

The First German Philosopher

INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS

ARCHIVES INTERNATIONALES D'HISTOIRE DES IDÉES

217

THE FIRST GERMAN PHILOSOPHER

Cecilia Muratori

Board of Directors:

Founding Editors:

Paul Dibon[†] and Richard H. Popkin[†]

Director:

Sarah Hutton, *University of York, United Kingdom*

Associate Directors:

J.C. Laursen, *University of California, Riverside, USA*

Guido Giglioni, *Warburg Institute, London, UK*

Editorial Board: K. Vermeir, *Paris*; J.R. Maia Neto, *Belo Horizonte*;

M.J.B. Allen, *Los Angeles*; J.-R. Armogathe, *Paris*; S. Clucas, *London*;

P. Harrison, *Oxford*; J. Henry, *Edinburgh*; M. Mulsow, *Erfurt*;

G. Paganini, *Vercelli*; J. Popkin, *Lexington*; J. Robertson, *Cambridge*; G.A.J. Rogers, *Keele*;

J.F. Sebastian, *Bilbao*; A. Thomson, *Paris*; Th. Verbeek, *Utrecht*

More information about this series at <http://www.springer.com/series/5640>

Cecilia Muratori

The First German Philosopher

The Mysticism of Jakob Böhme
as Interpreted by Hegel

Translated from Italian by
Richard Dixon and Raphaëlle Burns

 Springer

Cecilia Muratori
University of Warwick
Coventry, United Kingdom

Translated from “Il primo filosofo tedesco. Il misticismo di Jacob Böhme nell’interpretazione hegeliana”. Copyright © 2012 Edizioni ETS – Pisa, www.edizioniets.com

ISSN 0066-6610 ISSN 2215-0307 (electronic)
International Archives of the History of Ideas Archives internationales d'histoire des idées
ISBN 978-94-017-7338-6 ISBN 978-94-017-7339-3 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-7339-3

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015958922

Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg New York London
© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2016

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer Science+Business Media B.V. Dordrecht is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Contents

Note on Translations	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
List of Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	xvii
1 The Reception of Böhme’s Philosophy Around 1800	1
1 Preamble: Böhme’s Comeback in Germany and the Romantic Reception.....	1
1.1 The “Mystical Cobbler” and Franckenberg’s Biography of Böhme	1
1.2 Böhme and the Jena Circle	7
1.2.1 Tieck’s “Hypochondriac Enthusiasm” for Böhme’s Writings	9
1.2.2 Böhme’s <i>Poesie</i> According to Friedrich Schlegel	20
2 The Reception of Böhme’s Philosophy Through the Theories of Animal Magnetism and Theosophy	29
2.1 <i>Naturphilosophie</i> and Animal Magnetism: Nature’s Dynamics and the Mystical Experience of Magnetic Sleep	29
2.2 Böhme’s Mysticism Between Paracelsus and Theosophy	42
3 The Historical Context of Hegel’s Encounter with <i>Theosophia Revelata</i>	56
3.1 Magnetic ‘Torpor’ and Böhme’s Speculation: The Reasons for a Missing Link.....	58
3.1.1 The Correspondence Between Hegel and van Ghert.....	58
3.1.2 Animal Magnetism and <i>Hellsehen</i> in the <i>Encyclopedia</i> ...	66
3.2 The Influence of Pietism and Mysticism on the Young Hegel.....	73

2	Two Different Conceptions of Mysticism in Hegel's Writings	87
1	The Meaning of Mysticism and Its Role in the Early Writings	87
1.1	Mysticism in <i>Fragments on Popular Religion and Christianity</i>	88
1.2	Mystical Action and Mystical Object	97
1.2.1	Mystical Action and the Difference Between the Mystical and the Symbolic	97
1.2.2	The Mystical Object and Its Contradictions	104
1.2.3	Luther and the "Mystical Point" of the Ritual	112
1.3	Speaking Mystically: Mysticism, Movement and Schwärmerei in <i>The Spirit of Christianity and Its Fate</i>	123
2	Mysticism and Mystification: The Hegelian Attack on the Mystical Alienation of the Romantics and of the Followers of Schelling	133
2.1	The Leap Beyond the Limit and the Pistol Shot in the <i>Preface to the Phenomenology</i>	133
2.2	Hegel's Review of Solger's Writings and the "Mystical Tendency" of Romanticism	145
2.3	From Mystification to Mysticism	151
3	Mysticism and Speculation	159
3.1	The Mystery and the Secret	161
3.2	Mystical Enthusiasm and the Movement of Thought	172
3.2.1	The Neoplatonists and the Mystical Scholastics	172
3.2.2	The Dispute over the Notion of Mystical Enthusiasm (<i>Schwärmerei</i>)	179
3.2.3	The Case of Jakob Böhme	184
4	Appendix. The Loss of Mystical Mobility: Schelling	192
3	Hegel as Interpreter of Böhme	201
1	The Beginnings: References to Böhme in the Jena Texts	201
1.1	Mysticism as a Middle Way: Böhme and Oriental Mysticism	202
1.2	The "Life Cycle of God": Böhme's Use of Imagery in Fragment 49	209
1.3	The Dialectic Vitality of the Divine Triangle	214
2	Böhme in Hegel's Published Works	219
2.1	References in the <i>Encyclopedia</i> and in <i>Logic</i> , Or: What Is Alive and What Is Dead in Böhme's Philosophy	221
2.1.1	Böhme and Paracelsus	222
2.1.2	Lucifer and the Negativity of Nature: The <i>Zusatz</i> to Paragraph 248 of the <i>Encyclopedia</i>	228
2.1.3	The "Famous Question Regarding the Origin of Evil in the World"	231
2.1.4	The Movement of Böhme's Quality	237

3	Böhme in the Lectures.....	244
3.1	The Concept and Its Representation.....	245
3.1.1	The Barbarity of the Enthusiast.....	246
3.1.2	Böhme’s Struggle at the Origins of German Philosophy.....	254
3.1.3	Rediscovering the Vitality of the Concept: Translating Böhme’s Terminology.....	259
3.2	Trinity, Movement and Speculation.....	266
3.2.1	The Serpent’s Truth: Division, Knowledge and Self-Consciousness.....	267
3.2.2	Dialectics of Lucifer’s Separation.....	274
3.2.3	The Speculative Mystery of Evil.....	281
	Conclusion, or How to Liberate Böhme’s Philosophy.....	289
	Appendix: H.G. Hotho, <i>Nachschrift aus Hegels Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie (Winter Term 1823–1824), fol. 129v–fol. 136r</i>.....	293
	Bibliography.....	303
	Name Index.....	317
	Subject Index.....	323

Note on Translations

All translations from German into English are by Cecilia Muratori, unless otherwise stated. Since terminological consistency is crucial to the development of the argument, most passages quoted from non-English primary sources were translated especially for this volume. Nevertheless, references to important modern translations of Hegel's works are given in the footnotes, and significant divergences are noted. Partly for reasons of copyright permissions, quotations from Hegel and other primary sources are taken wherever possible from editions now in the public domain. In these cases, references to current standard editions have also been included in the footnotes. This system has been adopted for quotations in which any differences between the older and the newer editions are minor and do not affect the formulation and the meaning of the passages in question. (Significant differences are always pointed out.) This system of referencing also has the advantage that the reader can easily consult online texts in the public domain or choose to use the newer editions. Raphaëlle Burns translated the Introduction, Chapter 2, and the Conclusion; Richard Dixon translated Chapters 1 and 3 and revised the entire manuscript.

Acknowledgements

The Italian version of this book was published while I was research fellow at the Seminar für Geistesgeschichte und Philosophie der Renaissance of the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. I am very grateful for the support I received throughout my four years at LMU: the publication of this translation, and many other things, would not have been possible without the generous support I received through the Research Fellowship Programme at LMU. The director of the Seminar, Prof. Thomas Ricklin, was supportive of my work throughout, even when my interests wandered off the path of Renaissance philosophy – and I am very grateful to him for his open mind and critical spirit.

This book has its deeper roots in my PhD thesis (University of Jena and University of Urbino). Since I completed it, in 2009, the main focus of my research has shifted to different topics, but what I learned in Jena about working in the history of philosophy, while studying Hegel with my German *Doktorvater*, Klaus Vieweg, has accompanied me ever since. Thank you!

Translating a book in Italian about two German philosophers is a very difficult task. I warmly thank the translators (adding a special word of thanks to Richard Dixon, who carefully revised the entire final version). I also wish to thank an anonymous referee for an invaluable suggestion, which filled a gap in the book, and Sarah Hutton for various useful comments and for her support for the project.

My colleagues and friends at LMU Munich – Kathrin Schlierkamp, Annika Willer and Leo Maier – were a great help adapting the text for this publication.

I am very grateful to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Handschriftenabteilung) for granting me permission to reprint the transcription of the section on Böhme from the following manuscript material: H.G. Hotho, *Nachschrift aus Hegels Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (1823–1824) (classmark: Ms. Ger. Qu. 1300). Once again, I wish to thank Bernhard Pfeiffer for his help in the transcription: any mistakes remain entirely my own.

My husband, James, has accompanied the entire development of this book, following its transformation from my mother tongue into his. With patience and encouragement he helped me to solve terminological problems as well as to untangle conceptual difficulties. This book is dedicated to him, remembering the years we spent together in Germany.

- ETW Hegel, G.W.F. 1961. *On Christianity: Early Theological Writings*, trans. T. M. Knox, with an introduction and fragments translated by R. Kroner. Harper: New York (first edition: 1948. Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- GW Hegel, G.W.F. 1968-. *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by the Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Hamburg: Meiner; in particular:
- GW 1 *Frühe Schriften I*, ed. Friedhelm Nicolin and Gisela Schüler (1989)
- GW 3 *Frühe Exerpte*, ed. Friedhelm Nicolin in collaboration with Gisela Schüler (1991)
- GW 5 *Schriften und Entwürfe (1799-1808)*, ed. Manfred Baum and Kurt Rainer Meist, in collaboration with Theodor Ebert (1998)
- GW 6 *Jenaer Systementwürfe I*, ed. Klaus Düsing and Heinz Kimmerle (1975)
- GW 9 *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. Wolfgang Bonsiepen and Reinhard Heede (1980)
- GW 11 *Wissenschaft der Logik. Erster Band: Die objektive Logik (1812-13)*, ed. Friedrich Hogemann and Walter Jaeschke (1978)
- GW 13 *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse (1817)*, ed. Wolfgang Bonsiepen and Klaus Grotzsch, in collaboration with Udo Rameil and Hans-Christian Lucas (2000)
- GW 17 *Vorlesungsmanuskripte I (1816-1831)*, ed. Walter Jaeschke (1987)
- GW 19 *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse (1827)*, ed. Wolfgang Bonsiepen and Hans-Christian Lucas (1989)
- GW 20 *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse (1830)*, ed. Wolfgang Bonsiepen and Hans-Christian Lucas, in collaboration with Udo Rameil (1992)
- GW 21 *Wissenschaft der Logik. Erster Teil: Die objektive Logik. Erster Band: Die Lehre vom Sein (1832)*, ed. Friedrich Hogemann and Walter Jaeschke (1985)
- HL Rosenkranz, Karl. 1977. *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegels Leben*, with an afterword by Otto Pöggeler. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (facsimile of the Berlin 1844 edition)
- History of Phil.* Hegel, G.W.F. 2009. *Lectures on the History of Philosophy 1825-6*, ed. Robert F. Brown, trans. R. F. Brown and J. M. Stewart, with the assistance of H. S. Harris. Oxford: Clarendon Press, vol. 3

- N Hegel, G.W.F. 1907. *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, ed. Herman Nohl. Tübingen: Mohr
- Notes et fragments* Hegel, G.W.F. 1991. *Notes et Fragments (Iéna 1803-1806)*, ed. Catherine Colliot-Thélène (et al.). Paris: Aubier
- Philosophy of Religion* Hegel, G.W.F. 1984-1987. *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, ed. Peter C. Hodgson, trans. R. F. Brown, P.C. Hodgson and J. M. Stewart with the assistance of H. S. Harris. Berkeley: University of California Press
- TWA Hegel, G.W.F. 1969-1971. *Werke in 20 Bänden*, ed. Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp (Theorie-Werkausgabe); in particular:
- TWA 1 *Frühe Schriften*
- TWA 2 *Jenaer Schriften*
- TWA 3 *Phänomenologie des Geistes*
- TWA 5-6 *Wissenschaft der Logik*
- TWA 7 *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*
- TWA 8-10 *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*
- TWA 11 *Berliner Schriften*
- TWA 13-15 *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*
- TWA 16-17 *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*
- TWA 18-20 *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*
- V Hegel, G.W.F. 1983-. *Vorlesungen. Ausgewählte Nachschriften und Manuskripte*. Hamburg: Meiner; in particular:
- V 2 *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Kunst, Berlin 1823, Nachgeschrieben von H.G. Hotho*, ed. Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert (1998)
- V 3-5 *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, ed. Walter Jaeschke (1983-1985)
- V 6-9 *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Walter Jaeschke and Pierre Garniron (1989-1996)
- Werke* Hegel, G.W.F. 1832-1845; 1887. *Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe*, ed. by the Verein von Freunden des Verewigten, 17 vols. Berlin and Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot; in particular:
- Werke 2* *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. Johann Schulze (1832)
- Werke 3* *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. Leopold von Henning (1833)
- Werke 6-7* *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, ed. Leopold von Henning (Part I: 1840), Carl Ludwig Michelet (Part II: 1842) and Ludwig Boumann (Part III: 1845)
- Werke 11-12* *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion I and II*, ed. Philipp Marheineke (1832)

<i>Werke</i> 13-15	<i>Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie</i> , ed. Carl Ludwig Michelet (1833-1836)
<i>Werke</i> 16-17	<i>Vermischte Schriften I and II</i> , ed. Friedrich Förster and Ludwig Boumann (1834-1835)
<i>Werke</i> 19	<i>Briefe von und an Hegel</i> , ed. Karl Hegel (1887)

Other Sources

ALZ	Christian Gottfried Schütz, et al. (ed.). 1785-1849. <i>Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung</i> . Halle: Schwetschke
DW	Grimm, Jakob and Grimm, Wilhelm (ed.). 1854-1961. <i>Deutsches Wörterbuch</i> . 16 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel
FC	von Baader, Franz Xaver. 1851-1869. <i>Fermenta cognitionis</i> . In <i>Sämmtliche Werke</i> , 16 vols., ed. by the Verein von Freunden des Verewigten. Leipzig: Bethmann. Vol. 2, 137-442 (first edition: ed. Franz Hoffmann. Volume 1 to 5: Berlin: Reimer (1822-1824); volume 6: Leipzig: Hinrichs (1825))
KFSA	Schlegel, Friedrich. 1958-. <i>Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe</i> , ed. Ernst Behler, in collaboration with J.-J. Anstett and H. Eichner, 35 vols. Paderborn: Schöningh

Introduction

“It almost seems to me”, writes Baader in the first notebook of the *Fermenta cognitionis*, “that I am today the first and still, unfortunately, the only one to have recognized and understood the reform of knowledge initiated and pursued by J. Böhme”, adding that “for me the philosophy of this *philosophus teutonicus*, that, as Hegel writes, reaches the vastest depths, has become the guide toward the luminous heights”.¹ In 1822, the year in which this notebook was published, Baader considered himself the only German to attribute a key role to Jakob Böhme in the history of philosophical thought or, rather, the only one apart from Hegel, since Baader appeals directly to the judgment of the latter, for whom Böhme’s philosophy “reaches the vastest depths”. That Baader should choose to refer to Hegel, among the many other nineteenth-century readers of Böhme, may at first sight seem surprising. Since studies on the relationship between Hegel and the mysticism of Böhme are few and far between,² we might in fact wonder whether the theme is relevant to Hegel’s thought at all. We might also, therefore, wonder what drove Baader to justify his own appraisal of Böhman philosophy by reference to Hegel. Terry Pinkard, for example, omits all mention of Hegel’s readings of Böhme in his biography of the former,³ and the recently published *Hegel-Handbuch* edited by Walter Jaeschke

¹FC, vol. 1, 196: “Es scheint mir fast, als ob ich in unseren Zeiten der Erste und leider noch der Einzige sei, welcher durch J. Böhme begonnene und durchgeführte wissenschaftliche Reformation als solche anerkannt und begriffen hat. [...] Mir ist nemlich dieses Philosophi teutonici Philosophie, die gar sehr, wie Hegel sagt, in die Tiefe geht, in die lichte Höhe führend geworden”.

²Only one study ventures beyond the limited scope of the essay form to attempt a more comprehensive analysis: Walsh (1978) (doctoral dissertation). As the title indicates, Walsh proposes to investigate the ‘esoteric origins’ of Hegel’s thought. The study, however, is incomplete: Hegel’s readings of Böhme are subsumed within the wider framework of Hegel’s general interest in esotericism (Magee (2011) puts forward a similar argument). Walsh, moreover, extends the boundaries of esotericism to include cabbalistic teachings, classical German mysticism, alchemy and pietism. The first chapter of the present work stresses the importance of drawing a distinction between Böhme and this variegated form of esotericism – a distinction already made, it is argued, by Hegel.

³Pinkard (2000).

dedicates only a few lines to the matter.⁴ Why then defend the value of Böhme's mysticism by citing the judgment of Hegel? To put the question another way: Why think of Hegel as an interpreter of Böhme?

The purpose of this inquiry is to demonstrate that Hegel's interpretation of the mysticism of Böhme deserves to be investigated properly. Not only was Baader's choice of reference far from casual, it was in fact perfectly justified.⁵ Indeed, Hegel played a crucial role in the rediscovery of Böhme in the early nineteenth century, and his reception and interpretation of Böhme's thought was highly original.

Pivotal to Hegel's interpretation is – as Baader reminds us – the acknowledgement of the *philosophical* significance of Böhme's mysticism. Hegel's attempt to read *Theosophia revelata* (the title under which Böhme's complete works were published posthumously) philosophically is a recurrent theme in many of his works. From the first Jena fragments to the generous section dedicated to Böhme in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, Hegel demonstrates a detailed and in-depth knowledge of numerous works by Böhme. The silence of critics on this point is not due, therefore, to an absence of relevant material. It is, rather, the result of two basic misconceptions: first with respect to the characteristics of Böhme's mysticism and second with respect to Hegel's interest in mysticism in general. Together, these assumptions have given rise to a third misconception, namely, that the philosophy of Hegel and the mysticism of Böhme are essentially incompatible, indeed radically opposed: in which case nothing would be more improbable than Hegel taking an interest in the German mystic of the sixteenth century.⁶

By conducting a detailed inquiry into Hegel's role as interpreter of Böhme, this study aspires to go beyond such limited perspectives. It is divided into three distinct chapters; while each may be read and considered independently from the others, they are, at the same time, fundamentally interconnected:

1. The first chapter of this work reconstructs the full historical context of Hegel's encounter with Böhme's writings, essential to understanding the originality of Hegel's approach. The 'standard representation' of Böhme as a mystical cobbler who, illuminated by God, was elevated from his condition of ignorance is the result of a particular interpretive tradition which is often transmitted with little to no reference to any primary sources. The first complete edition of Böhme's writings was published in Amsterdam in 1682. Only in 1715 were his works collected in two volumes published in Hamburg under the title *Theosophia revelata*, the first edition printed in Germany. Fifteen years later, a third complete edition was published, this time in Leiden, Holland.⁷

⁴Jaeschke (2003), 404.

⁵It is important to note that Hegel and Baader offer significantly different interpretations of Böhmeian mysticism. See below, Chap. 1, Sect. 2.1 and Chap. 2, Sect. 2.3.

⁶Efforts have been made in recent years to place Hegel's interest in Böhme in a wider esoteric context; see, for example, Walsh (1978) and Magee (2001). The premises of these interpretations are, however, equally problematic.

⁷A few writings were published separately prior to this edition. On the history of the original manuscripts, from mysterious disappearances to unlikely recoveries, see W. Buddecke's recon-

For eighteenth- and nineteenth-century readers, including Hegel, any encounter with Böhme's writings was inevitably inflected if not entirely determined by a series of pre-existing codifications concerning the figure of the cobbler. The implicit, yet widespread, consensus regarding the affinity between Böhme's mysticism and pietism, on the one hand, and experiments with animal magnetism, on the other, must be considered against this backdrop. Indeed, an examination of the main interpretations of Böhme's mysticism among Hegel's contemporaries makes it possible to complete the picture, revealing the distinctiveness of Hegel's approach and at the same time providing a preliminary sketch of the reasons for his interest in Böhme. The originality of Hegel's interpretation, which will come to light below, can only be appreciated by contrasting it with other readings of Böhme, namely, those of members of the so-called 'Jena circle'.

2. The second chapter of this study situates the interpretation of Böhme's mysticism within a broader horizon of inquiry, namely, Hegel's reflection on the nature of mysticism itself. This topic is rarely treated in the vast secondary literature on Hegel's philosophy. A few well-known studies focus on the young Hegel, implying that by the time he reached maturity, Hegel had distanced himself from an enthusiasm for the mystics.⁸ According to this view, mysticism is radically opposed to the rigor of the concept, being an irrational attitude unsuited to the author of the *Phenomenology* – a text often considered as a crucial turning point in the development of Hegel's philosophy. An analysis of the presence of this theme in Hegel's writings, from the early writings (*Jugendschriften*) to the texts following the *Phenomenology*, reveals, however, that such superficial dichotomies belong solely to Hegel's critics and not to Hegel himself. In a study of Hegel as reader of Böhme published in 1897 (still one of the most perceptive discussions on the matter), E. S. Haldane gestures toward the need to distinguish different forms of mysticism in order to understand Hegel's approach to Böhme.⁹ This important intuition will be developed in the central part of this work: in Hegel's writings, it is argued that two substantially different conceptions of mysticism are discernible. Hegel opposes a *speculative* type of mysticism, characterized by the idea of dialectical movement and exemplified in the approaches of both the Neoplatonists and Böhme, to the *pseudo-mystical* attitude of the Romantics and of certain followers of Schelling. This distinction will allow us to delineate the characteristics of Böhme's mysticism according to Hegel with greater precision while clarifying the misunderstanding according to which Hegel would have rejected *all forms of mysticism* as leaps into the Absolute that

struction in Böhme (1963–1966), vol. 1, 349–352 and vol. 2, 477–484. See also Böhme (1997), 832.

⁸The fundamental texts in which this interpretation is defended are Dilthey (1921); Haering (1929–1938), vol. 1; and Della Volpe (1929). See also Adams (1910), 67–102.

⁹Haldane (1897), 146–161, especially 149.

intentionally forgo the labour of conceptuality.¹⁰ A close examination of the sections of Hegel's early writings that develop and problematize the concept of mysticism will serve as a starting point to consider the evolution of two distinct understandings of the term. It will also clarify the frame of reference in which to understand Hegel's encounter with Böhme's mysticism.

3. The third chapter of the book, in which the first two chapters converge and culminate, analyses Hegel's interpretation of Böhme's mystical philosophy in greater detail. The study sets out from two principal theses: that Hegel's interpretation evolves substantially and that this evolution is particularly evident in Hegel's choice of themes and concepts drawn from the writings of Böhme.¹¹ The inquiry proceeds in an approximately chronological order, from the Jena *Wastebook*, to Hegel's references to Böhme in published works, and finally to his most comprehensive analysis in the *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* and in the *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*. Hegel's interest in Böhme first surfaces during his period in Jena and develops over the subsequent years. It is clear, from the comparison of various manuscripts relating to Hegel's lecture course on the *History of Philosophy* (in particular the unpublished Hotho 1823–1824¹² and the Dove from 1825, along with Jaeschke and Garniron's reconstruction of the 1825–1826 lectures), that Hegel's study of Böhme's writings is still in process during the Berlin years. Several important differences can be observed between the transcription from 1823 and the various versions from 1825. Hegel increasingly focuses on the theme of negativity: the way Böhme conceives of the element of negativity within God turns his mysticism, for Hegel, into an exceptionally vital dialectical approach.¹³ This important conclusion is at the heart of Hegel's interest in the philosophy of Jakob Böhme and can only be adequately grasped by carefully retracing the stages in Hegel's progressive discovery of Böhme's thought.

Taken as a whole, the three chapters in which this work is presented aim to demonstrate the philosophical significance of Hegel's approach to the writings of Jakob Böhme. This study thus contributes to filling an important gap in Hegel scholarship, which still lacks a properly detailed account of mysticism, especially that of Böhme. Hegel's reading of Böhme's *Theosophia revelata* may also serve as a possible start-

¹⁰This position is maintained by Lamb (1980), 225: "There is little doubt that Hegel was hostile to mysticism, just as he was hostile to any other short-cut in philosophy".

¹¹The assumption that Hegel's interpretation remained unchanged over the course of his life (see, for instance, Jaeschke (2003), 404) is in my view a direct consequence of the absence of any such study until now.

¹²Jaeschke and Garniron describe the Hotho (1823–1824) (= Ho) manuscript as follows: "Eine sorgfältige Reinschrift, nicht eine Ausarbeitung wie Hothos Heft zur Religionsphilosophie. Ho weist wenig Verständnisfehler auf, neigt aber mehrfach zur Verdichtung des Gehörten" (see V 6, xxxiii). J. Hoffmeister relied heavily on this manuscript for his edition of the *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, of which only the first volume was ever published (Hegel (1940)). See V 6, xlv.

¹³See *Werke* 15, 317 (cf. TWA, 20, 118), where Böhme's conception of the Divine is defined by Hegel as 'the most vital dialectic' ("lebendigste Dialektik").

ing point for a more ambitious project, namely, the rediscovery of Böhme's writings in philosophical terms. The latter's writings are still too often exiled from the domain of philosophy and mistakenly confined to the confused and uncertain terrain of esotericism – unless, that is, they are completely ignored. Such a rediscovery was, I believe, also Hegel's objective as he read and interpreted Böhme. In this sense, the analysis of Hegel's commentary on the mysticism of Jakob Böhme, which is the object of this study, is intended also as an introduction to the philosophical depth that is present, *as Hegel writes*, in the forgotten writings of the mystical cobbler.