

Psychological Transactions

And Other Posthumous Tracts

1734-1744

BY

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ORIGINALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN AND EDITED BY

ALFRED ACTON

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FOREWORD TO THE 1984 EDITION

Since this collection of works was first published in 1920, new information concerning some of the contents has come to light. The 1920 volume was reprinted without change in 1955, and some of the copies were left unbound. This present edition is made up of those unbound copies of the 1955 reprint, with the first section (pp. i-xxxii of the earlier edition) edited and expanded to comprise the present introductory materials (pp. i-xiii)

Editorial changes have been made on the title page and in the table of contents. This foreword and the list of errata have been added. The original preface by Alfred Acton has been reprinted with only minor changes; we have added some editorial footnotes, corrected small errors and renumbered the pages. We also discovered a number of errors in the indices. Realizing how inconvenient it would be to try to correct them by means of an errata sheet, it was decided to reset and reprint the indices.

After the original publication of this work, Acton himself discovered and/or decided on what are probably the two most significant items of new information concerning its contents while he was engaged in translating and editing for publication *A Philosopher's Note Book* (Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1931), and *Rational Psychology* (Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1950).

The first of these items has to do with the manuscript titled "Correspondences and Representations" (pp. 217-262). The material after the first ten pages was rearranged by Acton in 1920 as explained in the table on p. 227. His rationale for the rearrangement was to follow as far as possible a sequence of categories of correspondences suggested in n. 67 of "A Hieroglyphic Key," see p. 192 below. (These two documents are contiguous in this present volume.) Later, however, when editing *A Philosopher's Note Book* [1931] (which does not include "A Hieroglyphic Key" but does include "Correspondences and Representations"), Acton elected to print the latter work in exactly the order as found in the manuscript volume known as Codex 36. In his preface to the 1931 publication of *A Philosopher's Note Book* Acton noted:

In the present translation, we have undertaken a work that will be unique in the literary annals of the New Church, namely, the translation of a miscellaneous manuscript exactly as it occurs and with practically no attempt at rearrangement of the contents (pp. xiv-xv).

The reader of the present volume is referred to *A Philosopher's Note Book*, page 420 and following, for a comparison of the order in which the materials appear in the two volumes.

The other significant new information concerns the work identified in this volume as the last of the six "Psychological Transactions"—titled here, "Sensation or the Passion of the Body." Acton noted in his preface that "Sensation" was written as a separate and distinct manuscript. However, he seemed satisfied in 1920 that it properly belonged where he put it, as the concluding document in the series of six psychological transactions. Later, while editing for publication a new translation of *Rational Psychology* (1950), Acton made two related and startling discoveries: (1) the first few paragraphs of the earlier version of *Rational Psychology* did not belong with this work at all,¹ and (2) "Sensation," the manuscript previously thought to be Psychological Transaction No. 6, seemed clearly to be the lost beginning of *Rational Psychology* (see Acton's introduction to that work, pp. iii-vii).

As to other changes and additions to this volume: it could probably be argued that a whole new title for this book would be in order, since even if one were to include the treatise on "Sensation" as a bona fide Psychological Transaction, the six short works so identified would occupy only 133 pages, or less than half the book. But one is also faced with the fact that this book has been known now for more than sixty years as *Psychological Transactions*, so the present editorial committee has contented itself with adding a subtitle: AND OTHER POSTHUMOUS TRACTS (1734-1744). This addition, it is hoped, will help make it clearer to the reader that this is a composite volume, containing a number of more or less related but separate and distinct posthumous treatises.

The table of contents has been condensed as to details, but at the same time expanded to include such data as the probable date of composition of each of the works, and—in the case of the so-called "Appendix to A Hieroglyphic Key"—a fuller note pointing out that this is a compilation made by Acton from other writings of Sweden-

¹ It was J. F. I. Tafel who first included these paragraphs in his 1849 Latin edition titled *De Anima*. They were later duly translated and included in Frank Sewall's 1887 version, which he titled *The Soul, or Rational Psychology* (New York, New Church Board of Publication).

borg's pre-theological period. Apparently Acton hoped by this "Appendix" to demonstrate the consistency of the doctrine of correspondences throughout the pre-theological works; other students have sought to emphasize rather a step-by-step development of the system of correspondences from work to work.

Revision Committee:

Erland J. Brock
 Donald C. Fitzpatrick, Jr.
 Daniel W. Goodenough
 Wm. R. Woofenden, Chairman

Most of the following items would ideally be inserted on the appropriate text pages as technical information intended primarily for scholars. But since most of the pages of the present edition were printed in 1955, it is necessary to refer the reader to page and line numbers in much the same way as is done in an errata sheet. Some readers may wish to write in the reference data on the proper pages.

Page xiv, lines 7-12: Acton later reversed his opinion about these two manuscripts ("The Way to a Knowledge of the Soul" and "Faith and Good Works"). In his notes on the life of Swedenborg (Alfred Acton, *The Life of Emanuel Swedenborg*, notes reproduced by the spirit duplicator process by The Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, PA, 1958, page 524) he wrote, "The size of the paper and the style of writing clearly indicate that the paging is a continuation of the paging of *The Cerebrum*. The opposite is asserted in my Preface to *Psychological Transactions*, but I had not then an opportunity of seeing the photostated MS." Acton came to believe that "The Way to a Knowledge of the Soul" was in fact intended as a preface to *The Cerebrum*. (See Emanuel Swedenborg, *Three Transactions on the Cerebrum*, translated by Alfred Acton, Philadelphia: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1938, pp. xxii, xxxi-xxxiii.)

Page 11, lines 12-14: The Scripture reference here seems to be to I John 4:20.

Page 11, line 6 of footnote: The phrase "entity of reason" is a literal rendering of *ens rationis*, which, as a technical philosophical term, means a chimera or impossible thing.

Page 14, line 17: See footnote in the April 1916 issue of *The New Philosophy* concerning a translation problem related to the word *divine* here.

Page 15, line 24 and page 16, line 4: *Ens rationis* is in both instances translated "an entity of the reason." In *A Hieroglyphic Key*, the term appears three times untranslated (page 185, line 26; page 186, lines 12-13; and page 187, line 12); in the last instance Swedenborg equates it with "nothing."

Page 23: "The First Transaction"—see the note by H. L. Odhner in *New Church Life*, October 1930, page 634, regarding "reason, wit and sarcasm" in this article.

Page 58, line 28: "expell" should be "expel."

Page 80, line 23: The Latin for "bed" here is *thalamus* connoting a "marriage bed"—thus continuing the marriage metaphor.

Page 117: ACTION—concerning Swedenborg's technical use of this term, see page 12, no. 4. and also Chapter XXXI of this treatise, page 141.

Page 124, line 31: "GREATER OF LESSER" should read "GREATER OR LESSER."

Page 130, lines 3-4: The phrase "mere correspondence" means some unexplained pre-established harmony, such as is criticized in "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body in General," pages 23-64 of this volume.

Page 134, line 2: Instead of "IN THAT" read "INSOFAR AS."

Page 142, lines 1-2: In each of three instances, "resistence[s]" should read "resistance[s]."

Page 152, line 1: For "as he visible" read "as the visible."

Page 157, lines 24-25: For a different statement by Swedenborg about "conatus" see his *Principia* (1734), Part I, Chapter II, where "conatus" is attributed to the Divine.

Page 159, line 25: For "singe" read "single."

Page 163, line 27: For "resistencies" read "resistances."

Page 165, lines 6-7: see Proverbs 16:9 and Thomas a Kempis, *Imitation of Christ*, I, 19.

Page 166, line 19: "angular form"—see Swedenborg's *The Fibre*, Philadelphia: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1918, nn. 261-273, for his doctrine of forms.

Page 168, lines 7-8 of footnote: Instead of "Chapter XXII" read "Chapter XLII" (Acton-Rogers 1950 translation) or "Chapter XXXII" (Sewall 1900 second edition).

Page 171, line 1 and footnote: The Latin phrase *natura naturans* carries more implications than Acton's footnote suggests. It was a widely used scholastic theological term, going back at least as far as Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and was often used in contrast to *natura naturata* (nature natured). The former term was used by Thomas and others to refer to God in the process of creating; the latter to refer to created nature (see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica Prima Secundae*, Qua est 85, 6). We cannot be sure exactly what Swedenborg intended by the use of this term as it is doubtful that he was familiar with Thomas' writings. He may have read it in Spinoza (see his *Ethics* I, Prop. XXIX), where he says in part, "By *natura naturans* we are to understand God insofar as He is considered as a free cause. . . . By *natura naturata* . . . any one of God's attributes."

Page 182, footnote: Instead of "Ex. ix, n. 31," read "Example IX, n. 31, page 172."

Page 182, last line; page 183, lines 1-2: By using the terms "spiritual intelligences" and "evil angelic intelligences," Swedenborg here employs the concept, borrowed from traditional Christian angelology, of angelic beings created apart from any pre-existence in the natural world. What he may have understood these "angelic intelligences" actually to be is not known, but he did not fully abandon the concept until after 1745, possible as late as 1747. For a fuller consideration of what may have been his idea of the character and function of these supposed beings, see his *Worship and Love of God*, written in 1744 (translated by Alfred H. Stroh and Frank Sewall,

Boston: Massachusetts New Church Union, 1914). For discussion of the matter, see Inge Jonsson, *Emanuel Swedenborg*, translated by Catherine Djurklou, New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971, page 108; Alfred Acton, *An Introduction to the Word Explained*, Bryn Athyn: Academy of the New Church, 1927, pages 110-111, 149-153.

Page 184, footnote, lines 8-12: See Emanuel Swedenborg, *A Philosopher's Note Book*, (translated by Alfred Acton, Philadelphia: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1931), page 508, where Swedenborg writes of this work, "I do not think it is Aristotle's work because it is so sublime." In the Index of Persons and Books (page 523) in this same volume the editor indicates that the work in question is pseudo-Aristotelian.

Page 187, line 7: For "effectel" read "effected."

Page 190, lines 12,16; page 191, line 2: Instead of "interpellated" (in three instances) read "interpolated."

Pages 193-194, n. 68: From Swedenborg's Index (pages 205-213) Acton has here included a number of "correspondences" not found elsewhere in *A Hieroglyphic Key*. For the most part the order of the words as given in this n. 68 is the same as the order found in the Index under the entry of the first word of the various series given in n. 68. There are, however, five minor discrepancies, not one, as Acton states in the Note above n. 68.

Page 198, line 11: See I Timothy 6:10 for the source of this idea.

Page 199, n. 6: The reader is referred to a much improved English version of this passage from *Rational Psychology* n. 567, viz., the 1950 Acton-Rogers translation. It should also be noted that here in n. 6, two sentences have been omitted before the concluding sentence.

Pages 205-213: It may not be clear to the reader that all the entries in this index enclosed in square brackets are Acton's additions to Swedenborg's index of *A Hieroglyphic Key*, and relate to the material found on pages 195-204 which Acton called an "Appendix"—although

actually it is made up of selections from other of Swedenborg's pre-theological works.

Pages 217-262: In general this material was better translated in *A Philosopher's Note Book* (page 420 and following). There Acton revised the translation found here and improved it, and he also added a few explanatory notes. The serious student of this section will want to consult *A Philosopher's Note Book* whenever questions arise.

Page 217, footnote, line 4: Instead of "p. 201" read "204."

Page 218, line 25: For "excell" read "excel."

Page 220, line 23: For "thumim" read "thummim."

Page 229, line 22: For "Pharasee" read "Pharisee."

Page 230, line 32: For "rended" read "rent" or "torn."

Page 232, line 8: For "thumim" read "thummim."

Page 238, line 8: For "uncover" read "cover."

Page 245, line 2: For "her's" read "hers."

Page 252, line 15: For "confer" read "compare" [abbrev. cf.].

PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR
(to the 1920 edition)

Of the works that are herewith presented to the English reader, none were published by the author himself; though, as we shall see below, two of them were prepared by him for the press. All, however, with the exception of the first and last—"Faith in Christ" and "Correspondences and Representations"—have been printed, both in the original [Latin] and in English translation prior to the present edition.

"The Way to a Knowledge of the Soul" and the other works, up to and including "Sensation," were edited in Latin by Dr. J. J. Garth Wilkinson and published by the Swedenborg Association [London] in serial parts in 1846, under the title *Opuscula quaedam Argumenti Philosophici*. In the following year the Association published Dr. Wilkinson's English translation of these works under the title "Posthumous Tracts." The Latin edition has never been reprinted, but the English translation was reprinted and published in a second edition, Boston, 1848, and again in a third edition, Boston, 1852. And here we may note that though the contents of the *Posthumous Tracts*, as published by the Swedenborg Association, are all contained in the present volume, yet their order is entirely changed, in accordance with the intrinsic evidence afforded by the works themselves; but of this we shall speak later.

These two publications by the Swedenborg Association were a part of that great movement inspired by Wilkinson, Clissold, Strutt and others, to which, prior to the work of the Swedenborg Scientific Association, we have owed nearly all the English translations of Swedenborg's philosophical writings, and the Swedenborg Scientific Association, in publishing the present volume, is but continuing the enlightened policy so actively and fruitfully ultimated by that group of active and intelligent scholars, who worked with such noble disinterestedness and zeal in the 1840's.

A *Hieroglyphic Key*, the only remaining part of the present volume that has previously been printed, was published in the Latin text by Robert Hindmarsh, London, 1784. Mr. Hindmarsh also made an English translation which he published in 1792, and which was reprinted in 1826. A new translation, based on Mr. Hindmarsh's text, was made by Dr. Wilkinson and published by the Swedenborg Association in 1847.

Mr. Hindmarsh's Latin edition was extremely faulty, being based on a manuscript copy in the possession of Benedict Chastanier

(Hyde² 397) which was full of errors. Attention was first called to this fact by the Rev. John R. Boyle, who during a visit to Stockholm, compared the published work with the original manuscript, and subsequently, in 1882, published a little pamphlet listing the errors he had brought to light. The original manuscript itself has now been phototyped in the volume *Miscellanea Theologica* and the present translation has been made directly from the phototype. We have carefully compared the printed Latin edition with the phototyped manuscript, and, since Mr. Boyle's little pamphlet is now entirely out of print—indeed we ourselves have never seen a copy—we subjoin at the end of the present volume a list of all needed corrections, except as regards punctuation and capitalization.

To this work on *A Hieroglyphic Key* we have added an "Appendix" containing all Swedenborg's known [pre-theological] illustrations of his doctrine of correspondences. For it seemed to us useful, in connection with *A Hieroglyphic Key* where the doctrine of correspondences is illustrated *ex professo* [openly], that the reader should have before him the many places throughout Swedenborg's philosophical writings which give evidence of the presence in the authors mind of the doctrine itself, and of the use which he made of it as a guiding thread in nature's dark labyrinth.

The present translation of the works thus far mentioned, that is, the seven works published collectively as *Posthumous Tracts*, and *A Hieroglyphic Key*, was first printed serially in the *The New Philosophy* for 1916-1919, and it is from the pages of this journal that they are now reprinted, but with many revisions and corrections. Though we have taken every advantage of the labors of previous translators, the present translation differs much from the former. This is due to our effort, on the one hand, to pay greater attention to English diction while not sacrificing the admirable literalness that characterizes Mr. Hindmarsh's work; on the other hand, to avoid the interpretative style of translation frequently favored by Dr. Wilkinson. But to both of these translators we are under obligations, and especially to Dr. Wilkinson, whose scholarly attainments, brilliant imagination and richness of diction, have made his name so widely known.

The works on "Faith in Christ" and "Correspondences and Representations" have never before been published, either in original text

² Hyde, James, *A Bibliography of the Works of Emanuel Swedenborg*, London: The Swedenborg Society, 1906.

or in translation. They are now translated from the photographed manuscript—"Faith in Christ" from Volume III of the photolithographed manuscripts, and "Correspondences and Representations" partly from the same volume, but mainly from the phototyped sheets which were made in 1919 under the superintendence of Mr. Alfred H. Stroh for inclusion in the phototyped volume of *Miscellanea Theologica*. One or two passages, however, were not included in either of the photographed reproductions, and these have been translated from a manuscript copy of Codex 36 made for the Swedenborg Scientific Association many years ago.

The editorial work has consisted mainly in presenting the texts of our author in such form as to make them more fully available for reading and study. To this end, we have prepared an analytical index, or digest, of the whole volume, and an index of the authors and works cited; and to these we have added an index of Scripture quotations, prepared by Miss Beryl Briscoe. Paragraph numbers have been supplied in all cases, except in the works on "The Red Blood" and "Correspondences and Representations"; for in "The Red Blood" the paragraphs and chapter numbers are identical; and in "Correspondences and Representations," paragraph numbers for the purpose of reference would be entirely useless. In none of the works included in the present volume did Swedenborg number his paragraphs, though perhaps he would have introduced numbers had he gone to press. But the use of paragraph numbers is so obvious that their introduction needs no explanation. In "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and body" we have for convenience broken up several of the longer paragraphs as originally written, being careful always to observe the place where a division would be both natural and obvious.

A table of contents is affixed to the whole work, setting forth not only the titles of the different works but also the titles of the chapters.³ With the exception of the work on "Correspondences and Representations," Swedenborg either gives no titles to his chapters or his titles are so long as to make it impractical to include them in a table of contents. An extended table of contents seems, however, to be eminently desirable as presenting a summary view of the subjects of the various works, and for this purpose we have either abbre-

³ The Table of Contents has been revised and condensed in this 1984 edition.

viated Swedenborg's own chapter headings or have supplied headings of our own.

Much labor has been required in the final preparation of the volume for publication, and the translator wishes to express his appreciation of the assistance given him by Miss Beata Roschman, who aided him in the reading of the proof; by Mr. Ernst Pfeiffer, who read the whole of the proof and who in addition made many valuable suggestions; and by his niece and secretary Miss Beryl G. Briscoe, to whom he is indebted for much and varied assistance in completing the work.

We wish now to discuss the nature of the works included in the present publication, and their place in the general scheme of Swedenborg's philosophical writings.

FAITH IN CHRIST [1734]

The first of the works, entitled "Faith in Christ" is found in the original on page 213 of Codex 88, and is reproduced in *Photolithographed MSS*, Vol. IV, 140. A second reproduction made by phototyping is included in the volume of phototyped *Miscellanea Theologica*. A comparison of these two reproductions fully illustrates the great superiority of the phototyping process as regards accuracy.

Codex 88 is a volume of 713 pages containing sundry observations, notes and summaries connected with the *Principia*, intermingled with dated entries of Swedenborg's journal of travels for 1733 and 1734; which latter fix with some exactitude the date of the essay on "Faith in Christ." Its place in the codex may be seen in the following table:

pp. 107-109	Journal of travels, August 22-October 5, 1733.
110-115	Excerpts on Italy; these are a part of the Journal.
116-131	Mechanism of Soul and Body; translated in <i>Philosophical and Scientific Treatises</i> .
131-152	Excerpts from Schurig.
152-211	Observations on the human body; notes on <i>Principia</i> .
212	<i>The Infinite and God</i> .
213	<i>Faith in Christ</i> .
214-215	Journal, March 1-4, 1734.

From this table it is clear that "Faith in Christ" was written between October 5, 1733, and March 1, 1734; and, considering the

juxtaposition of the pages, either on the last day of February or the first day of March. Probably it was written on the former date, as on March 1, Swedenborg was on the road from Leipzig to Halle.

Between October 5, 1733, and March 1, 1734, Swedenborg was in Leipzig attending to the printing of his *Principia* and *Infinite* (2 Documents 73, 76).⁴ It was therefore in this university city and probably on the last day of his stay there that he wrote out his thoughts on "Faith in Christ"; and we may easily imagine that he was inspired to the writing by his contemplation of the great gulf that lay between university learning and true Christian faith. Nor has such learning changed at the present day.

Strictly speaking "Faith in Christ" has little, if any, direct connection with the series of "Transactions," intended as contributions to the study of the Animal Kingdom [*regnum animate*, or domain of the soul], which are contained in the present volume. We have included it, however, since the present volume seemed a suitable and convenient place for its entry, especially in view of the later treatise on "Faith and Good Works."

THE WAY TO A KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOUL [ca. 1738]

FAITH AND GOOD WORKS [ca. 1738]

The next two works in our volume, "The Way to a Knowledge of the Soul" and "Faith and Good Works," are contained in Codex 65 of the Swedenborg manuscripts. They are not, however, a part of this Codex⁵ as is clearly evident on cursory examination; for the size of paper on which they are written is quite different from the main body of the codex. Codex 65 consists in the main of Transactions I to III of Swedenborg's "first projection" on the brain, now [1920] being published in *The New Philosophy*; and intrinsic evidence clearly shows that this work is a first draft of Volume II of the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*; see our preface to the *Fibre*, pp. x-xii, where this matter is fully discussed.

This first work on the brain runs to page 1486 of the manuscript, though of these pages 250 have been lost. The work ends on page

⁴ This reference is to R. L. Tafel, *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg*, Vol. II, pp. 73, 76. Note: The reference to page 76 seems to be in error. Both works named were published in 1734.

⁵ See the editorial note on this statement in the Foreword to this 1984 edition.

1482 with the words "End of Transaction III"—pages 1483-1486 being blank.

Following the work on the brain, and bound in the same volume, comes a treatise on "The Infinite and Finite," marked pages 669-674, and written on paper of a different size from the preceding manuscript. The work quite evidently has no proper place in the codex; but there are no available means of knowing where it should be placed. It may be part of a "commonplace book," like Codex 88, containing matter connected with the *Principia*. But this is mere surmise.

Immediately following "The Infinite and Finite" and in the same codex come three works written on the same sized paper as the preceding, but numbered 1913-1960. Here again we are at an entire loss as to the manuscript to which these pages properly belong. In the heirs' catalog of Swedenborg's literary remains they were doubtless included in the item "several larger and smaller fragments" which "seem to belong to *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*" (3 Doc. 784-785); and it is equally without doubt that in the first classified catalog of the Swedenborg manuscripts, they are to be identified as one of the numerous entries entitled "various anatomical and philosophical matters" (3 Doc. 795 *et seq.*) Why these pages were bound in with the work on the brain is by no means clear, unless it be merely because their paging, 1913-1960, is posterior to the last page of that work. They seem to have been a part of some notebook on physiological subjects.

The first of the three writings contained on these pages consists of anatomical excerpts on the muscles, which fill pages 1918-1934—after which, on pages 1935-1939, comes the work on "The Way to a Knowledge of the Soul." As shown by Swedenborg's own words (see note, page 9 below) this work is quite evidently the draft of a preface to a treatise or transaction on the brain. There is no intrinsic indication of the date on which it was written. Tafel puts it in the year 1738, while Hyde places it in 1739.

The first transaction on the brain, as we have already observed, was a draft of Volume II of *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*; and as the latter work was finished on December 27, 1739 (3 Doc. 916) the draft was of course written prior to that date. It is perhaps as a preface to this draft that "The Way to a Knowledge of the Soul" was written. That it was prior to the *Economy* seems confirmed by the reference to that "universal mathesis" of which Swedenborg wrote: "In the absence of principles first laid down I am unwilling to proclaim its

use in advance" (see page 10 below). In Codex 57, pages 1-5, we find a treatise on universal mathesis followed by sundry chapters on the brain, many of which are dated, the earliest date being January 13, 1740 (see 3 *Doc.* 858). It would appear probable, therefore, that "The Way to a Knowledge of the Soul" was written prior to that date, since in January 1740 Swedenborg was no longer "unwilling to proclaim the use of his universal mathesis" but had already drafted a sketch of it—perhaps for inclusion in the preface to his work on the brain as later projected.

The treatise on "Faith and Good Works" follows immediately after that of which we have just spoken; and we can say no more as to the date of its composition than has already been said with regard to the preceding work. There are two copies of the treatise, namely a first draft which fills pages 1935-1939, and a second draft neatly written out on pages 1949-1960. This second draft has been phototyped and is included in the phototyped volume *Miscellanea Theologica*, pages 57-68. Comparison of this reproduction with the text as edited by Dr. Wilkinson shows the great accuracy of the latter; but this is not surprising in view of the scholarly eminence of the learned editor.

The work would seem to have a place in the transaction series, if we consider it as a contribution to the treatise on "Action" or "Motion" which was designed to be a part of Transaction VI and which, as will be seen below, was subsequently announced as to be included in Part 13 of the *Animal Kingdom*.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS [ca. 1742]

The six works that now follow are the "Psychological Transactions" proper,⁶ that is, they are among that series of works to which this title seems to have been given by Swedenborg himself. They are all contained in Codex 74, where they follow immediately after the work on the *Fibre*. For a further consideration of this codex and the order of its contents, the reader is referred to our preface to the *Fibre*, pages vii *et seq.* It will be sufficient here to observe that the seven works bound in this volume were not originally a part of any single volume. Indeed it is proved beyond a doubt that three of the treatises, "Animal Spirit," "Sensation," and "Action" were written as separate and distinct manuscripts, and the same is probably true of

⁶ See new information on #6 in the Foreword to this 1984 edition.

the others, especially in view of the fact that the paging of each of the seven works is independent, commencing in every case with page 1. It will be seen therefore, that the order in which these manuscripts were bound in Codex 74 after Swedenborg's death is not necessarily the order in which they were written, or that in which they were intended to be made public. What this order is can be apparent only from the intrinsic evidence of the works themselves.

In the advertisement printed in the second edition of the *Economy*, published by the author in 1742, two of these works, the "Animal Spirit" and "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body," were announced as "soon to be published"; but here we must again refer the reader to our preface to the *Fibre* (pages xix-xx) where this advertisement is considered in detail.

That "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body" was to be the first of the psychological transactions is clear from the preface of that work, where Swedenborg formally gives the title to the whole series. In this preface he declares that owing to the time and great labor involved in presenting the subject of the soul (*i.e.*, in developing the full series of physiological and psychological studies of which Volumes I and II of the *Economy* were the commencement) he is determined "to distribute the work into separate transactions or sheets." These he proposes to publish "perhaps five or six times a year," and "to which productions [he adds] I may be allowed to give the title 'Psychological Transactions' " (pages 21, 22). Moreover, this work on the "Harmony of Soul and Body," like the *Fibre*, is written in a more finished style than the other works of the series; and, again like the *Fibre*, it gives evidence of having been fully prepared for the press. As now preserved, the work is incomplete. What the precise length of the original work was we have no means of knowing; but from the fact that there are two gaps amounting to a total of 34 pages, and that the manuscript ends abruptly *mediis in rebus*, it is evident that the work was one of considerable size.

"The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body" is followed by the little treatise on "The Origin and Propagation of the Soul," for the simple reason that the latter work also deals with the soul. Perhaps it was written as a contribution or draft of a chapter to be included in the transaction on *Generation* which was, of course, a part of the physiological series; and certainly it was written after Swedenborg had "intimately scrutinized" the organs of generation (see page 68 below).

Following "The Origin and Propagation of the Soul" come "The Animal Spirit," "The Red Blood," "Action," and "Sensation." These works are arranged in the order indicated by the intrinsic evidence in the works themselves.

As noted above, "The Animal Spirit" and "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body" are among the four works advertised by Swedenborg as "soon to be published"; and since the "Harmony," as shown by the preface, is clearly the first of the psychological transactions which were to fulfill this advertisement, the transaction on "The Animal Spirit" would naturally follow it—though, as already explained, we have inserted between these works the treatise on "The Origin and Propagation of the Soul." Moreover, "The Animal Spirit," unlike the "Harmony," is not in ready form for publication, as is quite evident from the note added by the author to Chapter VI, at the end of the work (see pages 79, 91 below). The work on "The Red Blood" refers to a "Transaction on the Spirits" as having been already written (see page 111 below), and to a treatise on "Action" as "the following chapter," that is, transaction (see page 110 below). And lastly, in "The Animal Spirit," the author refers to subjects that are dealt with in "Sensation" as to be treated of "in what follows" (see page 89 below). The order of these works as here arranged seems, therefore, to be clearly indicated.

As to the date of the six works constituting the psychological transactions, we must again refer the reader to our preface to the *Fibre* (pages xix *et seq.*). That they were written after the *Fibre* is clear from their frequent reference to that work. We set the date of the *Fibre* as between the latter part of 1741 and the beginning of 1742. This would indicate that the present psychological transactions were written in the early part of 1742.

Further confirmation is furnished by the fact that in 1741 Swedenborg announced that in view of certain considerations "a small work on 'Co-established and Re-established Harmony' needs to be written as soon as the present anatomical course is completed" (I EAK, #155). It seems likely that it was this suggestion that led to the writing of the present work on "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body." For while the work, as now preserved, is devoted almost exclusively to a refutation of the doctrine of pre-established harmony, yet there is reason to believe that the latter part of the manuscript, now lost, was an exposition of the author's own doctrine of harmony. For in the body of the work he distinctly announces that it is his business not only to destroy but also to construct (see page 48 below). Its last paragraphs are devoted to demonstrating that the soul is in the world and in her body, or "coterminous with its series"; and to confirm this Swedenborg

shows from anatomy that "almost all things in the animal body are membranous and thus continuous" (see page 63 below). These considerations indicate the probability that the concluding and lost part of the manuscript is a treatise on Swedenborg's own doctrine of co-established harmony shown "anatomically, physically and philosophically" after the manner of the *Economy*, and that the whole work is a fulfillment of the half promise made in the *Economy* in 1740, and to which we have briefly referred, namely:

From the threefold circulation of the blood, which is the Harmony and Connection between superior and inferior degrees, it is apparent that the compound blood contains the entities of more simple bloods; that the membranes enclosing the blood are connected by mutual superimposition, and are purified and unbundled in the order in which it is divided. In view of these and many other testimonies, a small work on Coestablished and Reestablished Harmony needs to be written as soon as the present anatomical course is completed (I EAK, #155.⁷)

In the *Fibre* we have a further and more explicit statement indicating the contents of this second half of the manuscript. In that work Swedenborg announces that in order to satisfy his readers in regard to the soul he has "decided to enter upon a special treatise on the commerce of the soul and body, and on its state in the body and also after the death of the body; and at the same time to bring forward the opinions of the learned, and to set forth in what way they are consentient and dissentient" (see *Fibre* #285 and note).

But while it seems indicated with tolerable certainty that "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body" was written after 1740 when Volume I of the *Economy* was published, it is equally certain that it was written before the second edition of the *Economy*, published some time in 1742. For in addition to the fact of its being advertised in that edition as "soon to be published," we have another interesting bit of evidence: In some of the early drafts (reproduced in 6 *Photolithographed MSS*) in which Swedenborg lays down his whole plan for the *Economy* series of transactions, he signs the work as being written *ab Aphaneide* (i.e., by an unknown person). It was in accord

⁷ This is a paraphrase, rather than a direct quotation from the *Economy*.

with this policy that he published the first edition of the work anonymously. In the second edition, however, the title page showed that it was "by Emanuel Swedenborg, Assessor, etc." By this time, therefore, Swedenborg had given up the idea of anonymity. But when he wrote the preface to the work on "The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body," he still held to this idea, for he there signed himself "I.S.E.G.O.F." (see page 22 below).

HIEROGLYPHIC KEY [1744]

We come now to the "Hieroglyphic Key." The unity of the doctrine of correspondences as given in this work with the doctrine as given in the theological writings was so apparent to early students of the New Church that some supposed the "Hieroglyphic Key" to have been written after the author's illumination. Internal evidence, however, to say nothing of extraneous facts, plainly contradicts this supposition. A work on the doctrine of correspondences and representations was designed as a part of Transaction V, whose contents, as planned by Swedenborg, were to comprise "the Fibre; the Arachnoid Tunic; the Doctrines of Order, Degrees, Forms, Correspondences and Representations, and Modifications; and Ontology" (6 *Photolithographed MSS*, pages 355-358). The necessity of such a work is moreover indicated in the "first projection" on the brain (Codex 65) which was a draft of the first volume of the *Economy* series as originally planned. There we read, "We must found an entirely new ontology and philosophy, applicable to the above-mentioned degrees, which may be called a universal or philosophical mathesis; a true rational analysis; a mathematical, analytical philosophy of universal, degrees, and indemnities; or, the significative or technical speech or art of the soul; or, the basis or science of sciences" (4 *Photolithographed MSS*, page 180). This "science of sciences" or doctrine of correspondences is specifically promised in the *Fibre*, where we read, "Respecting correspondences and their application, the reader will see marvels in the transaction on this subject" (#378). And in the list of the seventeen projected parts which were to complete the *Animal Kingdom* series, the doctrine of "Correspondence and Representation" was entered as among the subjects to be dealt with in Part 12 (I *Animal Kingdom*, page 1xv and #15-17). The "Hieroglyphic Key" is the only one of Swedenborg's works where he deals with this doctrine *ex professo*; but from the "Appendix" which we have added on pages 195 *ei seq.*, it is evident that the doctrine itself was well known to him long before. The first specific mention of the "Hieroglyphic

Key." however, is contained in the closing words of the transaction on *The Soul or Rational Psychology*, where we read:

It is indeed possible to submit the ideas of the mind to calculation whence arises a universal mathesis; but nothing of certainty can be deduced therefrom, unless certainty be first proposed and acknowledged, from which the equation shall be commenced. I have also been desirous of setting forth one or two attempts, for I have found the possibility of the thing; but many rules must first be premised, and many truths be woven together. . . . For this reason I have omitted the attempt, and in place thereof I have wished to propose a certain *Key to Natural and Spiritual Arcana by Way of Correspondences and Representations* which shall lead us more abundantly and certainly into hidden truths—upon which doctrine, since it has hitherto been unknown to the world, I wish to dwell at somewhat greater length (#567).⁸

From this it would appear as though, after writing the *Rational Psychology*, Swedenborg intended to proceed at once to the "Hieroglyphic Key"; and this appearance might seem to be supported by a passage in the latter work, where reference is made "to the first rudiments of that universal mathesis of which mention was made above" (see #25, page 168 below)—the word "above" being interpreted as referring to the above-quoted passage from *Rational Psychology* with its reference to the necessity of a "universal mathesis." This would involve that the "Hieroglyphic Key" was written immediately after the *Rational Psychology*, and thus in 1742—the date assigned it by Hyde—though Tafel places it in 1741-1742 and prior to the *Rational Psychology*. But the work was certainly not written before 1742, and there is good reason to place it at a later date. It is found in a manuscript which contains no other writing; and it follows, therefore, that the word "above" in the passage just quoted cannot be interpreted as meaning the *Rational Psychology*, which was not "above," nor was even in the same manuscript. As a possible interpretation of the word ["above"], we suggest that it refers to the mathematical "harmony or analogy" set forth in #22 and thus literally "above" in the same manuscript. This "analogy" reads:

As the world stands in respect to man, so stand natural facts in respect to rational actions.

⁸ Acton has retranslated rather than quoted Sewall's version.

As man stands in respect to God, so stand human actions in respect to Divine works.

Later on, in #25, this analogy is put in the form of mathematical analysis, to wit:

w: n:: e: a.

Swedenborg continues: "These are the first rudiments of the universal mathesis of which mention was made above."

With this wholly natural interpretation, we dispose of the sole argument that might be used to indicate that the "Hieroglyphic Key" was written immediately after *Rational Psychology*; and the matter is open for further inquiry.

It will be remembered that the second edition of the *Economy*, in which the announcement was made of the forthcoming publication of the *Fibre*, etc., was published in 1742. The next work published by Swedenborg himself was the *Animal Kingdom*. The first writing of this work was finished in draft in 1743 (3 *Doc.* page 937). Parts I and II (nn. 1-466) were then revised and published in 1744, being followed in 1745 by Part III on the senses. The latter part, however, was not complete, since only two of the five senses are there treated, the work having been abandoned in October 1744 when the author commenced the *Worship and Love of God* (Hyde, n. 458).

In the introduction to Part I, Swedenborg published his plan of the whole series of physiological and psychological works. Of this series, Part 12 was to include the "Doctrine of Correspondence and Representation." Later on, in the same work, he makes further reference to this doctrine in the following words written in connection with the spiritual sense of "searching the reins" [cf. Psalm 7:9, Jeremiah 11:20, Revelation 2:23, etc.]:

The reader will see these symbolical representations, and also the typical, set forth in the Doctrine of Representations and Correspondences together with things of utmost marvel that are to be met with everywhere in nature—I will not say in the animate body alone; things which so correspond to supreme and spiritual things that you would swear that the physical world is merely symbolic of the spiritual world; and so much so that if you will express in physical terms, and in words prescribed by our speech, any natural truth whatsoever, and merely convert the terms into the corresponding spiritual terms, then instead of a physical truth or precept will come forth a spiritual truth or a theological dogma—although no mortal would have predicted that anything of the kind could arise by a bare literal transposi-

tion; inasmuch as the one precept, considered separately from the other, seems to have absolutely no relation to it. I intend to communicate a number of examples of such correspondences, together with a vocabulary, from which the reader may obtain the terms of spiritual things that are to be substituted in place of physical things (AK #293; cited below, p. 200).

Later on in the same work (#463) there is another reference to a proposed work on correspondences and representations (see below, page 201).

That Swedenborg expressed in the *Animal Kingdom* an intention, namely, "to communicate a number of examples of correspondences together with a vocabulary," which is so exactly fulfilled in the "Hieroglyphic Key," does not necessarily indicate that the latter work was written later. The conclusion, however, has the strength of great probability, and the probability is rendered greater by a consideration to be adduced presently.

That the doctrine was well thought out in Swedenborg's mind when he wrote the *Animal Kingdom* there can be no doubt. Indeed it was formulated before December 1739 when Swedenborg finished the *Economy*, for in that work and also in the *Fibre* he gives several examples of correspondences (see below, pages 195-199). But it certainly was not written in 1742 when the *Fibre* was finished. This is clear from references to the proposed work in the *Fibre* itself—see our "Appendix," pages 198-199 below. Whether it had been written by 1744 when the author, writing in the *Animal Kingdom*, declared his intention to publish a work of this kind is perhaps a matter of doubt. But as we have indicated above, the presumption of the evidence is that it was not then written.

The presumption is strengthened by the consideration that while in the passage from the *Animal Kingdom* quoted above the author emphasized the value of the doctrine of correspondences and stated that "if you will express in physical terms and in words prescribed by our speech any natural truth whatsoever, and merely convert the terms into the corresponding spiritual terms, instead of a physical truth or precept will come forth a spiritual truth or theological dogma"; yet he gives no specific example for the further elucidation of so remarkable a statement, merely alluding to it in general terms when explaining the spiritual sense of "searching the reins." In the *Worship and Love of God*, which was begun in October 1744, we find a statement almost exactly similar to that quoted from the *Animal Kingdom*, namely, that "by means of a transposition only of expres-

sions that signify natural things we are introduced into spiritual truths"; but—and this is noteworthy—in the *Worship and love of God* the statement is elucidated by a quotation *verbatim* and *litteratim* from the "Hieroglyphic Key" as we now have it (WLG #55s; also cited below, pages 201-203; cf. "Hieroglyphic Key" #48, page 181 below); and later on other literal quotations are given from the same work (WLG #65g, cited below, pages 203-204; cf. "Hieroglyphic Key" #45, page 180 below).

It may also be noted that in the manuscript of "Hieroglyphic Key" we find that the passages quoted in *Worship and Love of God* are specially marked. Thus in the case of #45 quoted in *Worship and Love of God* #65g the whole number is marked "N.B." [*note bene*, note well] and the first and third of the three paragraphs of the number are marked by marginal lines as though to designate them for quotation; and it is these two identical paragraphs that are quoted in *Worship and Love of God*. So #48, quoted in *Worship and Love of God* #45, is also marked "N.B." It may be noted, however, that while six passages in "Hieroglyphic Key" are marked "N.B.," only two of them are quoted in the *Worship and Love of God*. These markings were not noted in any previous edition of the "Hieroglyphic Key."

The above considerations point to the conclusion that the "Hieroglyphic Key" was written after the printing of #293 of the *Animal Kingdom*, that is, after 1743, and before the writing of the *Worship and Love of God*. In other words, that it was written some time in 1744,⁹ when Swedenborg was rewriting the *Animal Kingdom* and seeing it through the press, but before he commenced the *Worship and Love of God* in October of the same year. This would place the work in the early or middle part of 1744.

The character of the work itself also confirms this conclusion, for here the author is clearly drawing near to that stage of his studies when he devoted himself mainly to an exploration of the Sacred Scriptures.

It might appear that the "Hieroglyphic Key" was not finished; certainly Swedenborg did not cover all the "examples" listed in his "vocabulary of terms." From several indications, however, it would appear as if this vocabulary were written before the composition of the work itself—as though the author had first set before himself a

⁹ See a different conclusion that Acton reached earlier in *The New Philosophy*, January 1917, page 30.

list of the various terms he intended to take up as "examples" of this "key to natural and spiritual arcana," and afterwards proceeded to treat of them in a certain order. Therefore it would be rash to say that the work was not completed; but we can say that Swedenborg did not take up all the examples which he had listed. It may be that he thought that this was unnecessary, that the principle was clearly enough set forth in the examples already commented on, and that the reader could see the rest for himself.

In a few cases the text of the examples has been altered by the author after he had finished the work; this, however, does not apply to either of the passages quoted in the *Worship and Love of God*. In #45, changes are introduced in the second of the three paragraphs which constitute the number; and in #60 considerable change is made, even to the extent of crossing off one of the paragraphs. But in both these cases, and also in #4, the comment in the next following number and also the "vocabulary" or index, both of which are based on the paragraphs as originally written, remain unaltered. In former editions of the "Hieroglyphic Key" no notice is taken of any of these changes made by the author; but in the present edition we have thought it preferable to print the text as altered, even though the "confirmations" are based on the original text. However, we print the latter in footnotes. What the occasion of these alterations or when they were made we do not know. It would seem not unlikely that they were made when the author was consulting the work with a view to quoting from it in the *Worship and Love of God*. But we again note that there are no alterations in either of the passages quoted in the latter work.

CORRESPONDENCES AND REPRESENTATIONS [ca. 1744]

The contents of the "Hieroglyphic Key" indicate, as stated above, that Swedenborg was near the time when he would confine his studies to the Sacred Scriptures. This conclusion, however, is plainly indicated in the last paragraph of the work. After enumerating the different kinds of representations or correspondences as "harmonic, allegorical, typical and fabulous," the author concludes the paragraph and thus the work itself with the words, "It is allowable to thus interpret the Sacred Scriptures, for the spirit speaks naturally and also spiritually." These words strikingly introduce us to the opening paragraph of the next following work, which we have entitled "Correspondences and Representations." It would indeed seem not improbable—in fact, extremely probable—that this latter work was written immediately after and perhaps as a draft of a

continuation of the "Hieroglyphic Key"; for here is shown the application of that key to the interpretation of Scripture.

The fifteen chapters that are here put together to form a treatise on correspondences and representations are found in Codex 36—the codex now [1920] being translated in *The New Philosophy* under the title *A Philosopher's Note Book*. The greater part of this codex, which comprises a total of 277 pages, seems plainly to have been written prior to and in connection with the *Fibre*; but the chapters introduced into the present volume are taken from the end of the codex, beginning with page 204 (see below, page 227, where we show in a footnote the exact place each of these chapters occupies in the codex). These chapters are not written under a general heading, nor are they in all cases written in immediate juxtaposition with each other. But the nature of their contents sufficiently indicates both that they are parts of a single work and that "Correspondences and Representations" is an appropriate title.

The opening sentence of what we have called the "Introduction" to these chapters is almost an echo of the last words of the "Hieroglyphic Key": "The spirit speaks of natural things spiritually and the natural man of spiritual things naturally; for in order that the natural man may understand spiritual things the spirit is wont to speak naturally of things divine" (see page 217 below).

Following the Introduction come chapters on the various classes of correspondences: harmonic, parabolic or allegorical, typical and fabulous, exactly in the order enumerated in the last paragraph of the "Hieroglyphic Key." Then follow chapters on the correspondences of human and Divine actions, an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, and other subjects almost exclusively relating to the Scriptures and theology. As shown in a note on page 227 these chapters do not immediately follow each other in the manuscript. Many of them we have rearranged; and even where they follow in the order as written in the manuscript there is frequently intervening matter which we have either omitted or transferred to another part of the work.¹⁰

It may be noted that it was frequently Swedenborg's custom—a custom everywhere evidenced in Codex 36—to place a certain heading on a page, and then before entering another heading to leave one or more blank pages according as he judged they would be needed for the citations designated by the headings. This seems to be the

¹⁰ See the Foreword to this 1984 edition regarding Acton's decision *not* to rearrange this same material in *A Philosopher's Note Book*.

reason for the intervening matters between the various chapters on correspondences; at any rate, between the first four of these chapters. It is probable that he entered headings for the various classes of correspondences in the order given in "Hieroglyphic Key" allowing several pages for entries under each heading; and then, after making the intended entries, when he found blank pages remaining, he used these for other notes and observations, mainly of a Scriptural nature. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that most of the chapters are preceded or followed by blank pages; see page 227 below.

The works contained in the present volume and on which we have hitherto spoken in detail are a part of that great plan or series wherein Swedenborg designed to treat of the soul and her laws and operations in the microcosm. In the beginning of this task he planned to divide this great work into six "transactions" entitled *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*; and among his manuscripts we find several tentative sketches of the contents of these proposed transactions. Subsequently he planned the work to be contained in four "tomes" under the title *Animal Kingdom*. But when he came to publish the first volume of the *Animal Kingdom*, he so far modified this plan as to include the whole work in seventeen "parts."

When we consider the wide scope of these parts and reflect upon their vast importance to any comprehensive grasp of the rational philosophy and psychology there outlined, it must surely be a matter of profound satisfaction to know that on gathering together the whole of Swedenborg's philosophical writings, published and unpublished, almost each of these parts will be found covered by some one or more of his works.

In the following table¹¹ we present a brief summary of these parts, showing opposite each title as given in *Animal Kingdom* 1xv the name of one or more of Swedenborg's writings which in whole or in part fulfill the promise of the *published* plan:

¹¹ For a slightly revised version of this table, see the Preface to the 1960 printing of Swedenborg's *Animal Kingdom* (Swedenborg Scientific Association).

<i>Contents of the Whole Work</i>	<i>Writings</i>
Parts 1-2 The viscera of the body.	<i>Animal Kingdom I & II</i>
Part 3 The heart, etc.	<i>Economy I, "The Red Blood."</i>
Parts 4-5 Generation.	<i>Generation, "Origin and Propagation of the Soul."</i>
Part 6 The senses.	<i>Animal Kingdom III, Soul, The Senses (pub. & unpub.).</i>
Parts 7-8 The brains.	<i>Economy II, The Brain (pub. & unpub.).</i>
Part 9 The fibre, the motor fibre, animal spirit.	<i>The Fibre.</i> "Action." "The Animal Spirit"; also long chapter in Codex 65 on the brain.
Part 10 The organism of animal motion.	"Action."
Part 11 Diseases of the head.	"Diseases of the Fibre"; Transaction III in Codex 65 on the brain.
Part 12 Doctrines of forms, order, degrees, etc.	Chapter in the <i>Fibre</i> ;
Correspondences and representation.	<i>Economy I, fin.</i>
Modification.	"Hieroglyphic Key"; "Correspondences and Representations."
Part 13 Action.	"Sensation," <i>The Soul.</i>
External and internal sense.	"Action."
Imagination, memory.	<i>The Soul, "Sensation."</i>
Part 14 Affections and disorders of the animus.	<i>The Soul, "Diseases of the Fibre."</i>
Part 15 The intellect and rational mind.	<i>The Soul.</i>
Part 16 The soul.	<i>The Soul, "Way to a Knowledge of the Soul," "Origin and Propagation of the Soul."</i>
Part 17 Concordance of systems respecting the soul and body.	"Harmony of Soul and Body," <i>The Soul.</i>

To the above parts may be added an eighteenth part with the title, listed in all the earlier plans, "The City of God." By this title we understand Swedenborg to mean the contemplation of the universe as the theatre of Divine Wisdom and the dwelling place of the most High. It was to attain the heights from which alone he could contemplate this City of God that Swedenborg pursued his arduous toil and labor; it was the hope of this vision that inspired him in his studies and meditations, and it was the vision itself that he finally described in that poetic fruit and crown of his philosophical works, the *Worship and Love of God*. Yet this was but the precursor of the more exalted labor and the greater mission that lay before him—to reveal the spiritual world within the natural, that the two might be seen as one creation, one world, the City of our Lord.

Alfred Acton
Bryn Athyn, Pa., April, 1920