the way by which things come to be and it describes
how man comes to full and final knowledge.

One further implication of positing the coincidentia
oppositorum is the doctrine of emanation and regression
(egressus and regressus). From the coincidence of opposites
dialectical existence derives and to this harmonious union
it tends to return. Thus in mystical philosophies there is
a dual motion, a Yes and a No, an out-going and an in-going.
This dual motion is the dialectical presentation of the two
movements of creation and redemption.

Whenever a philosopher thus posits a coincidentia op-
positorum and a movement from this Source to dialectical reality
and back again to this source, whenever such a structure dom-
inates a philosophical system, then it is mystical in this
second sense.

Now, was Jacob Boehme a mystic in this sense of the word?
The focus of attention is again the Ungrund, or God
'behind nature and creature'. The Ungrund is the vital, dynamic
source of movement and life; it is not the static, quietistic
Brahman of the Hindus, the reposing Sat. The Ungrund is the
source of both the Light and the Dark worlds, of both the two
basic principles in Boehme's three. Or, to use one of his
most persistently used images, the Ungrund is the central fire
which produces both the 'wrathful, consuming fire' and the
loving, illuminating light. It is the chaotic but dynamic will
which produces both wrath (self-in-self-contemplation) and love (self-beyond-self-contemplation). Boehme's Ungrund is both the causa sui and the cause of the world in a very positive sense, for he is an everlasting production of Himself and of all reality. As Goethe said:

...der sich selbst erschuf
Von Ewigkeit in immer schaffenden Beruf.

But when Boehme suggests that God 'beyond nature and creature' is not called God, but that God is only God in the Light, or in the second Principle, is he suggesting a limited, determined God? Does he end up with a finite God after all, even in spite of his tremendous attempt to face up to the problem of theodicy? Does he finally destroy the unity of the Godhead?

Certainly there can be little doubt that the relationship of the One to the many is through the Logos, or through the Word spoken by the Father, the differentiation of wills. He is also -- to the creature -- Father, Son, and Holy spirit. And Father for Boehme has no bourgeoise Harnackian meaning; it is not a metaphor descriptive of the tender love which God bears for all his sons. God is not like a Father; God is a father. This is a generic term: God is the begetter! This is dynamic vitalism. The God of the First person is the 'onlie begetter', the Son is the only begotten; all being proceeds from and participates in Father and Son. There is no way by which a creature can come to be except through the dynamic activity of the Father; similarly, No one cometh to the Father except through Christ! In so far as the creature participates in being, in so far as he is, he is of God. But God is not the sum of
creation. This pantheism is avoided by the doctrine of the Ungrund which lies beyond nature and creature, for there does exist a secretive, personal life of God which stands over against the creature, behind the manifested God which stands over and behind the revealed deity.

By the doctrine of the Ungrund and the dark principle in God — by the idea of the coincidentia oppositorum — Boehme avoids pantheism. For the natural trend of mystical speculation is towards pantheism; this is though but a trend. Mystical philosophy is necessarily pantheistic, for every doctrine of God is poised between transcendence and immanence. Exaggeration of God's transcendence leads to deism, while exaggeration of the immanence of God always moves towards pantheism. And emanationary systems like Boehme's are always in danger of being considered pantheistical.

But Pantheism can be of two kinds, oriental and occidental. The former seeks to melt the world into God and is therefore acosmism. It knows no Becoming, only Being, the modification of which is the nature of all individuality. The latter seeks to inject God into the world, tending therefore towards atheism. It knows no being, only Becoming, seeing the Absolute as the total process of Becoming. In both forms of pantheism the fact of personality is endangered. It can be said that if pantheism meant nothing else than the doctrine of the immanence

2. Luthardt, Kompendium der Dogmatik, pp. 140-141. In the Oriental type are the Eleatics and Spinoza. In the occidental Heraclitus, the Stoa, Goethe, Schelling, and Hegel.
of all things in God, every rational view would have to accept it in some form or another. But when Boehme creates the dialectical doctrine of the Virgin Sophia, the dialectical counterpart of the Ungrund, and when he makes the world the objectum of the Virgin Sophia, then he establishes a dialectical metaphysics that avoids the pitfalls of either oriental or western pantheism without becoming a deist. Boehme, by placing the world of forms and patterns in a dialectical relationship to the dark principle of chaotic dynamism, has solved with one stroke the problem of pantheism.

Boehme's doctrine of the Ungrund preserves personality in the face of the disintegrating tendencies of mysticism. God, in begetting all creatures, also begot the Son, but God the 'only begetter' is not the total God. Beyond and behind the 'begetting Father' there lies the dark and hidden God, the wrathful Unconditioned in Whom there is no differentiation, no manifestation, no consciousness, no moving forth into multiplicity. He is the God who lies beyond nature and creature, and also beyond the Trinitarian formula — indeed, beyond good and evil. He is the Coincidentia oppositorum.

Boehme's Ungrund is voluntaristic. It is an eternally active, dynamic principle in contrast to the rigidity of static being. In fact, Boehme probably held that Being was will, voluntas. All of creation participates in the emanatory will; and only the living God has the dynamic creative will to be. This primitive will divides itself into two antithetical wills, a will to assert and a will to propitiate. Here the
metaphysics of emanation and regression is interpreted in voluntaristic terms; the will towards self-assertion is the dynamic force that causes life to assume form and determination; the will to propitiate this assertive 'wrathful' will is the resignation that brings redemption. Yet Boehme did not hold that redemption is the abnegation of the will to be and the destruction of determined modes of being which have been produced. The determined forms of being remain determined. Personality is not destroyed. Consciousness is not melted into the abyss of unconsciousness. On the contrary, the modes of determined being produced by the emanationary will to assert the self remain full and complete; only the tendency towards death inherent in the will to assert the self is removed. And the determined mode of being becomes eternal when that tendency towards non-being inherent in its nature has been regenerated. Boehme's mysticism does not suit the following definition:

But since mysticism leads to an undifferentiated ultimate reality, it is bound to regard particularity, including individuality, as essentially evil. All mystic religions, therefore, have the characteristic of accentuating individuality insofar as individuality is inherent in the capacity for self consciousness emphasized in mysticism and is something more than bodily particularity; but all mystic philosophies ultimately lose the very individuality which they first emphasize, because they sink particularity in a distinctionless divine ground of existence. 1

Is this not poppycock? Boehme sought the indwelling Christ and he used the Pauline image of the daily dying to evil appetitions and desires. Though he does make much of the

mystical death, yet he wanted to put on the mind of Christ.

For a beast is no Christian, but he that is baptized with the Holy Ghost in the death of Christ; who hath put on Christ, and liveth in Christ's heavenly flesh and blood; who hath tasted Christ's supper, and sitteth with Christ at table; he is a Christian that walketh in Christ's footsteps, and continually mortifieth the anti-Christian evil beast in Flesh and blood. (Epist. xxxi,22)

Boehme's idea of the dialectical relationship between good and evil, Yes and No, is nothing else than the metaphysical interpretation of what with Luther is an ethical insight. Boehme raises Luther's good and evil to metaphysical principles for when Boehme interprets evil as <i>n</i> he has changed the basically Lutheran View of evil, even of original sin, into a metaphysical reality. Though there is a relationship between Luther's God of wrath and love and Boehme's dialectical reality, there can be no doubt that when evil is raised to a metaphysical principle the danger of making God the author of evil is plainly evident.

Boehme's God is a free God, his man a free man. For Boehme freedom is the opposite of the classical maxim, <i>determinatio est negatio</i>. Free being acts according to its own inner structure. Law cannot come from without, compelling a free being. Man's being, not the law of God, is the inner

1. From this comes the error of all mysticism which adopted this classical principle. This error was to make all that which is not actually God a negation of God. All determined being is not divine! God had no 'body'! Boehme seems to have sensed the logical error in this problem, and boldly seized the heart of the matter by asserting that determination is affirmation, that no spirit can exist (be conscious) without a determined mode of existence.
drive. The struggle of this free being to become self-conscious (self-determined) creates the two centers of life. The free being was with the self-conscious, self-determined being, thus creating the anxieties of life. The self-determined being sets his self-determination as the centrum or polarity of his ego against the innate laws of being. Thus the new centrum naturae wars with the original God given freedom. This is Boehme's Jah and Nein! These two wills -- the free will which seeks not its own, nor is puffed up, wars with the desirous will, which does seek its own, and which is puffed up.

Perhaps it can be said that Jacob Boehme stressed the ultimate unity more than any one else; but he also stressed the duality in unity and the trinity in the unity. He saw that manifestation necessitates opposition, dialectics. This is the old law of Empedicles -- strife is the father of all things -- and this strife of yes and no is evident on all levels of life, in God, in Eternal Nature, in the Created Universe, in Man, in the Cross. For Boehme, as for Hegel, the secret of reality is the coincidentia oppositorum, the living and interactive affinity and unity of all contrasts.
IV. BOEHME'S MYSTICISM AS METHODOLOGY

The third of the three historical and logical types of mysticism is that wherein mysticism is conceived as an endeavour to bridge the gap between the experienced disunities, a methodology of divine union which proposes to lead to unity and rest, a search for the resolution of the disunities of man's experience.

Mystical methodologies are numerous, for mystical literature when properly conceived deals more with projected schemes toward divine union than with descriptions of that union itself. The mystics speak, not so much about union, as about the necessary preludes to such union. The mystics describe, in addition to the psychological and ontological aspects of spiritual communion, the rungs in the spiritual ladder by which the soul seeks to ascend to God.

Before Boehme's mystical methodologies can be examined the goal which he sought must be understood. He felt that the highest good which man could attain, the sumnum bonum, is the no-thing:

The no-thing is the highest good, for there is no turba therein, and so nothing can touch my soul; for I am a nothing to myself, but I am God's, who knows what I am; I know it not, neither shall I to know it. (Sig. Rer., ix, 62).

What is the end of Boehme's mystical striving? What is he seeking to attain, or what does he want to have happen within his own being? Does he seek nirvana, the mystical ecstasy?
Hear what he has to say:

And thus is the cure of my soul's sickness; he that will adventure it with me shall find by experience what God will make of him: As for example: I here write, and I also do not do it; for I, as I, know nothing, and have also not learned or studied it; so then I do it not, but God does it in me as He pleases.

I am not known to myself, but I know to Him what and how he pleases: Thus I live not to myself, but to him; and thus we are in Christ only one, as a tree in many boughs and branches, and he begets and brings forth the fruit in every branch as he pleases, and thus I have brought his life into mine, so that I am at one with him in his love; for his will in Christ is entered into the humanity in me, and now my will enters into his humanity; and thus His living Mercury, that is, His word... and His Mercury speaks through mine, as through his instrument, what He pleases; and thus my Jupiter lives in the divine joy, and I know it not; the true Sun shines in me, and I see it not; for I live not to myself, I see not to myself; I am a thing, and I know not what; for God knows what I am; and so now I tend and run to and fro as a thing, in which the spirit drives me as He pleases, and thus I live according to my inward will, which yet is not mine.

But yet I find in me another life, which I am, not according to the resignation, or self denial, but according to a creature of this world, viz. according to the similitude of eternity; (sig. Rer., ix,63ff).

Boehme thus adopts the old early mystical idea of becoming empty, for he certainly believed that the goal of religious striving was to become empty of the will which separates and divides the creature from God. But how did Boehme conceive of the ultimate mystical union? What was its character?

It has already been pointed out that Boehme wanted none of the absorption of individuality into the abyss of mere being. He had nothing to do with nirvana in any sense of the term. Beohme wanted to have his separated and misdirected will redirected again into the purposes and the final goals of the Kingdom of God. And the methodology which was the
necessary prelude to such a unity of willing was conceived of by Boehme in terms of the alchemical process.

Boehme, indeed, conceived of himself as an Artista, an adeptus in the alchemical process of transmutation. He felt that he knew how the elements could be transmuted. And he was certain that process of spiritual rebirth was similar to the process of transmutation (Sig. Rer., viii, 54). Indeed, without the new birth even the alchemical process cannot be undertaken (Seel. Frag., i, 105) and he must be possessed by the Holy Spirit (Aur., ii, 11).

Upon further thought the relationship between Boehme's mystical methodology and the alchemical process is clear. Both processes respect the individuality of the elements. In alchemy the fire acts upon the iron without making the iron into fire; so the power of the Godhead acts upon the soul without making the soul into God. Both the iron and the soul are born again without becoming either fire or God; both of them maintain their individual, separated modes of being. This figure of iron is an old one, having been used by Origen in his Principles.

The new birth is, then, nothing else than the transmutation process of alchemy, and the 'process' or the 'cure' is nothing more than the alchemical process of the new birth. It is here that Boehme's many alchemical figures and elements appear. Boehme considered that the various aspects of reality were closely related to the alchemical elements. He likened the process of re-birth and transmutation to the process of changing the
elements. And his whole work is nothing else than an explanation of the methodology by which this transmutation will take place.

Boehme adds to this alchemical process of transmutation another mystical methodology of divine union, and that is his Schwenkfeldian view of the mystical sustenance and nourishment by feeding and drinking the substances of the Saviour. His theory of the sacraments is mystical to the core for it is a method of divine union. But at its best it is nothing more than a religious metaphor, descriptive of a religious event.

In the *Way to Christ* Boehme describes the relationship of his idea of the new birth to the philosophical process. He knows that only by the transformation of the will can the reunion of the two divided wills within man's own being be brought into harmony. In *Gespräch. Der Seel.* the process of this change is described; and in the *Ubersinnlich Leb.* the detailed character of this change of outlined. These are two great mystical tracts, well worth being placed along side of some of the other great mystical tracts of history. In them Boehme revealed himself as not only a deeply spiritual man, but also as a literary artist of consummate skill for in the end the imagery of mystical methodology is myth, and myth is literature of the highest order. And in the end Boehme's mystical methodology necessitated that he tell a beautiful myth of the two souls to explain the process of change and transmutation, and because of this the whole character
of Boehme's mysticism is mythological.

What is that mysticism? This: That Jacob Boehme sought with all the means at his command to resolve the duality of Yes and No within his own soul.
APPENDICES
NOTE

The following materials are given as supplementary to the main text of the thesis. J. J. S.
APPENDIX ONE

THE WORKS OF JACOB BOEHME

1. Note on the Collection of the Mss.

The text of Boehme's works, though benefiting from the tireless and loving labour of the early editors, still presents major problems, one of the more important of which is the ascertaining of the proper readings.

The actual printed text is clear enough as it now stands, but the relationship of the mss to the printed versions is not as clear as one might wish. Variants exist, though not in the later German versions; and the relationship between the early Dutch, English, and German versions has not yet been established. Boehme's letters present serious difficulties in dates as well as in text. Furthermore, the variety, uncertainty, and ambiguity, of the titles of his tracts further complicates the task.

When Abraham von Franckenberg first listed the writings of Jacob Boehme in his De Vita et Scriptis his chronology was only partly correct. Modern investigation, aided by the re-discovery of the mss themselves, has defined more sharply the dates of composition. And in the light of Boehme's significant development the chronology becomes more important than before. Werner Buddecke, in his Verzeichniss von Jakob Böhme Handschriften, has reconstructed the chronology of Boehme's works with as much
accuracy as possible, and in his *Die Jakob Böhme Ausgaben: ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis* he has attempted to relate the mss to the early printed versions. But neither Buddecke nor any of the German scholars seems to be aware of the significant relationship between the early German versions and the early English translations. The textual origins of the Dutch and English versions, while certainly not clear, does throw some light, however dim, upon the task of correlation.

But for the providence of God Jacob Boehme would be only a name, known only by his small 'printed work' and the *Aurora*. The mss were preserved by the energetic activity of the first generation of Boehmists, and the story of their preservation is of interest.

With the spread of the Thirty Years War and the resulting wave of religious intolerance in Germany, the followers of Jacob Boehme found their way into Holland, the goal of many of the persecuted. Seventeenth Century Amsterdam was the citadel of Boehmism, and across the North Sea there was a flourishing colony in London. Along with the Remonstrants, Arminians, Mennonites, Walloons, and Collegiants, the Boehmists helped to make Amsterdam the religious melting-pot. Already in 1630 a rich Amsterdam merchant, an elder in the Walloon congregation, Abraham Willemzoon van Beyerland, began to collect the ms copies of Boehme's writings. The story of the providential survival of the mss which Beyerland had gathered is told in one of Abraham von Franckenberg's letters which is appended to the biographical materials in the 1682 edition
... soon after the late author's Death, when, through a providential hand of God, it so came to pass, that one of these writings got to Amsterdam, and fell into the hands of a pious and simple-hearted Merchant, Abraham Williamzoon van Beverland; he was thereby so directly inflamed with desire, that he never desisted from the most earnest pursuit after all the rest. For he made inquiry of the still surviving intimate Friends of the late JACOB BEHМEN, who were some of them Gentlemen of quality, and some of them Doctors; and, on Account of these Books, entered into an Epistolary Correspondence with them, sparing no Money, wherever any of them could be come at, to make a purchase of them; which God was pleased to attend with desirable success. For whereas they had usually been found dispersed here and there amongst their admirers, and kept up close and secret as something of value; they were, however, found almost all of them together at the late Messrs. Charles and Michael de Endern's, (Whether before or after their decease is uncertain); And altho' these were not in the Author's own handwriting, yet were they in the first and most faithful, as well as the best revised copies of Mr. Charles de Endern. These were two own Brothers, and the deceased JACOB BEHМEN's most worthy Friends and Patrons; the very first he reposed any confidence in, and by whose means he became eventually so popular. These copies were got into the hands of Mr. John Rohte, of Gёrlitz, of whom, having afterwards purchased them for one hundred Rix Dollars, he ordered them to be sent to Leipsig, to be delivered to his Correspondent there: From thence they were to be dispatched afterwards, by some Opportunity, to Hamburg, consigned also to his Correspondents there. Now it happened that about twenty Stage-Carts, or Cars, loaded with various sorts of Merchandise, set out from Leipsig to Hamburg; and in one of these was packed the little wooden case, containing the aforesaid writings. On the road, there being then no Peace in Germany, these Cars had the misfortune of falling in with a Detachment of Calvary on a marauding party. The other carts, with the Merchandise, were all of them totally plundered, except that with the writings, which they did not touch: so that, by the Providence of God, it escaped the danger, and they were delivered, according to the Consignment, in Hamburg. But before the little Case or Box had arrived there, the Leipsig Correspondent had already got the news of the Cars having been plundered; and taking it for granted that the Things mentioned had shared the common mishap, he forthwith dispatched a Letter by Post to Beverland in Amsterdam. But in the interim, whilst the Letter is going between Leipsig and Amsterdam, the little wooden Case, with the Books, had been shipped at Hamburg, and consigned to the Proprietor in Amsterdam. It also fell out, that with a favourable wind they arrived at Amsterdam on
the very same day with the other's Letter. But the late Beyerland, having received his Post-Letter from Leipsig, first, on being thus apprized of the Misfortune, was exceedingly grieved and sorrowful; not so much for the Loss of the Money, as for the Loss of the Treasures he had been in expectation of in the Books. Upon this he goes out at Noon to the Exchange, to transact his mercantile Business there; when immediately afterwards comes the Hamburg-Skipper, with his little wooden Case of Books or writings, and delivers it to his wife: Now she, without any Enquiry about its Contents, orders it to be set down in the Hall. In an Hour or two afterwards, upon Beyerland's return, and entering into his house, he casts his Eyes on a Wooden Box, or Case; but knowing nothing of it, asks his wife what it was? And upon her telling him it was come from Hamburg, he opens the Letter with it, and then the Case; when he had an evident proof how wonderfully God protecteth His own Word, gratifieth His wish, and overspreadeth Him with extraordinary great joy. 1

This incident took place sometime between the years 1631 and 1642, when Beyerland's first translations into the Dutch began to appear. Beyerland, however, continued his collecting:

Yet he was not quite contented with these, but for the sake of more indubitable authenticity, makes it his Endeavour to procure the original copies in the Author's own Hand-writing: 'Which tho' hard to come at; and, tho' the great Work upon Genesis entitled Mysterium Magnum, which the deceased Author had in particular dedicated to, and left the original copy with, Mr. Abr. de Franckenberg, a peculiar lover of the Mysteries of God in Scriptures, as also that concerning the Six Points:— had, during the then War-times, together with other excellent Pieces, been plundered by the Soldiers, and carried off to Dresden; yet did God the Lord in some degree gratify his Wish in this Respect too: For he got the Day-Dawn, being the Author's very first Piece, in the Original Copy, from Mr. George Pflug, Marchall of the House to his Electoral Highness of Saxony, as hath been intimated above, in the Memoirs of His Life, page 10. (2) He also got, some Time after, from different Quarters, 2. That concerning the Testaments of Christ. 3. That concerning Resignation. 4. The Dialogue

1. This incident is related in Francis Okeley, Memoirs... pp. 135-137. The spelling is unaltered.
2. Internal note within Okeley, Memoirs...
between the enlightened and unenlightened Soul. 5. The Apology against the Principal, or Upper Minister, Gregory Richter's Libel. 6. An imperfect piece of an Apology against Balthasar Tylken. 7. About sixteen of his Epistles; one part whereof Mr. De Franckenberg communicated to him, as other admirers of them had done the rest. But, as intimated before, that he might remove the least shadow of a doubt, whether anything might have been perhaps left out here and there in transcribing, he continued his Research after more good and faithful copies still, buying them up; so that he had rummaged together pretty near three or four copies of each of the Treatises. 1

Hegenicht, the patrician Burgomaster of Görlitz, wrote of his participation in the collection of these mss:

In the year 1639, Williamson van Beverland, a citizen and Merchant of Amsterdam, was the first who, with singular Pains and great Diligence, translated these Books into his Mother, or into the Low-Dutch Tongue; and, at his own risk and great Expense, had them printed: Which writings I therefore, for the greatest part of them, have seen and had in my hands, here at Goerlitz, as early as the year 1624, and 1625, and the Years following, before they were yet got into Holland. But such of them as were written by the Author's own hand, as to the most, or principal Part of them, were about eleven years ago (i.e. about 1658), just upon my return home from absence of twenty-five years, found amongst the remaining effects of an intimate old friend of mine, after his death. And these his kinsman, a young man, gave to another here; which last gave them again to a Tradesman of Luben for about three of four dollars; which, after all, he never got; who is now said to offer them here and there for sale, and asks One Hundred Ducats for them; having left them at Leipsig to be disposed of. Indeed, I have myself made some Feints, with a view to try whether they could be rescued out of an unworthy Hand, and preserved from Ruin: But it is no easy Matter to procure any thing gratis from an avaricious person. Had I been aware of a Treasure like this, when I visited the person abovesaid in his sick Bed; I make no doubt but I should have obtained them. Possibly the good man, being in a public office, might have been in apprehensions about them; or not having been aware of his Death's being so soon approaching. Otherwise there is the Book of the forty questions concerning the soul (2) at Leignitz, written,

2. This autograph of Seel. Frag. did not get to Holland and, at this time, was lost.
as I am from thence informed, by his own hand; and here and there some other epistles besides. They have there also a Transcript of the Mysterium Magnum, which has been near one-fourth of it corrected by the Author's own hand. Something, moreover, of his own hand-writing, which might be met with amongst the Heirs of the abovesaid Beyerland, who otherwise purchased, at a very considerable Price, several Transcripts of this Man's Books; in order, where requisite, to compare and collate them one with another, and thus to supply any Deficiencies that appeared. As to those Copies in the Author's own hand-writing, no sooner were one, two, or three sheets, or perhaps a Day's work of them ready, but two Gentlemen of Property in the neighbouring Country, two Brothers, were used to send for, transcribe, and then forward their copies to others for the same purpose; which occasions the first Transcript to be the best; and they are to be met with amongst the Effects which Beyerland left behind him, (1)

All of Jacob Boehme's writings thus were translated into Dutch by Beyerland, except Irrth. Stief., the Aurora, the Signatura Rerum, and the Mysterium Magnum, which never appeared in Dutch, though the last three were early in German versions. The mss themselves were handed down to Beyerland's heirs to the third generation:

They have been till now in Custody and Preservation of his heirs, till we made a Purchase of them all together, with a view of furnishing the Public with the Present edition from them. One could scarce believe the gross defects, which the former Edition had incurred by carelessness and negligence, and which have been discovered by us; to say nothing of the labour and pains we have been at in collating or revising them; all which has however been performed with a perfect willingness, out of love to this divine gift, and in order to propagate God's Word. (2)

This 'we' is Gichtel, the editor of the 1682 edition, speaking about the edition which Prunius and Franckenberg edited and which was published by Beets. (Cf. Bibliography One.) Beets, a wealthy merchant, had financed the edition which began to

1. Hegenicht's Sendschreiben.
2. Okeley, Memoirs, pp. 139-140.
appear in 1656. Beets died in Hamburg at the ripe old age of eighty, and, since his heirs did not cherish the mss, they were sold in an open market, where still another wealthy merchant, Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeldt, an associate of Spener in the Franckfurth Land Company for the settlement of Pennsylvania, bought them. Ueberfeldt used these mss for the completely re-edited edition of 1730. Isaac Enschede aided Ueberfeldt in the purchase of the mss and the publication of these editions.

After Ueberfeldt's death the mss disappeared, only to be rediscovered in the various libraries and Archives by Dr Werner Buddecke. Buddecke lists 225 mss, of which 50 are autographs, the remainder only copies.

Boehme's writings originally were not divided into the short paragraphs, as now is done in the various printed editions. And there is no uniformity of versification. Generally, though, the English and the German versions correspond. These divisions were first made by Beyerland in the Dutch translations.

The usual numbering of Boehme's Epistles is not chronologically accurate. (Cf. Chronological List.)

When the 1682-Gichtel edition appeared, the editorial work continued, and at Gichtel's death in 1710 his own private copy was found to embody these corrections in marginalia. These were partly included in the 1715 edition edited by Glusing. They were fully included in the 1730 edition edited by Ueberfeldt. Since the 1730 edition is the cleanest, the best edited, all
references in this thesis to Jacob Boehme's writings follow the versification of the 1730 edition. The translations for the most part come from the seventeenth century work of Sparrow, Ellistone, and Blunden, except where indicated.

The Schiebler editions were not critically prepared.
2. The German, Latin, and English Titles of Jacob Boehme's Writings, and the Standard Abbreviations

Die Morgenröthe im Aufgang
Aurora
The Aurora

Von den drei Principien Göttlichen Wesens
De Tribus Principiis
The Three Principles of the Divine Essence

Vom Dreyfachen Leben des Menschen
De Triplici Vita
The Threefold Life of Man

Vierzig Fragen von der Seele
Psychologia Vera
The Forty Questions of the Soul

Von der Menschwerdung Jesu Christi
De Incarnatione Verbi
The Treatise of the Incarnation, or The Incarnation of Jesus Christ

Von Sechs Punkten, or
Sechs Theosophische Punkte
Six Puncta Theosophia
The Six Great Points, or Six Theosophical Points.

Eine Kurze Erklärung, or
Sechs Mystische Punkte
Sex Puncta Mystica
Six Mystical Points

Vom Irdischen und Himmlischen Mysterium
Mysterium Pansophicum
Of the Earthly and Heavenly Mystery

Unterricht von den Letzten Zeit I
Informatorum Novissimorum I
Of the Last Times I
Unterricht von den Letzten Zeiten II
Informatorum Novissimorum II
Of the Last Times II

Erste Schutzschrift gegen Balthasar Tilke
Apologie I, contra Balth. Tilke
Apology to Balthasar Tilke

Trostsschrift, or Von Vier Complexionen
De Quattor Complexionibus
The Four Complexions

Bedenken über Esaiah Stiefels Büchlein
Antistiefelius
Considerations re Esaiah Stiefel's
Threefold State of Man and His New Birth

Zweite Schutzschrift gegen Balthasar Tilke
Apologia II, contra Tilken
Apology to Balthasar Tilken

Von der Geburt und Bezeichnung aller Wesen
Signatura Rerum
The Signature of All Things

Erklärung über Stiefel's Auslegung
Anti-Stiefel II
An Apology re Perfection, or Reply to Stiefel's Expositions of the Four Texts of Scripture.

Von wahre Busse
De Poenitentia Vera
Of True Repentance

Von der wahren wiedergeburt
De Regeneratione
Of Regeneration

Von der wahren Gelassenheit
De Aequanimitate
Of True Resignation

Vom Ubersonnlichen Leben
De Vita Mentali
Of the Supersensual Life
Von Gottlicher Beschaulichkeit
Theoscopia
Of the Divine Intuition

Von der Gnadenwahl
De Electione Gratiae
Of the Election of Grace

Schlüssel zum Verstand Gottlicher Geheimnisse
De Poeninentia

Erklärung über das Erste Buch Mosis
Mysterium Magnum
The Great Mystery

Tafel Göttlicher Offenbarung der Dreyen Welten.
(The Appendix to Epist. xlvii)

Von Christi Testamenten
De Testamenta Christi
Of Christ's Testaments

Tafel der Drey Principien
Tabulae Principiorum
A Table of Divine Manifestation

An eine Hungrige und Durstige Seele oder Gespräch einer erseucht- und unerleuchteten Seele
Colloquium Viatorum
Discourse Between Two Souls

Schlüssel der Vornehmsten Punkte
Clavis
An Exposition of Some Principal Matters.

Schutzrede gegen Gregor Richter
Apologetia contra Gregorium Richter
The Apology against Gregory Richter

Ein Gebet Büchlein
Suspira Viatorum
The Holy Week, or Prayer Book

Von 177 Theosophischen Fragen, oder
Betrachtung Göttlicher Offenbarung
Quaestiones Theosophiae
177 Theosophic Questions.
3. **Tentative Chronology of Boehme's Letters**

(The many unsolved problems in the Boehme Biography complicate the dating of the letters. The following dates are as accurate as it is possible to have them at this stage of the research. It is hoped better results will follow.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No. in 1720 Edition</th>
<th>No. in English Edition</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Jan 1619</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25-1649</td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Oct 1619</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27-1649</td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Oct 1619</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3-1661</td>
<td>May have been addressed to F. Krause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Nov 1619</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15-1649</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dec 1619</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26-1649</td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Nov 1619</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28-1649</td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May 1620</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>Balthasar Walther; said to be the Preface to Uebersinn. Leb., but probably to Seel. Frag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Jun 1620</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Aug 1620</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4-1649</td>
<td>Paul Kaym; autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Sep 1620</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1620</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3-1649</td>
<td>Abraham von Sommerfeldt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Author/Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Nov 1620</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Nov 1620</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5-1649</td>
<td>Paul Kaym; 4 copies survive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620-1621</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1621</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>To Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Jun 1621</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives but the printed text is faulty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Jun 1621</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives, but the printed text is faulty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Jul 1621</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22-1649</td>
<td>To J. D. von Koschowitz; the Preface to <em>Apol. Tilk. II.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Jul 1621</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17-1649</td>
<td>D. Christian Steinberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Jul 1621</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16-1649</td>
<td>Johann Sigmund von Schweinichen, Concerning B. Tilk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Jul 1621</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Johann Daniel Koschowitz; date variously given in the two surviving copies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Jul 1621</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Johann Daniel Koschowitz; date variously given in the two surviving copies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Jul 1621</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph ms survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Oct 1621</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9-1649</td>
<td>Gottfried Freudenhamer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Oct 1621</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph ms survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1621</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph ms survives; the date is uncertain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jan 1622</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24-1649</td>
<td>Hans von Schellendorf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Apr 1622</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26-1661</td>
<td>Balthasar Mitsch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 May 1622</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph ms survives; the paper has impressed upon it Boehme's seal: three lilies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Jun 1622</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Jul 1622</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Christian Steinberg, Valentin Thirnes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Jul 1622</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Jul 1622</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Friedrich Krause.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Jul 1622</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Augustin Köppin; autograph ms survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Jul 1622</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Augustin Köppin; autograph ms survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Nov 1622</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Abraham von Franckenberg (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Nov 1622</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Dec 1622</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>E.L.D.E.S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Dec 1622</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Johann Butowski</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Dec 1622</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Balthasar Mitsch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Carl von Ender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Feb 1623</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Friedrich Krause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Feb 1623</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Feb 1623</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Rudolph von Gersdorf; the autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Feb 1623</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Friedrich Krause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Feb 1623</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Abraham von Franckenberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Feb 1623</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>'Geliebter Herr D.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1623</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td>Christian Bernhard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Oct 1623</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Oct 1623</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1623</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1-1649</td>
<td>Probably to Abraham von Franckenberg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Nov 1623</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6-1649</td>
<td>Gottfried Freudenhamer and Johann Huser, along with Taf. 47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50-1649</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the translation is incomplete.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Dec 1623</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Jan 1624</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Bixen; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mar 1624</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33-1649</td>
<td>Martin Moser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Mar 1624</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carl von Ender; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Apr 1624</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carl von Ender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Apr 1624</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>To the Görlitz Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Apr 1624</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>To the Görlitz Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Apr 1624</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>45-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Apr 1624</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>46-1661</td>
<td>Johann Sigmund von Schweinichen; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1624</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>57-1661</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Apr 1624</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32-1649</td>
<td>Probably to Morsius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Apr 1624</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11-1649</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 May 1624</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>49-1661</td>
<td>Christian Bernhard; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 May 1624</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>34-1649</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 May 1624</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50-1661</td>
<td>Friedrich Krause; the autograph survives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15 May 1624 61 52-1661 Tobias Kober, from Dresden; the autograph survives.

18 May 1624 62 53-1661 Tobias Kober, from Dresden; the autograph survives.

19 May 1624 63 54-1661 Tobias Kober, from Dresden; the autograph survives.

25 May 1624 63 54-1661 Tobias Kober, from Dresden; the autograph survives.

15 Jun 1624 64 35-1649 Tobias Kober, from Dresden; the autograph survives.

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Recapitulation

In addition to the foregoing list of Letters, Buddecke, in his Verzeichniss der Handschrifften, lists the following:

one unprinted Letter addressed to J. Bixen and dated 17 Jan 1624, which has been inserted in its proper place in the above list; two unpublished Letters to Christian Bernhard, without date; one unpublished Letter to Balthasar Walther, without date; one letter without date. Also, in the 1661 English edition of the Letters the text of a German Letter is given, undated and without addressee. Thus

Total No. Letters in Buddecke ......................... 80
Total Texts in 1730 German edition .................... 74
Unique German Letter in 1661 English Edition .......... 1
No. of Letters in 1682, 1715, and 1824 editions ...... 66
Total No. of translations .............................. 62
Total No. of known letters ............................ 81

The following Prefaces may also be included as Letters:

1620 Prefatory Letter to P. Walther, in Seel. Frag.
Feb 1622 Preface to Sig. Her.
7 May 1623 Preface to Test, to Carl von Ender.
Relationship of the Epistles

1636
7(5) 1636
(1) 1637
(2) 1639
(3) 1641
(13) 1642
(1) n.d.
(2) 1645
(2) 1646
(3)
(35)

1649 London Edition

1658 Amsterdam
German

(62)

1661 London
25 & 1
(1)
(unique)

(4)

1682 Gichtel Amsterdam
(66)

1715 Hamburg
Glusing
(66)

1830 Schiebler
(66)

1836 Glasgow
(32)

1922 Schiebler
(66)

1653 LeBlon prints
23 Letters.

*-1730-*
Leyden
Ueberfeldt
(74)
4. Notes on the Several Tracts of Boehme

Aurora

This, the first of Boehme's works, was written between New Year's Day and Ascension Day, 1612. As the present text stands it is incomplete. Originally planned to contain 85 Chapters, only 26 were completed, thus giving the work a one-sided and incomplete character. There is a break in continuity at the end of the 7th Chapter, leading to the conclusion that the first seven Chapters were written before January, 1612. The Preface was certainly not written until 1615, and the Introductory note, in which Boehme speaks of a 'lovely bright day' which he experienced after the confiscation of the Aurora, even after the composition of Prins and Dreyfach. This note was composed, then, after 1619. The autograph ms was confiscated by the Görlitz Town Council 26 July 1613 and it remained in the Rathaus until November 1641, when Boehme's followers brought it to Amsterdam. In 1634, however, before the recovery of the Autograph, a battered version was printed in Dresden, against which Beyerland warned the public. In 1656 the ms copy of Michael von Ender was made from Boehme's original. In addition to the ms copy of Ender and the autograph, four copies have survived. The English translation herein used is that of the 1914 reprint of Barker. The relationship of the early editions of the Aurora to the mss is shown by the following:

Ms #51

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dresden</th>
<th>Autograph Ms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1634</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes</td>
<td>All subsequent German editions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

London 1914
In *Epist.*, xii, 12, Boehme mentions that in 1613, when he was called before the Senate of Görlitz, he wrote an answer to the Pastor Primarius' angry attacks. This answer is lost.

---

**Princ.**

This was written between January and October, 1619, and is a large work of 27 Chapters which Boehme himself considered the key to his writings. The Autograph ms is lost and the various printed editions are made from copies. The first English edition of 1648 contains textual differences from the standard 1730 German edition. The *Append.* is usually considered a separate work because it was composed later. Buddecke gives two dates for the composition of *Append.*: 27 December 1623 and February 1624. The printed versions were made from the latter composition. Six manuscript copies survive, and the copy of Michael von Ender was used by Frunius for the German 1680 edition. Christian Bernhard's copy was used for the 1730 edition. The English translation of 1648 was the basis of the London reprint of 1610, and this is the source of quotations in this edition. The text herein quoted does not always agree with that of the 1730 version.

**Dreyfach**

This is a complete work of Eighteen Chapters and it was written between November 1619 and the middle of 1620, according to the two references in Boehme's *Epist.*, v,9 and x,11. Ueberfeld described the book as dealing with the 'beautiful Lily, which God will grant to our time'. Boehme believed that this work would serve each man to his own character (*Epist.*, xii,68) and he ranked it among his most important works. Seven mss have survived, although the autograph is lost. The textual source of the English edition is the 1650 German, and of the 1909 English edition the source is not known.

**Seel. Frag.**

This work was completed 3 August 1620 and the Supplement, usually known by the title *Das Umgewandte Auge*, was written later in the same year. The questions themselves were formulated in the beginning of 1618. The answer to the first question contains a chart which is known as *Die Philosophische Kugel*, or the Philosophical Globe. The answers to the Questions are not uniformly thorough: Question 1 is answered in 281 paragraphs; question 30 in 85, and Question 35 in 36. Question 31 forms a short summary of a lost work of Boehme's bearing
the title *Vom Jüngsten Gericht*. Five complete Ms survive
and five extracts. Sommerfeld's ms was the probable basis of
the Latin and Dutch versions (and probably also of the English)
while the copy made by Prunius was the basis of the German.
The English edition used in this work is the 1911 one edited
by Barker.

**Menschw.**

This is a work of three parts, completed before the
middle of August and perhaps already in May, 1620. The parts
bear separate names, following Boehme. Part I. Of the
Incarnation of Jesus Christ; Part II. Of Christ's Life and
Death; Part III. The Tree of the Christian Faith. Part Three
was often published as a separate work, as London 1645 and
1654. Five ms copies survive and six partial copies. Michael
von Ender's copy was the basis of the Dutch and English editions.
The source of the German editions is not known, although it
was probably Prunius's ms. Earle has made a new translation
into English.

**Letzte Zeit I and Letzte Zeit II**

Two Letters, written 14 August 1620 and 18 November
1620. They were addressed to Paul Kaym as a requested cri­
ticism of his work, *Biblische Rechnung, wie Lange die Welt
gestanden und noch zu stehen habe...* The autograph of the first
Letter survives and it formed the basis of the 1682 German
edition. Three other ms copies are known. These are translated
in the 1645 edition of Boehme's letters, and reprinted.

**Tilke I**

This was written at the latest at the beginning of 1621.
Tilke was a Silesian nobleman who wrote a refutation of Boehme's
*Aurora* on 13 April 1619, a work which came into the hands of
Abraham von Sommerfeld, a friend of the shoemaker. Sommerfeld
gave the tract to Boehme and the shoemaker answered it. The
English translation of 1661 has not been reissued.

**Complex.**

This was written in 1621 and is sometimes known by another
title: *Büchlein für die Melancholie*. The Ms title varies:
*Trost-Schrift, dass ist, Unterweisung im Zeit der Anfechtung
für ein stähnten traweriges angefechteneh hertze...* Sometimes
the work appears as part of *Der Weg zu Christo* and as such
it has been often reprinted. Six ms copies survive. There
is no modern English edition after Bath, 1775.
Bedenk. Stief.

Completed 13 February 1621. There is no modern edition, the last translation having appeared in 1661. One ms copy survives.

Tilke II.

Completed 5 July 1621. Tilke was given Boehme's Baum des Christlichen Lebens to read by Dr. Koschowitz, to which Tilke appended questions, seeking further information. The answer to Tilke's questions is this work. The subject is the controversial problem of Predestination, a question brought into prominence by the Crypto-Calvinistic controversy. Whenever Boehme refers to his tract on Predestination in the Letters of 1621 he means this work, and not Gnad, which was written later. The Foreword to this work is the sixt Epistle. Five Ms copies are known, although the autograph is lost. There is no modern English translation.

Sig. Ber.

Completed February 1622, and this is one of Boehme's best books. He himself calls it 'ein sehr tiefes Buch' in Epist., xii, 73. Three Ms copies are known. In 1913 Everyman's Library printed an edition of this work, the source of the present quotations.

Irrth. Stief.

Completed in 1622, probably on the 6th, perhaps on the 26th of April. It comprises the answer to the Schirmerey of Stiefel. The English edition used is that of the 1661 translation by Sparrow.

Bussn.

Written in June, 1622, this work marks the turning point in Boehme's mystical development. Upon its completion it was sent to Rudolf von Gersdorf (Epist., xxv, 3) and it made quite a stir in Eastern Germany. Many of Boehme's friends held it in high esteem, particlarly Franckenberg and Schminich. Boehme sometimes called it his Gebetbüchlein (Epist., li, iii, lxiv, 3) but it should not be confused with the book bearing the title Gebetbüchlein which he wrote in 1624. Along with the other tracts it was often published as a part of Fer Weg zu Christo. The English version used is the 1924 reprint of the Bath 1775 edition.
Wiedergeburt

Written at the same time as Busse, June 1622, and likewise often printed as a part of Der Weg zu Christo. The edition here used is that of 1924, as above.

Gelassenheit

Written in 1622 and also included in Der Weg zu Christo. The edition here used is that of 1924.

Uebersinn. Leb.

Written in 1622 and sometimes bears the title: Dialogue between a Master and his Disciple, or the translated equivalents. This also appears in the various editions of Der Weg zu Christo. The edition here used is that of 1924.

Gottl. Beschau.

Written towards the end of 1622, and it remained an incomplete work. Often considered the Appendix to Mysterium Magnum. It remained unfinished because Boehme considered the materials better treated in the Mysterium Magnum. Earle made a new English translation in 1919.

Gnadenwahl.

This important work was begun after Christmas, 1622, and it was completed in February of the next year. It was written at the request of several Silesian noblemen, among whom were Hans Sigmund von Schweinichen and David von Schweindnitz. It deals with the problem of Predestination. It formed a fuller answer to the questions which Tilke put to Boehme, asking for fuller answers to the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters of Romans. From the references in Boehme's Letters the importance which he himself placed upon it is clear. (Epist., xxxix, xl, xli.) Earle made an excellent translation in 1930.

Busse II.

This work, given a special title in the German (Schlüssel zum Verstand Göttlicher Geheimnisse), is usually printed in the English editions of the works as a part of Busse itself.

Mysterium Magnum

This great work was begun near the end of 1622 and was
completed about September, 1623. The Kurzer Extract, usually printed at the end of this work, and therefore sometimes considered a part of it, was written later, probably in 1624. The original ms was sent to Franckenberg and came to Dresden during the wars. The relationship of ms and editions is thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. #145</th>
<th>Ms. #142</th>
<th>Other Mss:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franckenberg</td>
<td>Sommerfeldt</td>
<td>#144, #146-150.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-Dutch</td>
<td>1730 Corrected German edition.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1654, 1676</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1682, 1700</td>
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<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>German Edit.</td>
<td>1730 Corrected German edition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924 English Edit.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The editions of 1678 and 1682 were made from Abraham von Franckenberg's corrected copy of the Aurograph. Franckenberg brought this copy, along with Schweinich's, to Beyerland in Amsterdam. On the basis of these two ms the 1640 Dutch edition was printed, the basis of the subsequent German editions. Yet these were incomplete. Michael leBlon corrected them and these corrections were incorporated in the 1730 edition. Several extracts of this work exist. The English translation as reprinted in 1924 has been used here.

Tafel 47

The Appendix to the Letter which Boehme sent to Freudenhammer and Huser, 11 November 1623, may be the first composition of *Labula Principiorum*. There are no separate English Editions.

Test.

Two ms versions of Test exist, the first of which was written in November and December, 1623, while the latter was begun before 1 April, 1624, and was not finished. An addition, sometimes considered part of this work, is a portion of Epist., xliiv, sent to Carl von Ender. There is an English edition of 1661.

Gespräch zweyer Seelen

This work was completed before 25 March 1624 and was written for Hans Sigmund von Schweinich while Boehme was a guest at his home. It is in the form of a dialogue and contains some of Boehme's finest writing. This work is a part of *Per Weg zu Christo*; the modern version in Everyman's Library is not accurate.
Clavis

Written in March and April 1624 while Boehme was visiting von Schweinichen. The London edition of 1911 has been used here.

Apol. Richter

Written 10 April 1624 in answer to the printed attack of the Görlitz pastor who had written some wretched Latin verses concerning Boehme's *Aurora* and *Der Weg zu Christo*. The English translation of 1661 is used.

Gebet

An incomplete work, begun before the middle of June, 1624. The autograph survives in Fragments, and there are no separate English translations.

Theos. Frag.

These questions were formulated by Boehme's Silesian friends and he sought to answer them but he died before he could get through the whole 177. This is the last work from his pen, and in some ways the finest. Earle made a new translation which was published in 1950.

Vom Jüngste Gericht

A lost work, written sometime during 1624. No mss survive, the autograph having perished in the fire at Great-Glogau in 1632. A serious problem is presented by the fact that the 1652 edition of Selections, supposedly edited by the younger Gregory Richter, claims to contain a work by the same title. Keuckert believes that a copy of *Gnad* was the work which perished at Great Glogau. (Cf. Leben, p.178)
5. Works Ascribed to Jacob Boehme

That Boehme wrote works beyond those mentioned is certain, though the titles of these works with one exception are unknown. In 1675 Beets, publisher of the German versions, inserted the following advertisement in a volume of Franckenberg's tracts, *Mir Nach*:

> Es soll auch ein Tractat dieser Autorii (Boehme) vorhanden seyn, mit namen Der Krauter Natur und das solches auch gewiss dieses Sthl. Hannes Jakob Böhmen arbeit seyn soll weil er solches (aus der verliebenen Gave und Gnade) mit eygenen Hand soll aufgesetzt haben.

Boehme himself in *Apol Richt.*, 42, speaks of 'meinem Büchlein von der edlen Sophia', though this may be the unknown title of a known work. This is also mentioned in *Letzte Zeit*, I,i,2. Boehme also mentions 'several small treatises which I have given here and there and have keeped no copy of them; for I have no need of them myself.' (*Epist.*, xii,74) In Martin Lipen's *Bibliotheca Realis Theologica*, Franckfurt 1685, the following pseudo-Boehmischic writings are listed:

- *Pharisäisches Pabsthum*, AMSTERDAM, 1638
- *Erklärung über die Offenbarung Johannis*, AMSTERDAM, 1639
Geistlicher Weiber-Spiegel: Das Ist der Gottfürchtigen Weiber A. u. N. Test. LEIPZIG, 1671

Since these works have not been seen they may be but selections from his writings.
APPENDIX TWO

BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS

The biographical materials for a life of Jacob Boehme are confused and some are untrustworthy. Unquestioning and uncritical use of these materials results in errors both in fact and chronology.

The first critical, scientific analysis of the materials at hand was made by Dr Will-Erich Peuckert in his invaluable Das Leben Jakob Böhmes (Jena 1924). The Görlitz records were first used here and other materials were scanned with regard to their veracity. Richard Jecht in his Jakob Böhme — Gedenkgabe der Stadt Görlitz, presented the materials which he found in the various archives. Koyré and subsequent writers have drawn upon these two books, as well as upon the photographic materials in Jecht's Jakob Böhme und Görlitz Ein Bildwerk, 1924.

Knowledge of Boehme's life and facts about him derive from three sources: a) his own writings; b) the official and semi-official records; and c) the various accounts written by Boehme's friends. These documents are not all of equal value, and collation is necessary so that critical estimate of the materials may be made. There follows a collated list of the sources for Boehme biography:

I. EXTERNAL SOURCES FOR A BOEHME BIOGRAPHY

(Materials Originating in Görlitz Archives)

1575 J.B. is born. This is deduced from an entry in the Görlitz Bürgerbuch for 1599. Cf. Below.

1598 Boehme buys a house.......... Kaufbuch 1598ff.Bl.77
Paul Adam hat erblich, recht und redlich, ganz frei und unbeschwert mit alle dem, was erd- wied- und nagelfest, verkauft sein Haus furim Neisstore aufm Töpferberge zwischen Moises Weiles und Paul Hillebrands Häusern gelegen, Jakob Behmen und das gegeben für 300 Mark, zu zahlen bar auf künftig Mertini 150 Mark und den Rest jährlich auf Weinachten mit 25 Marken zu verrichten, auf Weinachten über ein Jahr damit anzusehen und also fort, weil Geld wehret, bei demselben Hause, tamquam omni jure peracto. Actu coram senatu 21 August 1599.
1599 J.B. marries......................Traubuch, 10 May
(Cf. p. 35, n.1)

1599 J.B. becomes citizen.......... Bürgerbuch, p.14, 10 May
Jakob Behmer von Alt-Seydenberg, Schuster, hat
auf seinen vorgelegten Geburts- und Losbrief
sein Bürgerrecht erworben. S(enatus) C(onsulto).
April 24. dedit. 4. Schock.

1600 Son Jakob Baptized.......... Kirchenbuch, #29, 1600
(Cf. p. 35, n.5)

1602 Son Michael Baptized....... Kirchenbuch, #9, 1600
(Cf. p.35, n.1)

1603 Son Tobias Baptized........ Kirchenbuch, 1603.
(Cf. p.35, n.2)

1604 J.B. becomes master cobbler.. Ratsprotokolle, 24 July
Jakob Behme, der Schuster, wurde losgelassen mit
diesem Bedinge, dass er andern Meister nicht
gerben auch dehalben über 14 Tage 6 Schillinge
(72 Groschen) Strafe auflegen soll.


1606 J.B. participates in Guild strife. Ratsprotokolle, 24 Apr
Jacob Kissling und Jacob Böhm sind mit Gefängnis
bestraft worden, diweil sie dem Weissgerben Katz
Rönricht vor einen Schelmen gescholten. Weil er
aber auch lite pedente unbilliges Kaufes sich
unterstanden, soll er gleichfalls mit Gefängniss
bestraft werden.

1608 J.B. sells house............... Kaufbuch, 1605, Bl.260b.
Valentin Lange hat erblich, recht und redlich, frei
und unbeschwert verkauft sein Haus, zwischen dem
Neisstore neben Zacharias Scholzes Hause gelegen,
mit alle deme, was erd-, wie ed und nagelfest,
Jakob Behmen und ihme das gegeben für 375 Mark, zu
bezahlen bar auf Michaelis mit 200 Mark und den
Rest jährlich allewege auch auf Michaelis mit 25
Mark zu verreichen, auf Michaelis über ein jahr
damit anzufahren und also fort, weil Geld wehret, bei
demselben Hause tam tueam omni jure peracto. Actum
coram senatu 22 Juni 1610.

1610 J.B. borrows money on his house....Schuldbuch, 1605,ff.
454b.
1611 Son Elias Baptized ............ Taufbuch, 4 Sept.  
(Cf. p. 36, n. 3)

1612 J.B. participates in guild strife. Protokolle of Guild  
(Cf. p. 60)

1612 J.B. acts as security.... Scultetus, Kirchenwesen, 98  
Lorentz Nüssler, Pauersmann zu Lauterbach, böser  
haushalter auf seinem Gutte, welches er hat lassen  
verwüsten, deshalb er gestern zu Gefängniss aufge-  
nommen, ist heute losgelassen auf Fürgeschaf  
Jakob Böhmes, Schusters allhier, und Michael  
Schwartzes daselbst, dass sie angelobet, davor  
zu sein, damit er (Nüssler) zwischen hier und  
Johannis baptiste bei Strafe 10 Schock soll verkaufen.

1613 Entries in Scultetus' Diarium  
—1613, den 26 Juli ward Jakob Böhme, ein Schuster,  
genue seine enthusiastischen Glaubens ins Ge-  
fängniss gesetzt.
—Anno 1613, Jul 26. Freitags würde Jakob Böhme,  
ein Schuster, zwischen dem Tore hinter dem Spitals-  
schmiede aufs Rathaus gefordert, und alsbald sein  
geschriebenen Buch in Quarto durch den Stadtdiener  
aus seinem Hause geholt, darauf aus dem Gefängniss  
ieder entlassen, und ermahnt, von solchem Sachen  
abzustehen.
—Dienstag, den 30 Juli wurde Jakob Böhme der Schuster  
von den Predicanten in des Primarii Wohnung vor-  
gefordert und in seiner Confession mit Ernst ex-  
aminiert.

1616 J.B. is punished for illegal peddling.  
Er soll inner 14 Tagen 10 Taler zur Strafe nieder-  
legen, darum, dass er zuwider eines ehrbaren Rates  
verbot mit Garn gehandelt, und soll das eingekaufte  
Garn auf öffentlichen Markt allhier feilhaben und  
nicht anderswo verwenden. In the margin: Dedit  
am 5 November.

1624 Town Council vs. J.B.  
Anno 1624 23 März. Wegen des heisigen Schusters  
Jochen Boehmans genandt ist dedicirt das wegen  
vielfältigen Klagens des bösen angeblichen Lehr,  
er möchte vorm Rath gefordert und ihm sein Stab  
fürder zu setzen aufgelegt worden.
Anno 1624, 26 März. Jochen Bohme der Schuster  
vndt verwirrte Enthusiast oder Phantast spricht  
er habe das Buch zum Ewigen Leben angefertigt,  
aber solches nicht truken lassen, sondern es habe
es einer vom Adel, Hans Sigismund von Schweinichen
es trunken lassen. Ist vom Rath verworren worden
seinen Stab ferner zu setzen, oder in Entstehung
der Güte soll solches ihrer Churfürstl. Gnaden
berichtet worden. Darauf er sich erkläreret, er wolle
ehesten Tages sich wegmachen.

1624 7th of March. Richter's first attack on Boehme.
(Text in Jecht, Böhme, pp.70-71)

1624 26th of March. Richter's second attack.
(Text in Jecht, op. cit., pp.71-72)

1624 27th of March. Richter's third attack.
(Text in Jecht, op. cit., pp.72-73)

1624 Reference in Hans Emmerich's Diarium
Der gute Mann, der Schuster, von welchem ich
niemals etwas Ungebührliches vernommen, würde
nicht bedurft haben, in seinen guten Namen zu
retten, eine Apologie weder dessen Schmähkarte
ter schreiben und dessen eigene Schande zu offen-
baren.

1600-1624: Boehme's name appears on the Tax Lists.

***

II. EARLY LIVES OF JACOB BOEHME

1. Abraham von Franckenberg's De Vita et Scriptis J.B., Oder
Historische Bericht von dem Leben und Schrifften Jacob
Böhmens...

This work is said to have been written first in
Latin and published in J. Th. von Tschesch's
Einleitung in den Edlen Lilien-Zweig... The cleanest
version is that of the so-called 'Thorner Druck' of
1651-1660. It is a work of questionable merit, in some
ways the least reliable of the lives. Franckenberg
may have been acquainted with Boehme but his hagiographical
tone and repetition of unfounded fables compell the
scholar to use this work with caution. A short version
was printed in 1647 in the English edition of Seel.
Frag., probably based upon the short version in the
1631 Iosephus Redivivus... Printed in Amsterdam by
Viet Heinricks. In the English version this bears
the title: Brief Account of the Life and Conversations
of Jacob Behme...written in High Dutch by Abraham
von Franckenberg. The full version of Franckenberg's
De Vita... was translated by J.D. Hotham from the Dutch: The Life of Jacob Behmen, Printed for H. Blunden and sold at the Castle in Corne-Hill, London, 1654. Another translation was made by Francis Okely from the German text in the 1682 volume of biographical materials. All quotations are from this Okely translation.


3. Tobias Kober's Umständiger Bericht. A longish account written by Tobias Kober, Boehme's physician and intimate friend, 21 November 1624. It is therefore one of the earliest and in many ways the best account of Boehme. Its main concern is with his death, and it contains the detailed description of Boehme's illness, of the last hours, and a description of the funeral. Six appendices are included:
   a) Dietrich's Letter to Kober: The answer to Kober's request for the Communion to be administered to the dying Boehme by Mag. Elias Dietrich, one of the pastors in Görlitz. The English translation is as follows:
      'Tomorrow, if God will, I shall not fail to do the duties of my function; yet not without the knowledge and Privity of my Reverend Principal, for Reasons I reserve to myself. In the meanwhile, Farewell, and accept a Salutation from
      'Yours, Master E. Theodorus.'
   b) Dietrich's Questions to Boehme. The report of the last Catechization of Boehme by M. Dietrich. This was required by the Lutheran Church before final celebration of the Supper could take place. The substance has been incorporated into the text of this thesis.
   c) Vita et Verba Cygnea nostri defuncti (The Swan-like Words of the Deceased). This is the ecclesiastical notice of Boehme's life read as an obituary at the funeral. It was composed by Kober and is therefore the first biography of Jacob Boehme. The text is as follows:
Jacob Behmen, late of this City, Cordwainer, was born into the world of Christian Parentage, at Old Seidenberg, in the Year of Our Lord 1575. His Father's Name was Jacob Behmen, and his Mother's Ursula, Peasants of that Place. From these his parents he received a Christian Education, and was kept to School; till, at length, having served out his apprenticeship to a shoemaker, and travelled a while, he then set up for himself in the year 1594; in which very year, he also entered into the state of holy matrimony with the virtuous Catharine Kunschmann, Spinster, of Goerlitz, Daughter of the late John Kunschmann, Butcher: With whom he had issue four sons; one of which is with God, and the other three yet in this life: God be gracious, and grant his blessing to them! During the whole course of his marriage, he lived a quiet and peaceable life with his neighbours; as they are ready and able to attest on his behalf. He has been, withal, a constant Frequentier of the Word of God, when preached; and of the Holy Sacraments, whenever administered. In respect of his sickness, it has been of fourteen weeks Continuance, though he has not always, during that space, been confined to his bed. But, upon observing that his sickness gained the ascending more and more over him, and threatened his Dissolution; he was reconciled with all men, and also received the Lord's Supper, On Friday Morning the 15th of November. But on the Sunday Morning following, having called for his son Tobias, he asked him, whether he did not hear the charming music too? Upon his answering no; says he, let the Door be set open, that the singing may be better heard. After which he enquired what o'clock it had struck? And, upon its being told him it has struck two, he said, that was not his Time yet, his Time would be three hours hence. In the meanwhile he once uttered these words: "O Thou mighty God of Zebaoth, deliver me according to Thy Kingdom!" But as it now began to approach towards Six o'clock, he took his Leave of his wife and sons; and, having blessed them, then said: "Now I'm departing hence to Paradise!" bidding his Son turn him in the bed: And having fetched a deep sigh, he thus departed with great calmness and Ease out of this world. His whole age amounts to something more than 49 years. -- May God grant his Corpse a blessed rest in the Earth. &c. "...The text designed for the Funeral Sermon: "Rev. iii,5: "He that overcometh, the same shall beclothed in white raiment; and I will not blot
"out his name out of the Book of Life." &c. It was requested to have this text treated of; but as it seemed a ridiculous thing to these reverend Divines, they made only refused to do it, but even made it a Matter of their mockery and Sarcasm.

d) Widow Boehme's Petition to the Bourgomeister:
A self-explanatory document, the text follows:

"Worshipful and truly Sapient Mr. Bourgomeister:

Whereas the Lord has advanced your worship to be the Patron, Protector, and Succourer, as well of all in general, as of Widows and Orphans in particular: Therefore am I, the present afflicted Widow, together with my Orphan-children, bound, and in all reason entitled, to take my refuge also to your Worship. Pursuant whereunto I, with all deference, entreat you, worshipful Sir, to receive my humble suit and petition. Now my case is at present this: my much-beloved Husband, the head and Master of his family, died yesterday, according to the will of God, depart this life; and therefore, pursuant to what is on me incumbent, according to Christian usage, I wished to have His corpse interred as tomorrow; and did of consequence, transmit due notice thereof, in good time, to the Reverend Principal Minister, that the Funeral might be bespoke and ordered. But the said Reverend Principal Minister, (notwithstanding that the deceased, did at no time, and so neither at his last end, ever act in Opposition to, or defiance of, the Body of ministers, for he received the Communion but last Friday from the hands of Master Elias Theodorus) has refused not only to preach the Funeral-Sermon, but even to join in the Procession with his Corpse to the &Grace. Now, what the Grounds of his Scruple may be, we are utterly at a Loss to discover: But he this as it may, yet must I, as an afflicted Widow, together with my orphan children, take my refuge to you, my Worshipful Sir; humbly praying, that in your Wisdom, you will be pleased to interpose your good offices in this affair, so that we may be able to put the corpse into the ground as soon as possible; seeing that it is prodigiously swoln, and in no condition to be kept much longer. And withal to afford me, an afflicted widow, your aid and assistance under my sorrow, both by effectual counsel and deed: and we shall, in all submission and gratitude, be ever bound to shew ourselves deserving of your worship's countenance and favour, to the very utmost of our ability.
e) Petition of Widow Boehme to the City Council:

"Noble, right worshipful, respectable, truly sapient, highly and much celebrated, and very gracious Gentlemen of the Senatorial Administration!

"With sorrowful and concerned Minds, We are bound not to leave your Honours, as Gentlemen of profound Judgment and Experience, unapprized and unacquainted, how that we, in reference to the ordering and conducting of the Obsequies of our dear Husband and Father, now resting in God: did, Yesterday Evening, then farther remind, as had been once before done, the Reverend Upper Minister of your Honours Grant and direction: And inasmuch as he still persists in his former rivetted Resolution and determination to refuse his compliance thereunto, did then immediately do the same to the Reverend Master Elias Dietrich, most earnestly and assiduously soliciting the Favour or their joining and of their preaching a funeral sermon over the same; and which latter Gentlemen we found quite unanimous with the Reverend Principal:— And whereas they have both of them flatly refused, and started all manner of Objections against that, which, by virtue of your Honours Edict and Decree, had been awarded in our Favour; and we of consequence have been hitherto, as far as in them lies, hindered and retarded in the Progress and Promotion of our needful and Christian last good offices.

"And whereas the Corpse is in such a state, that by a continual and considerable Increase of its swelling, there is great Reason to apprehend it may every hour burst, and thus be reduced to such a condition, that nobody could meddle with it; and will of consequence admit of no further delay and circuitions of this sort:— We, therefore, havine very cheerful and humble confidence in our honours, that you will reasonably obviate the Inconvenience of these disorderly proceedings, most graciously vouchsafing and allowing, that, since the Funeral-sermon is the principal eyesore, and might therefore through Envy and malevolence be preached more to the Reproach than to the honour of the blessedly Deceased, it may be
'set aside: and that we may nevertheless be still permitted to carry our Christian corpse this very day out to Burial, attended with a procession of the whole school, and with other Christian ceremonies and solemnities in Vogue here; particularly with Dirges and singing, at the time and hour customary; this interring and depositing it in it's bed of Rest in the earth. Which we in all submission supplicate your worshippful Honours to indulge us with, for the sake of the Catholic Christian Love, and for Jesus Christ's sake; and do therefore wait in Expectation of your continued condescending furtherance and Concession; and so shall we be further bound faithfully to interpose our Prayer to God in your Honour's Behalf.

'We are, your Honours, obedient, N.N.
Jacob Behmen's Relict and Heirs.'

f) Michael Kurtz's Account of the Funeral. Contains the substance of the statements made by Mag. Dietrich before and after his sermon, of which sermon a résumé is given.

g) Michael Kurtz's Eulogy. A Latin Eulogy written by a fellow citizen and friend of Boehme's.

h) Specification of Certain Questions, propounded by Master Elias Theodorus to Jacob Behmen, late Shoemaker of Goerlitz, prior to his Absolution and Participation of the Lord's Supper; together with his answers. (These questions were drawn up and delivered to the Town Council, having been previously submitted to Johann Rothe for perusal. Rothe composed an answer to these questions, vindicating Boehme.)

4. Ehrenfried Hegenicht's Sendschreiben Wegen J.B. Talent und Schriften.

A Letter written 21 February 1659 by the Bourgomaster of Görlitz to Abraham von Beyerland in Amsterdam. It contains 21 paragraphs.

(The above-mentioned materials were published in the first volume of Biographical materials in the 1682 edition of Boehme's works. Subsequent editions found new materials inserted while some were omitted. The 1750 edition of Boehme's works adds three more articles, viz:
5. **Mehrere Merkwürdigkeiten von J.B. Wohnung und Begräbniss Platz**

An Account of 52 paragraphs pieced together by the editors, containing miscellaneous information.

6. **Von den Alten und neuen Editionen oder Abdrucken dieser Schriften.**

7. **Catalogus der Originalen Hand-Schriften und Ersten Copyen der Sämtlichen Schriften des sel. Jacob Böhmens.**

* * *
Note

The following Bibliographies are as complete as the present state of the work allows them to be. They present all the known works of Jacob Boehme in all the known editions, with two exceptions: the editions in Spanish, Portuguese and other Latin-American tongues; and secondly, the editions in Russian and other Slavic tongues. The second Bibliography tries to name all the books about Jacob Boehme from the year of his death to the present. The articles in the standard books of reference are not listed.

The main sources of these titles have been the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress, and the Union Library Catalogue of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area. The British Museum has issued a special supplement on Boehme; the Library of Congress in its Union Catalogue covers some eight hundred North American Libraries; and the Philadelphia Union Catalogue covers some one hundred fifty specialized libraries in the metropolitan area of the Philadelphia region. Other libraries and collections were consulted.

The symbols used are:

- H.S.P. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- U.T.S.L. Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York
- N.C.L. New College Library, Edinburgh
- H.C. Haverford College, Pa., (Quaker Collections)
- Crozer Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.
- LuthTS Lutheran Theological Seminary, Germantown, Philadelphia
- U. of P. University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia
- German Soc. German Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- J.J.S. John Joseph Stoudt
1624 **Der Weg zu Christo**  
**GOERLITZ:**  
Published on New Year's Day, 1624, under the editorship of Franckenberg and Schweidnitz. Contains the tracts: *Busse, Gelassen*, and *Uebersinn. Leb.*. This was the only edition that appeared during Boehme's life-time. (Note: The various subsequent editions of *Der Weg zu Christo* vary with regards to contents. Under each edition the contents are therefore noted.)

1628 **Der Weg zu Christo**  
**GOERLITZ:**  
Reissue of 1624 edition, but with the addition of *Wiedergeburt* and the Fifteenth Chapter of *Dreyfach*.

1650 In this year Abraham Willemzoon van Beyerland, a wealthy Merchant and elder in the Walloon Congregation of Amsterdam, began to collect the Ms's of Boehme's with a view to translation and publication.

1651 **Iosephus Redivivus, das ist die Überaus Lehrhund Trost-reiche Historie von dem Erzvater Ioseph... über die letzten 15. Capitt. dass ersten Buch Mosis, etc.**  
Appendix *Iosephi Redivivi, ist ein... Auszug aus dem Schrifften des Johanni Tauleri*. Worinnen gelehrt wird, wie man durch inwendiges Gebete zu Gott komme.  
**AMSTERDAM: Veit Heinricks**  
(Br. Mus. 765.f.21)  
Published under the editorship of Franckenberg, and contains the third part of *Mysterium Magnum*. In this work there is the first printed Life of Boehme, an early version of Franckenberg's *De Vita et Scriptis*...

1632 **Iuxta vero I.B.T. XL quaestionibus explicata, et rerum publicarum vero regimini...applicata a J.A. Werdenhagen.**  
**AMSTERDAM:**  
(Br. Mus.; Harvard)  
Werdenhagen was Professor of Jurisprudence at Helmstadt, and he translated *Seel. Frag.* into Latin, bringing out this edition.
1634 *Aurora: das ist, Morgen Röthe im Aufgang und Mutter der Philosophie. Oder: Beschreibung der Natur, etc.*
DRESDEN (?) (Br.Mus.)
A faulty version, containing but half the proper material. This became the basis of the first English edition.

1634 *Hand-Boesken of welriekende Bloem*
AMSTERDAM:
Edited by Beyerland, and contains Gespräch 2er Seel, and extracts from Dreyfach, Mysterium Magnum, and Aurora.

1635 *Den ersten Trap tot de Bekeeringe*
AMSTERDAM:
Edited by Beyerland, containing Busse, Gelassen., extracts from Mysterium Magnum, and several letters.

1635 *De Signatura Rerum: das ist, Bezeichnung aller Dingen, wie das innere vom Eusserrem bezeichnet wird.*
AMSTERDAM: (Br.Mus.; Harvard)
Edited by Beyerland from Michael von Ender's copy. The Preface is signed E.L.

1635 *Josephus Redivivus...*
AMSTERDAM:
The second issue.

1635 *Der Weg zu Christo verfasset in sechs Büchlein*
AMSTERDAM: Bey Henrico Betkio (Br.Mus.)
Contents like the 1628 edition, probably edited by Franckenberg.

1636 *Het derde Boeck des Auteurs, Zynde Hooge ende diepe Gronden van’t drievoudig leven des Menschen.*
AMSTERDAM: (Crozer)
A quarto edition edited by Beyerland. Adds to Dreyfach the 8th, 9th, 10th, 30th, 31st, and 43rd chapters of Mysterium Magnum, the 8th part of Ird.u.himl.Myst. and one letter.

1637 *Het tweede Boeck des Auteurs. Handelende Vande drei Principien van’t Goddelijke wesen...*
AMSTERDAM:
Translated by Beyerland from the corrected Ms of Christian Bernhard. The translation was completed 13 February, 1637. The work contains the following: Umgewandten Auges der Seelen, extracts from Mysterium Magnum, explanation of several words, and Epist. x.
1639 Signatura Rerum
AMSTERDAM:
A German version.

1639 Vier Episteln des erleuchteten und von Gottes Geist
Getriebenen Mannes Tac. Böhmens.
n.p.
Date probable. Contains Epist.i,xi,xlvi,xlvi., as well as a work by Prunius called Entwurfung
der Tage Adams in Paradis und seines dreyfachen
Falzes nach sel. J. Böhmens Erkenntniss.

1639 Bedenken über Esaiae Stiefels Bücherlein: Von dreyerley
Zustandt des Menschen, unnd dessen newen Geburt.(Theo-
sophisch Epistel oder Sendbrief, darinnen das Leben eines
wahren Beschrieben wird.)
AMSTERDAM: Contains Epist. xlvi and xxxi. Edited by Beets.

1639 Zween sehne schöne Sendbrieff.
AMSTERDAM:

1639 (A Dutch translation of Clavis)
AMSTERDAM:

1640 Mysterium Magnum, oder Erklärung über das Erste Buch
Mosis
AMSTERDAM: A Quarto edition, containing a life of Boehme and
a list of his writings.

1641 Gebedt-Boesken
AMSTERDAM:
Translation completed by Beyerland June 1st.

1641 Tsamenspraak tusschen Meester en Disciple van't Bovensinne-
lyke Leven.
AMSTERDAM:
Translation by Beyerland completed April 7th.

1641 Eenige Schoone Brieven van Jacob Böhme, Alias Theutonicus
Philosophus. Getranslateerdt uyt de geschreven Hoogh
Duytsche Exemplaren...Ghedrukt in't Jaar 1641
Translated by Beyerland. In 1641 thirteen letters
were published and in 1645 eight. Seven already
had been published, making a total of twenty-eight
in print.

1641 (There is some evidence that in 1641 there was an edition
of Theos. Frag. published at Dresden.)
1641  (A version of Gebet was printed, either in 1641 of 1642, in the German language.)

1641  (A version of Test. was printed, perhaps in Dresden, in German, in either 1641 or 1642.)

1642  Betrachtingh vande goddelycke openbaringh.  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      (Harvard)  
      Beyerland's translation.

1642  Van de Wedergeboorte.  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      From a printed version and a corrected copy. The translation was finished by Beyerland and completed 17 April 1641.

1642  Veertig Vragen van de Ziele: Zielen Beeldenis.  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.

1642  Van de 4 Complexionen  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.

1642  De Voor-Rede van de Testamenten  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland from the autograph ms.

1642  Genaden-Verkeisung  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.

1642  Aerdisch en Hemelsch Mysterium  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.

1642  Verklaring van 6 Puncten  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.

1642  Ses Puncten  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.

1642  de Tafel van den 3 Principien  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.

1642  Apologia contra Greg. Richter  
      AMSTERDAM:  
      Translated by Beyerland.
And now he thankfully desires to traffic with these wares or materials, for the glory of God, and for the love of neighbour: And thus first of all, he sits down to translate them successively into his own Mother tongue: that his own Dutch nation might also participate of the High Dutch gifts of Grace; seeing this latter, our of high-mindedness, has despised and spurned at this Low and mean instrument. And, accordingly, without any regard to the expense, he promoted a very fait and fine impression of the most of them, one after another; thus furnishing the Netherlands with them: excepting the Aurora, and the Signatura Perum, and also the Mysterium Magnum, which never came out in Low Dutch, but the last, at the instance of many of its admirers, he published in High Dutch in a 4to edition.'

--Okely, Memoirs..., pp.158ff.

'It is said that indifferent French editions were also printed at this time.'

--Okely, Memoirs..., pp.146.
1644 The most remarkable History of Joseph. Mystically Expounded and interpreted as it is layd down in ye Holy Scripture. Beginning at ye 36th Chapter of Genesis and continuing to ye end of ye booke. Wherein is represented and portrayed the exact and lively patterne of a true Resigned Christian, together with the whole process of a Regenerate man according to the mystery of the new birth in Christ, both in his Tryall and Perseverence and also in his honour and exaltation. Written by Jacob Boehme. Translated out of the German tongue. A.D. 1644.

Harleyan Ms #1821 in the British Museum -- a beautifully written ms of 235 folios, the earliest, although unpublished work by Jacob Boehme in the English language.

1645 Two Theosophical Epistles: wherein the life of a true Christian is described... Whereunto is added a dialogue between an enlightened and a distressed soul... Englished out of the German Language.

LONDON: B. Allen (Br.Mus.)
Translated by Sparrow.

1645 The Tree of the Christian Faith

LONDON:
Translated by Ellistone. Third part of Menschw.

1647 XL Questions Concerning the Soule. Propounded By Dr. Balithasar Walther and Answered by Jacob Behmen. Alias Teutonicus Philosophus. And in his answer to the first question is the Turned Eye, or, Philosophick Globe. (which in itself containeth all Mysteries) with an Exposition of it. Written in the German Language/ Anno 1620./

Translated by Sparrow and contains the Brief Account of the life of Jacob Boehme, by Abraham von Franckenberg. The text follows the version printed in 1638.

1647 The Clavis, or Key, or an Exposition of some principall Matters, and words, in the writings of J. Behmen.

LONDON: (Harvard)
Translation by Sparrow. Contains a bibliography.

1647 Der Weg zu Christo

AMSTERDAM:
Non videt. Contents unknown.
AMSTERDAM: Hans Fabel.

1648. *The Second Book* / Concerning / the Three Principles / of / the Divine Essence / of the Eternal, Dark, Light and Temporary World, / Shewing / what the Soul, the Image of the Soul are: as also what Angels,/ Heaven, and Paradise are. / How Adam was before the Fall, in the Fall, / and after the Fall, / and what the Wrath of God, Sin, Death, the Devils, / and Hell are; How all things have been, now are, / and how they shall be at the Last. /—/ Written in the German Language / by / Jacob Behmen! Printed by MS for HBBlunden at the castle in Cornhill, LONDON: 1648.
With an Appendix or...a description of the Three-fold Life of Man. Translated with a Preface by Sparrow.

AMSTERDAM: Hans Fabel.

1648. *The Way to Christ Discovered...*
LONDON: H. Blunden.

1649. *Gespräch einer Erleuchte und unerleuchteten Seelen*
AMSTERDAM: Hans Fabel.

1649. *The Epistles of Jacob Boehme*
LONDON: M. Simmons for Gyles Calvert
Translated by E listone and contains also a Real and unfeigned testimonie concerning Beme. Also A Warnin, from J. Beme to such as read his writings. Contains thirty-five Letters.

1649. *The Fourth Epistle. A letter to Paul Kaym...concerning our Last Times... The Fifth Epistle to Paul Kaym*
LONDON: Translated by Sparrow.

1649. *Mercurius Teutonicus; or Christian Information Concerning The Last Times... gathered out of the mysticall writings of Jacob Behmen.*
LONDON: (Br.Mus.)
1650 The High and Deep Searching out of the Threefold Life of Man through or according to the Three Principles By Jacob Boehme alias Teutonicus Philosophicus.
LONDON: Printed by MSS. for H. Blunden, at the Castle in Cornhill, 1650. (Harvard)
Translated by Sparrow.

1651 Signatura Rerum, or the Signature of all Things, shewing The sign and signification of the severall forms and shapes in the creation, and what the beginning, ruin, and cure of everything is, etc. Also, the 177 Theosophick Questions.
LONDON: Gyles Calvert. (Br. Mus.)
Translated by Ellistone, with a Preface and Postscript by the translator.

1652 Gottes Sohn von Ewigkeit. Das Ist: Von der Geburt des Sohnes Gottes... kurz zusammen ausser der Schrifften... J. Böhmens.
THORN: (Br. Mus.)
In the British Museum there are two volumes which form an incomplete copy of this 1652 edition of the Boehme selections often ascribed to the editorship of Gregory Richter, the son of the Gregory Richter who persecuted Boehme. The General Catalogue of the British Museum says that the work originally contained eight parts. The first volume (#765.f.12) contains parts 1,2,3,7, while the second (#853.f.12) contains part 5. In this second part there is contained Seel. Frag. and a tract known as Vom Jüngsten Gericht, along with Complex. Here perhaps is the lost work mentioned by Franckenberg. The analysis of the eight parts of this edition is found in the tenth volume of the 1750 edition. Richter is thought by some not to have been the editor.

1652 Of Christ's Testaments, viz--Baptism and the Supper LONDON: M. Simmons. (Br. Mus.)
Translated by Sparrow.

1653 A Consideration upon the Book of E. Stiefel on the Threefold state of man, and his new birth, etc.
LONDON: John Macock. (Br. Mus.)
The translator is not known.

1653 Gulde kleynod eene aandachtige Ziele AMSTERDAM:
In this year Michael leBlon published 23 of Boehme's Letters in Dutch.

1654 Mysterium Magnum: or an exposition of the first Book of Mosis, called Genesis...Low which is added the Life of the Author (by D. Hotham) and His Four Tables of Divine
Revelation.
Translated by Sparrow and Ellistone; with D. Hotham's Life of Boehme, tr. by H. Blunden. In folio of three parts.

1654 Four Tables of Divine Revelation
LONDON: H. Blunden. (Br. Mus.)
Translated by Blunden, including a translation of the original Tafel. (With the Mysterium Magnum)

1654 The Tree of the Christian Faith: being a true Information how a man may be one spirit with God.
LONDON: H. Blunden (Br. Mus.; Harvard)
The translation closely resembles that published by Sparrow in 1659 as part of Menschw.

1654 Consolatory Treatise of the Four Complexions, that is, an Instruction in the time of temptation for a sad and assaulted heart.
LONDON: H. Blunden (Br. Mus.)

1655 Concerning the Election of Grace; or, of God's will Toward Man, Commonly called Predestination.
LONDON: Gyles Calvert and John Allen (Br. Mus.; Harvard)
An Appendix...being... the key to the Understanding of the Divine Hidden Mysteries concerning Repentance. Jacob Beimem's Table of the Divine Manifestation, of an Exposition of the Threefold World. Translated by Sparrow.

AMSTERDAM (?): (Br. Mus.)
Unique material, and arranged differently from the tract by the same name. With an engraved frontispiece, Includes obviously pseudo-Boehmistic materials.

LONDON: Printed by Lodowick Lloyd. (Br. Mus.)
Translated by John Sparrow.

1656 Morgen-Rütche im Aufgangk...Mit Fleiss nach des Autoris eigenen Manuscripto corrigiret und verbessert.
AMSTERDAM: (Br. Mus.)
Made from the Autograph ms, and the 1682, 1715, and 1730 editions follow this version.

1656 The Way to Christ Discovered
LONDON: Lodowick Lloyd. (Br. Mus.)
1656 *Aurora, That is, the Day Spring... That is, the root... of philosophie, astrologie, & Theologie from the true ground.*

LONDON: Giles Calvert. (Br.Mus.)

Translated by J. Sparrow.

1656 A new edition of *Mercurius Teuthonicus.*

1657 *Ymroddiad. Dsygybl a'i athraw o Newydd BANGOR (?):*

Translations of *Gelassen.* and *Übersinn.* Leb. into Welsh by Morgan Lloyd.

1658 *Theosophische Send-Schreiben des J. Böhmens...wie auch einfältiges Bericht vom hochwürdigem Erkängtnis göttlicher und natürlicher Weisheit.*

AMSTERDAM: Durch Heinricum Betkium (Br.Mus.)
Contains 62 Betters. (Lacks 27,44,52, and 54).
Contains also Franckenberg's *De Vita...* and Weisner's *Wahrhaftiger Relation.*


AMSTERDAM: Henrico Betkio.
A Partial version.

1658 *Der Wegh zu Christo verfasset in sechs Bűchlein*

AMSTERDAM: Bey Henrico Betkio
Contains 15th Chapter of Dreyfach, Busse, Gebet, Schlüssel, Gelassen., Wiedergeburt, Übersinn, Leb., and Weisner's *Wahrhaftiger Relation.* This is a reprint of the 1628 Görlitz edition, but with the biographical materials added.

1658 *Von Christi Testamenten zwey Bűchlein, das I. von der H. Taufe... Das 2. von dem H. Abendmahl... zu verständlicher Unterweisung vorgestellet durch J. Böhmen.*

AMSTERDAM: Bey Henrico Betkio. (Br.Mus.)

1659 *The Fifth Book of the Author, in three Parts. The First of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, etc.*

AMSTERDAM: Lodovick Lloyd (Br.Mus.)
Translated with a Preface by Sparrow.

1660 *Von der Menschwerdung Jesu Christi...und von Maria der Jungfrauen. In drei Theil abgetheilet...*

AMSTERDAM: Henrico Betkio. (Br.Mus.)(H.C.L.)

1660 *Beschreibung der Drei Princpüien Götlichen Wesens*

AMSTERDAM: Henrico Betkio. (Br.Mus.)
1660


AMSTERDAM: (H.C.)

This edition has marginalia added by Runius which found their way into the text. They were placed in parentheses by the editors of the 1730 edition.

1661

Several Treatises of J. Boehme... 1. A Book of the Great Six Points; as also a small Book of other Six Points. 2. The 177 Theosophick questions: the first thirteen answered. 3. Of the earthly and heavenly mystery. 4. Of the Holy Week or a Prayer Book. 5. Of Divine Vision. To which are annexed the Exposition of the Three Principles, also an Epistle of the knowledge of God, and of all things.

LONDON: L.Lloyd (Br.Mus.)

Each part bears a separate title-page. The Ms of #3 is in the Haverford College Library.

1661

Trost Schrifft von vier Complexionen...Unterweisung... fur ein stets trauriges angefochtene Hertz...Nun wiederrumb auffs Newe...gedruckt und...verbessert.

AMSTERDAM: Henrico Betkio. (Br.Mus.)

'Ist eine Edition mit Lateinischen Buchstaben in 12mo ohne Jahr-zahl und Ort, wobi die 40 Fragen blos, ohne des Theosophis Antwort, gefügt.'

1661

(It is said that Christ's Testaments was translated and published in London during this year.)

1662

Clavis oder Schlüssel etlicher vornehmen Puncten und Wörter so in allen des Authoris Büchern zu finden deutlicher erklärt. (Tabula Principiorum -- Die hochthwre Pforte von Gottlicher Beschauligkeit.


1662

The Remainder of the Books written by J. Behme...

LONDON: Gyles Calvert. (Br.Mus.;N.C.L.;U.T.S.;L.C.)

Consisting of the Apologies against Richter, Stiefel, Meth, Tilken, together with the Four Complexions, a number of the Epistles, and Weisner's Relation. Some of the parts are dated 1661. The ms of the Epistles is in the Haverford College Library.

1663

Viertzig Fragen von Seelen Urstand...


1663

Gespräch einer erleucht- und unerleuchteten Seelen.

1664 Christian Information Concerning the Last Times; Prophetic passages out of Jacob Boehme's Works.

1665 Forty Questions of the Soul...Framed by...Balthasar Walter, and answered in the year, 1620, by Jacob Behme...Englished by John Sparrow.
LONDON: L. Lloyd (Br.Mus.)
With a 'Brief Account of the Life and Conversation of Jacob Behme...by Abraham von Franckenberg.' Slightly altered from the edition of 1647.

1665 Trostschrift, von vier Complexionen. Dass ist, Unterrichtung in Zeit der Anfechtung, für ein trauriges Hartze.
AMSTERDAM: (Br.Mus.)

1665 Von sechs Puncten: Hohe und Tiefe Gründung
AMSTERDAM: Henrici Betkiis (Br.Mus.)

1665 Von der Gnadenwahl
AMSTERDAM: Betkius.

1669 Miroir temporel de l'Eternité...traduit de l'Allemand par le Sr. I. Maclé.
FRANKFURT:
With an engraved title-page and the Inscription:
De Signatura Rerum, c'est admir De la Signature de toutes choses...vraiy miroir yemporel de l'éternité. With a Preface signed C.I.B.

1674 Jacobi Böhmens... Geistliche Bücher in sich haltend den Weg zu Christo...Dabei...eine Erklärung etlicher unbekannten Wörter.
AMSTERDAM: (Br.Mus)

1674 Hundert und Funffzig Weissagungen
LEYDEN:
Gathered by Guirinius Kuhllman.

1675 Optimé / de / PIETATE & SAPIENTIA / meriti, / (Sunt omnia Ab. de Franckenberg verba in Sphaera Myst. P. III.)
oder
AMSTERDAM UND FRANCFURT AM MAYN! Bey Henrico Betkio.
(N.P.L.; S.H.L.)
This was the general title-page of a collection of Boehme's tracts made by a Lutheran pastor, Henrich Ammersbach. The tracts bear the title-pages of the earlier printings, and are the German editions of Betkius. There are fifteen parts. The edition of Der Weg zu Christo follows that is the 1628 edition in contents.

1676  **Aurora von der Philosophie, Theologie und Astrologie**  
AMSTERDAM:  

1676  **Das Umgewandte Auge**  
AMSTERDAM:  
A part of Seel. Frag. (Harvard)

1676  **Eine Kurze Erklärung von Sechs Puncten**  
AMSTERDAM:

1676  **Irdisch und himmlischen Mysterium**  
AMSTERDAM:

1676  **Andere Apologie Wider Balthasar Tilken**  
AMSTERDAM:

1676  **Bedenken über Esaias Stiefels Büchlein**  
AMSTERDAM:

1676  **Apologia, Betreffend Die Vollkommenheit des Menschen**  

1677  **Der Weg zu Christo:**  
AMSTERDAM:  
The Contents are like the 1628 edition.

1677  **Apologia I. Contra Balth. Tilken**  
AMSTERDAM: (Christoffe Cunradus), Betkius. (Brinton)

1677  **Theosophische Fragen**  
AMSTERDAM: (Gedruckt bey Christoffel Cunradus)

1678  **Mysterium Magnum, oder Erklärung über das erste Buch Mosis...Mit einigen Kupfern geziert.**  
AMSTERDAM: (Frankfurt also) (Br.Mus.)

1678  **Jacob Börmens Bedenken über Esaias Stiefels Büchlein, von dreuerley Zustande des Menschen, und dessen newen Geburt.**  
AMSTERDAM: (Br.Mus.)  
With a Catologue of the works printed in 1675ff.

In fifteen parts, sometimes bound in fewer volumes. This is the first complete edition in the German language. It stems from the materials collected between 1632 and 1642 by Beyerland. This edition was edited by Johann Georg Gichtel of Regensburg, who lived in Amsterdam after 1668, and it was printed at the cost of Conraad van Baeningen, who had hired Gichtel and other members of the Labadist group in Amsterdam to bring out this work. Baeningen was the Bourgmaster of Amsterdam, and a Mennonite. Gichtel was assisted by Georg Christian Fuchs and by a Professor of Theology, an Allard de Raedt. The actual printer is not certain; two names are usually mentioned: DeBlau and Wetstein, although the craftsman is said to have been Wilhelm Goswyn Huygens. Typographically this edition is an excellent piece of work. Volume One contains the biographical materials. Copies of this edition are in the BrMus., Harvard, L.C., and S.H.L. The contents of Der Weg zu Christo are newly organized in the following form: Busse, Schlüssel, Gebet, Gelassen, Wiedergeburt, Uebersinn. Leb., Beschau., Gespräch der Seel., Complex.

1683 Der Rechte Weg zum Ewigen Leben...Zusammengetragen durch Desiderius Philadelphia...Zum Anhange, Einige denckwürdige Erinnerungen, Einen in dem Wege Christi wandelenden Pilgrim sehr nutzlich. LEYDEN:
This is a paraphrase by Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeldt, later the editor of the 1730 edition, of the tracts of Der Weg zu Christo.

1685 de Weg tot Christus in 9 Boeken AMSTERDAM: Frederick Vorster.
The same in contents as the 1682 German edition.
603.

1686 **Alle de theosophische of godwijze werken van...J. Böme I. Deel. (Aurora)**

**AMSTERDAM:** Fredrik Vorster. (Br.Mus.)

Contains a Life of J.B.

1688 **Philosophically divine, treating of the being of all Beings... Also, a treatise on the Four Complexions (By J...B...)** Part One of the Temple of Wisdom, edited by Daniel Leeds.

**PHILADELPHIA,** Pennsylvania; William Bradford (H.S.P.)

Pennsylvania was then six years old, and Philadelphia a struggling village on the American frontier.

1690 **Idea Chemiae Börmanae Adaptae**

**AMSTERDAM:**

1691 **Bedencken über Esaiae Stiefels Büchlein**

**MAGDEBURG:**

1691 **Jacob Behmen's Theosophick philosophy unfolded...Also The principal treatises of the said author abridged. And answers given to the remainder of the 177 Questions...left unanswered by him at the time of his death...** By F. Taylor, with a short account of the Life of J. Behmen. (Portrait)

**LONDON:** Thomas Salisbury. (Br.Mus.; Harvard; U.ofP.N.C.L.)

1692 **Gespräch Einer hungri gen, durstigen Seelen...**

**AMSTERDAM, FRANKFURT, LEIPSIG.**

1693 **De Testamenten Jesu Christi, en Bedenken over Esaias Stiefels Boek**

**AMSTERDAM:** Jacob Claus.

1695 **Metalurgie Boehmiana, das ist eine Beschreibung der Metallen nach ihrem Ursprung, und wenn und wie sie Aus den Mercurio, Sall, und Sulphure gebohren werden. Nach des...Boehmii Principiis.**

1698 (Reprint of the Ammersbach edition of 1676, which is merely a newly printed title page. Most of the separate parts maintain the date of 1676.) (Br.Mus.)

1698 **Historio Jacob Böhmens...oder Beschreibung der fürnehmsten Begebenheiten die sich mit Jacob Böhme und dessen Schriften zugetragen. Mit seinem eigenen Worten fürgestellet, durch einen Liebhaber der gedachten Böhmisichen Schrifften.**

**HAMBURG:** 1688 (Br.Mus.)

1700 **Het Mysterium Magnum**

**AMSTERDAM:** Jacob Claus, William Lamsveil. (Br.Mus.)
1700 Der Weg zu Christo  
ALTONA:  
The contents the same as the 1682 edition.

1700 Der für die Einfältigen epitomirte...J. Böhme: oder  
Seraphinisch Blumen-Gärtelein.  
AMSTERDAM: Calw.  
(Br.Mus.)  
With some interesting plates.

1700 Der Weg zu Christo  
FRANKFURT & LEIPZIG:  
The contents the same as the 1682 edition.

1700 Gespräch Einer Erleuchteten und Unerleuchteten Seelen  
FRANKFURT & LEIPZIG:

1700 Der Weg zu Christo  
AMSTERDAM: Michael Brothagen.  
The Contents the same as the 1682 edition.

1704 Der Weg zu Christo  
AMSTERDAM:  
(S.E.L.)  
The contents the same as the 1682 edition.

1704 Theosophisches Bedenken über Vier Theologische Streitfragen.  
(Somewhere in Germany)

1715 Theosophia Revelata: Das ist: Alle Gottliche Schrifften  
Des Gottseeligen und Hocherleuchteten Deutschen Theosophi  
Jacob Böhmens...  
HAMBURG:  
with a long title. This is the second complete edition  
of Böhnme's collected works, usually bound in two  
folio volumes. This edition was edited by Johann  
Otto Glusing (also Glusing) in Altona with the help  
of Johannes Wilhelm Ueberfeldt. The mss of Böhmme's  
 writings were still in hand, and twenty-five additional  
letters were added to this edition. The work was  
printed by Hermann Heinrich Holle. It was put on the  
presses in 1714 and lasted for seven months. A wealthy  
Hamburg merchant named Popp paid for the printing.  
It contains a Bibliography, a portrait, a plan of  
Görlitz. The Weg zu Christo is the same as the 1682  
edition.

1715 Der Weg zu Christo  
BUEDINGEN & AMSTERDAM:  
Contents the same as the 1682 edition.

1715 Cléf, ou Exlication des divers points...  
PARIS: M. Noè:
1718 De Signature Rerum...met een Sleutel...
HAARLEM: Isaac Enschede. (Br.Mus.)

1718 Einleitung zum wahren u. gründlichen Erkänntniss des
grossen Geheimnisses der Gottseligkeit, Gott geoffenbart
im fleisch bestehende in einem Kernhaften Auszug aller
thelogischen, theosophischen und philosophischen
Schriften, Zeugnisse, des hoch-erleuchteten Mannes
Gottes und Philosophi Teutonici Jacob Böhmes...
(Br.Mus.)

1718 Christosophia: Das Ist, Der Weg zu Christo...Verfasset
in neun Büchlein, u. sieben Sendbriefen...Mit Marginalen
und Register.
HAMBURG: Hollen. (Br.Mus.)
The same as the 1682 edition, except the letters.

1722 Le Chemin pour aller à Christ
BERLIN: Schlechtinger
(Br.Mus.)

1728 (Bussweg)
BUEDINGEN:

1728 Tafel der Wiedergeburt
BUEDINGEN:

1728 Gebet-Büchlein
BUEDINGEN:

1730 Theosophia Revelata... (Same title as 1715 edition)
(LEYDEN): (Br.Mus.; J.J.S.)
This is the edition of Boehme's works edited by
Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeldt, usually bound in ten
volumes, quarto. It is the best of all the editions
from the textual point of view, having been carefully
checked against the mss.

1730 Theosophische Handbuch: Der Weg zu Christo
HAMBURG:
The same as the 1682 edition.

1730 Theosophische Hand-Buch, genannt, Der Weg zu Christo
beschrieben durch J. Böhmen. Mit dessen Lebens-laufs
und einem Anhange Evangelische Lieder.
LIPSIAE:
The largest edition, containing Cg.vii of Lreyfach,
Russe, Schlüssel, Gebet, Gelassen, Uebersinn.Leb.,
Myst.Punkt., Ird.u.himml.Myst., Letzten Zeit I & II.,
Epist.,xi, and various selections.

1730 The Four Complexions; or, a Treatise of Consolatory
Instruction.
LONDON: J. Scott. (Br.Mus.)
1731 Christosophia, oder der Weg zu Christo
LEYDEN: Ueberfeld (Br.Mus.)
Books 8 & 9 are dated 1746; the contents are like
the 1730 edition.

1732- Der Weg zu Christo...in neun Büchlein...nach der Ams-
1746 terdamer Exemplar.
BUEDINGEN: (S.H.L.)

1747 Jacob Böhme Kurtze und deutliche...Beschreibung des
Steins der Weisen...Deme noch beygefügt eine Schutz-
Schrift seiner Schriften.
AMSTERDAM: (Br.Mus.)

1752 The Way to Christ Discovered
MANCHESTER: Joseph Harrup (Br.Mus.:Harvard)
Contains also Epist., lv.

1761 Extract aus J. Böhmen Apologie wider...Stiefel u. Meth.
n.p.

1762 Kurzer...Auszug der aller merkwürdigsten...Stellen
FRANKFURT & LEIPZIG: (Br.Mus.)

1764- The Works of Jacob Behmen, the Teutonic Philosopher;
1781 with figures illustrating his principles, left by the
Reverend William Law, M.A.
LONDON: M. Richardson. (L.C.; Br.Mus.)
In four volumes; the so-called 'Law Edition.' This
edition contains 17 out of Boehme's 32 works. It was
really not edited by Law, but by his friends George
Ward and Thomas Lancake, who published it after his
death at the case of a Mrs Hutcheson. It contains a
portrait, and the translations, with the exception
of the Way to Christ, contain added materials. The
tracts of the Way to Christ are four in number:
Busse, Gelassen., Niedergeburt, Lebersinn. Leb. The
contents are as follows:
I. Life of J.B.
   Aurora
   Princ.
II. Dreyfach
   Seel. Frag.
   Menschw.
   Clavis
   III. Mysterium Magnum
      Tabula Princ.
   IV. Sig. Ren.
      Gnäd.
      Way to Christ (4)
      Gespräch 2er Seel.
      Complex.
      Test.
1769 The Way to Christ. Important Truths relating to Spiritual and Practical Christianity...with divers extracts from a treatise... the Way to Christ; written by Jacob Behmen. Published by a Gentleman retired from business. LONDON: (U.ofP.; L.C.; H.C.L.)

Probably by John Cordage.

1769 Treatises...of the Mixed World... Dialogue between an enlightened...and an unenlightened Soul... A Compendium of Repentance... or True Resignation n.p. (Br.Mus.)

1770 A Compendius View of the Grounds of the Teutonick Philosophy. With considerations by way of enquiry into the writings of J. Behmen...also several extracts from his writings... Published by a gentleman retired from Business... by J.P., M.D. LONDON: Bathurst and Baker. (N.C.L.: Br.Mus.)

1775 The Way to Christ...to which are added some other pieces also a Treatise on the Four Complexions. (?) (H.C.L.: Br.Mus.)

1779 De Regeneratione; das ist, von der neuen Wiedergeburt. BERLIN: (Br.Mus.)

1780 ...Beschreibung der Tinctur der Weisen und der Cur aller Krankheiten aus J. Böhmens Schriften. BERLIN & LEIPZIG: (Br.Mus.)

1780 Morgenröthe im Aufgang BERLIN & LEIPZIG:

1785 Antwort auf die 177 Theosophische Fragen LEIPZIG: (Br.Mus.)

1787 Miroir temporel de l'Eternite; traduit de l'Allemand de Jacob Boem, par le Sr. Jean Maclé PARIS: (?)

1785 Extracts from Mercurius Teutonicus, being divers prophetic passages of the Fall of Babel and the New Building in Zion; gathered out of the mystical writings of J. Behmen. (R. Brothers) LONDON: (Br. Mus.)

1800 L'Aurora naissante, ou la Racine de la Philosophie, de l'astrologie...traduit...sur l'édition d'Amsterdam de 1682; par le philosophe inconnu. (2 vols.) PARIS: (Br. Mus.; Harvard)
1800 Kurzer...Auszug der aller merkwürdigsten...Stellen
FRANKFURT & LEIPZIG:

1800 Kurzer... Auszug aller merckwürdigsten Stellen
BASEL:

1802 Le Ministère de l'homme-esprit
PARIS:

1800 Des trois principiis de l'essence divine...Traduit sur
l'edit d'Amsterdam de 1682, par le Philosophe Inconnu.
PARIS: (Br.Mus.)

1803 Christosophia, oder der Weg zu Christo...in neun Bucklein
(Germany):

1807 Courte Explication des Six Points suivans, etc.
Quarante quaestions sur...l'âme, etc.
PARIS: (Br.Mus.)

1807 De la Base profonde et sublime des Six Points
PARIS:

1809 Der hechte Weg zum Ewigen Leben
(Somewhere in Switzerland) (Br.Mus.)
Reprint of the 1683 paraphrase of Ueberfeldt.

1809 De la triple vie de l'homme...traduit...par un Ph.In.
PARIS: (Br.Mus)

1811 Etwas aus J. Böhmens Leben u. Schrifften.
BERLIN:

1811- Christosophia, oder der Weg zu Christo
1812 Ephrata: Joseph Baumann.
With five Epist., a Letter of Gerhard Tersteegen's and a Testimony of Gottfried Arnold's.

1814 Ein Sendschreiben von einen...Michael Fahn...ein Send-
schreiben von G. Tersteegen. Nebst einem Anhang aus
Jakob Böhm's Mysterium Magnum
n.p.

1819 Blumenlese aus Böhmes Schrifften, nebst der Geschichte
seines Lebens und seiner Shicksale.
LEIPZIG: Ratze (Br.Mus.)

1820 ...Seraphinisch Blumen-Gärtlein
n.p. (LuthTS; H.S.P.)
1822 *Systematischer Auszug aus seinen Schrifften*  
**EPHRATA:** (H.S.P.; S.H.S.; German Soc.; J.J.S.)

1823 *Auszug aus Jacob Böhmes Schrifften*  
**SULZBACH:**

1825 *Vom Zank und Streit...um Christi Testamenta*  
**BERLIN:** Bleek. (Br. Mus.)

1824 *Der Zweyte Theil des Systematischen Auszugs aus des gottseligen...Jacob Böhmens Sämmtlichen Schrifften.*  
**EPHRATA:** (Harvard; J.J.S.; H.S.P.)

1826 *Clef, ou Explication des divers points et termes principaux employes par Jacob Boehme...*  

1830 *Der Rechte Weg zum ewigen Leben*  
**MEISSEN:**

1831-1847 **Jakob Böhme's sämmtliche Werke herausgegeben von K.W. Schiebler.**  
**LEIPZIG:** (Br. Mus.)

   Issued because of the interest of the Romantics in Böhme. No textual work in this version for the text is based on that of the 1682 edition. It is modernized both in spelling and grammar. The contents of *Der Weg zu Christo* is the same as the 1682 edition.

1833 **Jacob Böhme**  
**ANSBACH:** Feuerbach's Edition.

1835 **Des...Deutschen Theosophen Jacob Böhme sämmtliche Werke**  
**STUTTGART:** Hallberg'sche Verlagshandlung. (Br. Mus.)

   Only the first volume appeared, the *Aurora*, as well as the biographical materials.

1835 **Jakob Böhme. Eine Gedankenreihe**  
**HEIDELBERG:**

1835 **Die J. Böhme'sche Theosophie**  
**TUEBINGEN:** F.C. Bauer.

1838 **Blütten aus Jakob Böhme's Mystik, von W.L.Wullen**  
**STUTTGART & TUEBINGEN:** (Br. Mus.)

1838 **Anleitung zum Beten und erbauliches...Gebetbüchlein**  
**NUERNBerg:** (Br. Mus.)
1844 *Die Lehre des deutschen Philosophen J. Böhme in einem systematischen Auszuge aus dessen sämtlichen Schriften dargestellt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen begleitet* von J. Hamberger.

*München: (Br. Mus.; Harvard; J. J. S.)*

1847 *Jakob Böhme*

*Leipzig: Feuerbach's Selections.*

1847 *Jakob Böhme*

*Stuttgart & Tübingen: (M. Carrière)*

1850 *The Supersensual Life; or, the life which is above sense. In the form of dialogues between a disciple and his Master written in 1622* 

*New York: (U. T. S. L.)*

1850 *True Spiritual Illumination*

*New York:*

1850 *Schriftlich Verantwortung an E. E. Rath*

*Görlitz:*

1850 *The Way to Christ Discovered in three Treatises. Written in 1622, By Jacob Behmen, Slightly abridged from a translation of the German.* 

*New York: M. W. Dodd.*

*Contains only Wiedergeb., Gelassen., Busse.*

1850 *Jakob Böhme*

*Königsberg: L. Noack.*

1855 *Schatzkästlein aus Jacob Böhmes Schriften von L. Adolarius.*

*Weimar: (Br. Mus.)*

1860 *Jakob Böhmes sämtliche Werke herausgegeben von E. D. Schiebler...Zweite Auflage.* 

*Leipzig:*

*One volume only appeared at this time from the press of Joh. Ambr. Barth.*

1862 *Buchlein vom Übersinnlichen Leben*

*Odessa:*

1865 *Christosophia oder Weg zu Christo*

*Königsberg: (Nr. Mus)*

*Reprint of the 1731 edition, with 8 Letters.*

1866 *Die hohe Bedeutung der Taufe und des Abendmahls.*

*Hamburg:*
1868 Der Rechte Weg zum Ewigen Leben  
ARNSWALDE:  

1870 Der Rechte Weg zum Ewigen Leben  
KOENIGSBERG:  

1870 The Higher Criticism of Life: A Dialogue  
LONDON & WAKEFIELD. (Br.Mus.)  

1879 Jakob Böhme  
LEIPZIG: L. Noack.  

1883 Jakob Böhme  
BERLIN: O. Pfleiderer  

1885 Jakob Böhme, Sein Leben und seine theosophischen Werke in geordneten Auszüge mit Einleitungen und Erläuterungen Allen Christgläubigen dargeboten durch J. Claasen  
STUTTGART: (3 vols). (Br.Mus.;Harvard)  

1886 The Works of Jacob Boehme. Volume I. Epistles  
GLASGOW: (Br.Mus.;L.C.)  

1890 Der Rechte Weg zum Himmel  
NEURUPPIN:  

1891 Life and Doctrines of J.B. (By Franz Hartmann)  
LONDON:  

1894 The Way to Christ...With an Illustrated Memoir by G. Moreton.  
CANTERBURY: (Br.Mus.)  
The same in Contents as the 1764 edition.  

LEIPZIG: Barth.  
Vols 3-6 were printed in 1910; vol 2 in 1896.  

1898- Yr ymroddiad neu caburyn a gyfreithiwyd ddwywaith i helpu u Gymru unwaith allan or human ar drygianl.  
1903 Ag ai printiwyd 1657.  
BANGOR: (Harvard; Br.Mus.)  

1896 Thoughts on the Spiritual Life..translated by Rainy  
EDINBURGH:  
With a Preface by Alexandra Wnyte.
1897 Gedanken aus Jakob Böhmes Übersinnlichem Leben
GOERLITZ: Louise Speis. (Br.Mus.)

ante Kurzer... Auszug der allermerkwürdigsten Stellen
1900 MANNEDORF:

1900 Böner af Jakob Böhme. Oeverstätting af F. P. Petri
STOCKHOLM:

1901 Dialogues on the Supersensual Life, Edited by B. Holland.
LONDON:

1904 Jakob Böhme
GUETERSLOH: (Classen)

1904 Jakob Böhme
BERLIN: Schwaner.

1905 Jakob Böhme Morgenröthe
MÜNCHEN & LEIPZIG:

1906- Morgenröthe, Von den drei Principien, Vom dreyfachen Leben
1926 MÜNCHEN & LEIPZIG:
Edited by Grabisch in the Collection 'Die Fruchtschale'.

1907 Ausgewählte Bruchstücke aus... Jakob Böhme
LEIPZIG:

1906 Von der vermischten Welt und Irger Mössheit.
LORCH:

1906 Von Tödung des Anti-Christis in uns selbst.
LORCH:

1907 Beschreibung des dreyfachen Lebens des Menschen
LORCH:

1907 The Supersensual Life
LONDON:

1908 The Supersensual Life, or, the Life which is above sense.
LONDON: (Br.Mus.)

1908 De Signatura Rerum... Traduit... par Sédir, avec des
Suppements et un vocabulaire.
PARIS: (Harvard; Br.Mus.)

1908 Jacob Boehme Selections
LONDON & EDINBURGH: (Br.Mus.)
Edited by Charlotte Ada Mains, with a Preface by Hugh Black.
1909 The Three Principles of the Divine Essence
CHICAGO:

1909 Jakob Böhme
SCHEIDESBERG & LEIPZIG:

1909 The High and Deep Searching out of the Threefold Life of Man Through or according to the Three Principles.
LONDON: Watkins (Br.Mus.: J.J.S.)

1910 Clef ou explication des divers points et termes principaux employés par J. Böehme... traduite... sur l'édition de ses oeuvres,,1715...sur l'édition rarissime de 1826.
PARIS: (Br. Mus.)

LONDON: Watkins. (Br.Mus.; J.J.S.)
Barker's reprint of the Sparrow translation.

1911 Jakob Böhme.
JENA: Martin Buber.

1911 The Way to Christ
LONDON: Watkins.

1911 The Forty Questions of the Soul and Clavis
LONDON: Watkins.

1912 Jakob Böhme Morgenröte
MÜNCHEN & LEIPZIG:

1913 The Signature of All Things and other Writings.
LONDON: Dent
Everyman's Library.

1913 Uebersinnlichen Leben
BERLIN:

1914 The Aurora, That is, the Day Spring...
LONDON: Watkins.
Barker's Reissue.

1917 Jakob Böhme
JENA: Lehmann.

1918 Seraphinisch Blumen-Gärtelein
BERLIN:
BERLIN:

1919 Personal Christianity a Science: The Doctrines of J.B. The God-taught Philosopher.
NEW YORK:
Reprint of the unacknowledged translation of Hamberger's 1844 volume.

1919 Six Theosophic Points and Other writings.
LONDON:
Earle's new translation.

1919 Das Höhere Sinnenleben
LEIPZIG:

1919 Schriften Jakob Böhmes, ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Hans Kayser
LEIPZIG:

1919 Vom Uebersinnlichen Leben
BERLIN:

1919 Das Höhere Leben aus Gott
GERSWALD, BASEL:

LONDON:

1920 Six Theosophic Points and Other Writings, by J.B.
NEW YORK:

1921 Sex Puncta Theosophia
LEIPZIG:

1921 Die hochtheure Pforte
BERLIN:

1921 aus Einem Brief... an Caspar Lindern
BERLIN:

1921 Vom Uebersinnlichen Leben
WIEN & Leipzig:

1921 The Supersensual Life
AKRON, Ohio:
1921 From Darkness to true Illumination: and of heaven and hell
AKRON, Ohio:

1921 Sex Puncta Theosophia
LEIPZIG:

1921 Die hochtheure Pforte der der Mensch Gott und sich selber
beschauen und zum uebersinnlichen Leben gelangen mag.
BERLIN:
   Six tracts.

1922 Jakob Böhmes sämtliche Werke in sieben Bänden heraus-
gegeben von K.W. Schiebler... Unveränderter "Wiederabdruck
der Ersten Auflage.
LEIPZIG: Barth
   A reproduction of the 1851 edition by a photographic
   process.

1922 Jakob Böhme
STUTTGART:

1923 Schriften Jakob Böhmers
LEIPZIG:

1924 Aus Aurora oder Morgenröthe im Aufgang.
HAMBURG:

1924 Forte Jakob Böhmers
GORELITZ: (Bornkamm)

1924 Jakob Böhme
LEIPZIG: Reichmann

1924 Aus Jakob Böhmers Werken
LEIPZIG:

1924 Das Höhere Sinneleben
HELLERAU:

1924 Aus Jakob Böhmers Schriften
n.p.

1924 Vom dreifachen Leben des Menschen
HAMBURG:

1924 Die hochtheure Pforte...sechs Schriften
BERLIN:

1924 Jakob Böhme...nach Auszügen aus seinen Werken
SCHMEIDEBERG:

1924 Von der Gnadenwahl
LEIPZIG:
1924 **Mysterium Magnum, Or an Exposition of the First Book of Mosis...** (2 Vols)
   LONDON: Watkins.
   The Barker reprint.

1924 **Vom dreifachen Leben des Menschen**
   HAMBURG: Schreyer.

1925 **Der Weg zu Christo**
   STUTTGART:

1925 **Einige Aussprüche von Jakob Böhme**
   HALLE:

1925 **Das Jakob Böhme Lesebuch**
   BERLIN: Bankamer.

1925 **Morgenröte von Jakob Böhme in einer Auswahl**
   BERLIN: Bankamer.

1925 **Morgenröte von Jakob Böhme in einer Auswahl**
   BERLIN & LEIPZIG:

1926 **...Von der Gnadenwahl.**
   BERLIN:

1926 **Von Göttlicher Beschaulichkeit**
   DARMSTADT:

1930 **De Electione Gratiae and Quaestiones Theosophiae**
   LONDON: Constable
   Earle's new translation.

1934 **Of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ**
   LONDON: Earle's translation.

1934 **(New edition of Everyman's Sig. Aer.)**

1935 **Jakob Böhme Schriften.**
   LEIPZIG:

1935 **Worte Jakob Böhmes**
   FRANKFURT:

1935 **Aus den Schriften Jakob Böhmes**
   LEIPZIG:

1856 **Jakob Böhme Brevier**
   FRANKFURT:

1938 Jakob Böhmes Schriften, ausgewählt, übertragen und eingeleitet von F. Schultze-Mazier. LEIPZIG:
BIBLIOGRAPHY TWO

LIST OF THE WORKS ABOUT JACOB BOEHME

Thomas, Nicolas
GOERLITZ: 1624. J. Rhambaw.

Richter, Gregory
Judicium Gregorii Richteri, Gorlicii Ministeri ecclesiae patriae primarii de fanaticis sutoris enthusiasmiaci libris quorum tituli sunt: 1. Morgenröthe im Aufgang; 2. Der Weg zu Christo; 3. Von wahre Busse, etc.
GORLICII: 1624. J. Rhambaw.

The following extract from the Ms translation of Peter Poiret's Mystic Library is pertinent:

'I cannot forbear relate a rare and wonderful incident, which the Writer of the Apology (for Behmen) above-mentioned tells us in the 308, and 309th Pages of his Appendix: Namely, that during J.B.'s Life-Time, the Principal PASTOR of his Place, Gregory Richter, had been at the same time the Principal Persecutor of this godly man; and that by very keen and severe pages published against him; which, however, our Author, J.B. has so pertinently answered, as to reduce his adversary to a non-plus, and to silence. But it happened, after each of their decease (and that in the same year, 1624) that this very Pastor's Son, studious to support the honour of His Father, was determined to write an answer, by way of vindication of His Father's character from all blame. But, behold an event, as little expected as it could have been forseen! Whilst the Son was reading and weighing, as the very nature of the design he had in mind required, the Pieces of the Author's publication, his mind is convicted, and his soul affected to such a degree, that he was unable to persist in the purpose he set out upon: But this conscience, on the other hand, pushed him upon taking up his Pen for our Author, and against his own Father, even and anon breaking forth into piteous and doleful Exclamations: Oh, my Father: What hast Thou done...!'

*Okeley, Memoirs, pp.133f.*
Widmanus, P.

Christliche Warnung für einem Büchlein, dessen Titel, Der Weg zu Christo
LEIPZIG: 1624

Franckenberg, Abr.

(A Short version of the De Vita et Scriptis appeared in Josephus Redivivus,
AMSTERDAM: 1631

Werdenhagen, J.A.

Offene Herzenspforte zum wahren Heiße Christi
LEIDEN: 1632

'The above-said Gentleman, Mr. Abraham de Franckenberg, drew up a short sketch of His life, together with an Index of the Books of Jacob Behmen, in the Latin tongue, in 1637; which having communicated to an intimate friend, he brought it the next year, 1658, to Amsterdam, and to oblige one of J.B.'s admirers, translated it into High-Dutch; so that in Process of Time this very German translation was prefixed to the Books which had come out before, Indeed, it was done without the Knowledge and Privity of the author.'

Okeley, Memoirs, pp.122-123.

Gilbert, D.

Adminito adversus scripta Boehmiana
ULTRAJECTI: 1643

Tschesch, N.von

Eine Verteidigung Jacob Boehmes
AMSTERDAM: 1644

Whitaker, R.

The Life of one Jacob Boehmens, who although he was a meane man, yet wrote the most wonderful deepe knowledge in Naturall and Divine things, that any hath been known to do since the Apostle's times, and yet never read them nor learned them from ano other man, as may be seen in that which followeth.

LONDON: 1644, printed by L.W. for Richard Whitaker. (Br.Mus. E.16 (16))
(This was a slender sever page biography of Boehme, containing the well-known incidents of Franckenberg's De Vita et Scriptis; 'wherein is (also) contained a perfect catalogue of his works'.)

Heim, G. Ch.

Vinculum Gratiae, d.i., Heiliges und Starkes Bandt des Innerliches und Eusserlichen Gottesdienst.
HANAU: 1644

Franckenberg, Abr.

Clavis Abscondita
AMSTERDAM: 1646

(Non videt, but Gottfried Arnold says that this volume contains, as an Ap-

Franckenberg, Abr. Auszug der Mystischen Theologie des Hugonis de Palma.

AMSTERDAM: 1647
(Written in Latin, dealing with Boehme. Cf. Arnold, op. cit., p.310.)

Sparrow, J. A Brief Account of the Life and Conversation of Jacob Boehme, afterwards by Learned men in Germany called Teutonicus...

Written in High Dutch by Abraham von Franckenberg, one very much acquainted with him.

LONDON: 1647
(In the edition of Seel. Frag. This is a shorter version and not like the long version.)

Hotham, C. Ad Philosophiam teutonicam manuductio.

LONDINI: 1649

——— A real and unfeigned testimonie concerning J. Eeme.

LONDON: 1649 (Br.Mus.)

Hotham, C. An Introduction to the Teutonic Philosophie
Being a determination concerning the original of the soul: viz, whether it be immediately created by God, and unfused into the Body, or transmitted from the Parent.

By C. Hotham, one of the Fellows of Peter-House.

Englished by D.F.

Hotham, C. Ibid.
CAMBRIDGE: 1650

Franckenberg, Abr. Metaphysica von dem himmlischen und irdischen Geheimniss.

AMSTERDAM: 1650


An Herrn G.C.Beyerland in Amsterdam.
AMSTERDAM: 1651
Whyte, Th.  The Practise of Christian Perfection  LONDON: 1652

Hotham, Durant  The Life of Jacob Behmen, written by  Durant Hotham, Esquire, November 7 1653  Printed for H. Blunden, and sold at the  Castle in Corne Hill, 1654.

Hotham, C.  An Introduction to the Teutonick Philosophy.  LONDON: 1654

Bromley, Thomas  The Way to the Sabbath of Rest, or the  Soul's Progress in the Work of the New Birth.  LONDON: 1655  (Various reprints, especially in 1692, and 1710)

Franckenberg, Abr.  Copia eines Christfertigen Klage-Schreibens...  Durch Abr. von Fr.  AMSTERDAM: 1658.

-------  A Catalogue of the Books that are known to  be Extant written by Jacob Behme and now  Printed in English.  LONDON: 1661

-------  (There is a life of J.B. in the 1661 Amsterdam edition of Complex.)

Weisner, Cornelius  Dr. C. Weisner's Narrative Being a True  Relation from Herr. C. Weisner concerning  the Blessed Jacob Behme.  LONDON: 1662.

Anderdon, J.  One Blow at Babel in those of the People  called Behemenists, whose foundation is...  upon their own cardinal conception, be-  gotten in their imaginations upon Jacob  Behmen's writings.  LONDON: 1662.

F., E.  Christian Information Concerning the Last  Times.  LONDON: 1664.

More, Henry

Philosophia Teutonica Censura
LONDON: 1670

Müller, J.

Atheismus devictus
HAMBURG: 1672

Kuhlmann, Qu.

Neubegrüster Jacob Böhme
AMSTERDAM: 1674

Kuhlmann, Qu.

Jacob Böhmens 150 Weissagung und Offenbarungen der güldenen Leben und Rosenzeit oder der gleichwürdigsten Jesus-monarchie in der Ausgabe der E. Schrifften.
n.p.: 1675.

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Harmonie der Welt
PARIS: 1675.

('welchen die Curiosi durchlesen können, wenn sie eine Weise zu philosophiren sehen wollen, die mehr mit unsers Autoris (Boehme) Art als mit gemeinen, sie heise Aristotelisch oder Cartesisch Überein komme.'--Gottfried Arnold, in Histori et Beschreibung der Mystischen Theologie, II, p.212.

Fabricius, J.

Widerlegung Jacob Böhmes.
STADE: 1676

Tschesch, J.Th.v.

Zweifache Apologie und Christliche Verantwortung auf die fünf lästerlichen Hauptpunkte D. Gilberts insgemein, wider des Person und Schrifften...Jacob Böhmens.
AMSTERDAM:

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(A Catalogue of Works by Boehme printed in 1675, along with various notices, in the 1675 edition of Bedenk. Stief.)

More, Henry

(New edition of Philosophiae Teutonica...)
LONDON: 1679

Müller, J.

Der Fanatische Atheist aus J. Bömrens Schrifften.
HAMBURG: 1679.

Müller, J.

Warnung für Jac. Böhmens Schrifften.
HAMBURG: n.d.

Tschesch, J.T.V.

AMSTERDAM: 1679.
Wagner, Tobias
Proempticum judicum theologicorum de scriptis Jacobi Boehmii.
TUEBINGEN: 1679.

Wagner, Tobias
Bedencken was von Jac. Böhmen Schrifften zu halten.
STUTTGART: n.d.

Werdenhagen, J.A.
n.p., probably AMSTERDAM: 1681

P(ordage), J(ohn)
A Treatise of Eternal Nature with her Seven Essential Forms.
LONDON: 1681

Gichtel, (editor)
(The Biographical volume of the 1688 edition of Boehme's works contains the following items:
1. Auftrag an den Leser;
2. Gründlich und wahrheftig Bericht von dem Leben und Abschied des in Gott seelig-ruhenden Jacob Böhmens, dieser Theosophischen Schrifften eigentlichen Authoris und Urheber. (Franckenberg)
3. Wahrhaftiger Relatio (Weisner)
4. Tobias Kober's Umständiger Bericht, with 6 Appendices. Cf. 'Okely, 1780.
5. Elias Theosophus' Questions.
6. Hans Roth's Answers to the forgoing.
8. Hegenicht's Account,
9. Conclusion.)

P(ordage) J(ohn)
Theologia Mystica
AMSTERDAM: 1683

Calovius, A.
Antů-Boehmius, in quo docetur quid habendum de secta J. Boehmii, sutoris Goerlizensis.
WITTEBERGIAE: 1684.

Tschesch,
Einleitung in den Edlen Lilien Zweig,
AMSTERDAM: 1684.

Francisci, Eras.
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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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<td>Matthaei, J.</td>
<td>Orthodoxia Theosophiae Boehmianae</td>
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<td>nicht ohne Betrübung das Hlg. Geistes...</td>
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<td>Matthei, J.</td>
<td>Christliche Untersuchung der Holzhäusischen Anmerkungen.</td>
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<td>Calovius, A.</td>
<td>Antim-Boemius...</td>
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<td>Francisci,</td>
<td>Dess, in der Person eines fälschgenannten</td>
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<td>M. Johannis Matthai vereinigten, Ismaels</td>
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<td>und Simei zerbrochene Spott- und Läster-</td>
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<td>die Christliche Wahrheit verschossen...</td>
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<td>Capistratus Böhmicolarum Rabula. Das Ist:</td>
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<td>Klarer Beweis dass dasjenige Geschwätz...</td>
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<td>womit einer unter dem Namen M.J.Matthaei</td>
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<td>...meine Anmerckungen über J. Böhmens Schriftten, sonderlich Auroram,</td>
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<td>jüngst angegriffen... Falsch ist.</td>
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<td>Hinkelmann, Abr.</td>
<td>40 Wichtige Fragen betreffend die Lehre so</td>
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<td>Battus, A.</td>
<td>in Jacob Böhmens Schriften enthalten.</td>
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<td>Fanaticismus pestilentissimus Jacob Böhmene,</td>
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<th>Author</th>
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<td>Schrifttmässiges Zeugniss von dem himlischen und jungfräulichen Gebärungswerck...</td>
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<td>(In Fresenius, op. cit., III, 474ff)</td>
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<td>(Hildebrand, a graduate of Heidelberg and Dr. Theol. at Giessen (1732) was a separatist mystic in Pennsylvania)</td>
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<td>Brucker, J.</td>
<td>Historia critica philosophiae</td>
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<td>Burger, J.</td>
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<td>Law, William</td>
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<td>Hartley, Thomas</td>
<td>Paradise Restored... A short defence of the Mystical writers.</td>
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<td>Wa.d, George</td>
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<td>Die Letzte Posaune an alle Völcker oder Prophezeiungen des... J. Böhmens von dem naheseyende Untergang des Antichrists und</td>
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Okeley, Francis

Memoirs / of the / Life, Death, Burial./ and / Wonderful Writings. / of / Jacob Behmen! Now first fone at large into English / from the / Best Edition of His Works / in the / original German./ With an Introductory Preface / of the / Translator, / directing to the / Due and Right use / of this / Mysterious and Extraordinary / Theosoper /--/ By Francis Okeley / Formerly of St John's College, Cambridge, / ---/. .

NORTHAMPTON: 1780

(Abbreviated: Okeley, Memoirs)

(Another issue of this important collection of the biographical materials in translation, bearing the same date, gives the translator's name merely as Francis, and does not contain the preliminary quotation from Dr. Byrom, nor the translator's Preface.)

(The contents of this book are the biographical materials in the 1682 edition. They are as follows:

1. Trans. of Franckenberg's De Vita et Scriptis................. pp.1-38
2. Trans. of Weisner's Faithful Narrative of J.B. ................pp.39-50
3, Translation of Dr Tobias Kober's Bericht....................... pp.50-62
4, Translation of Appendices to Kober's Bericht.................. pp.62ff:
   a) Dietrich's Letter to Kober;
   b) Dietrich's Questions
   c) Vita et Verba Cygnea
   d) Widow Boehme's Petition to Burgomaster.
   e) Widow Boehme's Petition to Görlitz Council.
   f) Michael Kurtz's Account of the Funeral.
6. Johann Rothe's Answer to Pietrich's Account............... pp.87-100
8. Epistle from H.D. DeT. to H.F. DeE.,
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<td>To the Christianity of the Age</td>
<td>LONDON: 1854</td>
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<td>Law, William</td>
<td>Notes...comprising an elucidation of the scope and contents of the writings of J. Böhme.</td>
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<td>Beiträge zu einer richtigen Würdigung Jakob Böhmes in Beweis des Glaubens, in 'Neues Lausitzisches Magazin',</td>
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<td>Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie.</td>
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Sylvester

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Since man is also created of the earth, and of the various astral spirits which dominate the earth, (Princ., xvi,24), and since the regiment of earth and stars has made him a hypocrite and a sinner (Princ., xvi,28), he tends towards being a devil. Only the tincturing love of the Virgin Sophia, as the image of God within his own being, prevents him from making a God out of Himself (Princ., xvi,29).

Thus we understand what inheritance Adam has left us viz., the curse, and the vain desire; and we consider the outward man in its life as a monster of a true human life...and in this serpent the gross beast which is from the astrum and four elements does sit...and according to its bestial property produces various desires...one makes in his mouth a fixed substance, another a ruinable; that which he makes today, that he breaks down tomorrow, and has an inconstant beast in the mind, falls sometimes upon this, sometimes upon that, and often changes his mind. (Mysterium Magnum, xxiv,28ff)

God said that he would put enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, and this enmity is within man, not without; for the serpent's seed within man is the devil's riding horse, his stronghold and fort by which he is able to live within man. (Mysterium Magnum, xxiv,32) And the devil within man, he was a prince of this world...

...and still is so, in the anger, it is his will and aim to possess the image of God, which God created in his stead, and to rule it under his jurisdiction, and bring it into his Kingdom; and this the curse of God's anger has brought along with it. (Mysterium Magnum, xxiv,53)

Man is thus an evil animal who wished that his sins go unpunished (Mysterium Magnum, lv,40) who seeks only an earthly Kingdom, (Mysterium Magnum lv,43), and who is really a figure of the anti-Christ (Mysterium Magnum, lv,44). He is blind to all of God's gracious works (Epist., xlvii) and he