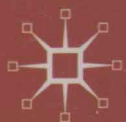


Body and Soul in  
Coleridge's Notebooks, 1827–1834  
‘What is Life?’



SUZANNE E. WEBSTER



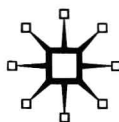
# Body and Soul in Coleridge's Notebooks, 1827-1834

'What is Life?'

Suzanne E. Webster



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# Abbreviations

## Works by Coleridge

- AR                *Aids to Reflection*. 1825. Ed. John Beer. CW 9. 1993.
- BL                *Biographia Literaria, or Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions*. 1817. Ed. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate. CW 7. 2 vols. 1983.
- C&S              *On the Constitution of the Church and State*. 1829. Ed. John Colmer. CW 10. 1976.
- CL                *The Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Earl Leslie Griggs. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956–71.
- CM1              *Marginalia*. Ed. George Whalley. CW 12. Vol. 1. 1980. 6 vols.
- CM2              *Marginalia*. Ed. George Whalley. CW 12. Vol. 2. 1984. 6 vols.
- CM3              *Marginalia*. Ed. H. J. Jackson and George Whalley. CW 12. Vol. 3. 1992. 6 vols.
- CM4              *Marginalia*. Ed. H. J. Jackson and George Whalley. CW 12. Vol. 4. 1998. 6 vols.
- CM5              *Marginalia*. Ed. H. J. Jackson and George Whalley. CW 12. Vol. 5. 2000. 6 vols.
- CM6              *Marginalia*. Ed. H. J. Jackson and George Whalley. CW 12. Vol. 6. 2001. 6 vols.
- CN1              *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Kathleen Coburn. Bollingen Series 50. Vol. 1. New York, NY: Pantheon; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. 5 vols.
- CN2              *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. 1961. Ed. Kathleen Coburn. Bollingen Series 50. Vol. 2. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; London: Routledge, 1991. 5 vols.
- CN3              *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Kathleen Coburn. Bollingen Series 50. Vol. 3. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; London: Routledge, 1973. 5 vols.
- CN4              *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Kathleen Coburn and Merton Christensen. Bollingen Series 50. Vol. 4. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; London: Routledge, 1990. 5 vols.
- CN5              *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Kathleen Coburn and Anthony John Harding. Bollingen Series 50.

- Vol. 5. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; London: Routledge, 2002. 5 vols.
- CW [Series Title.] *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Kathleen Coburn, gen. ed. Bollingen Series 75. 16 Numbers. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; London: Routledge.
- Friend *The Friend*. 1809–10; 1818. Ed. Barbara E. Rooke. CW 4. 2 vols. 1969.
- PL *Lectures 1818–1819: On the History of Philosophy*. Ed. J. R. de J. Jackson. CW 8. 2 vols. 2000.
- PW *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge. 2 vols. 1912. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- TL *Hints towards the Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life*. Ed. Seth B. Watson. London, 1848.
- TOL ‘Theory of Life.’ [1816–18.] *Shorter Works and Fragments*. Ed. H. J. Jackson and J. R. de J. Jackson. CW 11. 2 vols. 1995. 1: 481–557.
- TT *Table Talk*. 1835. Ed. Carl Woodring. CW 14. 2 vols. 1990.

### Other Works and Sources

- Articles ‘Articles of Religion.’ 1562. *The Book of Common Prayer, [...] and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The Church of England: [...]*. Cambridge: Joseph Bentham; London: B. Dod, 1754. N. pag. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Cengage Learning (Gale).
- AV [General abbreviation.] *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated out of the Original Tongues: and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised, by His Majesty’s Special Command. Appointed to be Read in Churches*.
- AV/C *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated out of the Original Tongues: and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised, by His Majesty’s Special Command. Appointed to be Read in Churches. Stereotype Edition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822.
- AV (1611) *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and revised by his Majesties Speciall Comandement. Appointed to be read in Churches*. London: Robert Barker, 1611. Schoenberg Center



- for *Electronic Text & Image* (University of Pennsylvania).  
<http://dewey.library.upenn.edu/sceti/printedbooksNew/index.cfm?TextID=kjbible&PagePosition=1>.
- B&S Suzanne E. Webster. “‘What is Life?’: Body and Soul in Coleridge’s Notebooks, 1827–1834.” DPhil Thesis. University of Oxford, 2004.
- C&J Andrew Cunningham and Nicholas Jardine. ‘Introduction: The Age of Reflexion.’ *Romanticism and the Sciences*. Ed. Andrew Cunningham and Nicholas Jardine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 1–9.
- EEBO *Early English Books Online*. ProQuest (Chadwyck-Healey).
- H&H Emanuel Swedenborg. *Heaven and Hell*. [*De Coelo et Ejus Mirabilibus, et de Inferno, ex Auditibus et Visis.*] 1758. Trans. George F. Dole. West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 1994.
- ‘Matter’ Suzanne E. Webster. ‘Matter, Mind, Spirit, Body and Soul in Coleridge’s Later Thought.’ MPhil Diss. University of Oxford, 1998.
- NIV (Eng./Gr.) *The NIV English–Greek New Testament: A Reverse Interlinear*. Ed. William D. Mounce. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000.
- NOAB *The New Oxford Annotated Bible, with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books. New Revised Standard Version*. Ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary*. Prep. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner. 2nd edn. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Phaedo* Plato. *Phaedo*. [First pub. in English, 1675.] Trans. and ed. David Gallop. 1993. Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- UH&SBI Emanuel Swedenborg. *The Universal Human and Soul–Body Interaction*. Ed. and trans. George F. Dole. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York, NY; Ramsey, NJ; Toronto, ON: Paulist Press, 1984.

### Miscellaneous

C[’s]	Coleridge[’s]
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
Sw[’s]	Swedenborg[’s]

# Notes on the Text

## Endnotes

In an attempt to facilitate a relatively uninterrupted reading of this study, the author has distinguished, by underlining, the endnotes that contain more information than just references, intertextual references, examples, or suggestions for further reading; see, for instance, n.15 below.

## Coleridge's Notebooks

1. This study employs a new method of citing entries within Coleridge's notebooks. Utilising the established forms of referencing, the author devised the method while working with the unpublished transcripts of *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* Volume 5, in order to sidestep the editors' early problems with numbering the entries, and to convey the maximum amount of information about an entry in the most concise manner. Examples of this new method are:

**37.53f47v** (CN5.5822.Mar.1828)

**F<sup>o</sup>.190f82v** (CN5.6666.6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup>Mar.1832).

The bold numbers or letters before the full stop give the notebook number or type as assigned by Coleridge, Anne Gillman (c.1779–1860), and the earliest editors of Coleridge's work.<sup>1</sup> The bold numbers after the full stop give the number of the entry within that notebook, as assigned by Kathleen Coburn (1905–91) and other later editors.<sup>2</sup> The plain numbers following the 'f' denote the page numbers of the entry within the original notebook. Within the parentheses, the first set of letters and numbers show the volume of *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (CN) within which the entry is contained (see 'Abbreviations'); the second set of figures is the entry's serial number, as assigned by the CN editor(s);<sup>3</sup> and the final parts of the reference provide the date and year of the entry, as transcribed, corrected, or assigned by the CN editor(s).<sup>4</sup>

2. To distinguish them from textual additions made by the CN editor(s),<sup>5</sup> the author's additions to Coleridge's text—ellipses, and so on—are contained within bold square brackets. (For purposes of clarity, bold brackets are also used to delineate the author's additions to all other

- similarly-edited texts: see, for instance, the excerpt from CM5 413 11 reproduced on page 185 below, where they distinguish the author's addition of ellipses from the editor's addition of '[rest/turn]'. When quoting from un- or silently edited primary sources and secondary works, however, the author employs ordinary, plain square brackets.)
3. Coleridge's peculiar spellings (for instance, 'knowlege' and 'it's'<sup>6</sup>) and his variant renderings of the same word (for example, 'Individualitatis' and 'Individualitis'<sup>7</sup>) are not emphasised with 'sic'. This term is applied only when an unusual phrase or word may be mistaken for a slip on the author's part.<sup>8</sup>
  4. After their first citation in Chapter 1—unless, of course, they are part of a direct quotation—the Coleridgean terms 'triple Ichheit'<sup>9</sup> and 'secondary Consciousness'<sup>10</sup> are standardised as Triple Ichheit and Secondary Consciousness.
  5. Due to the frequency of their appearance throughout this work, the Coleridgean terms 'Superior I',<sup>11</sup> 'Personal Identity',<sup>12</sup> and 'Future State'<sup>13</sup> are not endnote-referenced on every occasion of their use, but rather only where necessary for clarity.

### Coleridge's Marginalia

1. Marginalia is referred to according to the following pattern:

CM4 141 4.

The first set of letters and numbers denotes the volume of Coleridge's *Marginalia* (see 'Abbreviations'); the second number is the page of that volume; and the bold figure is the number assigned to the marginalium by the CM editor(s). Where necessary, information about the text to which Coleridge's marginalium refers is given at the end of the reference, in parentheses.

2. As Jackson has observed,<sup>14</sup> remarks made in the marginalia of avid book-borrowers and -lenders such as Coleridge should be understood as comments made with the public arena in mind. Within this study, Coleridge's marginalia is thus considered in the same terms as a published work, with a view to the possibility that it may express 'expected', rather than wholly honest opinions.<sup>15</sup> This approach seems especially prudent in the light of proof that Coleridge sometimes conveyed to the public different messages to those he held in private: see, for instance, his comments regarding the delayed release of 'Kubla Khan'.<sup>16</sup> With that in mind, this approach to the marginalia is

observed most carefully in the context of comments that Coleridge made upon the works of controversial figures, such as Edward Irving.

### Coleridge's Letters

References to Coleridge's letters are structured in the following manner:

CL 4: 690 (1033.10<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1816. James Gillman).

The numbers outside the parentheses refer to the volume and page number of Coleridge's *Collected Letters* (ed. Griggs: see 'Abbreviations'). The parentheses contain the number assigned to the letter by Griggs; the date of the letter; and the name of the addressee.

### Religious Terms and Scriptures

1. In the context of Jewish studies, ideas and periods of time relating to the birth and death of Jesus are usually referred to by phrases that express the idea of a 'Common', rather than a 'Christian' Era: for example, 'Before the Common Era' (BCE), rather than 'Before Christ' (BC) or 'pre-Christian'; and 'Common Era' (CE), rather than 'Anno Domini' (AD). This practice is generally observed throughout this work: however, as this study deals with these matters in the context of Coleridge, such references may on occasion be made in accordance with Christian conventions.
2. Although it is standard in the context of Jewish studies to refer to the 'Hebrew Bible' Scriptures as 'the Covenant', 'the *Tanakh*', or 'the Bible',<sup>17</sup> or by citing the group of Scriptures within which a particular Book falls (that is, the *Torah* [Five Books of Moses, or Pentateuch], *Nevi'im* [Prophets], or *Kethuvim* [Writings]<sup>18</sup>), these Scriptures are generally referred to in this study by the standard Christian term, 'the Old Testament' (OT).
3. Throughout this study, Bible verses are only quoted when absolutely necessary to the discussion or exegesis. Unless indicated otherwise, Scripture is quoted from the King James or 'Authorised Version' of the Bible (the AV: see 'Abbreviations'): more specifically—unless otherwise indicated by the delineation 'AV (1611)' (see 'Abbreviations')—it is quoted from Coleridge's copy of the AV; see 'Abbreviations', AV/C.<sup>19</sup>
4. Unless they are vital to the discussion, superscript letters and typographical symbols (such as asterisks and daggers) within verses in the AV, and the marginal references and notes to which they direct the reader, are not reproduced within quotations.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, for

reasons of clarity and to avoid confusion, italicised text within AV verses (which indicates that those particular English words do not have exact equivalents in the original, translated language) is not reproduced.

5. As the author was unable to consult the Cambridge 1755 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* (the edition utilised by Coleridge<sup>21</sup>), quotations from the *Book* are taken from the Cambridge edition of 1754: see 'Abbreviations', Articles.

# Introduction

For Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), the natures of and relationship between the human Body and Soul, both during life and after death, were topics of extreme interest and urgency. It may indeed be said that Coleridge spent his whole life examining and interpreting philosophical and theological alternatives that would enlighten, justify, and support not only his abstract thoughts on the Body/Soul relationship, but also his direct experience of and feelings about the state of his own Body and Soul.

As others have observed, Coleridge's grapplings with the ideas of Body and Soul may be readily discerned from his poetry and public prose, the latter including his letters.<sup>1</sup> *Body and Soul in Coleridge's Notebooks, 1827–1834: 'What is Life?'* seeks to illuminate more fully the private heart from which these grapplings spring. Specifically, this study mines Coleridge's later personal notebooks or 'Fly-catchers'<sup>2</sup>—crucial but, as yet, largely untapped records of his thought—in order to discover the reciprocal effects that his scientific explorations, philosophical convictions, theological beliefs, and states of health exerted upon his perceptions of Body/Soul relations. In doing so, *Body and Soul* demonstrates, not least, that knowledge of Coleridge's Body/Soul theology and philosophy is fundamental to a greater understanding of his often-complex ideas about key tenets of Christianity, including (as examined here in particular) Creation, Personal Identity, Christ's Incarnation and Humanity, and human resurrection and Afterlife.

In the course of this demonstration, *Body and Soul* also shows that Coleridge's Body/Soul theology and philosophy, and his concepts of 'Body' and 'Soul' in general, were great influences upon and, thus, are inextricably connected with most of the major aspects of his thought. These aspects (all of which have been examined to varying degrees by many eminent scholars<sup>3</sup>) include Consciousness, Self-consciousness, the 'I', the 'I Am', Matter, Mind, Nature, Spirit, Unity, Multēity, Subject, Object, Reason, Understanding, Imagination, Fancy, Life, Death, Humanity, and Divinity. In showing the connections between them and Coleridge's thought on Body/Soul relations, this study inevitably offers new or refined definitions of and suggestions about many of these terms and ideas. It is hoped that this will not merely contribute to the seeming 'Whirl-dance of Confusion' that exists in Coleridge studies around his use of such words as '*Soul, Mind, [and] Consciousness*'.<sup>4</sup> By this, it is meant that

oftentimes, within the work of any one scholar, key words may be used indistinctly, or the same word used with reference to concepts that have, for Coleridge, very different meanings. When using the term 'Mind' in the context of Coleridge, for example, scholars generally do so with reference not to the specific mental stratum to which he applied the term, nor to the faculties that he associated with this stratum, but rather to the whole gamut of psychological strata and faculties.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Coleridge's 'Soul' is frequently synonymised with, or seen as 'includ[ing ...] whatever is meant by mind, spirit, life, self, self-consciousness, and identity'.<sup>6</sup> In fairness, some of this 'Confusion' is engendered in part by Coleridge himself: while linguistically stringent in general, he does, for instance, often use the term 'Consciousness' when the context of the word indicates clearly that he actually means 'secondary Consciousness',<sup>7</sup> or 'Self-consciousness'—a fact to which he himself draws attention when remarking that certain thoughts and desires 'remain in the life tho' they do not emerge into the Consciousness, i.e. the secondary Consciousness, the recollected Consciousness'.<sup>8</sup> In the context of the notebooks, confusing inconsistencies in Coleridge's word-usage may have arisen due to the fact that his thoughts were written down largely without an audience in mind.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, there is certainly plenty of evidence within the notebooks—including the example quoted immediately above—that Coleridge laboured hard to clarify the definitions of and distinctions between 'Soul, Mind, Consciousness', and all of the other ideas and terms that he employed. In the course of examining his thoughts on Body/Soul relations, therefore—a topic which primarily involves new suggestions about the ideas of Life, Mind, Spirit, degrees of consciousness, the 'I', the 'I Am', the 'triple Ichheit',<sup>10</sup> and that much-explored Coleridgean concept, 'Understanding'<sup>11</sup>—this study strives to observe closely and utilise consistently Coleridge's painstakingly formulated distinctions and definitions.<sup>12</sup>

An avid reader and historian of ideas, Coleridge was exposed to numerous perspectives on and approaches to the Body/Soul relationship. The most significant of these were laid out in *Naturphilosophie*, particularly the works of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854); in Greek philosophy, especially that of Plato (c.427–347 BCE) and Plotinus (205–70 CE); in Biblical Hebrew anthropology; and in the theology of the Old and New Testaments. Guided by the work and debates of later-twentieth-century theologians and philosophers,<sup>13</sup> *Body and Soul* classifies these various approaches to Body/Soul relations as being predominantly either radically-dualistic, non-radically-dualistic, or holistic in nature. Generally speaking,

in the first of these paradigms, the Soul is perceived as superior and fundamentally sinless, both in life and after death; in the second, Body and Soul are both acknowledged as essential and culpable, yet not necessarily as equally so; and in the last, the Body and Soul are considered as being engaged in a completely interdependent partnership, in which, without the other, neither can function in an orthodox Christian way.

With regard to his thought on these matters, *Body and Soul* determines that, due in large part to the influence of the above-mentioned various and often contradictory approaches, Coleridge oscillated between these three paradigms of the Body/Soul relationship; and that while his oscillations were engendered by—and, in their turn, caused—many theological, philosophical, and personal difficulties, his Faith-induced privileging of religion over philosophy and his preference for the teachings of certain religious figures meant that ultimately these problems were rooted in Coleridge's perception of, and need to accommodate, several interpretations of the apparently inconsistent Body/Soul theology of St Paul (first century CE).

Chapter 1, 'Coleridge in Limbo: Competing Views on Body and Soul', examines the main scientific, philosophical, and religious contexts that Coleridge drew from, responded to, and oscillated between in the process of developing his several different perceptions of Body/Soul relations. The chapter begins by documenting the tensions that characterised Coleridge's scientific and theological encounter with holistically informed *Naturphilosophie*. Through examinations of his notebooks and *Theory of Life* (1816–18)—especially his use, in this work, of Genesis 2.7—it shows that while this encounter initially prompted Coleridge towards a holistically oriented configuration of relations between 'Life' and 'Mind' and, thus, 'Body' and 'Soul', his strong disagreements with some fundamental aspects of *Naturphilosophie* served to shore and encourage his simultaneous perception of dichotomous relationships between these concepts. Noting this tendency in Coleridge towards a radically-dualistic Body/Soul paradigm, it is suggested that this was perhaps inevitable in one who so admired Plato and many dualistic aspects of Greek philosophy.

The chapter thus turns to explore Coleridge's observations upon and use of radically-dualistic, Platonic perceptions of Body/Soul relations, especially those represented in the *Phaedo*. In the course of doing so, however, it ascertains, from the notebooks, that while deeply influenced by Plato, Coleridge undeniably privileged the teachings of religion over those of philosophy. With this in mind, discussion returns to Genesis 2.7



to suggest that Coleridge's radically-dualistic interpretation of this Scripture, and of Body/Soul relations in general, was also influenced by his negative attitudes towards Classical Hebraic anthropology. This theory is tested through an exploration of Coleridge's critiques on physiological/psychological relations in Classical Hebraic concepts of life on earth and life after death. Significantly, Coleridge's criticisms of this holistic anthropology are observed to be based (somewhat ironically) in a holistically nuanced, non-radically-dualistic idea regarding the 'distinct' yet unified Divine sources of 'Life' (and its product, 'Body') and 'Mind' (and its basis, 'Soul'). By way of Coleridge's conclusion—that 'Life & Body' and 'Mind & Soul' cannot therefore be considered as radically-dualistic, opposed pairs—and an examination of the ways that he effected a juncture, in the human being, between physiological Life and Body, and the Mind of the Soul, the debate thus returns to the idea that Coleridge found worth in many non-radically-dualistic and holistic ideologies. To illustrate the fact that Coleridge was therefore effectively adhering to and developing simultaneously several opposing ideologies or paradigms, the chapter reproduces and analyses some of his notebook entries, showing that his opinions about Body/Soul and Life/Mind relations did not change considerably over the years in a linear pattern, but rather that his oscillating views on these relationships can be found within notes of the same year or the same month, or even within a single entry.

Chapter 1 ends with the conclusion that Coleridge found no incongruity in his oscillations between these different paradigms of Body/Soul relations as he believed firmly that the writings of St Paul could feasibly be interpreted as advocating all views.<sup>14</sup> This is important, as none of the studies of Coleridge's opinions on Body and Soul thus far pay any substantial attention to the role of St Paul as a formative impact upon Coleridge's thought regarding the human Body/Soul relationship.

St Paul's Body/Soul theology can essentially be applied to six issues: the human being during life on earth; the human being after death; the Incarnate Christ; the Crucified and Resurrected Christ; the Eucharist; and Christ's Ecclesiastical Body, the Church. *Body and Soul* is most concerned with aspects of the first four. Regardless of which issues are under consideration, however, definitive knowledge of and conclusions about Pauline Body/Soul theology are often confounded due to the myriad nuances and interpretations that can be affixed to his ideas of σῶμα (*sōma*, 'body') and ψυχή (*psychē*, 'soul'). Furthermore, interpretation of these ideas is often additionally complicated by Paul's concepts of σὰρξ (*sarx*, 'flesh') and σαρκικός (*sarkikos*, 'fleshly'). In finding this ambiguity,